VOICES OF NORTH CAROLINA

*Language and Life
from the
Atlantic to the Appalachians*

Jeffrey Reaser and Walt Wolfram

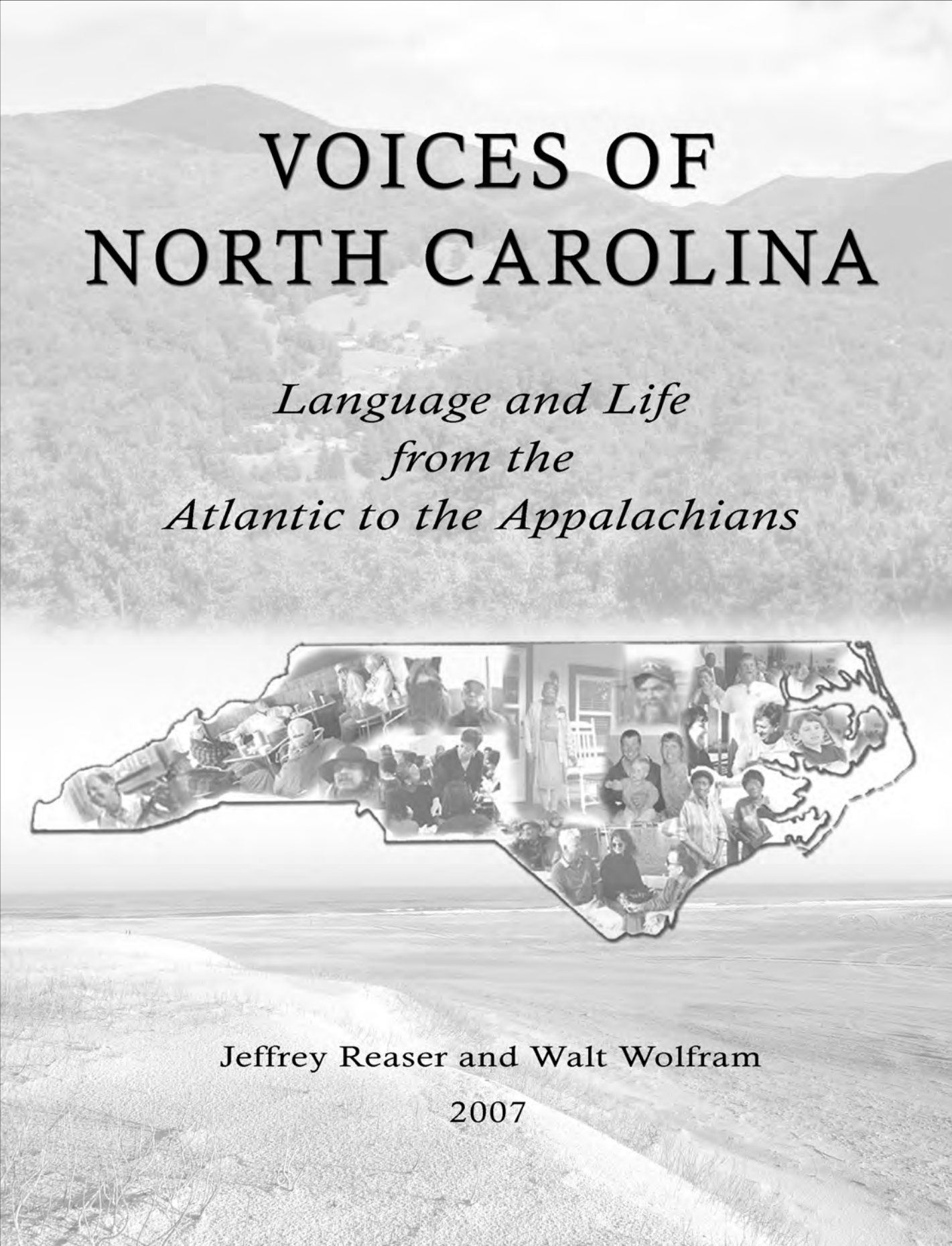2007

Table of Contents

Day 1: Introduction, Levels of Language, Individual Style

Day 2: Style Shifting, the Linguistic Individual, and Dialect Patterns

Day 3: Outer Banks English, Appalachian English, and Cherokee Language

Day 4: Lumbee English, African American English, and Language Change

Day 5: NC's Cities, Spanish and Hispanic English, and Language Attitudes

Index of Appendices

Contents of Resource DVDs

Times in parentheses indicate length of chapter.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Project designer and editor Charlotte Vaughn and Jeffrey Reaser

Cover design Marge Wolfram

DVD design and production Andrew Grimes

Other acknowledgments Phillip Carter, Holly Ericson, Luke Mills, Leatha Fields-Carey, and Jennifer Sclafani

DVD CREDITS AND COPYRIGHTS

Track 1 From *Voices of North Carolina*. (2005). Directed and produced by Neal Hutcheson. North Carolina Language and Life Project.

Track 2 From *Accents*. (2004). Merkley Newman Harty Partners. US Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Tracks 3 - 8 From *Ocracoke Speaks*. (1999). Ellen Marie Cloud, Becky Childs, and Walt Wolfram. North Carolina Language and Life Project and Ocracoke Preservation Society

Tracks 9 - 11 North Carolina Language and Life Project Interview Archive.

Tracks 12 - 14 North Carolina Language and Life Project.

Tracks 15 - 20 North Carolina Language and Life Project

Track 21 From *Voices of North Carolina*. (2005). Directed and produced by Neal Hutcheson. North Carolina Language and Life Project, and *The Ocracoke Brogue: A Portrait of Hoi Toider Speech*. (1997). Directed and produced by Phyllis Blanton and Karen Waters. North Carolina Language and Life Project and the NC State University Humanities Extension. Post-production editing by Andrew Grimes.

Track 22 From The *Ocracoke Brogue: A Portrait of Hoi Toider Speech*. (1997). Directed and produced by Phyllis Blanton and Karen Waters. North Carolina Language and Life Project and the NC State University Humanities Extension. Post-production editing by Andrew Grimes.

Track 23-24 From *Mountain Talk*. (2004). Directed and produced by Neal Hutcheson. North Carolina Language and Life Project and the NC State University Humanities Extension.

Track 25 From *Voices of North Carolina*. (2005). Directed and produced by Neal Hutcheson. North Carolina Language and Life Project.

Track 26 From *Indian by Birth*. (1999). Directed and produced by Neal Hutcheson. North Carolina Language and Life Project and the NC State University Humanities Extension. Post-production editing by Andrew Grimes.

Track 27 From *Voices of North Carolina*. (2005). Directed and produced by Neal Hutcheson. North Carolina Language and Life Project.

Track 28-33 North Carolina Language and Life Project Interview Archive.

Track 34 From *Voices of North Carolina*. (2005). Directed and produced by Neal Hutcheson. North Carolina Language and Life Project.

Track 35 North Carolina Language and Life Project Interview Archive.

Track 36 From *Voices of North Carolina*. (2005). Directed and produced by Neal Hutcheson. North Carolina Language and Life Project.

Tracks 37 - 38 Map design by Andrew Grimes. (2005). North Carolina Language and Life Project.

Track 39 Content:Jeffrey Reaser, Walt Wolfram, and Jennifer Sclafani. Produced by Andrew Grimes. (2007). North Carolina Language and Life Project.

General Resources

North Carolina Language and Life Project:

http://ncsu.edu/linguistics/code/Research%20Sites/ncllp2.htm

Contains information about dialects and cultures in North Carolina

Talk Like a Tar Heel:

http://www.lib.unc.edu/ncc/ref/resources/tlth.html

Contains speech samples from all 100 counties of North Carolina

Do You Speak American?:

www.pbs.org/speak

Support web site for the three-hour PBS documentary, this site contains curricular units, articles, maps, video clips, audio clips, and activities related to language. There is a special section for educators

Center for Applied Linguistics Topics page:

http://www.cal.org/topics/

Contains information on a number of language-related topics of popular interest including dialect variation, ESL education, literacy, and school reform

James Crawford's homepage:

http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/JWCRAWFORD/

Contains information on both sides of a number of language policy issues including the roles of English and Spanish in American society (the English Only Movement), No Child Left Behind, and Native American Language revitalization

John Baugh's homepage:

http://www.stanford.edu/~jbaugh/baugh.fft

Test yourself or your students to see if you can guess the ethnicity of three voices – all spoken by the same speaker! One guise sounds like an African American speaker, one like a European American speaker, and one like a Chicano English speaker

John Rickford's homepage:

http://www.stanford.edu/~rickford/

Contains links to a number of resources including information about African American English and the Oakland Ebonics controversy

Introduction

Overview:

In this unit, we will study about language and dialects. We will look at how dialects work in general and learn some specific patterns that distinguish the dialects of North Carolina. We will also look at the reasons that these patterns have developed and been maintained in different locations and cultures and what it means to the people who use these features. Dialects are a fascinating window into culture and history, and we'll see how the dialects of North Carolina reflect the diverse history and culture of the state.

Though this unit may seem overwhelming at first, it is designed to be teachable by those with little to no linguistics knowledge. The curriculum is organized in a bottom-up fashion: general concepts and vocabulary are examined first in order to establish a basis for understanding sophisticated concepts. Though the learning curve may seem steep at first, the curriculum offers extensive support in the form of background information and teaching tips. These are designed to empower the teacher as a subject expert despite the lack of formal training in linguistics. While it is true that teachers will learn as much (if not more) than students on their first attempt at teaching the unit, teachers will be able to personalize the curriculum in subsequent classes.

This unit is designed as a self-contained unit that requires approximately 450 minutes of instructional time. More or less time may be appropriate depending on the class level and teacher preference. Approximate times are provided for exercises but classes may deviate from these approximations in some way. The divisions into days are only a guide and do not need to be adhered to strictly. The class understanding, rather than these suggested divisions, should determine the pace. Although many of the individual exercises and sections can be taught in isolation from the other linguistics material as they relate to class content, it is recommended that instructors teach the unit straight through at least once so that they become more familiar with the content in general. After this, teachers are encouraged to use the materials as it best suits their personal teaching styles and classes. The student workbook contains two blank "Language Journal" pages and teachers are encourage to have students write in them often.

The Benefits of Dialect Awareness Education:

The benefits of teaching this curriculum are numerous. First, students who have authentic knowledge of how languages work tend to better master Standard English skills. Second, studying language diversity results in a better understanding of cultural diversity. It is undeniable that culture is intimately tied to language. Third, studying language diversity in North Carolina reinforces an understanding of paramount social forces and historical events that have shaped and continue to shape the state. Fourth, students often find this information interesting and even empowering.

Goals of this Curriculum:

1. To develop a respect for the systematic patterning of all language varieties
2. To develop an appreciation for the link between historical development and language
3. To develop an awareness and appreciation for the connection between language and culture
4. To gain authentic knowledge about how dialects pattern
5. To develop an awareness and appreciation of other ways of speaking

Day 1: Introduction, Levels of Language, Individual Style

Purpose:

This lesson introduces students to the formal study of dialects of language. The terms and ideas presented in this lesson must be understood in order to provide students with the tools to evaluate and discuss the other materials in this unit.

Key ideas:

1. Everyone speaks a dialect
2. Our speech conveys a lot of information about ourselves
3. We often make judgments about other people based on how they speak
4. There are many ways in which language varieties can differ from each other
5. Dialects are not simply "sloppy speech." They have patterns and are systematic

Overview:

One of the most amazing aspects of human development is the fact that we acquire oral language with little or no formal instruction. Also, we rarely consciously think about and pre-plan entire sentences when we speak. Typically, we have an idea in our head and we begin to explain the idea without planning the words that will ultimately come out of our mouths. Because so much of our language acquisition and processing takes place below the level of consciousness, people make a number of assumptions about how language works. Embedded in these assumptions are ideas about what constitutes "correct" and "incorrect" language and judgments about people who use different forms of language. For example, some people mistakenly believe that people who "speak a dialect" speak in a non-standard or even incorrect manner. In fact, everyone speaks a dialect: it is impossible to speak a language without speaking a dialect of that language. Some dialects are more often commented on or noticed than others, but everyone speaks a dialect.

Oftentimes, we hear people comment on the way other people speak by saying something like "They speak with an accent." We often notice people speaking differently from ourselves, or using certain phrases or words that we are not familiar with. Most people have encountered at least a few experiences similar to these or other language situations. Central to these experiences are our language attitudes: what we think about different dialects and the people who speak them. Examining the attitudes and assumptions that we have about language usage is a good place to start studying language differences.

This lesson introduces some terminology to help students discuss language differences and offers ways to begin thinking about the attitudes we have about language. After this discussion, students will watch a vignette describing what people deduce about others upon hearing them speak. Next, students will learn about the different levels at which language can differ.

Resources

"Everyone Speaks a Dialect," Wolfram's article in *Teaching Tolerance* (full text in Appendix A)
> This article, written specifically for teachers, examines a number of commonly held language myths as well as resources available to teachers

Perspectives on Spoken and Written English
> http://www.pbs.org/speak/education/curriculum/high/perspectives/
> This website contains information about notions of what constitutes "Standard English" and different approaches to teaching English grammar. Included are a web-links to pertinent information and lesson plan ideas for teaching about language in classrooms

Communicative Choices and Linguistic Style
> http://www.pbs.org/speak/education/curriculum/high/style/
> This website contains information about the process by which language users shift between different speech styles including switching between dialects. Included are a web-links to pertinent information and lesson plan ideas for teaching about language in classrooms

Examining Language Attitudes

Video Exercise 1: What Speech Tells Us

You will see a short video clip of a linguist describing what people may decide about you based on hearing your voice. As you watch the video, think of answers to the following questions.

1. What is a dialect?

2. What have you heard people say about dialects?

3. What do you think about dialects?

4. What kinds of things can you tell about a person's background based on their accent?

Instructions for pre-curricular questionnaire (if applicable)
(Approximate time: 15 minutes)
If you are using the pre-/post-curriculum questionnaires with your classes, please have the class complete them before you begin the unit. Before passing the questionnaires out to your students, please let them know the following:

1. Students names and personal information will never be shared with anyone. I only use them to match pre- and post-curriculum questionnaires.
2. Students should take their time thinking about their responses to the questions.
3. Students should answer as honestly as possible.
4. If students want to make notes explaining why they chose an answer that is allowed – but they should still select one of the answers.
5. If a student does not understand what a question is asking, (s)he should ask you and that you will help students understand the question. If they still do not understand the question, they should respond "don't know."
6. Have a few extra questionnaires available in case a student makes mistakes or wants to start over.
7. Make sure all answers are clear – students are to circle only one answer. If they change their mind, they should completely erase or mark out the answer that they did not intend.

Examining Language Attitudes

Video Exercise 1: What Speech Tells Us
(Approximate time: 15 minutes)

Show students Chapter 1, "What an Accent Tells Us," of the resource DVD (Time = 2:27). This segment features Boyd Davis, a linguist from UNC-Charlotte who describes the sorts of conclusions we can draw about a person based solely on hearing their voice. A good previewing activity would be to note that we all notices between different people when we look at them, but what do we notice about people when we hear them talk? Ask students what they notice about people when they see them (e.g., if they're tall or short, their ethnicity, if they're a boy or girl, etc.) and then what do students think they could guess about people just by hearing their voices. If they are hesitant to answer, start them out by asking, "Can you tell if a person is a boy or a girl from their voice?" How about old or young? Some things that may be named include politeness, if they're mad, if they're from the South or the North, if they're well-educated, etc. This topic can also make for a good journal entry either before or after this exercise.

Instruct them to think about answers to the following questions as the video plays. After showing the vignette to the class, have them write their answers on page 1 of their workbooks.

1. **What is a dialect?**
2. **What have you heard people say about dialects?**
3. **What do you think about dialects?**
4. **What kinds of things can you tell about a person's background based on their accent?**
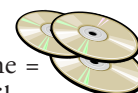
> **Teaching tip:**
>
> The purpose of this exercise is to get students thinking about their experiences with language and language variation and to investigate the extent to which information about ourselves is encoded in the language we use. Students might be persuaded to answer the questions honestly if they are told there are no "right answers" to these questions at this point.

Video Exercise 2: Examining Language Prejudice

During phone conversations, it is often possible to tell a number of things about a person based on the characteristics of their voice. You will see a 1-minute commercial produced by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The purpose of this commercial is to raise awareness of how discrimination can occur over the phone. As you watch the video, think of answers to the following questions.

1. How common do you think it is for people to be discriminated against on the phone?

2. How strong are peoples' prejudices about language?

3. Why do you think people have such strong prejudices about language?

Video Exercise 2: Examining Language Prejudice
(Approximate time: 10 minutes)
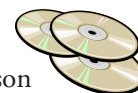
During phone conversations, it is often possible to tell a number of things about a person based on the characteristics of their voice. But identifying characteristics about a person isn't the problem. The problem is when we act in a biased manner toward someone because of a perceived characteristic. Bias can be overt or covert. That is, people may openly say things like, "I don't like the way kids talk today" or they may comment on a language variety or group indirectly by saying things like, "people from up North are always in a hurry," which may indicate they consider Northerners to be rude. Everybody has linguistic bias whether they are aware of it or not. Oftentimes, people project perceived characteristics of a group onto the language variety that the group speaks (as in the example above). Ask students to think about situations in which someone can be discriminated against based on the information contained in his or her voice. After a brief discussion, have students watch the 1-minute commercial produced by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) (Chapter 2 of the Resource DVD). After students watch the advertisement, ask them to write answers to or discuss the following questions. The questions are listed in the Student Workbook on page 2.

1. How common do you think it is for people to be discriminated against on the phone?

This is an opinion question but students may be interested to learn that it is estimated that there are approximately 2 million cases of linguistic profiling every year in the US. That is nearly 5500 instances per day. Of course, many of these may not be the result of a conscious desire to discriminate. The fact of the matter is that we have unconscious reactions to the people we interact with and language does convey a lot of information about us.

2. How strong are peoples' prejudices about language?

Because so much information about us is conveyed in our voices, any prejudice that a person has about another person or group can be projected onto the language of that group. In fact, prejudice about language may be even more intense than prejudice against groups because people are generally quite aware that it is wrong to discriminate against people based on, for example, the color of their skin or religion, but discrimination based on language is widely accepted. Language becomes the vehicle upon which our prejudices are projected. Most people filter their prejudices when describing groups but not necessarily with describing language. While no one would think it is appropriate to say something like, "Group X is dumb," it is very common to hear a statement such as "They can't be smart, just listen to the way they talk" when, in fact, the language a person uses to speak is independent of that person's intelligence.

3. Why do you think people have such strong prejudices about language?

As long as people are aware of differences between groups, they will continue to be aware of differences between the way groups talk and will continue to treat the speech of stigmatized groups as incorrect or stigmatized language varieties. Because language stereotypes are so commonly accepted as appropriate, the prejudice that goes along with these stereotypes are intense. Related to this is the fact that people don't have to learn about language in order to use it (contrast this with, say, math). It is simply acquired from birth and we use it without much effort; therefore, we assume people who speak differently than us must not be as smart as us.

ANSWER KEY

Worksheet 1: Linguistic Definitions

Write definitions to the following vocabulary. These definitions will be important for the assignments and discussions in the rest of this unit. When possible, jot down an example to help you remember the definitions better.

1. **Dialect**

   Who speaks a dialect?

2. **Dialect Vocabulary**

   Example:

3. **Lexicon**

4. **Dialect Pronunciation**

   Example:

5. **Accent**

6. **Dialect Grammar**

   Example:

7. **Bias**

   Example:

Worksheet 1: Linguistic Definitions
(Approximate time: 20 minutes)

Some definitions are given here to help you as you teach about dialects. Students will need to know these definitions as they watch videos, listen to tapes, and examine dialect examples. It is best to spend some time to thoroughly cover this material, getting student input and discussing examples. Students should write out definitions on the Linguistics Definitions Worksheet found in the **Student Workbook** on page 3.

Dialect

A form of a language spoken by a group of people from the same regional or cultural background. Everyone speaks a dialect, even though some dialects are more noticeable than others.

Dialect Vocabulary

The ways in which speakers of a certain dialect use different words to mean the same thing. Thus, some people in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey use the word *hoagie* in reference to the same kind of sandwich that other people call a *sub* -- or a *grinder*, *torpedo*, *hero*, *poor boy*, and so forth. Also, a common word might be used with different meanings across dialects. For instance, a *cabinet* in Rhode Island refers to what many people call a *milk shake.* Another well-known example of dialect vocabulary are the various terms for sweetened carbonated beverages, which is referred to *pop, soda-pop, soda, coke,* or *co-cola* depending on where in the country you are.

Lexicon

A listing of vocabulary representative of a certain language or dialect. See *dialect vocabulary*.

Dialect Pronunciation

When people from certain regions or cultural backgrounds pronounce the same words differently, it is called a *dialect pronunciation*. Sometimes this is referred to simply as *accent*. For example, some people from Eastern New England say the word *car* and *far* without the *-r*. Also, some people from the South may say *greasy* with a *z* sound in the middle of the word, so that they pronounce it *greazy*. Another common Southern dialect pronunciation feature that will be examined in this unit is the identical pronunciation of the words *pin* and *pen.*

Accent

The particular pronunciation or voice quality that makes a language sound different. See *dialect pronunciation*.

Dialect Grammar

The particular ways in which speakers of a certain dialect arrange sentences and words. For instance, in some parts of Western Pennsylvania and Ohio, speakers may say "The car needs washed" where other speakers say "The car needs washing." Also, some people from the Appalachian Mountains or from the Outer Banks may say "The man went a-hunting" when other people say "The man went hunting."

Bias

A tendency to act or feel a certain way about particular things. In our case, people are often biased against certain dialects. Bias can be overt or covert. That is, people may openly say things like, "I don't like the way kids talk today" or they may comment on a language variety indirectly by saying things like, "people from up North are always in a hurry," which may mean that they speak in a rushed manner. Everybody has linguistic bias whether or not we are aware of it. Oftentimes, we project perceived characteristics of a group onto the language variety that the group speaks.

Worksheet 2: Levels of Dialect

In this exercise, we will be looking at the components that make up a dialect, or dialect levels. In the sentence pairs given below, decide whether the difference between each pair is at the vocabulary, pronunciation, or grammar level. Place a <u>V</u> for **Vocabulary**, a <u>P</u> for **Pronunciation**, and a <u>G</u> for **Grammar** level difference in the blank provided beside each pair. Refer to your definitions of these terms if necessary.

_____ 1. That **feller** sure was tall
That **fellow** sure was tall

_____ 2. That road sure is **sigogglin**
That road sure is **crooked**

_____ 3. They usually **be doing** their homework
They usually **do** their homework

_____ 4. I **weren't** there yesterday
I **wasn't** there yesterday

_____ 5. They put their food in a **poke**
They put their food in a **bag**

_____ 6. It's **hoi toid** on the sound **soid**
It's **high tide** on the sound **side**

_____ 7. I was hanging out with my **peeps**
I was hanging out with my **friends**

_____ 8. They're **to the** school right now
They're **at** school right now

_____ 9. They caught some **feesh**
They caught some **fish**

_____ 10. They went **hunting** and **fishing**
They went **a-hunting** and **a-fishing**

NOTES:

Worksheet 2: Levels of Dialect
(Approximate time: 20 to 30 minutes)

This discussion and exercise requires students to apply the definitions discussed above. Ask students to review by redefining the terms *Dialect Vocabulary, Dialect Pronunciation,* and *Dialect Grammar*.

In this exercise, which is found on page 4 of the **Student Workbook,** we will be looking at the components that make up a dialect, or *dialect levels*. In doing this, we will examine dialect features from Ocracoke to Appalachia. In the sentence pairs given below, decide whether the difference between each pair is at the vocabulary, pronunciation, or grammar level. Place a <u>**V**</u> for **Vocabulary**, a <u>**P**</u> for **Pronunciation**, and a <u>**G**</u> for **Grammar** level difference in the blank provided beside each pair. (An optional quiz on this information can be found in Appendix B. The quiz sentences are supposed to be more unambiguous than some of the features listed here. This quiz would also be an appropriate review to start Day 2.)

<u> P </u>   1.   That **feller** sure was tall

               That **fellow** sure was tall

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: This feature, common in many rural Southern dialects can affect all words that end with an unstressed *o*-sound including *yellow, potato, tomato, mosquito, window, elbow, burrito,* etc. These would be pronounced with an *r*-sound instead of the *o*-sound, or as *yeller, potater* (or simply *tater*), *tomater* (or simply *mater*), *mosquiter* (or simply *skeeter*), *winder, elber,* and *burriter*. It does not work when the *o*-sound is stressed, as in *throw, go,* or *bestow*. Thus, there is a pattern that governs when this feature can operate and when it cannot.

<u> V </u>   2.   That road sure is **sigogglin**

               That road sure is **crooked**

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: The word *sigogglin*, as will be discussed later in this unit, is a word found in the speech of people who live in the Appalachian Mountain region of North Carolina. It can mean crooked, askew, or not plumb. Roads, houses, and walls can all be sigogglin. This word is sometimes written *sygogglin* and sometimes pronounced as "sigoggly". In other parts of the South, the word *catawampus* or *catterwampus* can be used to mean crooked. Other places, such as in Pittsburgh and in the South Midland region, some speakers use the word *antigogglin*. All of these would be examples of dialect vocabulary.

<u> G </u>   3.   They usually **be doing** their homework

               They usually **do** their homework

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: This is a special use of *be* in African American English. The uninflected form of *be* is used in place of conjugated *am, is,* or *are* in sentences that describe habitual or reoccurring action. In this sentence, the habitual context is denoted by the word *usually*. In non-habitual contexts, African American English speakers would use either regularly inflected forms such as *am, is,* and *are* or will omit the verb all together. More on this feature is included in the section on African American English.

ANSWER KEY

Worksheet 2: Levels of Dialect

In this exercise, we will be looking at the components that make up a dialect, or dialect levels. In the sentence pairs given below, decide whether the difference between each pair is at the vocabulary, pronunciation, or grammar level. Place a **V** for **Vocabulary**, a **P** for **Pronunciation**, and a **G** for **Grammar** level difference in the blank provided beside each pair. Refer to your definitions of these terms if necessary.

Notes:

_____ 1. That **feller** sure was tall
That **fellow** sure was tall

_____ 2. That road sure is **sigogglin**
That road sure is **crooked**

_____ 3. They usually **be doing** their homework
They usually **do** their homework

_____ 4. I **weren't** there yesterday
I **wasn't** there yesterday

_____ 5. They put their food in a **poke**
They put their food in a **bag**

_____ 6. It's **hoi toid** on the sound **soid**
It's **high tide** on the sound **side**

_____ 7. I was hanging out with my **peeps**
I was hanging out with my **friends**

_____ 8. They're **to the** school right now
They're **at** school right now

_____ 9. They caught some **feesh**
They caught some **fish**

_____ 10. They went **hunting** and **fishing**
They went **a-hunting** and **a-fishing**

__G__   4.   I **weren't** there yesterday

I **wasn't** there yesterday

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: This feature is a result of an irregular pattern being made regular. Linguists refer to this as *regularization* or *leveling*. Leveling is a very natural process that may take place whenever there is an irregularity in a particular pattern. Since the conjugated forms of the verb *to be* are irregular in English (i.e., most verbs have one past tense form, as in *jumped* or *climbed,* whereas *to be* has two forms: *was* and *were*), there is a natural tendency to favor regularization or leveling of this difference. Dialects may use *was* for all past tense forms *I was, you was, he was*, etc. In some dialects in North Carolina, affirmative past tense forms of *to be* are often leveled to *was* but negative past tense forms are often leveled to *weren't* (as in *I was, you was, he was, we was* and *I weren't, you weren't, he weren't, we weren't*). This pattern will be examined in more detail during the lesson on Outer Banks English.

__V__   5.   They put their food in a **poke**

They put their food in a **bag**

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: The word *poke* is used to describe a paper sack or bag in the Appalachian Mountains of North Carolina northward through Western Pennsylvania. It is also found in other parts of the rural South. The word stems from the Scots-Irish influence of this region.

__P__   6.   It's **hoi toid** on the sound **soid**

It's **high tide** on the sound **side**

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: The pronunciation of the vowel "eye" as "oi" is perhaps the most noticeable feature of the Outer Banks region of North Carolina. This pronunciation is so prevalent that some people refer to the people who live on the Outer Banks as "*Hoi Toiders*." Many people may not realize that this pronunciation extended inland through a large portion of the Coastal Plain at one time. It is still found to a lesser extent in the speech of some people who live along the rural coast of mainland North Carolina.

__V__   7.   I was hanging out with my **peeps**

I was hanging out with my **friends**

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: Though many dialect features are regional or culturally based, variation in language extends beyond these divisions and includes such characteristics as age and personal style. Words like "peeps" are often classified as slang by adults, but may be an important part of the dialect spoken by younger speakers. The same types of word innovations that shape slangy terms in each generation (consider the progression of words that mean, "good" or "bad" over time) also shape lexical differences between regional and ethnic dialects.

Worksheet 2: Levels of Dialect

In this exercise, we will be looking at the components that make up a dialect, or dialect levels. In the sentence pairs given below, decide whether the difference between each pair is at the vocabulary, pronunciation, or grammar level. Place a **V** for **Vocabulary**, a **P** for **Pronunciation**, and a **G** for **Grammar** level difference in the blank provided beside each pair. Refer to your definitions of these terms if necessary.

_____ 1. That **feller** sure was tall
That **fellow** sure was tall

_____ 2. That road sure is **sigogglin**
That road sure is **crooked**

_____ 3. They usually **be doing** their homework
They usually **do** their homework

_____ 4. I **weren't** there yesterday
I **wasn't** there yesterday

_____ 5. They put their food in a **poke**
They put their food in a **bag**

_____ 6. It's **hoi toid** on the sound **soid**
It's **high tide** on the sound **side**

_____ 7. I was hanging out with my **peeps**
I was hanging out with my **friends**

_____ 8. They're **to the** school right now
They're **at** school right now

_____ 9. They caught some **feesh**
They caught some **fish**

_____ 10. They went **hunting** and **fishing**
They went **a-hunting** and **a-fishing**

NOTES:

ANSWER KEY

_G_   8.   They're **to the** school right now

They're **at** school right now

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: The use of *to* where standard English would use *at* used to be common throughout the United States. This feature, known as "locative *to*" has historical roots in Old English, where it was the preferred preposition to indicate the location of something. Locative *to* can still be found in the speech of older rural Americans in many places and in the speech of some younger speakers along the Outer Banks of North Carolina and to a lesser extent throughout rural North Carolina.

> **Teaching tip:**
> It is likely that some students will label this as a vocabulary difference, since using *to* for *at* is "just using a different word." In fact, this is a grammatical difference because the word takes on a new grammatical function. The fact that the lexical choice relates to the grammatical function of the word would make linguists classify this as a grammatical rather than a vocabulary difference.

_P_   9.   They caught some **feesh**

They caught some **fish**

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: The pronunciation of *fish* as *feesh* is common throughout some parts of the South. The use of this feature has declined recently in urban areas. This vowel change, where words with a short-*I* (*fish, bit, still*, etc.) is pronounced with a long-*E* sound (*feesh, beet, steel*, etc.) affects many words. The reverse process can also heard in the South. Some words with a long-*E* (*steel*, *field*, *meat*, etc.) are pronounced with a short-*I* sound (*still, filled, mit*).

_G_   10.   They went **hunting** and **fishing**

They went **a-hunting** and **a-fishing**

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: This feature is called "*a*-prefixing" because the "uh"-sound attaches to the beginning of the word. It is most commonly associated with the speech of the Appalachian Mountains although it is also found along the Outer Banks and other rural regions of North Carolina. It is a preservation of a linguistic form found in earlier English, which required the use of a preposition *on* or *at* before certain verbs. Over time, a sentence such as *we were on hunting* or *we were at hunting* became simply *we were a-hunting*. There are specific rules that determine when a speaker can and cannot use the *a*-prefixing feature. This pattern will be examined in the Patterns of Dialects section of this unit.

> **Teaching tip:**
> Some students may label this as a pronunciation feature and that is understandable. However, since we know the historical context of the feature, it is clear that this derives from a grammatical function and is therefore still labeled as such. Pointing this out to students may illustrate that there is a little more than just "common sense" that determines what level of language a dialect feature is.

Day 1

Day 2: Style Shifting, the Linguistic Individual, and Dialect Patterns

Purpose:

This lesson begins with an exercise that illustrates the fact that we all shift the way we speak in different situations. This is known as *style shifting*. Students are then asked to examine language data, and to formulate and test hypotheses about how dialects pattern. These hypotheses will be refined as students gain authentic knowledge of language patterns. This leads to an understanding that language is a subject worthy of scientific study and that dialects are patterned rather than random.

Overview:

We all shift our speech depending on who we are talking to or where we are talking. Think about it: you likely speak differently in the classroom versus the teachers' lounge – or at home versus at school. We don't often think about why we shift our speech or even what it is in our speech that we shift. Nonetheless, this natural style shifting is something that we all do and should be examined so that students come to see dialect as a continuum of speech varieties rather than a single static form of communication.

Many people are shocked to learn that dialects are patterned and systematic. The popular perception is that dialects are un-patterned or random. Even speakers of dialects may not be able to describe the patterns that govern their speech. The following activities examine three linguistic patterns from different dialects of English including New England English, Southern English, and Appalachian English. These activities demonstrate the systematic nature of language variation and help students view language as a topic worthy of scientific study.

Key ideas:

1. Everyone style shifts, that is, changes the way they speak, in different situations

2. All dialects have patterns that govern their use, just as Standard English does

3. Some individual dialect features pattern in relatively simple ways while others have sets of rules that govern the use of a particular feature

4. Linguists are people who study language patterns

5. Some language patterns can be learned with help from our linguistic intuitions while other language patterns require examining data from dialect speakers

Teaching tip:
Students may benefit from a quick review of the levels of language or a quiz on the levels of dialect features. Such a quiz can be found in Appendix B.

Teaching tip:
This is typically the hardest day for students. The plans for this day may take longer than one day to complete. It is better to go slowly through this material so that students get a thorough understanding of it; catching up will be less of a problem than students not understanding this material.

Style Shifting and the Linguistic Individual

Listening Exercise 1: Individual Variation

For this exercise, you will listen to a few speakers from the same community, Ocracoke Island. Your task is to rate them in terms of how strong their dialect is on a scale. In other words, order the speakers by which one sounds least standard (most vernacular) to the one that sounds most standard. Place the numbers 1-6 (corresponding to the Key) on the continuum ordered from the speaker who sounds least standard to the speaker that sounds most standard.

Less standard   More standard

$\longleftrightarrow$

Key: 1 = 30 Some Years
2 = Massive Boats
3 = John Andrew
4 = Pony Penning
5 = Mounted Boy Scouts
6 = Styrofoam Coolers

Notes:

Listening Exercise 2: Style Shifting

The exercise above illustrates that in a single community (and dialect), there are may be a number of very different ways of speaking. This exercise shows that each individual person may have a number of different distinct ways of speaking. You will hear the same speaker recorded in different situations: speaking with his brothers; speaking with an outsider; and performing the dialect as an older family member of his would speak. After listening to this speaker, think of times when you shift your speech. When do you speak most standard? When do you speak the least standard? Think of four situations in which you change your speech and rate them according to how standard you speak.

Most standard

1._____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

Least standard

Notes:

Style Shifting and the Linguistic Individual

Listening Exercise 1: Individual Variation
(Approximate time: 20 minutes)

One of the central themes in this unit is an understanding of and respect for all language systems. It is important to remind students that everyone speaks a dialect even though some are more noticeable than others. Another related theme is that the way we speak in different situations may vary. Thus, it may be more accurate to say that we all speak a range of dialects. Do you speak the same way in front of your students as you do in the teachers' lounge? At home? In public? Of course not! Every speaker has some variation in his or her speech and we all recognize that some situations call for more formal speech styles than others. How we shift our formality or style in these different situations is part of our personal linguistic style. The speakers of highly noticeable or socially stigmatized dialects are no different: they too shift style. Further, even in the same community, there is variation from speaker to speaker. Some speakers have "stronger" dialects (or are less mainstream) and others have "weaker" dialects (or are more mainstream).

This exercise, found on page 5 of the **Student Workbook**, has students listen to a few speakers from the same community, Ocracoke Island, and to rate them in terms of how strong their dialect is on a scale. You will need to play the speech samples for the students twice (**Resource DVD Chapters 3 through 8**). After students rate the speakers on a continuum like the one below, they can discuss why they made the decisions they did. Students may lack the vocabulary to do this accurately and may therefore result to such descriptions as "he slurred his words more" or "I couldn't understand her as well."

ANSWER KEY

Less standard   More standard

6   3   4   2   5   1

Key: 1 = 30 Some Years
2 = Massive Boats
3 = John Andrew
4 = Pony Penning
5 = Mounted Boy Scouts
6 = Styrofoam Coolers

After students have rated speakers in a single community along a continuum, they should have a visual representation of the *linguistic continuum* that exists in any speech community (even one such as your classroom).

Teaching tip:

The purpose of this exercise is to demonstrate that even in a small, isolated community, there exists a good deal of difference between the ways community members speak.

A key to the speakers is provided to make it easier for students to complete the exercise. A suggested ordering is also provided here; although other orders are acceptable as well.

This activity may work best if done as a class or in groups.

Style Shifting and the Linguistic Individual

Listening Exercise 1: Individual Variation

For this exercise, you will listen to a few speakers from the same community, Ocracoke Island. Your task is to rate them in terms of how strong their dialect is on a scale. In other words, order the speakers by which one sounds least standard (most vernacular) to the one that sounds most standard. Place the numbers 1-6 (corresponding to the Key) on the continuum ordered from the speaker who sounds least standard to the speaker that sounds most standard.

Less standard   More standard

⟵——————————————————⟶

Key: 1 = 30 Some Years
2 = Massive Boats
3 = John Andrew
4 = Pony Penning
5 = Mounted Boy Scouts
6 = Styrofoam Coolers

Notes:

Listening Exercise 2: Style Shifting

The exercise above illustrates that in a single community (and dialect), there are may be a number of very different ways of speaking. This exercise shows that each individual person may have a number of different distinct ways of speaking. You will hear the same speaker recorded in different situations: speaking with his brothers; speaking with an outsider; and performing the dialect as an older family member of his would speak. After listening to this speaker, think of times when you shift your speech. When do you speak most standard? When do you speak the least standard? Think of four situations in which you change your speech and rate them according to how standard you speak.

Most standard

1._____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

Least standard

Notes:

Listening Exercise 2: Style Shifting

After understanding that a continuum exists within all speech communities, it is important for students to understand that each speaker, in fact, can use a variety of speech styles and, therefore, cannot accurately be represented by a single point on the continuum. In essence, each speaker can be represented by a continuum on the larger community continuum. In order to illustrate this, play multiple speech clips spoken by a single Ocracoke speaker (**Resource DVD Chapters 9 through 11**). This speaker's speech differs dramatically as he shifts between speaking with his brothers, speaking with an outsider, and performing the dialect as an older family member of his would speak. In each clip, the speaker can rightfully be said to be speaking the Ocracoke dialect even though the samples differ radically. Ask students to think about situations where they shift their speech from casual to formal style. They should write these in their **Student Workbooks** on the lower half of page 5.

There is another exercise on style shifting later in the unit, but the concept is important to introduce early so that students begin to understand the complex nature of any speech community and the fact that the things that influence their own speech are identical to the things that influence the speech of other speakers.

Discuss the responses your students come up with as a class. Probably situations include, at home, at school, at church, with parents, with freiends, with grandparents, etc. You can further probe some of these responses by asking questions such as, "Do you speak the same in every class at school?"

> **Teaching tip:**
> The concept of individual variation makes a good topic for a journal entry. Ask students to describe when, where, and how they shift styles. Ask students to examine why they do this and if it is natural or if they are conscious of the changes. This topic can also be a good class discussion.

Dialect Patterns

How Dialects Pattern

Many people believe that dialects are not patterned or are haphazard. This truth is that all dialects are patterned and are rule-governed. When we say that the dialects of a language follow a pattern, or have "rules," we mean that the various language forms are arranged in regular and predictable ways. Sometimes these patterns can be very complicated and difficult to figure out, but the human mind has the capacity to learn all of these intricate patterns without consciously thinking about them. This ability is one of the most amazing things about the human mind.

This lesson asks students to try to figure out some patterns for different dialect forms found in North Carolina and elsewhere. The challenge is to come up with a rule that accurately describes all the examples. If the rule is correct, it should predict how new forms will be treated.

We will see that the same principles of patterning apply to dialect grammar and pronunciation. In the process, we will try to figure out some dialect patterns as we think about language like a linguist. A **linguist** is a person who studies language as a scientist in order to figure out the specific patterns of language arrangement. Linguists don't create language patterns, just as scientists don't create laws of nature. The patterns already exist in the minds of the speakers of language. The linguist simply tries to state the regular, predictable design that guides the use of language, just like the scientist describes the laws of nature.

> **Teaching tip:**
> This information is a brief introduction to the following exercises. The only information important to convey to the class is that they will be acting as "linguists" throughout the next set of exercises, during which they will discover rules governing different

Dialect Patterns

Worksheet 3: Understanding Linguistic Patterns: Southern Vowel Pronunciation

In some Southern dialects of English, words like *pin* and *pen* are pronounced the same. Usually, both words are pronounced as *pin*. This pattern of pronunciation, where the short *i* and *e* vowels are pronounced the same, is also found in other words. Examining different pronunciations from this dialect demonstrates how linguists uncover linguistic patterns. **LIST A** has words where the *i* and *e* are pronounced the same in these dialects. **LIST B** contains words where the *i* and *e* are pronounced differently. Listen to a speaker of this dialect pronounce the words in **LIST A** and **LIST B**.

LIST A: *I* and *E* Pronounced the Same
1. *tin* and *ten*
2. *kin* and *Ken*
3. *Lin* and *Len*
4. *windy* and *Wendy*
5. *sinned* and *send*

LIST B: *I* and *E* Pronounced Differently
1. *lit* and *let*
2. *pick* and *peck*
3. *pig* and *peg*
4. *rip* and *rep*
5. *litter* and *letter*

Examine the word pairs in **LIST A** and **LIST B**. What do the words in **LIST A** all have in common? How does this differ from the words in **LIST B**?

Write a rule that describes the pattern for when *i* and *e* are pronounced the same and when they are pronounced differently:

 Now that you have discovered the rule, you can use it to predict whish words in **LIST C** will be pronounced the same and which will be pronounced differently. Mark each pair in **LIST C** with either an **S** if the words are pronounced the **Same** and a **D** if the words are pronounced **Differently**.

LIST C: **Same** or **Different**?
1. _____ *bit* and *bet*
2. _____ *pit* and *pet*
3. _____ *bin* and *Ben*
4. _____ *Nick* and *neck*
5. _____ *din* and *den*

Worksheet 3:
Understanding Linguistic Patterns: Southern Vowel Pronunciation
(Approximate time: 10 minutes)

The first exercise in this section, found on page 6 of the **Student Workbook**, demonstrates how linguists use scientific investigation into how dialects pattern. This exercise examines the Southern vowel pronunciation; a pronunciation pattern whereby the words *pin* and *pen* are pronounced the same. When vowels that are typically pronounced differently in other dialects are produced the same in a dialect, linguists term this a *vowel merger*. Some students in your class may have stories about how they have actively tried to eradicate this feature from their speech. It is worth noting that there are many vowel mergers in dialects of American English, most of which are not socially marked or even noticed. Thus, the stigma attached to this vowel merger is not related to the type of feature but is, instead, a stigma of the people who use this feature, i.e., of Southerners.

Other vowel that are pronounced the same in American English dialects include:

- Merger of the vowels in *caught/cot, bought/bot, Dawn/Don* (common throughout the Midwest and the West)

- Merger of certain vowels before *r*: *merry, Mary, marry* (common everywhere but New England)

- Merger of other vowels before *r*: *for/four; horse/hoarse* (this merger is near universal in the speech of people under the age of about 60)

- Merger of some vowels before *l*: *pool, pull, pole* (many dialects pronounce at least two of these words the same)

- Merger of other vowels before *l*: *field/filled, steel/still* (common in Pittsburgh, Texas, and other parts of the South)

In some Southern dialects of English, words like *pin* and *pen* are pronounced the same. Usually, both words are pronounced as *pin*. This pattern of pronunciation is also found in other words. Examining data from a native speaker of this dialect demonstrates how linguists uncover linguistic patterns. **LIST A** has words where the *i* and *e* are pronounced the same in these dialects. Play the recording of a native speaker with this vowel merger for the students (**Chapters 12 through 14** on the **Resource DVD**).

LIST A: *I* and *E* Pronounced the Same (**Chapter 12**)

1. *tin* and *ten*
2. *kin* and *Ken*
3. *Lin* and *Len*
4. *windy* and *Wendy*
5. *sinned* and *send*

Although *i* and *e* in **LIST A** are pronounced the same, there are other words where *i* and *e* are pronounced differently. **LIST B** has word pairs where the vowels are pronounced differently.

Dialect Patterns

Worksheet 3: Understanding Linguistic Patterns: Southern Vowel Pronunciation

In some Southern dialects of English, words like *pin* and *pen* are pronounced the same. Usually, both words are pronounced as *pin*. This pattern of pronunciation, where the short *i* and *e* vowels are pronounced the same, is also found in other words. Examining different pronunciations from this dialect demonstrates how linguists uncover linguistic patterns. **LIST A** has words where the *i* and *e* are pronounced the same in these dialects. **LIST B** contains words where the *i* and *e* are pronounced differently. Listen to a speaker of this dialect pronounce the words in **LIST A** and **LIST B**.

LIST A: *I* and *E* Pronounced the Same
1. *tin* and *ten*
2. *kin* and *Ken*
3. *Lin* and *Len*
4. *windy* and *Wendy*
5. *sinned* and *send*

LIST B: *I* and *E* Pronounced Differently
1. *lit* and *let*
2. *pick* and *peck*
3. *pig* and *peg*
4. *rip* and *rep*
5. *litter* and *letter*

Examine the word pairs in **LIST A** and **LIST B**. What do the words in **LIST A** all have in common? How does this differ from the words in **LIST B**?

Write a rule that describes the pattern for when *i* and *e* are pronounced the same and when they are pronounced differently:

Now that you have discovered the rule, you can use it to predict whish words in **LIST C** will be pronounced the same and which will be pronounced differently. Mark each pair in **LIST C** with either an <u>S</u> if the words are pronounced the **Same** and a <u>D</u> if the words are pronounced **Differently**.

LIST C: Same or **Different**?
1. _____ *bit* and *bet*
2. _____ *pit* and *pet*
3. _____ *bin* and *Ben*
4. _____ *Nick* and *neck*
5. _____ *din* and *den*

LIST B: *I* and *E* Pronounced Differently (**Chapter 13**)

1.   *lit* and *let*
2.   *pick* and *peck*
3.   *pig* and *peg*
4.   *rip* and *rep*
5.   *litter* and *letter*

Ask students to examine the word pairs in the two lists and offer hypotheses about when *i* and *e* are pronounced the same and when they are pronounced differently. If they are having trouble discovering the pattern, ask them to examine the sounds that are next to the vowels. The pattern is determined by the presence or absence of an *n*-sound. If an *n*-sound follows the vowel, the words will be pronounced the same. If there is no *n*-sound following the vowel, the words will be pronounced differently.

Have students use what they have learned about this pronunciation pattern to predict the word pairs in **LIST C** that are pronounced the same and those that are pronounced differently in this Southern dialect. Have them mark the word pairs that are pronounced the **Same** with **S** and the word pairs that are pronounced **Differently** with **D**.

A good rule to describe the pattern might read: "The vowels i and e are pronounced the same when they are followed by an n and pronounced differently everywhere else."

LIST C: Same or Different? (**Chapter 14**)

1.   __D__   *bit* and *bet*
2.   __D__   *pit* and *pet*
3.   __S__   *bin* and *Ben*
4.   __D__   *Nick* and *neck*
5.   __S__   *din* and *den*

Day 2

Worksheet 4: Understanding Linguistic Patterns: The Use of *a-* Prefix

In the traditional Outer Banks dialect and in the Appalachian Mountain region, some words that end in *-ing* can take an *a-*, pronounced as "uh," in front of the word, as in she went *a*-fishing. But not every *–ing* word can have an *a*-prefix. There are patterns or rules that determine when the *a*-prefix can and cannot be used. You will try to figure out these rules by using your inner feelings about language. These inner feelings, called **intuitions**, tell us when we can and cannot use certain forms. Your job is to figure out the reason for these inner feelings and to state the exact pattern or rule.

Read each pair of sentences in **LIST A** and be sure to insert the *a-* ("uh") before the *–ing* word, and decide which sentence in each pair sounds better. For example, in the first sentence pair, does it sound better to say, "*A*-building is hard work" or "She was *a*-building a house"? For each pair of sentences, place a check (✓) next to the sentence that sounds better with the *a-*.

LIST A: Sentence Pairs for *a-* Prefixing

1. _____   a. **Building** is hard work
   _____   b. She was **building** a house

2. _____   a. He likes **hunting**
   _____   b. He went **hunting**

3. _____   a. The child was **charming** the adults
   _____   b. The child was very **charming**

4. _____   a. He kept **running** to the store
   _____   b. The store was **shocking**

5. _____   a. They thought **fishing** was easy
   _____   b. They were **fishing** this morning

6. _____   a. The **fishing** is still good here
   _____   b. They go **fishing** less now

Examine each of the sentence pairs in terms of the choices for the *a*-prefix and answer the following questions.

1. Do you think there is some pattern that guided your choice of an answer?

2. Do you think that the pattern might be related to parts of speech? To answer this, see if there are any parts of speech where you CANNOT use the *a-* prefix. Look at *-ing* forms that function as verbs and compare those with *-ing* forms that operate as nouns or adjectives.

Worksheet 4:
Understanding Linguistic Patterns: The Use of *a-* Prefix
(Approximate time: 30 minutes)

The second pattern we will consider is a grammatical pattern called *a*-prefixing. In the traditional Outer Banks dialect and in the Appalachian Mountain region, some words that end in *-ing* can take an *a-*, pronounced as *uh*, in front of the word, as in *she went a-fishing*. But not every *–ing* word can have an *a*-prefix. There are patterns or rules that determine when the *a*-prefix can and cannot be used. We will try to figure out these rules by using our inner feelings about language. These inner feelings, called **intuitions**, tell us when we can and cannot use certain forms. Our job as linguists is to figure out the reason for these inner feelings and to state the exact pattern or rule. We can discover the rules for some patterns by using our intuitions while other patterns cannot be revealed this way.

Have students read each pair of sentences in **LIST A**, found on page 7 of the **Student Workbook**, and be sure to insert the *a-* ("uh") before the *–ing* word, and decide which sentence in each pair sounds better. For example, in the first sentence pair, does it sound better to say, *A-building is hard work* or *She was a-building a house*? For each pair of sentences, place a check (✓) next to the sentence that sounds better with the *a-*.

Have students do this work individually or with one other person. Students may have trouble figuring out what to do, so it is best to do the first one or two sentences as a class, saying something like, "Which of the following sentences sounds better? 'He likes a-hunting' or 'he went a-hunting'?" [Student answers "he went a-hunting"] [Teacher: "Then place a check mark next to b., he went *a*-hunting."]

LIST A: Sentence Pairs for *a-* Prefixing

1. _____   a. **Building** is hard work
   __✓__   b. She was **building** a house

2. _____   a. He likes **hunting**
   __✓__   b. He went **hunting**

3. __✓__   a. The child was **charming** the adults
   _____   b. The child was very **charming**

4. __✓__   a. He kept **running** to the store
   _____   b. The store was **shocking**

5. _____   a. They thought **fishing** was easy
   __✓__   b. They were **fishing** this morning

6. _____   a. The **fishing** is still good here
   __✓__   b. They go **fishing** less now

See top of next page

> **Teaching tip:**
> Not every student will get all of the answers "right" – and that's okay as they are using only their intuitions in this portion of the exercise. In going over the students' answers, it is better to frame the discussion by focusing on how most of the class agreed which sentence sounded better instead of establishing a correct-incorrect dichotomy. Once students know the pattern, they can be judged on how accurately they can apply it. List D has students apply the rules to predict whether or not a speaker would use an *a-* prefix or not.

> **Teaching tip:**
> The first rule of the pattern for *a-* prefix is related to the part of speech of the *-ing* word. If the *-ing* word is a verb, then it can accept an *a*-prefix. If it is a noun (gerund) or an adjective, then it cannot. Students do not need knowledge of these parts of speech to determine the pattern using their linguistivc intuitions, but they will have a hard time describing the pattern without the use of these terms (they'll likely say something about very tense). Having students recognize the first rule of this pattern may take some teacher prompting.

The second rule to this pattern can be learned by examining the sentence pairs in **LIST B** using the same procedure from **LIST A**. Just as you did for the sentence pairs in **LIST A**, read the sentences in **LIST B**, inserting the *a-* before the *–ing* word, and decide which sentence in each pair sounds better. Place a check (✓) next to the sentence that sounds better with he *a*-prefix

    LIST B: A Further Detail for *a-* Patterning

        1. _____ a. They make money by **building** houses

           _____ b. They make money **building** houses

        2. _____ a. People can't make enough money **fishing**

           _____ b. People can't make enough money from **fishing**

        3. _____ a. People destroy the beauty of the mountains through **littering**

           _____ b. People destroy the beauty of the mountains **littering**

Examine each of the sentence pairs in terms of the choices for the *a-* prefix and answer the following question.

    1. What do the sentences that you did NOT think sounded good have in common?

The third rule to this pattern can be learned by examining the sentence pairs in **LIST C** using the same procedure from **LIST A** and **LIST B**. Just as you did previously, read the sentences in **LIST C**, inserting the *a-* before the *–ing* word, and decide which sentence in each pair sounds better. Place a check (✓) next to the sentence that sounds better with the *a*-prefix. To help you discover the rule, an accent mark (ʹ) is placed over the syllable that is stressed.

    LIST C: Figuring out a Pronunciation Pattern for *a-* Prefix

        1. _____ a. She was **discóvering** a trail

           _____ b. She was **fóllowing** a trail

        2. _____ a. She was **repéating** the chant

           _____ b. She was **hóllering** the chant

        3. _____ a. They were **fíguring** the change

           _____ b. They were **forgétting** the change

        4. _____ a. The baby was **recognízing** the mother

           _____ b. The baby was **wrécking** everything

        5. _____ a. They were **décorating** the room

           _____ b. They were **demánding** more time off

Have students examine each of the sentence pairs in terms of the choices for the *a-* prefix and answer the following questions.

1. Do you think there is some pattern that guided your choice of an answer? You can tell if there is a definite pattern by checking with other people who did the same exercise on their own.

2. Do you think that the pattern might be related to parts of speech? To answer this, see if there are any parts of speech where you CANNOT use the *a-* prefix. Look at *-ing* forms that function as verbs and compare those with *-ing* forms that operate as nouns or adjectives. For example, look at the use of charming as a verb (The child was charming the adults) and adjective (The child was very charming) in sentence three.

Conduct a "poll" to determine how many of students selected the same choices. Ask, "for number 1, who thought **A** sounded better? Hands up! And who thought **B** sounded better?" This allows students the opportunity to see how they all share some linguistic intuition. It is recommended that such a poll be conducted with each list of sentences in this exercise.

The second rule to this pattern can be learned by examining the sentence pairs in **LIST B** using the same procedure from **LIST A**. Have students individually or in groups read the sentences in **LIST B**, insert the *a-* before the *–ing* word, and decide which sentence in each pair sounds better. They should place a check (✓) next to the sentence that sounds better with the *a*-prefix

This rule is related to prepositions. The *a*-prefix cannot occur after a preposition (the "little" words that define directional relationships between objects, e.g., *on, in, above, between, below*, etc.). This is because historically, the *a*-prefix was derived from a preposition. It used to be correct to say *he was on hunting* or *he was at hunting*. Over time, the prepositions *on* and *at* were reduced to 'uh.' If the *a*-prefix did occur with prepositions, it would be like saying *he was on at hunting* and English does not allow two prepositions to occur consecutively in a sentence.

ANSWER KEY

LIST B: A Further Detail for *a-* Patterning

1. _____ a. They make money by **building** houses
   __✓__ b. They make money **building** houses

2. __✓__ a. People can't make enough money **fishing**
   _____ b. People can't make enough money from **fishing**

3. _____ a. People destroy the beauty of the mountains through **littering**
   __✓__ b. People destroy the beauty of the mountains **littering**

> **Teaching tip:**
>
> Again, students may lack the terminology to come up with the term preposition. This is an excellent opportunity for a quick reminder of or introduction to the parts of speech (nouns, verbs, etc.), and prepositions (those "little" words that define directional relationships between objects, e.g., *on, in, above, between, below,* etc.) in particular.

The second rule to this pattern can be learned by examining the sentence pairs in **LIST B** using the same procedure from **LIST A**. Just as you did for the sentence pairs in **LIST A**, read the sentences in **LIST B**, inserting the *a-* before the *–ing* word, and decide which sentence in each pair sounds better. Place a check (✓) next to the sentence that sounds better with he *a*-prefix

   LIST B: A Further Detail for *a-* Patterning

   1. _____ a. They make money by **building** houses
      _____ b. They make money **building** houses

   2. _____ a. People can't make enough money **fishing**
      _____ b. People can't make enough money from **fishing**

   3. _____ a. People destroy the beauty of the mountains through **littering**
      _____ b. People destroy the beauty of the mountains **littering**

Examine each of the sentence pairs in terms of the choices for the *a-* prefix and answer the following question.

   1. What do the sentences that you did NOT think sounded good have in common?

The third rule to this pattern can be learned by examining the sentence pairs in **LIST C** using the same procedure from **LIST A** and **LIST B**. Just as you did previously, read the sentences in **LIST C**, inserting the *a-* before the *–ing* word, and decide which sentence in each pair sounds better. Place a check (✓) next to the sentence that sounds better with the *a*-prefix. To help you discover the rule, an accent mark (′) is placed over the syllable that is stressed.

   LIST C: Figuring out a Pronunciation Pattern for *a-* Prefix

   1. _____ a. She was **discóvering** a trail
      _____ b. She was **fóllowing** a trail

   2. _____ a. She was **repéating** the chant
      _____ b. She was **hóllering** the chant

   3. _____ a. They were **fíguring** the change
      _____ b. They were **forgétting** the change

   4. _____ a. The baby was **recognízing** the mother
      _____ b. The baby was **wrécking** everything

   5. _____ a. They were **décorating** the room
      _____ b. They were **demánding** more time off

The final rule that governs the *a*-prefixing pattern can be learned by examining the sentence pairs in **LIST C**. As in the previous two lists, students should read the sentences, insert the *a*- before the *–ing* word, and decide which sentence in each pair sounds better, marking it with a check (✓). To help students figure out this rule, the stressed or accented syllable of each word is marked with the symbol ´.

The third rule of the pattern is related to stress. The main stress for the *–ing* word must fall on the first syllable or the word cannot take an *a*-prefix.

ANSWER KEY

LIST C: Figuring out a Pronunciation Pattern for *a*- Prefix

1. _____ a. She was **discóvering** a trail

   __✓__ b. She was **fóllowing** a trail

2. _____ a. She was **repéating** the chant

   __✓__ b. She was **hóllering** the chant

3. __✓__ a. They were **fíguring** the change

   _____ b. They were **forgétting** the change

4. _____ a. The baby was **recognízing** the mother

   __✓__ b. The baby was **wrécking** everything

5. __✓__ a. They were **décorating** the room

   _____ b. They were **demánding** more time off

Day 2

In the space below, write exactly how the three rules determine the pattern for attaching the *a-* prefix to *–ing* words.

Rule 1	
Rule 2	
Rule 3	

Using these rules, predict whether the sentences in **LIST D** may or may not use an *a-* prefix. If the sentence cannot use an *a*-prefix, explain why the *-ing* word may or may not take the *a-* prefix (which rule prevents it?).

LIST D: Applying the *a-* Prefix Pattern

1. She kept **hánding** me more work

2. The team was **remémbering** the game

3. The team won by **pláying** great defense

4. The team was **pláying** real hard

5. The coach was **shócking** to the ref

On page 9 of the **Student Workbook**, have students write exactly how the three rules determine the pattern for attaching the *a-* prefix to *–ing* words. Sample rules are produced below.

RULE 1   The *–ing* word must be acting as a verb

RULE 2   There cannot be a preposition in front of the *–ing* word

RULE 3   The stress of the *–ing* word must be on the first syllable

Using their rules, have students predict whether the sentences in **LIST D** may or may not use an *a-* prefix. If the sentence cannot use an *a-*prefix, explain why the *-ing* word may or may not take the *a-* prefix (which rule prevents it?).

LIST D: Applying the *a-* Prefix Pattern

1. She kept hánding me more work   [**Yes**]

2. The team was remémbering the game   [**No, violates Rule 3: stress**]

3. The team won by pláying great defense   [**No, violates Rule 2: preposition**]

4. The team was pláying real hard   [**Yes**]

5. The coach was shócking to the ref   [**No, violates Rule 1: not a verb**]

Day 2

Worksheet 5: Understanding Linguistic Patterns: Dropping *R* in English Dialects

We have examined two dialect patterns, one pronunciation pattern and one grammatical pattern. The pronunciation pattern (*pin/pen*) had only one rule while the *a*-prefixing pattern had several rules. Also, you needed your linguistic intuitions to discover the rules for *a*-prefixing but you did not use these intuitions for the Southern Vowel Pronunciation pattern. Instead, you had to discover the pattern by examining linguistic examples. In other words, you had to figure out what particular words had in common. This exercise continues this investigative method and examines a more complex pattern.

In some dialects of English, like the Eastern New England dialect, the r-sound of words like car or park can be dropped so that these words sound like "cah" and "pahk." This feature is perhaps most strongly associated with the city of Boston, which leads to stereotyping phrases such as, "Pahk the cah." However, not all *r*-sounds can be dropped. As you will discover, some words can drop the *r*-sound and other words may not drop it. By comparing lists of words where the *r* may be dropped with lists of words where it may not be dropped, you can figure out a pattern for *r* dropping.

Listen to a speaker from Boston reading the words in **LIST A** and **LIST B.** Listen closely so that you can hear the difference between the words pronounced with the *r* and without the *r*

LIST A: Words that can drop *r*

1. car
2. father
3. card
4. bigger
5. cardboard
6. beer
7. court

LIST B gives words where the *r* sound may NOT be dropped. In other words, speakers who drop their *r*'s in **LIST A** would pronounce the *r* in the words in **LIST B.**

LIST B: Words that cannot drop *r*

1. run
2. bring
3. principal
4. string
5. okra
6. approach
7. April

Worksheet 5:
Understanding Linguistic Patterns: Dropping *R* in English Dialects
(Approximate time: 20 minutes)

We have examined two dialect patterns, one pronunciation pattern and one grammatical pattern. The pronunciation pattern (*pin/pen)* had only one rule while the *a*-prefixing pattern had multiple rules. There are pronunciation patterns that have several rules, as this example does. Also, point out to students that they did not have intuitions about the vowel merger the same way they did about other patterns. Instead, they had to discover the pattern by examining linguistic data. In other words, they had to figure out what particular words had in common. This exercise continues this investigative method and examines a more complex pattern.

In some dialects of English, like the Eastern New England dialect, the *r*-sound of words like *car* or *park* can be dropped so that these words sound like "cah" and "pahk". This feature is perhaps most strongly associated with the city of Boston, which leads to stereotyping phrases such as, "Pahk the cah in Hahvahd yahd" (See Appendix D for more information about Boston speech). However, not all *r*-sounds can be dropped. In fact, the stereotypical phrase is inaccurate (as we'll see, it would be correct to say "pahk the **car** in Hahvahd yahd" in this particular phrase). In some places in a word, the *r*-sound may be dropped and in other places it may not be dropped. By comparing lists of words where the *r* may be dropped with lists of words where it may not be dropped, students can figure out a pattern for *r* dropping.

A native speaker from Boston reading the following word lists can be heard in **Chapters 15 through 20 of the Resource DVD**. It is recommended that you play this for students as they examine the words. Play the words in **LIST A** and in **LIST B** before asking students to compare the data in the lists, found on page 10 of the **Student Workbook**. You may want to ask students, "do you hear the difference between these pronunciations?" to make sure they are hearing the *r*-ful and the *r*-less pronunciations.

LIST A: Words that can drop *r* (**Chapter 15**)

1. car
2. father
3. card
4. bigger
5. cardboard
6. beer
7. court

LIST B gives words where the *r* sound may NOT be dropped. In other words, speakers who drop their *r*'s in **LIST A** would pronounce the *r* in the words in **LIST B**.

LIST B: Words that cannot drop *r* (**Chapter 16**)

1. run
2. bring
3. principal
4. string
5. okra
6. approach
7. April

To find the first rule for dropping the *r*, examine the type of sound that comes before the *r* in **LIST A** and in **LIST B**. Answer the following questions.

    1. Does a vowel or a consonant come before the *r* in **LIST A**?

    2. What comes before the *r* in **LIST B**?

Use this rule to predict which of the words in **LIST C** will be pronounced with the r and which will be pronounced without the *r*. Write <u>Y</u> for **Yes** if the word can drop the *r* and <u>N</u> for **No** if it cannot drop the *r*. After you make your predictions, you will hear a speaker of this dialect pronounce the words. Check your answers with the speaker's pronunciations.

    LIST C: Applying the Rule for *r* Dropping
        1. _____ bear
        2. _____ program
        3. _____ fearful
        4. _____ right
        5. _____ computer
        6. _____ party
        7. _____ fourteen

Think of two different words that can drop an *r* and two new words that cannot drop an *r*.

Words that CAN drop *r*	Words that CANNOT drop *r*

Like the *a*-prefixing exercise, there is more than one rule that makes up this pattern. The second rule can be learned by examining the words in **LIST A** and **LIST B** below. You will hear a speaker of this dialect pronounce these words.

To find the first rule for dropping the *r*, have students look at the type of sound that comes before the *r* in **LIST A** and in **LIST B**. Does a vowel or a consonant come before the *r* in **LIST A**? What comes before the *r* in **LIST B**?

> **ANSWER:** If the *r* follows a vowel sound, it can be dropped. If the *r* follows a consonant sound (or starts a word), it cannot be dropped.

Ask students to write a rule that describes this part of the *r*-dropping pattern on page 11 of their student workbook and then use this pattern to predict which words in **LIST C** will be pronounced with an *r* and which will not. Students should write **Y** for "Yes" if the word can drop the *r* and **N** for "No" if it cannot drop the *r*.

LIST C: Applying the Rule for *r* Dropping (**Chapter 17**)

1. __Y__ bear
2. __N__ program
3. __Y__ fearful
4. __N__ right
5. __Y__ computer
6. __Y__ party
7. __Y__ fourteen

Have students think of two different words that can drop an *r* and two new words that cannot drop an *r*. These should be written into their student workbooks. Take a moment to have students share their answers with the class to make sure they understand the pattern.

Have students share these words as a class or in groups so that you can check for understanding.
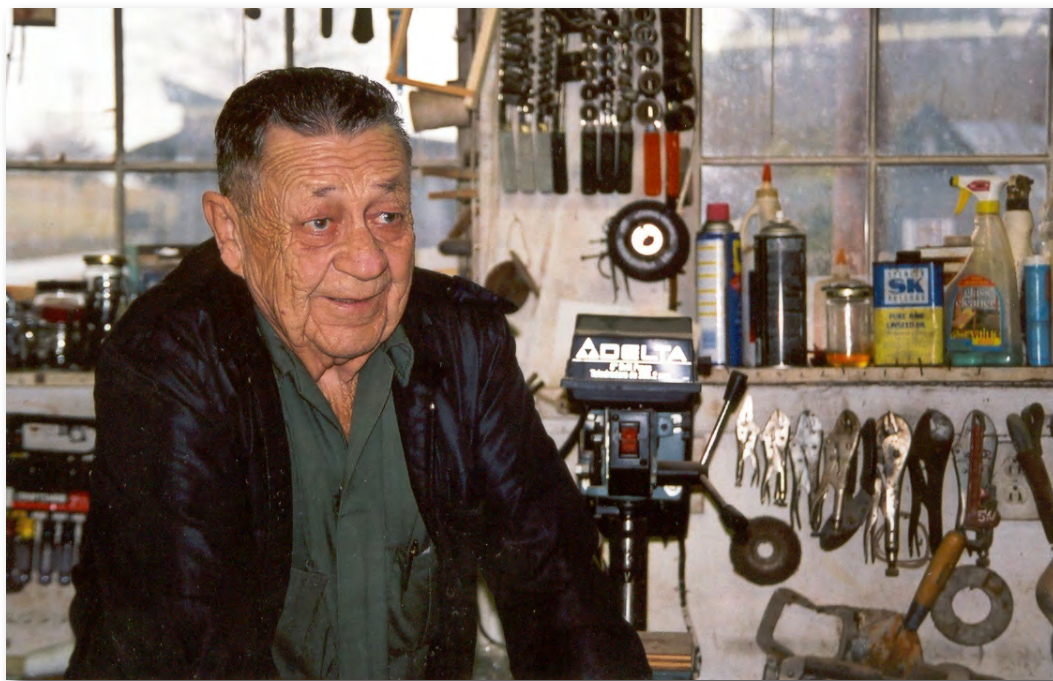
LIST A contains words where the *r* cannot be dropped even when it comes after a vowel.

> **LIST A**: Words that do NOT drop *r*
> 1. **bear** in the field
> 2. **car** over at the house
> 3. **garage**
> 4. **caring**
> 5. take **four** apples
> 6. **pear** on the tree
> 7. **far** enough

In **LIST B**, the *r* CAN be dropped. Notice what kind of sounds come after the *r* in this list.

> **LIST B**: Words that Drop *r*
> 1. **bear** by the woods
> 2. **car** parked by the house
> 3. **parking** the bus
> 4. **fearful**
> 5. take **four** peaches
> 6. **pear** by the house
> 7. **far** behind

To determine the second rule for *r*-dropping, you need to look closely at the sounds that come after the *r*. Answer the following questions:

1. In **LIST A**, what kind of sound comes after the *r*?

2. In **LIST B**, what kind of sound comes after the *r*?

3. Write the two rules, as clearly as possible, that determine when you can drop an *r* and when you cannot drop an *r*.

Rule 1	
Rule 2	

Like the Southern Vowel pronunciation pattern, the first part of the *r*-dropping pattern is fairly straight forward. However, this pattern has additional rules that govern it. In the previous lists, we focused on the sounds that come before the *r*. Now we are going to look at the kinds of sounds that may come after the *r*.

LIST A contains words where the *r* cannot be dropped even when it comes after a vowel.

LIST A: Words that do NOT drop *r* (**Chapter 18**)

1. **bear** in the field
2. **car** over at the house
3. **garage**
4. **caring**
5. take **four** apples
6. **pear** on the tree
7. **far** enough

In **LIST B**, the *r* CAN be dropped. Notice what kind of sounds come after the *r* in this list.

LIST B: Words that Drop *r* (**Chapter 19**)

1. **bear** by the woods
2. **car** parked by the house
3. **parking** the bus
4. **fearful**
5. take **four** peaches
6. **pear** by the house
7. **far** behind

These lists illustrate the second rule of the *r*-dropping pattern: an *r* that comes before a vowel will not be dropped. This rule supplements the previous rule. That is, both conditions (that it must come after a vowel but not before another vowel - though it may come before a pause) must be met if the *r* is to be dropped. Have students write these rules (in their own words) in their student workbooks.

Examples of good rules may read:
Rule 1: An r may be dropped from a word when it follows a vowel and **Rule 2**: when it does not precede another vowel.

ANSWER KEY

You will now use your rules to predict which words in **LIST C** will drop *r*. Write Y if the *r* can be dropped and N if the *r* cannot be dropped.

    LIST C: Words that May or May Not Drop *r*

      1. _____ **pear** on the table

      2. _____ **pear** by the table

      3. _____ **park** in the mall

      4. _____ **program** in the mall

      5. _____ **car** behind the house

Practicing the *R*-Dropping Pattern

How would a speaker of this dialect pronounce the following sentences?

- The teacher picked on three students for an answer.

- Four cars parked far away from the fair.

Next, have students use their rules to predict which words in
LIST C will drop their *r*. Write <u>**Y**</u> if the *r* can be dropped and <u>**N**</u> if the *r* cannot be dropped.

LIST C: Words that May or May Not Drop *r* (**Chapter 20**)

1. __N__ **pear** on the table
2. __Y__ **pear** by the table
3. __Y__ **park** in the mall
4. __N__ **program** in the mall
5. __Y__ **car** behind the house

Practicing the *R*-Dropping Pattern

Have students try to pronounce the two sentences given here according to the *r* drop pattern that they learned.

- *The* **teacher** *picked on* **three** *students* **for** *an* **answer**.

  [The **teache'** picked on th<u>ree</u> students **fo<u>r</u>** an **answe'**]

- **Four cars parked far** *away* **from** *the* **fair**.

  [**Fou' ca's pa'ked fa<u>r</u>** away f<u>rom</u> the **fai'**]

A quiz on these three linguistic patterns can be found in Appendix C. This quiz also makes a good review for starting Day 3.

<table><tr><td>**Teaching tip:**

Students are likely to mix up one or two words in the sentences. The first sentence is likely to be read as "The teache' picked on three students fo' an answe'" – where the *r* is eliminated improperly from the word "for," which occurs before a vowel. Students may also try to eliminate the *r* in "three." The most common error in the second sentence involves the word "far," which should be pronounced with the *r* since it comes before a vowel. Students are likely to utter the sentence as, "Fou' ca's pa'ked fa' away from the fai'".</td></tr></table>

Summary of Dialect Pattern Exercises

Before continuing, it is important to briefly review the significance of what the students have discovered in these exercises. Dialect patterns can be difficult to learn, and it's easy to miss the larger implications by focusing on the details of a single pattern. The first point of the previous exercises is not to memorize patterns, but to demonstrate that there are rules that govern usage of dialect features. That is to say, dialects are not random: they are rule-governed and predictable – exactly as is Standard English. The second point is that as native speakers of a language, we have certain intuitions about how things work. We do not always need to be dialect speakers to have these intuitions (as in the a-prefixing example). All native speakers have intuitions about some dialect features but other dialect features must be examined scientifically in order to uncover the pattern that governs them (i and e in Southern Dialects or r-dropping). What is most remarkable is that dialect speakers may use a particular feature in compliance with the rules but may be completely unaware of what the rules are. That is, native speakers will pronounce and drop r in appropriate contexts but they will likely not be able to describe when they drop r and when they pronounce it. This is true for all dialect features. The fact that we do not need to know explicitly the rules of a dialect feature to use it correctly leads many people to believe that dialects are random or without rules, and that dialect speakers just have not learned Standard English. The reality is, of course, that we are all dialect speakers – just that some of us have dialects that are more noticeable than others. The reason that people are unaware of dialect rules is related to the fact that we acquire language rather than learn it. As children, we are not actively taught language; instead, we acquire the speech patterns that we are exposed to, including the rules that govern non-mainstream features.

Worksheet 6: Brief Introduction to the Settlement of North Carolina

Pre-European Times

1. Who were the first residents of North Carolina?

2. When did they arrive?

3. How did they survive?

4. What sorts of things do we know about them and their culture?

Other notes:

European Settlement

5. The Lost Colony was founded on _____ in _____ .

6. Many settlers of North Carolina arrived in _____, Virginia, before migrating south.

7. Other settlers, especially in the Appalachian Mountains, traveled to North Carolina along the _____, which ran south from _____. Another group of settlers also left from here, and traveled along the coast, finally settling along the Outer Banks of North Carolina.

8. Another important group to the history of North Carolina are African Americans. Most slaves that were brought into North Carolina arrived in the U.S. in _____. Another important port of arrival was _____.

Other notes:

North Carolina Today

9. Where have the most dramatic changes in North Carolina's population taken place over the past twenty to thirty years?

Other notes:

Brief Introduction to the Settlement of North Carolina
Worksheet 6: Brief Introduction to the Settlement of North Carolina
(Approximate time: 10-30 minutes)

A note-taking outline on this information for students can be found on page 14 of the **Student Workbook.**

Much of the remainder of the dialect awareness curriculum will focus on some of the more distinctive language varieties in North Carolina. In these discussions, we will examine the factors that have shaped these ways of speaking. Each of the individual topics includes a brief paragraph describing the history of the area/group being examined. The following is a brief summary of the settlement of North Carolina, which serves as a backdrop for the discussions that will follow.

Pre-European times

The first residents of North Carolina were the prehistoric or (1) <u>Paleo-Indian people</u>, who were hunters who lived in small groups and probably (2) <u>arrived more than 12,000 years ago</u>. (3) <u>They used stone weapons to hunt large animals such as woolly mammoths</u>. They also (4) <u>buried their dead in mounds</u>, which are the source of much of what is known about these earliest inhabitants. <u>These people were often migratory</u>, traveling with food sources and the seasons.

Over time, groups became less migratory and began to cultivate crops that made it possible to support larger groups in a particular area. By about 1000 B.C., the first "permanent" villages could be found in North Carolina, with residents who were largely agrarian and adept at making pottery. Hunting was accomplished with the bow and arrow. During this period, it is estimated that at least 34 separate languages could be heard in North Carolina. These languages made up four major language groups: Iroquoian, Algonquian, Siouan, and Muskogean. The Iroquoian language family included the Cherokee in the Western and Tuscarora in the Eastern part of the state. Algonquian languages, including Pamlico, Roanoac, Croatan, Hatteras, and Weapemeot tribes could be heard throughout the coastal regions. Siouan tribes, including the Waccamaw, Catawba, and Saroni groups, were located in the Piedmont region. The Pee Dee Indians, who spoke a dialect of Muskogean, lived along what is now the Pee Dee River, just east of where Charlotte is today. Many of these names exist today as place-names in North Carolina.

European Settlement

The European settlement had a substantial impact on the Native American groups. Linguistically, some groups abandoned their native way of speaking in favor of European languages. Other groups were dispersed or moved. More on the influence of Europeans on the native languages of North Carolina will be discussed in the units on Cherokee and Lumbee.

North Carolina is the home of the Lost Colony, which was founded by the English on what is now (5) <u>Roanoke Island (Manteo) in 1584</u>. Though this colony did not survive, it represented the first arrival of European settlers in North Carolina. It is important to note that the first settlements were along the coast, since the Europeans initially arrived via ships directly from England and other European countries. See the Migration Map (**Chapter 38** on the **Resource DVD**) for a visual aid to this information. The colony in (6) <u>Jamestown, VA</u> was founded in 1607. By the 1630s, many families from Virginia and New England had migrated southward into what is now the Albemarle Sound region of North Carolina. Most of these people settled along the coastal regions and used boats as their primary mode of transportation. In 1663, the people who had settled in North Carolina were given autonomy from the Virginia Colony and made an independent colony, known as Carolina, and named after the English King Charles I. Carolina stretched from Virginia to Florida until 1712, when South Carolina and Georgia were separated.

The English were not the only group settling in North Carolina. Beginning in the 1730s, large groups of Scots-Irish settlers migrated (7) <u>southward from Philadelphia</u>. These groups mostly settled in the Appalachian Mountain (traveling the <u>Great Wagon Road</u>) region, though some Irish settled on the Outer Banks as well. The fact that similar peoples settled both on the Outer Banks and in the Appalachian region has resulted in

Worksheet 6: Brief Introduction to the Settlement of North Carolina

Pre-European Times

1. Who were the first residents of North Carolina?

2. When did they arrive?

3. How did they survive?

4. What sorts of things do we know about them and their culture?

Other notes:

European Settlement

5. The Lost Colony was founded on _____ in _____ .

6. Many settlers of North Carolina arrived in _____, Virginia, before migrating south.

7. Other settlers, especially in the Appalachian Mountains, traveled to North Carolina along the _____, which ran south from _____. Another group of settlers also left from here, and traveled along the coast, finally settling along the Outer Banks of North Carolina.

8. Another important group to the history of North Carolina are African Americans. Most slaves that were brought into North Carolina arrived in the U.S. in _____. Another important port of arrival was _____.

Other notes:

North Carolina Today

9. Where have the most dramatic changes in North Carolina's population taken place over the past twenty to thirty years?

Other notes:

language similarities in the speech of people in the eastern-most and western-most areas of the state, with dissimilar dialects in-between. Also, starting in about the mid 1700s, a large group of Germans settled in what is the area around and just west of Winston-Salem. Most of these German groups formed their own towns and kept to themselves, thus preserving aspects of their culture and language.

Another important group to the history of North Carolina are African Americans. Most slaves in North Carolina were brought from Africa to (8) <u>Virginia</u> and then sold to North Carolina owners. Other parts of the South were populated with slaves who arrived in Barbados or <u>Charleston, SC</u>. Slaves were brought to work on the rice and cotton plantations. Oftentimes, the African slaves worked along side Irish or Scots indentured servants. Irish and Scots people were often lower class citizens who promised to work for a period of time (often 7 years) in exchange for a plantation owner paying their passage to America. These people were typically speakers of stigmatized dialects. Some linguists believe that it was these stigmatized varieties of English that slaves would have learned and that this contact may be at least partly responsible for features found in African American English today.

More will be said about the individual histories of regions and groups in the coming units. We will highlight the history as it pertains to the language landscape of North Carolina. This is not meant to be a substitute for a more thorough studying of North Carolina history, but merely a means of tying the linguistic history to the general history of the state.

North Carolina Today

The settlement history of North Carolina is still being written. North Carolina has undergone a dramatic shift over the past 20 years whereby (9) <u>urban areas</u> have grown tremendously as people from out of state have come seeking jobs, the mild climate, or other opportunities. Virtually no area of the state has remained unaffected by new settlers. The population of the state has grown quickly since the 1970s. According to US census data, North Carolina grew from about 5 million people in 1970 to 5.9 million in 1980, 6.6 million in 1990, to just over 8 million in 2000. Much of this growth has been centered around urban areas such as the Triangle, the Triad, and Charlotte. The populations of these areas have increased between 25 and 50% over the past decade. North Carolina is currently the ninth fastest growing state in the Country. This growth certainly has implications for the language landscape of the state, which will be examined later in this unit.

The Hispanic population is another important group that is changing the cultural and language landscape of North Carolina. The Hispanic population in North Carolina increased from about 75,000 to 375,000 between 1990 and 2000. This increase, almost 400%, is substantially larger than the 58% average increase for the United States as a whole. North Carolina has one of the fastest growing Hispanic populations in the country, and currently has the largest percentage of monolingual Spanish speakers of any state, thus making Spanish an important part of North Carolina's linguistic makeup. This growing community will also be examined later in this unit.

Background Information: The terms *Hispanic*, *Chicano,* and *Latino* are sometimes used interchangeably even though they may mean different things. The term *Chicano* or *Chicana* refers to the boy or girl offspring of Mexican immigrants living in the United States. *Latino/Latina* technically refers specifically to people who have emigrated from the Iberian Peninsula (i.e., Spain and Portugal). *Latino* and *Latina* are popularly used to describe any person from the Spanish or Portuguese speaking world (including Brazil) that is not immediately from Spain, Portugal, or Mexico. The term *Hispanic* is a more general and thus preferred term that is used to describe people from anywhere in the Spanish-speaking world including Mexico, Central America, and South America. The term *Mexican,* when used as an ethnic label, is typically considered to be offensive throughout the US.

Teaching tip:

It may be a good idea to ask students to do a short writing assignment for homework. Ask students to write about what they have found most interesting so far, or about something they have learned that would have never thought to be true. This can form the basis for a good review iscussion to start Day 3.

Day 3: Outer Banks English, Appalachian English, and Cherokee Language

Purpose:

Students will continue the investigation into North Carolina's rich linguistic landscape. They will learn about the history, culture and language of both the Outer Banks and the western area of the state, including the histories of European groups and Native American groups in the area.

Key ideas:

1. Outer Banks speech reflects some older language patterns, but also some new language patterns

2. The Appalachian Mountains were settled by speakers who originally sounded somewhat like the people on the Outer Banks

3. Over time, the dialects on the Outer Banks and in the Appalachian Mountains have grown more dissimilar, especially in their vocabulary and pronunciation

Overview:

Students will learn about the history and culture of one of North Carolina's most famous dialects, Outer Banks English or "hoi toider speech." This dialect is a good starting point since the Outer Banks was the first area of North Carolina that Europeans explored. Many students have some exposure to this dialect and therefore it serves as a good "hook" for students. A few of the linguistic patterns associated with this dialect are examined.

The Appalachian Mountains are known for their beautiful scenery and its resilient residents. Although Appalachia often conjures up images of men with long beards and overalls, the people who live in the Appalachians are a diverse group with a strong sense of culture and history.

This unit examines this group of people, including where they came from and how they're adapting to a changing world. Also examined are the Cherokee Indians who live in western North Carolina. This group has been attempting to preserve and revitalize traditional ways of speaking and living. A second group of Native Americans, the Lumbee, illustrate a different history. They have lost their native language, which has been replaced by a unique dialect of English. The Lumbee are facing a number of similar issues to the Cherokee in terms of preserving their heritage.

Resources

"Dialects in Danger (Outer Banks, NC)," by Walt Wolfram. From *American Voices: How Dialects Differ from Coast to Coast*.
    This article, written for non-linguists, discusses the social and language changes that are taking place on the Outer Banks of North Carolina. It also includes a quiz on the words of the Ocracoke Brogue. It can be found in Appendix E

"If These Hills Could Talk (Smoky Mountains)," by Christine Mallinson, Becky Childs, Bridget Anderson, and Neal Hutcheson. From *American Voices: How Dialects Differ from Coast to Coast.*
    This article, written for non-linguists, examines the speech and culture of one of the most colorful American English dialects, Appalachian English. It also includes a list of words commonly associated with this dialect. It can be found in Appendix F

"Sounds of the South," by Guy Bailey and Jan Tillery is a good resource for general information on Southern English.
    It can be found in Appendix G

Information on the research NC State University faculty and students have done on three of the Outer Banks Islands in North Carolina can be found here:
    Harkers Island: http://ncsu.edu/linguistics/code/Research%20Sites/harkers.htm
    Ocracoke Island: http://ncsu.edu/linguistics/code/Research%20Sites/ocracoke.htm
    Roanoke Island: http://ncsu.edu/linguistics/code/Research%20Sites/roanoke.htm

Information on the research NC State University faculty and students have done on Cherokee can be found here:
    http://ncsu.edu/linguistics/code/Research%20Sites/snowbird.htm

Information on regional dialects in the U.S., including Southern Speech, can be found here:
    http://www.pbs.org/speak/education/curriculum/high/regional/

Worksheet 7: Dialects of North Carolina: Outer Banks English

Notes on History and Culture:

Notes on the Outer Banks English Dialect:

Vocabulary

Define the following words:

mommuck

quamish

good-some

fladget

meehonkey

Ococker

touron

dingbatter

Dialects of North Carolina: Outer Banks English

Worksheet 7: Dialects of North Carolina: Outer Banks English

A note-taking outline on this information for students can be found on pages 15-17 of the **Student Workbook**.

Introduction and History

Terms such as *Brogue*, *hoi toiders*, or even *Banker speech*, refer to a distinct way of speaking that is associated with the Outer Banks. The use of the term *Brogue* in itself is quite interesting since it comes from the Irish term *barroq*, which means 'to grab hold,' especially with reference to the tongue. In many areas of England, the term *Brogue* refers to English spoken with an Irish accent, which perhaps gives a hint of the influence of Irish English in the history of Outer Banks speech. The term *hoi toider*, on the other hand, refers not to the historical origins of the dialect, but to one of the most noticeable features of Outer Banks speech, the distinct pronunciation of the vowel sound in words like *high* and *tide* as 'hoi' and 'toid'.

At one point in the history of the Outer Banks, the local dialects were noticeable to anyone visiting the islands. This would have certainly been the case during the period when the Wright brothers were visiting the Outer Banks in the early 20th century. Today the language situation is much harder to describe. Visitors to the islands may get very different impressions of island speech depending on whom they talk to and where they go. However, a visit with some longstanding families on the islands or a visit to the region during the quiet of winter makes one realize that a distinct language tradition is still alive on the Outer Banks and will be for some time to come.

While the Outer Banks Brogue is still alive, it will change. We expect the speech to change because of tourism and non-islanders moving to the Outer Banks. The local speech varieties, therefore, are difficult to describe; they are changing more rapidly than many other dialects.

Dialect change is natural, and all dialects constantly change. But all is not lost for traditional ways of speaking. Just as some traditional ways of community life continue to survive, some aspects of the dialect continue to survive as well. One of the places where a number of Outer Banks features are preserved is on Ocracoke Island. Ocracoke is accessible only by ferry. This, combined with the smallness of the community has helped preserve some language features that may have been lost in other Outer Banks locations. For more information on Ocracoke, see the article in Appendix E.

Language

Vocabulary

Some of the vocabulary that can be heard on Ocracoke includes: *mommuck*, meaning 'to bother or harass'; *buck,* meaning a good male friend; *quamish*, meaning 'to feel uneasy, particularly in the stomach'; *good-some*, meaning 'very good'; *fladget*, meaning 'a piece of something'; *meehonkey*, referring to an island version of hide-and-seek; and *Ococker,* referring to a native islander. These terms are used in sentences below. Not every Ocracoker may be familiar with or use all of these terms. Likewise, young Ocracokers may use words that are unfamiliar to older Ocracokers to describe new aspects of life on the island, such as *touron,* a tourist who is does not know about island life. This term is synonymous with the term *dingbatter*, which is used by middle-aged islanders.

Worksheet 7: Dialects of North Carolina: Outer Banks English

Notes on History and Culture:

Notes on the Outer Banks English Dialect:

Vocabulary

Define the following words:

mommuck

quamish

good-some

fladget

meehonkey

Ococker

touron

dingbatter

Example Sentences with Ocracoke Vocabulary:

- *I was trying to take a nap but James kept* **mommucking** *me*

- *Rex has been my* **buck** *for years*

- *The water was so rough I felt* **quamish** *in my stomach on the boat*

- *That meal sure was* **good-some**

- *Cut me off a* **fladget** *of that apple*

- *When we were younger we used to play* **meehonkey**

- *There aren't too many real* **Ocockers** *left*

- *This* **touron** *made me late for the ferry by riding his bike down the middle of the street* (Used by younger speakers)

- *That* **dingbatter** *got his car stuck on the beach because he didn't have four-wheel drive* (Used by older speakers)

> **Teaching tip:**
>
> The term *dingbatter* 'derives from the television show, "All in the Family," in which Archie Bunker often referred to his wife Edith as a "dingbat".

Day 3

Select Pronunciation Features

Long *i*

    How might the word *time* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

    How might the word *tide* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

    Think of another word that fits this pattern: _____

h-sound before *it* and *ain't*

    These words might be pronounced as _____ and _____

final *t* after *s*

    How might the word *once* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

    How might the word *twice* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

final *er* for *ow*

    How might the word *fellow* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

    How might the word *window* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

    Think of two more words that fit this pattern: _____

                         _____

ar for *ire*

    How might the word *fire* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

    How might the word *tire* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

    Think of another word that fits this pattern: _____

Other notes on Outer Banks English:

Select Pronunciation Features

Below are a number of prominent pronunciation and grammatical features found on Ocracoke. Keep in mind that not every speaker will have all of these features of Outer Banker speech. Also, some of these features may be found in other Southern dialects. It is not the features themselves but the combinations of them that set Outer Banks English apart from other North Carolina dialects.

- Long *i* of *tide* and *time*

  toim 'time'

  toid 'tide'

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: The pronunciation of the vowel "eye" as "oi" is perhaps the most noticeable feature of the Outer Banks region of North Carolina. This pronunciation is so prevalent that some people refer to the people who live on the Outer Banks as "*Hoi Toiders*." Many people may not realize that this pronunciation extended inland through a large portion of the Coastal Plain. It is still found to a lesser extent in the speech of some people who live along the rural coast of mainland North Carolina.

- *h* in *it* and *ain't*

  hit 'it'

  hain't 'ain't'

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: This feature reflects a preservation of an older widespread pronunciation of the words *it* and *ain't*. The pronunciation was common in English during the period that the United States was settled. In the intervening centuries, this once-standard pronunciation has been lost by most speakers of English, being preserved by speakers on the Outer Banks and in the Appalachian Mountains. Unlike other linguistic features, this feature does not affect all words that begin with a vowel. Instead, it is limited to these two cases, both having historical roots.

- final *t* after *s*

  oncet 'once'

  twicet 'twice'

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: This feature, like the pronunciation of *h* at the beginning of *it* and *ain't* is reflective of the speech found in England several hundred years ago. This pronunciation was the standard pronunciation with numerals (*oncet, twicet*) and has spread to other words such as *cliff* ("clift") or *across* ("acrosst").

Select Pronunciation Features

Long *i*

    How might the word *time* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

    How might the word *tide* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

    Think of another word that fits this pattern: _____

h-sound before *it* and *ain't*

    These words might be pronounced as _____ and _____

final *t* after *s*

    How might the word *once* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

    How might the word *twice* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

final *er* for *ow*

    How might the word *fellow* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

    How might the word *window* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

    Think of two more words that fit this pattern: _____

                                             _____

ar for *ire*

    How might the word *fire* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

    How might the word *tire* be pronounced in this dialect? _____

    Think of another word that fits this pattern: _____

Other notes on Outer Banks English:

- final *er* for *ow*

        feller 'fellow'

        winder 'window'

Background information: This feature, common in many Southern dialects, can affect all words that end with an unstressed *o*-sound including *yellow, potato, tomato, mosquito, window, elbow, burrito*, etc. These would be pronounced with an *r*-sound instead of the *o*-sound, or as *yeller, potater* (or simply *tater*), *tomater* (or simply *mater*), *mosquiter* (or simply *skeeter*), *winder, elber,* and *burriter*. It does not work when the *o*-sound is stressed, as in *throw, go,* or *bestow*. Thus, there is a rule that governs when this feature can operate and when it cannot.

- *ar* for *ire*

        far 'fire'

        tar 'tire'

Background Information: This feature is known by linguists as *–ire/-our* collapse. It can be heard in many rural Southern dialects, and is the most common pronunciation in the Mountains and along the Outer Banks. This feature can affect any word that ends with a pronunciation (not spelling) similar to *–ire* or *–our*, including *fire, briar, buyer, liar, mire, higher, flour, hour,* etc. The process is called "collapse" because what is typically a two-syllable sequence is pronounced as a single syllable. When this happens, we say that the two syllables have collapsed into a single syllable. After students understand the pattern, ask them how a speaker of these dialects may say some of the words listed (*far, brar, bar, lar, mar, har, flahr, ahr,* etc.).

Select Grammatical Features

Weren't use

 This dialect often uses "weren't" where other dialects use "wasn't," as in, "It weren't me that was in the gym." This change takes an irregular pattern and makes is regular. Linguists call this pattern _____

Plural absence on some nouns

 Jot down an example of a sentence that demonstrates this pattern:

a-prefixing

 List the three rules you learned for when you can and cannot use an *a*-prefix with an *-ing* word:

 1.

 2.

 3.

Double helping verbs

 This occurs with the verbs: *might, could, should, would, may, can, shall, ought to,* and *used to.* These verbs are called _____

"Double" negatives

 Some people think that double negatives are "illogical" or mean the opposite of what you intend, but such usages are not illogical. In fact, many languages require the use of "double" negatives, as you can see in the examples from French below.

 French: *je* **ne** *suis* **pas** *stupide*   English: "I **not** am not **stupid**"

 French: *je* **n***'ai* **rien**   English: "I **don't** have **nothing**."

 Can you pick out the negative markers in the Spanish sentence: "No tengo nada."

 True or false: Shakespeare used double negatives.

Other notes on Outer Banks English:

Select Grammatical Features

- *weren't* use

  > It *weren't* me that was in the gym

  > She *weren't* taking the class

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: This feature is a result of an irregular pattern being made regular. Linguists refer to this as *regularization (*or *leveling*). Regularization is a very natural process that may take place whenever there is an irregularity in a particular pattern. Since the conjugated forms of the verb *to be* are irregular in English (i.e., most verbs have one past tense form, as in *jumped* or *climbed,* whereas *to be* has two forms: *was* and *were*), there is a natural tendency to favor regularization of this difference. Dialects may use *was* for all past tense forms *I was, you was, he was*, etc. In some dialects in North Carolina, affirmative past tense forms of *to be* are often regularized to *was* but negative past tense forms are often regularized to *weren't* (as in *I was, you was, he was, we was* and *I weren't, you weren't, he weren't, we weren't*). More detail on this pattern can be found in the exercise below.

- plural absence on some nouns

  > We caught two hundred *pound_* of flounder

  > It's about four *mile_* up the road

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: This pattern, which we'll examine in more detail shortly, is common throughout the rural Southeastern United States. The plural *–s* pattern has two conditions, both of which must be met if the *–s* may be dropped. First, plural *–s* may only be dropped from weight and measure nouns (e.g., *pound*, *mile*, *acre*, etc.). Second, plural *–s* may only be dropped if there is a quantifying word or a number (*two hundred*, *four*, etc.). Therefore, it would not be appropriate to say "We caught pound_ of flounder" meaning we caught more than one pound of flounder, since it lacks the quantifier. Similarly, it would not be appropriate to say "We caught three rat_", because *rat* is not a measure noun. This feature is attributable to the Scot-Irish influence of the area. More detail on this pattern can be found in the exercise below.

- *a-* prefixing

  > The sun is *a-shining* today

  > He kept *a-looking* for the rain

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: This feature, called "*a*-prefixing" is most commonly identified with the speech of the Appalachian Mountains, although it is also found along the Outer Banks of North Carolina. It is a preservation of a linguistic form found in earlier English, which required the use of a preposition *on* or *at* before certain verbs. Over time, a sentence such as *we were on hunting* or *we were at hunting* became simply *we were a-hunting*. There are specific rules that determine when a speaker can and cannot use the *a*-prefixing feature. This pattern was examined in the Patterns of Dialects section above.

> **Teaching tip:**
>
> Ask students to recall the three rules for *a*-prefixing. They are: 1. verb; 2. no preposition, 3. stress on the first syllable.

Select Grammatical Features

Weren't use

This dialect often uses "weren't" where other dialects use "wasn't," as in, "It weren't me that was in the gym." This change takes an irregular pattern and makes is regular. Linguists call this pattern _____

Plural absence on some nouns

Jot down an example of a sentence that demonstrates this pattern:

a-prefixing

List the three rules you learned for when you can and cannot use an *a*-prefix with an *-ing* word:

1.

2.

3.

Double helping verbs

This occurs with the verbs: *might, could, should, would, may, can, shall, ought to,* and *used to.* These verbs are called _____

"Double" negatives

Some people think that double negatives are "illogical" or mean the opposite of what you intend, but such usages are not illogical. In fact, many languages require the use of "double" negatives, as you can see in the examples from French below.

French: *je* **ne** *suis* **pas** *stupide*   English: "I **not** am not **stupid**"

French: *je* **n'***ai* **rien**   English: "I **don't** have **nothing**."

Can you pick out the negative markers in the Spanish sentence: "No tengo nada."

True or false: Shakespeare used double negatives.

Other notes on Outer Banks English:

- double helping verbs

  Kenny *might could* come to school

  Candy *useta could* do it

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: Combinations of two helping, modal verbs (*might, could, should, may, can, shall, ought to (oughta), used to (useta)*) are common throughout the South and not highly stigmatized. These combinations are often used to capture certain sentiments associated with things such as politeness, permission, certainty, obligation, possibility, etc. They tend to mitigate conditions, so, "I might could mow the lawn" is a little less committed than "I might mow the lawn" or "I could mow the lawn" by themselves.

- "double" negatives

  She *didn't* get *nothing*

  I *ain't* going *nowhere*

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: This pattern is often stigmatized and labeled "illogical." It is often said that logically, two negatives make a positive (or affirmative). However, this logical/mathematical application is not appropriate for language. No one would understand a phrase such as "I ain't going no where" to mean "I am going somewhere." In fact, many other languages have rules that *require* the use of "double" negatives. French, for example, requires both *ne* and *pas* (or a negative particle equivalent to English *nothing, no one, never, no where,* etc.) to create a negative, as in *je* **ne** *suis* **pas** *stupide* or *je* **n***'ai* **rien***,* which translated literally would be "I not am not stupid" and "I don't have nothing." Spanish has a similar pattern of "double negatives" which involves the use of two negative markers, thus the translation of "I have nothing" in Spanish would be **No** *tengo* **nada**. English used to favor this pattern as well, and double or triple negatives can be found in Chaucer and Shakespeare.

Additional Information:

These are only a few of the pronunciation and grammatical features that are found in Outer Banks English. Some of these, such as the pronunciation of long *i* of *tide* and *time* as *oi,* s in *toid* and *toim,* are more noticeable and more unique to the Outer Banks than other features, which are either less noticeable or found in other dialects as well. As we will see in other sections, there are more similarities between related dialects at the grammatical level than at the pronunciation level. The vocabulary level tends to show the least similarities as dialects tend to develop specialized terms for the local culture and geography. Another way of thinking about this: Words are more likely to change than are pronunciations, and grammatical features tend to be the most stable and are thus preserved over time. As students watch vignettes about the Outer Banks and other locations, have them think about how the words reflect the land and life of the people they are viewing.

Video Exercise 3: Outer Banks English

You will see a clip about the people and speech on the Outer Banks of North Carolina. As you watch this clip, think about responses to the following questions.

1. What factors have led to the Outer Banks having such a unique dialect?

2. Outer Bankers mention that they have had their dialect mistaken for English, Irish, and Australian. Has anyone ever thought that you were from somewhere that you're not because of your speech? Do you think that your speech gives away where you're from? Why or why not?

3. One of the people in the video describes how, without noticing, he changed the way he spoke while he was away from the Outer Banks in college. What situations can you think of where your speech changes? Are you aware that it changes or does it just happen naturally?

Video Exercise 4: Ocracoke Brogue

You will see another clip about the vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammatical differences found in on the island of Ocracoke in the Outer Banks. Since Ocracoke is not accessible by road, it has remained a little more isolated than other areas of the Outer Banks. Because of this, the Ocracoke dialect has preserved more of the features that used to be heard all along the Outer Banks. This makes it an interesting case study in which to examine dialect features. Although the words and features in this clip are being described by Ocracokers, many older people along the Outer Banks would likely be familiar with them as well. As you watch this clip, think about responses to the following questions.

1. What grammatical differences did you hear in the speech of these Outer Bankers?

2. What pronunciation differences did you hear in the speech of these Outer Bankers?

3. What vocabulary items did you hear that you were not familiar with? What did the terms mean?

4. Where do linguists think the term "meehonkey" comes from? What might this suggest about the island of Ocracoke?

Video Exercise 3: Outer Banks Speech
(*Approximate time: 15-20 minutes*)
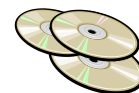
You will see a vignette about the people and speech on the Outer Banks of North Carolina (**Chapter 21** of the **Resource DVD**, time = 6:59). As students watch this vignette, have them think about responses to the following questions. Have students write answers to the questions in their **Student Workbooks** on page 18, and/or discuss them as a class.

1. What factors have led to the Outer Banks having such a unique dialect?

The dialect is a product of the settlement of mostly British speakers who spoke a distinctive dialect. This dialect on the Outer Banks has changed less rapidly than other areas because the islands have been relatively isolated.

2. Outer Bankers mention that they have had their dialect mistaken for English, Irish, and Australian. Has anyone ever thought that you were from somewhere that you're not because of your speech? Do you think that your speech gives away where you're from? Why or why not?

This question has no right answer. It might be worth discussing whether or not your students think they sound "Southern" or not. It is likely that you will have a mix of native and non-native Southerners and this can lead to a good discussion. Consider asking the non-native Southerners if anyone has ever told them they sound Southern. It is not uncommon for a non-native Southerner to utter a word such as, "y'all" when talking to a friend or relative outside the South and for this to be enough for the other person to comment on the speaker's new-found Southernness.

3. One of the people in the video describes how, without noticing, he changed the way he spoke while he was away from the Outer Banks in college. What situations can you think of where your speech changes? Are you aware that it changes or does it just happen naturally?

This is an opinion question; however, everyone does shift his or her speech at times.

Day 3

ANSWER KEY

Video Exercise 3: Outer Banks English

You will see a clip about the people and speech on the Outer Banks of North Carolina. As you watch this clip, think about responses to the following questions.

1. What factors have led to the Outer Banks having such a unique dialect?

2. Outer Bankers mention that they have had their dialect mistaken for English, Irish, and Australian. Has anyone ever thought that you were from somewhere that you're not because of your speech? Do you think that your speech gives away where you're from? Why or why not?

3. One of the people in the video describes how, without noticing, he changed the way he spoke while he was away from the Outer Banks in college. What situations can you think of where your speech changes? Are you aware that it changes or does it just happen naturally?

Video Exercise 4: Ocracoke Brogue

You will see another clip about the vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammatical differences found in on the island of Ocracoke in the Outer Banks. Since Ocracoke is not accessible by road, it has remained a little more isolated than other areas of the Outer Banks. Because of this, the Ocracoke dialect has preserved more of the features that used to be heard all along the Outer Banks. This makes it an interesting case study in which to examine dialect features. Although the words and features in this clip are being described by Ocracokers, many older people along the Outer Banks would likely be familiar with them as well. As you watch this clip, think about responses to the following questions.

1. What grammatical differences did you hear in the speech of these Outer Bankers?

2. What pronunciation differences did you hear in the speech of these Outer Bankers?

3. What vocabulary items did you hear that you were not familiar with? What did the terms mean?

4. Where do linguists think the term "meehonkey" comes from? What might this suggest about the island of Ocracoke?

Video Exercise 4: Ocracoke Brogue
(Approximate time: 15-20 minutes)
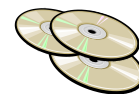
You will see a vignette about the vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammatical differences found on the island of Ocracoke in the Outer Banks (**Chapter 22** of the **Resource DVD**, time = 7:25). Since Ocracoke is not accessible by road, it has remained a little more isolated than other areas of the Outer Banks. Because of this, the Ocracoke dialect has preserved more of the features that used to be heard all along the Outer Banks. This makes it an interesting case study of dialect features. Although the words and features in this vignette are being described by Ocracokers, many older people along the Outer Banks would likely be familiar with them as well. As students watch this vignette, have them think about responses to the following questions. Have students write answers to the questions in their **Student Workbooks** on page 18, and/or discuss them as a class.

1. **What grammatical differences did you hear in the speech of these Outer Bankers?**

   weren't instead of *wasn't:* "It weren't me and it weren't Linda"

   to instead of *at*: "Down to Jack's dock"

2. **What pronunciation differences did you hear in the speech of these Outer Bankers?**

   -ire collapse, *fire* → *far*

   long *i* → *oi*, as in *hoi toid* for high tide

   fish pronounced as *feesh*

3. **What vocabulary items did you hear that you were not familiar with? What did the terms mean?**

   quamish – sick feeling in the stomach

   call the mail over – to deliver mail

   meehonkey – a game like hide and seek or Marco Polo

   mommuck – to mess with or harass

   dingbatter – an outsider or tourist

4. **Where do linguists think the term "meehonkey" comes from? What might this suggest about the island of Ocracoke?**

   The sound of a goose. As we will see later, dialects often create new words from and to describe the physical environment around its speakers. In this case, the word (probably) reflects the fact that there are many waterfowl in the island environment

Worksheet 8: Understanding Linguistic Patterns: Plural –*s* Absence on Nouns

In English, we form a regular plural by adding an -*s* sound to nouns, so that we say *one dog* but *two dogs* or *a cat* but *two cats*. In Outer Banks English, there is a set of words that do not require an –*s* sound to make them plural. As you did in previous exercises, you can uncover the pattern that determines when a word needs an –*s* to make it plural and when it does not. **LIST A** gives sentences what have nouns that require the addition of the –*s* to nouns to be plural. **LIST B** contains nouns that do not need the plural -*s*.

LIST A: Nouns that Require -*s* to be Plural

1. We caught two hundred **cats**
2. How many **dogs** does he have?
3. There are two **bucks** sitting in the back yard
4. They have lots of **ponies** down below
5. They have three **sisters**
6. It's about six **teachers**

LIST B: Nouns that Do Not Require -*s* to be Plural

1. We caught two hundred **pound_** of flounder
2. How many **bushel_** does he have?
3. There are two **pint_** sitting in the back yard
4. There are lots of **gallon_** of water
5. They have three **acre_** for building
6. It's about six **mile_** up the road

RULE 1:
Examine the lists to determine what properties the nouns in **LIST B** share. How are the nouns in **LIST A** different?

Write a rule that explains the first part of this dialect pattern:

LIST C has the same nouns that were in **LIST B** but they are given in sentences that require the plural –*s*. Compare these sentences to those in **LIST B.**

LIST C: Sentences with Nouns that Require -*s* to be Plural

1. We had **pounds** of flounder that spoiled
2. Sometimes people use **bushels** instead of **pounds**
3. The **pints** of ice cream are in the freezer
4. We had **gallons** of water in the skiff
5. The best **acres** are owned by the government
6. The beautiful beach goes for **miles**

Worksheet 8:
Understanding Linguistic Patterns: Plural –s Absence on Nouns
(Approximate time: 15 minutes)

In English, we form a regular plural by adding an *-s* sound to nouns, so that we say *one dog* but *two dogs* or *a cat* but *two cats*. In Outer Banks English, there is a set of words that do not require an *–s* sound to make them plural. As in previous exercises, students can uncover the pattern that determines when a word needs an *–s* to make it plural and when it does not. Found on pages 19-20 of the **Student Workbook**, **LIST A** gives sentences that have nouns requiring the addition of the *–s* to nouns to be plural. **LIST B** contains words that do not need the plural *-s*.

Ask students to examine the lists to determine what properties the nouns in **LIST B** share. How are the nouns in **LIST A** different?

LIST A: Nouns that Require *-s* to be Plural

1. We caught two hundred **cats**

2. How many **dogs** does he have?

3. There are two **bucks** sitting in the back yard

4. They have lots of **ponies** down below

5. They have three **sisters**

6. It's about six **teachers**

LIST B: Nouns that Do Not Require *-s* to be Plural

1. We caught two hundred **pound_** of flounder

2. How many **bushel_** does he have?

3. There are two **pint_** sitting in the back yard

4. There are lots of **gallon_** of water

5. They have three **acre_** for building

6. It's about six **mile_** up the road

> **Teaching tip:**
>
> If students are growing weary of linguistic patterns, one suggestion would be to have the class break into two groups. Then have each group examine one of the following patterns and teach the other group its pattern.

> **Teaching tip:**
>
> You may have to read just the nouns to the class, i.e., "cats, dogs, bucks, ponies, sisters, teachers," and ask "how are these different from ".pound, bushel, pint, gallon, acre, and mile?"

ANSWER

ANSWER: All the nouns in **LIST A** are common nouns whereas the nouns in **LIST B** are all weight or measure nouns.

The pattern is slightly more complex than this, however. In **LIST C** the same nouns that were in **LIST B** are given in sentences that require the plural *–s*. Ask students to compare the sentences in **LIST B** with those in **LIST C**.

LIST C: Sentences with Nouns that Require *-s* to be Plural

1. We had **pounds** of flounder that spoiled

2. Sometimes people use **bushels** instead of **pounds**

3. The **pints** of ice cream are in the freezer

4. We had **gallons** of water in the skiff

5. The best **acres** are owned by the government

6. The beautiful beach goes for **miles**

Rule 2:
What is different about the use of the weight/measure nouns in **LIST C** versus **LIST B**?

What would these sentences be like without the plural –*s*? Would they be confusing? Are the sentences in **LIST B** confusing?

Write a rule that explains this part of the dialect pattern.

Use your two rules to predict which of the nouns in **LIST D** may or may not have the –*s*. If you have stated the rule for plural -*s* correctly, you should be able to do this without guessing. Write **Y** for **Yes** if the –*s* can be dropped or **N** for **No** if it cannot be dropped.

LIST D: Predicting Plural –*s* Absence
1. _____ She had three pound__ of fish left
2. _____ She had pound__ of fish left
3. _____ It's forty inch__ to the top
4. _____ It's inch__ to the top
5. _____ There are rat__ in the yard
6. _____ There are six rat__ in that yard

Ask students, "What is different about the use of the weight/measure nouns in **LIST C** versus **LIST B**?" Ask students what these sentences would be like if there was no plural *–s*. Would it be confusing? Are the sentences in **LIST B** confusing? What's the difference?

ANSWER: In **LIST C**, all the measure nouns have a quatifier (e.g., *two, many,* etc.

The weight and measure nouns must be accompanied by a quantifying word (a word that indicates specific or general quantity) that indicates the plurality. Both these criteria – that the word must be a weight/measure noun AND it must be preceded by a quantifier – must be met in order for the *–s* to be left off. Have students write out the pattern in their student workbook, then use this pattern to predict whether or not a speaker on the Outer Banks may or may not drop the *–s* from the nouns in the sentences in **LIST D**.

Have students predict which of the nouns in **LIST D** may or may not have the *-s* and say why. If you have stated the rule for plural *-s* correctly, you should be able to do this without guessing. Write **Y** for "YES" if the *–s* can be dropped or **N** for "NO" if it cannot be dropped.

LIST D: Predicting Plural *–s* Absence

1.   __Y__   She had three pound__ of fish left
2.   __N__   She had pound__ of fish left   [**No quantifier**]
3.   __Y__   It's forty inch__ to the top
4.   __N__   It's inch__ to the top   [**No quantifier**]
5.   __N__   There are rat__ in the yard   [**No quantifier and not a measure noun**]
6.   __N__   There are six rat__ in that yard   [**Not a measure noun**]

Worksheet 9: Understanding Linguistic Patterns: *Was* and *Weren't* Regularization

One of the unique forms found on the Outer Banks relates to a special use of *was* and *weren't*. In Standard English, we switch between *was* and *were* in affirmative sentences and *wasn't* and *weren't* in negative sentences. We may not think about it, but this switching between forms is quite irregular when compared to other verbs in English. Be is the only English verb that changes its form in the past tense according to the person and number of the subject.

Standard English conjugation of affirmative past tense *to be* (irregular pattern)

I	_____	we	_____
you	_____	you	_____
he/she/it	_____	they	_____

Standard English conjugation of affirmative past tense *to miss* (regular pattern)

I	_____	we	_____
you	_____	you	_____
he/she/it	_____	they	_____

On the Outer Banks, and in fact, in many dialects of English around the world, speakers will use only one form for the past tense of be to make it more like all the other verbs of English they know. Because this process makes an irregular pattern regular, linguistics sometimes call it regularization or leveling. In some dialects, speakers will conjugate the past tense of be in the following way:

Outer Banks conjugation of affirmative past tense *to be* (regularized or leveled pattern)

I *was*	we *was*
you *was*	you *was*
he/she/it *was*	they *was*

Many older speakers on the Outer Banks of North Carolina have this pattern of regularization or leveling and conjugate the past tense of to be always as was, as is indicated in the figure above.

How might an Outer Banks speaker say the following?

1. You **were** going to the dock

2. I **was** here last night

3. They **were** at the beach this morning

4. We **were** fishing and caught thirty pounds of flounder

5. She **was** sick last week

Worksheet 9:
Understanding Linguistic Patterns: *Was* and *Weren't* Regularization
(Approximate time: 25 minutes)

One of the unique forms found on the Outer Banks relates to a special use of *was* and *weren't*. In Standard English, we switch between *was* and *were* in affirmative sentences and *wasn't* and *weren't* in negative sentences. *Was* is used for singular subjects other than second person singular *you*, and *were* is used for plurals subjects and second person singular *you*. We may not think about it, but this switching between forms is quite irregular when compared to other verbs in English. *Be* is the only English verb that changes its form in the past tense according to the person and number of the subject. Point out to students this irregularity by contrasting the conjugation of the past tense of *to be* and *to miss*. The exercise can be found on pages 21 - 23 of the **Student Workbook**, and the boxes below are reproduced in Appendix O in a form that can be copied onto an overhead.

Standard English conjugation of affirmative past tense *to be* (irregular pattern)

I **was**	we **were**
you **were**	you **were**
he/she/it **was**	they **were**

Standard English conjugation of affirmative past tense *to miss* (regular pattern)

I **missed**	we **missed**
you **missed**	you **missed**
he/she/it **missed**	they **missed**

On the Outer Banks, and in fact in many dialects of English around the world, speakers will use only one form for the past tense of *be* to make it more like all the other verbs of English. Because this process makes an irregular pattern regular, linguists sometimes call it *regularization* or *leveling*. In some dialects, speakers will conjugate the past tense of *be* in the following (completely regular) way:

Outer Banks conjugation of affirmative past tense *to be* (regularized or leveled pattern)

I **was**	we **was**
you **was**	you **was**
he/she/it **was**	they **was**

Many older speakers on the Outer Banks of North Carolina have this pattern of regularization or leveling and conjugate the past tense of *to be* always as *was*, as is indicated in the figure above.

Worksheet 9: Understanding Linguistic Patterns: *Was* and *Weren't* Regularization

One of the unique forms found on the Outer Banks relates to a special use of *was* and *weren't*. In Standard English, we switch between *was* and *were* in affirmative sentences and *wasn't* and *weren't* in negative sentences. We may not think about it, but this switching between forms is quite irregular when compared to other verbs in English. Be is the only English verb that changes its form in the past tense according to the person and number of the subject.

Standard English conjugation of affirmative past tense *to be* (irregular pattern)

I	_____	we	_____
you	_____	you	_____
he/she/it	_____	they	_____

Standard English conjugation of affirmative past tense *to miss* (regular pattern)

I	_____	we	_____
you	_____	you	_____
he/she/it	_____	they	_____

On the Outer Banks, and in fact, in many dialects of English around the world, speakers will use only one form for the past tense of be to make it more like all the other verbs of English they know. Because this process makes an irregular pattern regular, linguistics sometimes call it regularization or leveling. In some dialects, speakers will conjugate the past tense of be in the following way:

Outer Banks conjugation of affirmative past tense *to be* (regularized or leveled pattern)

I *was*	we *was*
you *was*	you *was*
he/she/it *was*	they *was*

Many older speakers on the Outer Banks of North Carolina have this pattern of regularization or leveling and conjugate the past tense of to be always as was, as is indicated in the figure above.

How might an Outer Banks speaker say the following?

1. You **were** going to the dock

2. I **was** here last night

3. They **were** at the beach this morning

4. We **were** fishing and caught thirty pounds of flounder

5. She **was** sick last week

Ask students to say how an older Outer Banks speaker might say the following, found at the bottom of page 21 in the Student Workbook:

1. You **were** going to the dock

2. I **was** here last night

3. They **were** at the beach this morning

4. We **were** fishing and caught thirty pounds of flounder

5. She **was** sick last week

ANSWER KEY

1. You **was** going to the dock

2. I was here last night [**no change**]

3. They **was** at the beach this morning

4. We **was** fishing and caught thirty pounds of flounder (a very astute student might point out that this sentence could be uttered as "we **was a-fishin'** and caught thirty **pound_** of flounder")

5. She was sick last week [**no change**]

Outer Banks speakers have a different pattern of regularization in negative sentences. In this pattern, *weren't* is used wherever *wasn't* and *weren't* would be used in Standard English. This pattern is summarized below.

Standard English conjugation of negative past tense *to be* (irregular pattern)	
I *wasn't*	we *weren't*
you *weren't*	you *weren't*
he/she/it *wasn't*	they *weren't*

Outer Banks conjugation of negative past tense *to be* (regularized or leveled pattern)	
I *weren't*	they *weren't*
you *weren't*	you *weren't*
he/she/it *weren't*	they *weren't*

How might an Outer Banks speaker say the following?

1. You **weren't** going to the dock

2. I **wasn't** here last night

3. They **weren't** at the beach this morning

4. We **weren't** fishing

5. She **wasn't** sick last week

Write a set of rules that describe when an Outer Banks speaker uses *was* and *weren't*.

Rule for *was*	
Rule for *weren't*	

Outer Banks speakers have a different pattern of regularization in negative sentences, however. In sentences where the verb is combined with *not* (as in Standard English *wasn't* and *weren't*), the preferred conjugation is *weren't*. Compare the Standard English and Outer Banks English conjugations of negative past tense *to be*, which are summarized in the figures below. This pattern is also found in the Southern and Midlands parts of England where many people on the Outer Banks can trace their ancestry.

Standard English conjugation of negative past tense *to be* (irregular pattern)

I wasn't	we weren't
you weren't	you weren't
he/she/it wasn't	they weren't

Outer Banks conjugation of negative past tense *to be* (regularized or leveled pattern)

I weren't	we weren't
you weren't	you weren't
he/she/it weren't	they weren't

Ask students to say how an older Outer Banks speaker might say the following:

1. You **weren't** going to the dock
2. I **wasn't** here last night
3. They **weren't** at the beach this morning
4. We **weren't** fishing
5. She **wasn't** sick last week

1. You weren't going to the dock [**no change**]
2. I **weren't** here last night
3. They weren't at the beach this morning [**no change**]
4. We weren't fishing [**no change**]
5. She **weren't** sick last week

Ask students to write formal rules that describe when an Outer Banks speaker uses *was* and *weren't*.

Sample rules:

Rule for *was* - older Outer Banks speakers will use "was" for the past tense of the verb *be* whenever it is used in the affirmative or positive (that is, without "not")

Rule for *weren't* - older Outer Banks speakers will use "weren't" for the past tense of the verb *be* whenever it is used in the negative (that is, with "not")

Use your rules to change each of the sentences here from affirmative to negative, or negative to affirmative. That is, if the sentence is affirmative, make it negative and conjugate the verb accordingly. If the sentence is negative, make it affirmative and conjugate the verb accordingly.

Example Sentence #1: She **was** there yesterday

Change: She **weren't** there yesterday (from affirmative to negative)

Example Sentence #2: You **weren't** allowed to play

Change: You **was** allowed to play (from negative to affirmative)

1. Marilyn **wasn't** in school yesterday

2. The student **was** writing the answer

3. We **were** there yesterday

4. She **wasn't** on the bus this morning

5. **Was** he there yesterday?

6. I **was** there yesterday

7. You **weren't** going to eat lunch?

Have students use the rules for Outer Banks regularization to change each of the sentences on page 23 of their workbooks from affirmative (positive) to negative, or negative to affirmative (positive). That is, if the sentence is affirmative (positive), have students make it negative and conjugate the verb accordingly. If the sentence is negative, have students make is affirmative (positive) and conjugate the verb accordingly.

Example Sentence #1:   She **was** there yesterday

Change: She **weren't** there yesterday (from affirmative to negative)

Example Sentence #2:   You **weren't** allowed to play

Change: You **was** allowed to play (from negative to affirmative)

1. Marilyn **wasn't** in school yesterday [Marilyn **was** in school yesterday]
2. The student **was** writing the answer [The student **weren't** writing the answer]
3. We **were** there yesterday [We **weren't** there yesterday]
4. She **wasn't** on the bus this morning [She **was** on the bus this morning]
5. **Was** he there yesterday? [**Weren't** he there yesterday?]
6. I **was** there yesterday [I **weren't** there yesterday]
7. You **weren't** going to eat lunch? [You **was** going to eat lunch]

ANSWER KEY

Worksheet 10: Dialects of North Carolina: Appalachian English

1. The Appalachian region in North Carolina was settled mostly by _____ immigrants who left the US city of _____ and traveled along the _____, which ran along the Appalachian Mountain range.

2. Other groups leaving _____ arrived by boat along the Outer Banks, which is why there are some dialect vocabulary, pronunciations, and grammatical patterns that are shared by Appalachian English and Outer Banks English.

3. What are some dialect vocabulary words that are found in both Outer Banks English and in Appalachian English?

4. What are some dialect pronunciations that are found in both Outer Banks English and in Appalachian English?

5. What are some grammatical patterns that are found in both Outer Banks English and in Appalachian English?

Other notes:

Dialects of North Carolina: Appalachian English

Worksheet 10: Notes on Appalachian History, Culture, and Language

A note-taking outline on the information below, plus comprehension questions for students can be found on page 24 of the **Student Workbook**.

Introduction and History

(1) <u>This region was settled mostly by Scots-Irish immigrants who landed in Philadelphia and moved across Pennsylvania and down the Great Wagon Trail through the Appalachian Mountain range into the western part of North Carolina</u> (a detailed settlement history map can be found on Chapter 38 of the Resource DVD). (2) <u>As mentioned previously, other Scots-Irish settlers also left Philadelphia for the Outer Banks of North Carolina,</u> which is why Appalachian English and Outer Banks English have similarities that are not found in the central portions of the state. The distinct influences from Northern England, Southwest England, and Northern Ireland can still be heard in Ocracoke and the Appalachian Mountains. Both communities have preserved many of these features by avoiding extensive contact with other dialects. Thus, the histories of the two communities are lined by migration and subsequent isolation.

Language

As mentioned previously, dialect vocabulary is expected to be the most variable across different communities, whereas grammatical features tend to be more similar. In Appalachia, speakers of Appalachian English were isolated from other dialects in the same way that the Pamlico Sound kept the Ocracoke Brogue relatively isolated from other dialects. But while there are many similarities, Appalachian English and the Ocracoke Brogue have both changed independently of each other over time so that now we think of them as two distinct dialects.

For example, in the table below, look at a how a few dialect features on each dialect level compare with other dialects. A check (✓) means that the dialect includes the feature. The list also includes Lumbee English, which we will discuss in the next section. The dialects are arranged in geographical order from east to west

Vocabulary Item	Outer Banks English	Lumbee English	Piedmont English	Appalachian English
meehonkey, ' hide and seek'	✓			
slick cam, 'smooth water'	✓			
jimmy, 'mature male crab'	✓			
token/toten, 'omen, ghost'	✓	✓		
mommuck, 'harass'	✓			
mommuck, 'mess up'		✓		✓
ellick, 'coffee with sugar'		✓		
juvember, 'slingshot'		✓		
on the swamp, 'neighborhood'		✓		
gaum, 'mess'		✓		✓
boomer, 'red squirrel'				✓
siggoglin', 'crooked'				✓
fixin' to, 'intend, plan'	✓	✓		✓

Worksheet 10: Dialects of North Carolina: Appalachian English

1. The Appalachian region in North Carolina was settled mostly by _____ immigrants who left the US city of _____ and traveled along the _____, which ran along the Appalachian Mountain range.

2. Other groups leaving _____ arrived by boat along the Outer Banks, which is why there are some dialect vocabulary, pronunciations, and grammatical patterns that are shared by Appalachian English and Outer Banks English.

3. What are some dialect vocabulary words that are found in both Outer Banks English and in Appalachian English?

4. What are some dialect pronunciations that are found in both Outer Banks English and in Appalachian English?

5. What are some grammatical patterns that are found in both Outer Banks English and in Appalachian English?

Other notes:

As you can see, each dialect has its own unique set of vocabulary items. At the same time, all these language varieties are dialects of English and therefore share the vast majority of their vocabulary. It is interesting to note that the words that differ between the dialects typically reflect the culture or the land where they can be heard. Words describing the conditions of the sea, beach, or wildlife of the area are important to people living on the Outer Banks, whereas words that describe the terrain, travel, or mountain wildlife are found in the Appalachian dialect. Additionally, certain words are used differently in different places. The term "mommuck", for instance, means 'to harass' along the Outer Banks but means "to mess up" further inland and in the Mountains. Both of these meanings derive from the meaning, "to tear" as it was used by Shakespeare:

> I saw him run after a gilded
>
> Butterfly, and when he caught it, he let it go again, and
>
> After it again, and over and over he comes, and up
>
> Again; catched it again; or whether his fall enraged him,
>
> Or how 'twas, he did so set his teeth and tear it! O, I
>
> I warrant, how he **mammocked** it!
> > (*Coriolanus*, I.iii.57-62)

Pronunciation Feature	Outer Banks English	Lumbee English	Piedmont English	Appalachian English
oi for long *i* in *tide* 'hoi toid'	✓	✓		
ah for long *i* in *tide* or *time* 'tahd' or 'tahm'		✓	✓	✓
h in *it* and *ain't* 'hit' or 'hain't'	✓	✓		✓
t after *s* 'oncet' or 'twicet'	✓	✓		✓
final *ow* → *r* 'feller' or 'yeller'	✓	✓	✓	✓
ar for *ire* *tire* → 'tar' or *fire* → 'far'	✓	✓	✓	✓

Unlike the dialect vocabulary, there are a number of pronunciations that are shared among these dialects. However, as can be seen by looking at the row containing *hit* and *hain't*, there are slightly more similarities between the Outer Banks dialect and the Appalachian dialect than between either dialect, and the North Carolina Piedmont found in between. Other pronunciations, such as the collapse of –*ire* into –*ar* or the changing of word-final –*ow* to –*er* can be heard in all these areas and can be thought of as general Southern pronunciations, along with the *pin/pen* merger discussed previously.

Worksheet 10: Dialects of North Carolina: Appalachian English

1. The Appalachian region in North Carolina was settled mostly by _____ immigrants who left the US city of _____ and traveled along the _____, which ran along the Appalachian Mountain range.

2. Other groups leaving _____ arrived by boat along the Outer Banks, which is why there are some dialect vocabulary, pronunciations, and grammatical patterns that are shared by Appalachian English and Outer Banks English.

3. What are some dialect vocabulary words that are found in both Outer Banks English and in Appalachian English?

4. What are some dialect pronunciations that are found in both Outer Banks English and in Appalachian English?

5. What are some grammatical patterns that are found in both Outer Banks English and in Appalachian English?

Other notes:

Grammatical Structure	Outer Banks English	Lumbee English	Piedmont English	Appalachian English
weren't use 'it *weren't* me that did it'	✓	✓		
-s absence on measure nouns 'we caught 25 *pound_* of bluefish'	✓	✓		✓
a-prefixing 'he kept *a-looking* at the water'	✓	✓		✓
double helping verbs (modals) 'Kenny *might could* take us fishing later'	✓	✓	✓	✓
double negative 'we did*n't* like *nothing*'	✓	✓	✓	✓
second person plural *y'all* 'will *y'all* help me move on Saturday?'	✓	✓	✓	
second person plural *you'ns* 'let us know when *you'ns* are back in town'				✓

As you can see, even though the English spoken in these three areas has some similarities, each is distinct. By examining these charts it becomes clear that dialect vocabulary tends to be the most specialized or localized aspect of dialects. Grammatical features, on the other hand, are the least likely to change over time. More information on Appalachian English can be found in the article in Appendix F.

Video Exercise 5: *Mountain Talk* Part I

 You will now see a clip from a video titled Mountain Talk, which features the speech and culture of people who live in the Appalachian Mountains. As you watch the video, pay attention to how the pronunciation and grammar is similar to or different from the speech of Outer Banks speakers. As you watch the video, answer the following questions.

1. What vocabulary features do Appalachian English speakers have that you have never heard before? What do they mean?

2. What pronunciation and grammar features do you hear that sound similar to those we've talked about for the Outer Banks?

   Grammar

   Pronunciation

3. What pronunciation and grammar features do you hear that sound different from those we've talked about for the Outer Banks?

   Grammar

   Pronunciation

Video Exercise 5: *Mountain Talk* Part I
(Approximate time: 20 minutes)
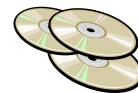
We will now watch a vignette from a video titled *Mountain Talk*, which features the speech and culture of people who live in the Appalachian Mountains. This is **Chapter 23** of the **Resource DVD** (time = 8:38). As students watch the video, ask them to pay particular attention to how the pronunciation and grammar is similar to or different from the speech of Outer Banks speakers. Have students complete the worksheet on page 25 of the **Student Workbook**, reprinted below with sample answers.

1. **What vocabulary features do Appalachian English speakers have that you have never heard before? What do they mean?**
   - *tote* "to carry"
   - *poke* "a bag, often a paper bag"
   - *sigogglin* (*sygogglin*) "crooked, not plumb"
   - *peckerwood* "someone you don't like"
   - *jasper* "someone you don't know"
   - *plumb* "all the way" or "very." Contrast this usage with mainstream usage of *plumb,* which means straight, as in '*the wall was plumb*"
   - *airish* "a little bit chilly, or windy"
   - *dope* "soda pop"
   - *boomer* "red squirrel"
   - *scald* "poor land that won't grow anything"
   - *gaum* "cluttered, a mess, or clogged"

2. **What pronunciation and grammar features do you hear that sound similar to those we've talked about for the Outer Banks?**
   Grammar
   - Double negative ("never nothing stops"; "wouldn't swap places with nobody")
   - *a*-prefix ("The wind was a-blowing"; "a-riding his Harley Davidson")
   - *is* regularization ("How good the people is")

   Pronunciation
   - "sodi" for *soda* ("you're talking about like a sodi pop, or a sodi water")
   - "Floridi" for *Florida*
   - "flahr" for *flour*

3. **What pronunciation and grammar features do you hear that sound different from those we've talked about for the Outer Banks?**
   Grammar
   - "we always called **it** boomers" (instead of "them")

   Pronunciation
   - "hep" for *help*
   - "yander" for *yonder*
   - No *hoi toid* pronunciation. Instead, it sounds more like "hah tahd" (listen for the word "life," which is pronounced like "lahf")
   - "sanging" for singing

ANSWER KEY

Video Exercise 6: *Mountain Talk* Part II

You will now see another segment from *Mountain Talk*. This clip shows how the area has changed over the past 50 years or so. As you watch this clip, think about responses to the following questions.

1. Do you think that Appalachian English is disappearing or just changing? What is the difference between a dialect changing and a dialect disappearing?

2. What, in your opinion, is causing this to happen?

3. What ways do you think these changes are similar to or different from the way language is changing on the Outer Banks?

4. Should an effort be made to preserve dialects? Why or why not?

5. What could be done to preserve the Appalachian English dialect and the Outer Banks Brogue?

Video Exercise 6: *Mountain Talk* Part II
(Approximate time: 20 minutes)
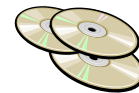
We will now watch another segment from *Mountain Talk* (**Chapter 24** of the **Resource DVD**, time = 9:16). This vignette focuses on the way that the area has changed over the past 50 years or so. As students watch this vignette, have them think about responses to the following questions. Have students either answer the questions on page 26 of their **Student Workbooks** and/or discuss them as a class.

1. **Do you think that Appalachian English is disappearing or just changing? What is the difference between a dialect changing and a dialect disappearing?**

   This is essentially an opinion question. The complication in differentiating between these two processes is that all language varieties (and dialects) are constantly evolving. There is no scientific measurement that determines when a dialect or language has changed enough to know that the previous dialect or language has disappeared. However, there is no debate that classical Latin, for example, has disappeared as a natively spoken language. It has been replaced by languages such as Spanish, French, and Italian.

2. **What, in your opinion, is causing this to happen?**

   According to the video, causes include television, radio, tourists, changes to the economy, and roads. Of these, roads are the biggest influence. It is a popular misconception that television has a leveling effect of the language. Language change happens when we converse with others. We may talk to the television but it is not likely to talk back to us.

3. **What ways do you think these changes are similar to or different from the way language is changing on the Outer Banks?**

   Both locations are being affected strongly by tourism and outsiders moving into the community.

4. **Should an effort be made to preserve dialects? Why or why not?**

   This is an opinion question. It might be worth discussion the notion that you can't force an individual or group to preserve a dialect. They have to want to preserve it.

5. **What could be done to preserve the Appalachian English dialect and the Outer Banks Brogue?**

   Videos such as the ones included in this curriculum are part of an effort to document and preserve traditional ways of speaking. Other efforts include books, CDs, museum exhibits, and oral history projects. Students may have other ideas about how to preserve dialects.

ANSWER KEY

Worksheet 11: Languages of North Carolina: Cherokee

Notes:

1. It is estimated that the Cherokees have lived in the southern Appalachian Mountains for over _____ years.

2. The Cherokee were an agrarian people. The crops they raised included:

3. Many of the Cherokee were forced to leave North Carolina for what is now Oklahoma in 1838. This forced removal is known as the _____, during which about a quarter of the Cherokee died.

4. Only about _____ Cherokee stayed in the Appalachian Mountain region of North Carolina. Luckily for these Cherokee, the mountainous regions where they lived were not desirable by the European settlers and they were left to live in isolated communities.

5. The first boarding school for the Cherokee was set up in _____. All of the teaching was done in English, and the children were punished for speaking Cherokee. In many cases children were forced to give up their Indian names and take Americanized names.

6. How do you think this forced, Americanized education affected the Cherokee population?

Video Exercise 7: Cherokee Language

You will see a video on the Cherokee language spoken in the southwest mountain region of North Carolina. As you watch this clip, think about responses to the following questions.

1. Why do you think the Cherokee language has been maintained when other Native American languages in North Carolina have disappeared?

2. What is currently happening to the Cherokee language? Why?

3. Do you think that attempts to preserve the language will be successful? Why or why not?

4. What role does language have in the Cherokee community?

Languages of North Carolina: Cherokee Language

Worksheet 11: Notes on the Cherokee History, Culture, and Language

A note-taking outline on the information below, plus comprehension questions for students can be found on page 27 of the **Student Workbook**.

Introduction and History

Cherokee is one of the oldest Native American languages spoken in North Carolina. It is still spoken by some Cherokees in the Southwestern part of the state, and even has its own alphabet, developed by Chief Sequoia in the mid-1800s. Though it is mostly spoken by older speakers, some of the young people are trying to learn it and keep the language heritage alive.

(1) It has been estimated that the Cherokees have lived in the southern Appalachian Mountains for over four thousand years, where (2) they farmed corn, beans, and squash in communities that were clustered around ceremonial houses. Contact with the European changed the Cherokee way of life. As Europeans spread into the Cherokee's lands, the Cherokee adopted Western ways that led many Europeans to identify them as the most advanced and civilized native population. This amicable relationship did not last and the Relocation Era was ushered in by European American politicians who believed the only way to save the American Indians was to send them to reservations. The most famous act of removal was, of course, (3) the Trail of Tears in 1838, when President Andrew Jackson defied the U.S. Supreme Court, ordering the Cherokee to give up all land east of the Mississippi River. This resulted in a mass emigration from the Appalachian Mountains to what is now Oklahoma, during which about a quarter of the Cherokee died. The Trail of Tears changed the Cherokee situation drastically. It split the tribe into eastern and western groups. The Eastern Cherokee, made up of about (4) 1,000 Cherokee, stayed in the Appalachian Mountain region but were forced to renounce their Cherokee ties, although they managed to remember their heritage. Luckily for these Cherokee, the mountainous regions where they lived were not desired by the European settlers and they were left to live in isolated communities.

The Cherokee who remained purchased some of their land through a government lottery system. A co-educational boarding school was founded in 1884 at the town of Cherokee for children five to eight years old. All of the teaching was done in English, and the children were punished for speaking Cherokee. In many cases children were forced to give up their Indian name and take an Americanized name. This certainly had in impact of the traditional culture and language of the Cherokee, which current revitalization efforts are still trying to overcome.

(6) This is an opinion question

Day 3

Worksheet 11: Languages of North Carolina: Cherokee

Notes:

1. It is estimated that the Cherokees have lived in the southern Appalachian Mountains for over _____ years.

2. The Cherokee were an agrarian people. The crops they raised included:

3. Many of the Cherokee were forced to leave North Carolina for what is now Oklahoma in 1838. This forced removal is known as the _____, during which about a quarter of the Cherokee died.

4. Only about _____ Cherokee stayed in the Appalachian Mountain region of North Carolina. Luckily for these Cherokee, the mountainous regions where they lived were not desirable by the European settlers and they were left to live in isolated communities.

5. The first boarding school for the Cherokee was set up in _____. All of the teaching was done in English, and the children were punished for speaking Cherokee. In many cases children were forced to give up their Indian names and take Americanized names.

6. How do you think this forced, Americanized education affected the Cherokee population?

Video Exercise 7: Cherokee Language

You will see a video on the Cherokee language spoken in the southwest mountain region of North Carolina. As you watch this clip, think about responses to the following questions.

1. Why do you think the Cherokee language has been maintained when other Native American languages in North Carolina have disappeared?

2. What is currently happening to the Cherokee language? Why?

3. Do you think that attempts to preserve the language will be successful? Why or why not?

4. What role does language have in the Cherokee community?

Video Exercise 7: Cherokee language
(Approximate time: 20 minutes)
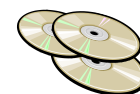
You will see a video on the Cherokee language (**Chapter 25** of the **Resource DVD**, time = 9:53) spoken in the southwest mountain region of North Carolina. As students watch this vignette, have them think about responses to the following questions. Have students either write answers to the questions in their **Student Workbooks** on page 27, and/or discuss them as a class.

1. Why do you think the Cherokee language has been maintained when other Native American languages in North Carolina have disappeared?

> The Cherokee live in a very rugged area of the state and, therefore, experienced much isolation. Native American groups in the central and eastern parts of the state experienced contact with Europeans much earlier and more often than the Cherokee.

2. What is currently happening to the Cherokee language? Why?

> Cherokee is undergoing revitalization. The community has made an effort to preserve the language and now teaches it to all students who attend school on the reservation.

3. Do you think that attempts to preserve the language will be successful? Why or why not?

> This is an opinion question; however, it appears that the revitalization efforts are having a positive impact on the language. Ultimately, the preservation of the language is in the hands of the younger generation whose attitudes about the importance and usefulness of the language will determine the language's future.

4. What role does language have in the Cherokee community?

> The Cherokee language is used more often by older speakers than younger speakers. It is also used most often for ceremonial and religious purposes. It is also used to mark one's status as a Cherokee or to exclude non-Cherokees. Language, like dialect, is intimately tied to one's self image.

Worksheet 12: Learning About and Using the Cherokee Syllabary

English has a writing system where each letter has a set of sounds that correspond to established pronunciations. Many letters have more than one pronunciation, for example the letter *c* is pronounced differently in the words *city* and *cot*. It sounds more like an *s*-sound in *city* and more like a *k*-sound in *cot*. Sometimes, combinations of letters form single sounds in English. For example, the combination of letters <gh> can sound like a [g] in *ghost* but sounds like an [f] in words like *enough* and *tough*. If this seems like it would be confusing to someone learning the language, it is! But, vowels can be even more of a problem. The following words all have the same vowel sound but different spellings: *ooze, too, tomb, you, rude, new, through, fruit, lieutenant, rendezvous*. Here is a similar list for a different vowel sound: *ape, basin, faint, gray, great, fey, eh, rein, reign, maelstrom, gauge, weigh, mesa, champagne, cachet*.

Cherokee uses a very different writing system. Instead of having letters that combine to make syllables, each syllable has exactly one written character that corresponds to it. This single character includes the consonant and the vowel sound. Because the written unit corresponds to the spoken syllable, this system is called a syllabary (as opposed to an alphabet). The Cherokee Language has six vowel sounds and twelve primary consonant sounds (there are an additional 6 consonant sounds that occur only with certain vowels). In total, there are 85 symbols that make up the syllabary.

The Cherokee syllabary was developed by Chief Sequoyah in 1819. By 1830, about 90% of all Cherokee people were literate in the syllabary and newspapers, books, religious texts, and almanacs were published using the syllabary. By comparison, it was not until 1880 that the European American population reached 90% literacy in English. The United States as a whole reached a 90% literacy rate in 1910.

1. Look though the table on page 29 and pick out all the sounds that do not occur in American English. (Hint: Try to think of a word that starts with the sound listed. If you cannot think of one, then it may be the case that the sound doesn't occur in English).

2. What English sounds are not used in Cherokee? For example, does Cherokee have a *b*-sound?

3. Use the syllabary to translate the following words and phrases from Cherokee to English.

	Cherokee	English
1	�Ꮗ	
2	ᏝᏉᎧ	
3	Ꭻ Ꮖ	
4	ᏂᏌ	
5	ᏑᏂ	
6	ᏐᏍ	
7	ᏂᏍ	
8	Ꭴ Ꭺ ᎢᏫ	
9	Ꮅ Ꮝ Ꮇ Ꮓ	
10	Ꮆ Ꮗ	
11	Ꭶ ᏐᏬ Ꮮ	
12	ᎷᎢ ᏯᏬ � Ꮺ ᏸ	

Worksheet 12: Learning about and using the Cherokee Syllabary
(Approximate time: 30 to 45 minutes)

English has a writing system where each letter has a set of sounds that correspond to established pronunciations. Many letters have more than one pronunciation, for example <c> is pronounced differently in the words *city* and *cot*. It sounds more like an [s] in *city* and more like a [k] in *cot*. Sometimes, combinations of letters form single sounds in English. For example, <gh> can sound like a [g] in *ghost* but sounds like an [f] in words like *enough* and *tough*. If this seems like it would be confusing to someone learning the language, it is! But, vowels can be even more problematic. The following words all have the same vowel sound but different spellings: **oo**ze, t**oo**, t**o**mb, y**ou**, r**u**de, n**ew**, thr**ough**, fr**ui**t, l**ieu**tenant, rendezv**ous**. Here is a similar list for a different vowel sound: **a**pe, b**a**sin, f**ai**nt, gr**ay**, gr**ea**t, f**ey**, **eh**, r**ei**n, r**ei**gn, m**a**elstrom, g**au**ge, w**ei**gh, m**e**sa, champ**ag**ne, cach**et**.

Cherokee uses a very different writing system. Instead of having letters that combine to make syllables, each syllable has exactly one written character that corresponds to it. This single character includes the consonant and the vowel sound. Because the written unit corresponds to the spoken syllable, this system is called a *syllabary* (as opposed to an *alphabet*). The Cherokee Language has six vowel sounds and twelve primary consonant sounds (there are an additional 6 consonant sounds that occur only with certain vowels). In total, there are 85 symbols that make up the syllabary.

The Cherokee syllabary was developed by Chief Sequoyah in 1819. By 1830, about 90% of all Cherokee people were literate in the syllabary and newspapers, books, religious texts, and almanacs were published using the syllabary. By comparison, it was not until 1880 that the European American population reached 90% literacy in English. The United States as a whole reached a 90% literacy rate in 1910.

The Cherokee Syllabary appears on the next page (it is also found in Appendix Q so that it can be made into an overhead). The rows and columns have been labeled to make it easier to discuss. The exercise that accompanies the syllabary can be found on page 28 of the **Student Workbook**. The syllabary can be found on page 29 of the student work book. It also appears as Appendix Q, which makes a good overhead.

Teaching tip:
This exercise may be difficult for students. Ask them to try to think of a word that starts with each sound. They will likely still miss some sounds. It is also possible to do this exercise together as a class.

Cherokee Syllabary

	Column A		Column B		Column C		Column D		Column E		Column F	
	"ah"		"eh"		"ee"		"o"		"ew"		"uh"	
Row 1	D	"ah"	R	"eh"	T	"e"	Ꭳ	"o"	Ꮻ	"ew"	i	"uh"
Row 2	S Ꭶ	"gah" "kah"	Ꭼ	"gay"	y	"gee"	A	"go"	J	"goo"	E	"guh"
Row 3	Ꮲ	"hah"	Ꭾ	"hey"	Ꮖ	"hee"	Ꮂ	"hoe"	Ꭸ	"who"	Ꮘ	"huh"
Row 4	W	"lah"	Ꮄ	"lay"	P	"lee"	Ꮐ	"low"	M	"lou"	Ꮭ	"luh"
Row 5	Ꮉ	"mah"	Ꮋ	"may"	H	"me"	Ꮠ	"mow"	y	"mu"	--	
Row 6	Ꮎ Ꮏ Ꮐ	"nah" "hnah" "nahh"	Ꭽ	"nay"	h	"nee"	Z	"no"	Ꮫ	"new"	Ꮔ	"nuh"
Row 7	Ꮷ	"qua"	Ꮗ	"quay"	Ꮙ	"qui"	Ꮺ	"quo"	Ꮾ	"que"	Ɛ	"quuh"
Row 8	Ꮜ Ꮜ	"s" "sah"	Ꮞ	"say"	Ꮃ	"see"	Ꮯ	"so"	Ꮤ	"sue"	Ꮢ	"suh"
Row 9	Ꮣ Ꮤ	"dah" "tah"	Ꮥ Ꮦ	"day" "tay"	Ꮧ Ꮨ	"dee" "tee"	V	"doh"	S	"dew"	Ꮷ	"duh"
Row 10	Ꮥ Ꮨ	"dlah" "tlah"	L	"tlay"	C	"tlee"	Ꮬ	"tlow"	Ꮯ	"tlew"	P	"tluh"
Row 11	Ꮳ	"tsah"	Ꮴ	"tsay"	Ꮵ	"tsee"	K	"tsoo"	Ꮷ	"tsue"	Ꮻ	"tsuh"
Row 12	Ꮹ	"wah"	Ꮺ	"way"	Ꮻ	"we"	Ꮼ	"woe"	Ꮽ	"woo"	Ꮾ	"wuh"
Row 13	Ꭺ	"yah"	ꮿ	"yay"	Ꭹ	"ye"	Ꮆ	"yo"	Ꮗ	"you"	B	"yuh"

1. Ask students to look though the table above and pick out all the sounds that do not occur in American English. The table below shows these uniquely Cherokee sounds in gray, and provides sample words in English for the sounds that do occur in English. There are 12 sounds that do not occur in English. A few others only occur in words borrowed from other languages (e.g., *tsar*). It may be good to have students try to find ten sounds.

Please note that the syllabary below differs from the one in the student book (opposite page) as it has English words instead of just the sounds. It is also interesting to point out how many "silent letters" English spelling has.

Cherokee Syllabary

	Column A "ah"		Column B "eh"		Column C "ee"		Column D "o"		Column E "ew"		Column F "uh"	
Row 1	D	"*au*gust"	R	"*eh*"	T	"*e*"	Ꭳ	"*o*"	Ꮎ	"*ew*"	i	"*uh*"
Row 2	S Ꮣ	"*go*ne" "*co*n"	Ᏼ	"*gay*"	y	"*gee*"	A	"*go*"	J	"*goo*ey"	E	"*gu*m"
Row 3	Ᏺ	"*hah*"	ᖾ	"*hey*"	Ꭽ	"*he*"	Ᏻ	"*hoe*"	Γ	"*who*"	Ꮴ	"*huh*"
Row 4	W	"*la*va"	Ꮳ	"*lay*"	P	"*lee*"	G	"*low*"	M	"*loo*t"	Ꮅ	"*lu*nch"
Row 5	Ꮬ	"*Mau*ndy"	Ꮃ	"*may*"	H	"*me*"	Ꮂ	"*mow*"	Ᏻ	"*mu*sic"	--	--
Row 6	Ꮎ Ꮬ Ꮐ	"*no*n" "hnah" "nahh"	Λ	"*neigh*"	h	"*knee*"	Z	"*no*"	Ꮸ	"*new*"	Ꮕ	"*nu*n"
Row 7	Ꮏ	"*qua*ndry"	Ꮗ	"*quay*"	Ꮙ	"*qui*"	Ꮖ	"*quo*te"	Ꮚ	"*cue*"	Ꮛ	"*Que*bec"
Row 8	Ꮜ Ꮄ	"*cat*s" "*so*d"	Ꮞ	"*say*"	Ᏼ	"*see*"	Ꮠ	"*so*"	Ꮡ	"*sue*"	R	"*so*me"
Row 9	Ꮈ W	"*do*g" "*To*m"	Ꮪ Ꮫ	"*day*" "*ta*ke"	Ꮥ Ꮧ	"*dee*d" "*tee*"	V	"*dough*"	S	"*dew*"	Ꮲ	"*duh*"
Row 10	Ꮰ Ꮱ	"dlah" "tlah"	L	"tlay"	C	"tlee"	Ꮤ	"tlow"	Ꮿ	"tlew"	P	"tluh"
Row 11	G	"*tsa*r"	Ꮴ	"tsay"	Ᏺ	"*tse*tse"	K	"shi*tszu*"	Ꮳ	"tsue"	Ꮷ	"tsuh"
Row 12	G	"*wa*ter"	Ꮣ	"*way*"	Ꮺ	"*we*"	Ꮼ	"*woe*"	Ꮽ	"*woo*"	Ꮾ	"*what*"
Row 13	Ꮿ	"*ya*wn"	ß	"*yay*"	Ꭹ	"*ye*"	ᏸ	"*yo*del"	Ᏻ	"*you*"	B	"*yuck*"

Day 3

Worksheet 12: Learning About and Using the Cherokee Syllabary

English has a writing system where each letter has a set of sounds that correspond to established pronunciations. Many letters have more than one pronunciation, for example the letter *c* is pronounced differently in the words *city* and *cot*. It sounds more like an *s*-sound in *city* and more like a *k*-sound in *cot*. Sometimes, combinations of letters form single sounds in English. For example, the combination of letters <gh> can sound like a [g] in *ghost* but sounds like an [f] in words like *enough* and *tough*. If this seems like it would be confusing to someone learning the language, it is! But, vowels can be even more of a problem. The following words all have the same vowel sound but different spellings: *ooze, too, tomb, you, rude, new, through, fruit, lieutenant, rendezvous*. Here is a similar list for a different vowel sound: *ape, basin, faint, gray, great, fey, eh, rein, reign, maelstrom, gauge, weigh, mesa, champagne, cachet*.

Cherokee uses a very different writing system. Instead of having letters that combine to make syllables, each syllable has exactly one written character that corresponds to it. This single character includes the consonant and the vowel sound. Because the written unit corresponds to the spoken syllable, this system is called a syllabary (as opposed to an alphabet). The Cherokee Language has six vowel sounds and twelve primary consonant sounds (there are an additional 6 consonant sounds that occur only with certain vowels). In total, there are 85 symbols that make up the syllabary.

The Cherokee syllabary was developed by Chief Sequoyah in 1819. By 1830, about 90% of all Cherokee people were literate in the syllabary and newspapers, books, religious texts, and almanacs were published using the syllabary. By comparison, it was not until 1880 that the European American population reached 90% literacy in English. The United States as a whole reached a 90% literacy rate in 1910.

1. Look though the table on page 29 and pick out all the sounds that do not occur in American English. (Hint: Try to think of a word that starts with the sound listed. If you cannot think of one, then it may be the case that the sound doesn't occur in English).

2. What English sounds are not used in Cherokee? For example, does Cherokee have a *b*-sound?

3. Use the syllabary to translate the following words and phrases from Cherokee to English.

	Cherokee	English
1	�æl	
2	ᏖᏬᎤ	
3	Ꮰ Ꭲ	
4	ᏂᏮ	
5	ᏬᏂ	
6	ᏐᎫ	
7	ᏂᎫ	
8	ᏲᎠ ᎢᏫ	
9	Ꮖ Ꮝ ᏓᏃ Ꮓ	
10	Ꮤᏸ Ꮖ	
11	Ꮩ ᏐᏫ Ꮈ	
12	ᎷᎢ ᏖᏫ Ꮅ Ꮵ	

2. Ask students what English sounds are *not* used in Cherokee.

It is unlikely that students will come up with all of these sounds.

• **Consonant sounds:** b, p, f, v, w, z, th, ch, sh, the middle sound in *measure* or *vision*; the first sound in **j**udge or **G**eorge; the sound in si**ng** or ki**ng** (k is used sparingly, and only with the "ah" vowel).

• **Vowel sounds:** The sounds in "**eye**", "**out**", "**boy**", "**bet**", "**bit**", "**bat**", "**good**", "**caught**" (for some students, particularly those originally from the Midwest and West, will pronounce "caught" with the same vowel as the "ah" column. This vowel merger was discussed in the *pin/pen* exercise on Day 2).

3.   Have students translate the following words and phrases from Cherokee to English.

	Cherokee	English
1	ᴅᏑ	D-Day (C9, B9)
2	ᏒᎣ	soda (D8, F9)
3	ᴅᎢ	gooey (E2, C1)
4	Ꭿᴅ	needy (C6, C9)
5	ᴅᎯ	teeny (C9, C6)
6	ᏦᏙ	Sumo (E8, D5)
7	ᎯᏙ	Nemo (C6, D5)
8	ᏬᎪ ᎢᏫ	we go away (C12, D2, F1, B12)
9	Ꭼ Ꮢ ᏍᎻ Ᏼ	Who do you know? (E3, E9, E13, D6)
10	ᏍᎤ Ꮭ	you see! (E13, C8)
11	Ꭶ ᏦᏫ Ꮮ	He sues Lee (C3, E8, A8, C4)
12	ᎷᎢ ᏠᏫ Ꮴ Ꮀ	Louie has dough, yo! (E4, C1, A3, A8, D9, D13)

Teaching tip:
Many of these words and phrases seem odd. The reason for this is that Cherokee never has a consonant sound other than *s* at the end of a syllable - something that is quite common in English. Thus, there is no Cherokee equivalent to simple syllables such as *cat. dog,* or *girl*. This greatly limits the English words that can be coded using the Cherokee Syllabary

Day 3

Day 4: Lumbee English, African American English, and Language Change

Purpose:

Students will learn about the history of a different group of Native Americans in North Carolina, the Lumbee. Next, students will examine the history and features of African American English – one of the most misunderstood and stereotyped dialects of English. Students will also learn about the natural processes that cause languages and dialects to change over time.

Overview:

African American English is often negatively characterized as lazy or slang. In fact, it has a history that is as long as any variety of American English and like all dialects has a set of systematic rules that govern usage. In this sense, it is equivalent to all dialects of English, despite the fact that many people view it unfavorably. In this unit, students will learn about how African American English originated and how it has changed over time. Students will also examine the process of language change in African American English and in the urban centers of North Carolina.

Key ideas:

1. Different Native American groups have had vastly different experiences and interactions with Europeans, some of these differences can be illustrated through the language situations of the groups

2. African American English is not substandard English

3. African American English, like all dialects, is rule-governed and systematic

4. African American English has been shaped by historical and social factors, as are all dialects

5. All language varieties are constantly in a state of change

---

Resources

"From the Brickhouse to the Swamp (Lumbee Vernacular English)," by Walt Wolfram. From *American Voices: How Dialects Differ from Coast to Coast*
> This article, written for non-linguists, explores the possible histories of the Lumbee Indians and how they came to speak a distinctive dialect of English. It also includes a Lumbee vocabulary Quiz. It can be found in Appendix H

Information on the research that NC State University faculty and students have done on the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina can be found here:
> http://ncsu.edu/linguistics/code/Research%20Sites/robeson.htm

"Bridging the Great Divide (African American English)," by John Baugh. From *American Voices: How Dialects Differ from Coast to Coast.*
> This article, written for non-linguists, examines the history of African Americans in the U.S. beginning with the slave trade. It also examines the development of the dialect that many African Americans speak and the role it plays in society. Additionally, it includes a summary of African American English features with examples. It can bes found in Appendix I

"When Linguistic Worlds Collide (African American English)," by Walt Wolfram and Ben Torbert. From *American Voices: How Dialects Differ from Coast to Coast.*
> This article, written for non-linguists, examines some of the competing hypotheses over the history and development of African American English. It is found in Appendix J

An easily accessible pamphlet on Ebonics, put out by the
> Linguistics Society of America, can be found in Appendix K

"Dialect Dilemma," by Kendra Hamilton describes the debate
> surrounding assigning value judgments to different dialects, and is included in Appendix L

Information on the research that NC State University faculty and students have done in different African American communities around North Carolina can be found here:

Princeville (NC Piedmont):
http://ncsu.edu/linguistics/code/Research%20Sites/princeville.htm

Hyde County (Eastern NC):
http://ncsu.edu/linguistics/code/Research%20Sites/hyde.htm

Texana (Western NC):
http://ncsu.edu/linguistics/code/Research%20Sites/texana.htm

Beach Bottom (Western NC):
http://ncsu.edu/linguistics/code/Research%20Sites/beechbottom.htm

Worksheet 13: Dialects of North Carolina: Lumbee English

Notes:

1. The Lumbee are the largest Native American group east of the Mississippi River, with about _____ members.

2. There are some people who believe that the Lumbee first encountered English at the site of the _____, where they may have lived prior to moving inland to what is now Robeson County, NC.

3. Do the Lumbee have a tribal language? Why or why not?

Video Exercise 8: Lumbee English

You will see a video about the Lumbee Indians who live in Southeastern North Carolina. As you watch this clip, think about responses to the following questions.

1. What vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar similarities are there between the Outer Banks Brogue, Appalachian English, and Lumbee English?

2. What vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar differences are there between the Outer Banks Brogue, Appalachian English, and Lumbee English?

3. In what ways is the Lumbee community similar to or different from the Ocracoke and/or Appalachian communities?

4. How is the Lumbee Community similar to or different from the Cherokee Community?

5. Why have the Cherokee been able to preserve their native language whereas the Lumbee have lost their native language?

6. How does the role of language differ between the Lumbee and the Cherokee communities?

Dialects of North Carolina: Lumbee English

Worksheet 13: Notes on Lumbee History, Culture, and Language

A note-taking outline on the information below, plus comprehension questions for students can be found on page 30 of the **Student Workbook**.

Introduction and History

Another dialect that has some similarities to the Outer Banks is the dialect spoken by members of the Lumbee Native American group. (1) The Lumbee are the largest Native American group east of the Mississippi River, with about 55,000 members on the tribal rolls. While we are not sure how the Lumbee Nation/Tribe developed originally, one theory is that they were the (2) Native Americans encountered by the very first British Settlers in America at the Lost Colony, on Roanoke Island, in 1584.

It is possible that the Lumbee tribe lived on the Outer Banks and along the North Carolina coast until they moved further inland to what is now Robeson County, NC. As more and more European settlers came to the North Carolina coast, it is possible that the (3) Lumbee abandoned their native language and learned the dialects of English spoken by these settlers, which continue to be spoken in areas like Ocracoke due to its history of isolation. The Lumbee may have taken these dialects inland with them, and preserved these speech patterns because they have been a close community and have been segregated from outsiders at various points in their history. It is also possible that early English speakers made their way inland to the region where the Lumbee live today in Robeson County, North Carolina. These factors along with group pride have led to the creation of a unique dialect that sets Lumbee English apart from other dialects. A comparison of some pronunciation and grammatical features found in Lumbee, Outer Banks English, and Appalachian English can be seen on page 24 of the Teacher's Manual, and in Appendix P for use as overheads.

Language
Vocabulary

The vocabulary of the Lumbee has a number of words that have been preserved from older forms of English to combine with new items. Some of these new items were also heard along the Outer Banks. The word *mommuck* can be heard in both Lumbee and along the Outer Banks, but in Lumbee, it means 'to mess up' or 'make untidy' whereas on the Outer Banks, the terms means 'to harass'. The word *toten* or *token* is found in both dialects, and means 'an omen or a ghost'. Lumbee also shares some words with Appalachian English that are not heard on the Outer Banks, including the word *gaum*, which means 'a mess' or 'clogged'. Other words are unique to Lumbee including *ellick*, which is 'coffee with sugar' and *juvember*, which is 'a slingshot'. Like Ocracokers, who call "true" islanders *O'Cockers*, the Lumbee have a word to refer to those people who are a part of the community. The term *Lum* means 'someone with Lumbee blood who participates in the tribal traditions'. Also, just as Ocracokers have terms for outsiders (*touron* or *dingbatter,* which was taken from the sitcom *All in the Family*), Lumbees use the term *Lum* to refer to community members and to differentiate between *Brickhouse Indians* (those who are especially well off) and *Swamp Indians* (someone who is from a local neighborhood). Dialects that are associated strongly with a community typically have special terms to refer to insiders and outsiders as well as places in the immediate location. These terms are often a marker of identity for community members. More information about Lumbee English can be found in the article in Appendix H.

Worksheet 13: Dialects of North Carolina: Lumbee English
Notes:

1. The Lumbee are the largest Native American group east of the Mississippi River, with about _____ members.

2. There are some people who believe that the Lumbee first encountered English at the site of the _____, where they may have lived prior to moving inland to what is now Robeson County, NC.

3. Do the Lumbee have a tribal language? Why or why not?

Video Exercise 8: Lumbee English

You will see a video about the Lumbee Indians who live in Southeastern North Carolina. As you watch this clip, think about responses to the following questions.

1. What vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar similarities are there between the Outer Banks Brogue, Appalachian English, and Lumbee English?

2. What vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar differences are there between the Outer Banks Brogue, Appalachian English, and Lumbee English?

3. In what ways is the Lumbee community similar to or different from the Ocracoke and/or Appalachian communities?

4. How is the Lumbee Community similar to or different from the Cherokee Community?

5. Why have the Cherokee been able to preserve their native language whereas the Lumbee have lost their native language?

6. How does the role of language differ between the Lumbee and the Cherokee communities?

Video Exercise 8: Lumbee English
(Approximate time: 25 minutes)
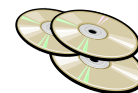
You will see a video about the Lumbee Indians who live in southeastern North Carolina (**Chapter 26** of the **Resource DVD**, time = 11:42). As students watch this vignette, have them think about responses to the following questions. Have students either write answers to the questions on page 30 of their **Student Workbooks** and/or discuss them as a class.

1. **What vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar similarities are there between the Outer Banks Brogue, Appalachian English, and Lumbee English?**

   Mommuck **and** *toten/token* are shared between Lumbee and the Outer Banks, as is the pronunciation of *high tide* as "hoi toid." Both dialects have *weren't* regularization as well. Appalachian English has some *weren't* regularization as well. All three dialects have *a*-prefixing, double negatives, and the pronunciation of word-final, unstressed *-ow* as "er" as in "yeller" for *yellow.* This is the same pattern that causes *tobacco* to be pronounced in the video as "baccer." Though it isn't mentioned in the movie, Lumbee and Appalachian English share the term *gaum.* All three dialects have the *pin/pen* merger to some extent.

2. **What vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar differences there between the Outer Banks Brogue, Appalachian English, and Lumbee English?**

   Lumbee words not found in these other dialects include *juvember, ellick,* and *Lum* (meaning, a slingshot, coffee with sugar, and a real member of the Lumbee tribe). They also use *bes* where other dialects would use *is, am,* or *are.* One other grammatical difference between Lumbee and these other dialects is that Lumbees sometimes use a conjugated form of *be* instead of *have* in perfective sentences (when *have* is an auxiliary or helping verb) as in the sentences, "I'm forgot" and "I'm been to the store." There are few unique pronunciations in Lumbee though the vowels in Lumbee English tend to be generally Southern with some influence from the Outer Banks Region (e.g., *hoi toid*).

3. **In what ways is the Lumbee community similar to or different from the Ocracoke and/or Appalachian communities?**

   Similar: Speakers in all three communities have their identities closely tied to local places and groups. All have words for community insiders and outsiders and view language as important to the history of culture of the group and area.

   Different: The Lumbee are not geographically isolated the ways speakers in the mountains and Outer Banks are. In fact, this lack of isolation may be tied to the loss of their indigenous language. This has also led to more marriages between Lumbees and non-Lumbees whereas marriages between, for example, an Ococker and a non-Ococker, were much rarer until the past fifty years.

4. **How is the Lumbee Community similar to or different from the Cherokee Community?**

   Similar: Both groups have strong senses of Native American identity and promote the teaching of that culture to children.

   Different: The Lumbee have a distinctive dialect as opposed to a native language. Further, they are not geographically isolated as the Cherokee were in the mountains. They also have no reservation lands.

5. **Why have the Cherokee been able to preserve their native language whereas the Lumbee have lost their native language?**

   The Lumbee encountered Europeans as early as the 16th century whereas the Cherokee didn't encounter Europeans until the late 17th century. Further, the mountains made it easier for the Cherokee to avoid intense language contact.

6. **How does the role of language differ between the Lumbee and the Cherokee communities?**

   While language serves as an identifier of both groups, the Cherokee's native language has helped the tribe gain recognition. Now, that language is also becoming an economic commodity for some Cherokee.

Worksheet 14: Lumbee Vocabulary Quiz

To complete this quiz, you will have to remember the words you heard in the video clip and use logic and the contextual clues to match up the sentences and the words. As an example, you can assume that a "brickhouse Indian" refers to a person, and then look for the sentence that requires a person in the blank to make sense.

Word Bank

brickhouse Indian	ellick	gaum	jubious	juvember
Lum	mommuck	on the swamp	sorry in the world	toten

1. I have a hard time waking up in the morning without a cup of _____.

2. I just washed those towels, don't _____ them!

3. We got in trouble for shooting rocks at cars with a _____.

4. I was feeling _____ I was so sick.

5. I was _____ so I thought I'd stop by.

6. You have to be a part of this community to be a _____.

7. He was so scared all day after seeing a _____ in the morning.

8. That _____ just went on another vacation to Hawaii!

9. The faucet was so _____ up that hardly any water came out.

10. I was really _____ last night when we lost power for a few hours.

Worksheet 14: Lumbee Vocabulary Quiz

To complete this quiz, found on page 31 of the **Student Workbook**, students will have to remember the words they heard in the video vignette and use their reasoning and context clues to match up the sentences and the words. As an example, students can assume that a "brickhouse Indian" refers to a person, and then look for the sentence that requires a person in the blank to make sense, in this case, sentence number eight.

WORD BANK

brickhouse Indian	ellick	gaum	jubious	juvember
Lum	mommuck	on the swamp	sorry in the world	toten

ANSWER KEY

1. I have a hard time waking up in the morning without a cup of **ellick**.
2. I just washed those towels, don't **mommuck** them!
3. We got in trouble for shooting rocks at cars with a **juvember**.
4. I was feeling **sorry in the world** I was so sick.
5. I was **on the swamp** so I thought I'd stop by.
6. You have to be a part of this community to be a **Lum**.
7. He was so scared all day after seeing a **toten** in the morning.
8. That **brickhouse Indian** just went on another vacation to Hawaii!
9. The faucet was so **gaumed** up that hardly any water came out.
10. I was really **jubious** last night when we lost power for a few hours.

Teaching tip:

It is interesting to point out that some of these terms are shared with other dialects we've examined. For example, *toten* and *mommuck* are both found in Outer Banks English, and the term *guam* is found in Appalachian English. Also, many dialects have terms for community insiders, including *Lum* in Lumbee and *Ococker* on Ocracoke.

Defintions of the vocabulary words:

brickhouse Indian - a well-off Lumbee

ellick - coffee with sugar

gaum - clogged or a mess

jubious - weary or afraid, eerie or strange

juvember - a slingshot

Lum - a person of Lumbee ancestry who participates in the community

mommuck - to make a mess of

on the swamp - in the neighborhood, nearby

sorry in the world - not feeling well

toten - a foreboding omen or sign of a ghost or spirit

Worksheet 15: North Carolina Vocabulary Quiz

A lot can be learned by listening to the special words that a particular group uses. Oftentimes, these words describe the history, life, and land of a group. Examining the special words of communities throughout the state paints a picture of the diversity of North Carolina. The following exercise asks you to remember vocabulary items from Outer Banks English, Appalachian English, and Lumbee English. Following are some dialect words from several different North Carolina dialects that have been featured in this unit. Fill in the blanks in the following sentences with the appropriate dialect word.

Word Bank

airish	boomer	buck	ellick	gaum
juvember	meehonky	mommuck	Lum	on the swamp
poke	slick cam	siggoglin	dingbatter	token

1. They used a _____ for target practice.

2. That _____ is from New Jersey.

3. Put those groceries in a _____ and I'll take them home.

4. When I got up this morning it was right _____ outside.

5. They're always together because he's his _____ .

6. At night we used to play _____ .

7. I saw a _____ in the field last night and it scared me.

8. She stops by to see me whenever she's _____ .

9. Last night a _____ got in the attic and made quite a racket.

10. He ain't no _____ ; he doesn't know anything about our history

11. If I don't have some _____ I'm going to fall asleep.

12. The road going up there sure is _____ .

13. She used to _____ him when he was a child.

14. It sure was _____ on the sound without any wind.

15. Don't _____ up the radiator with that stuff.

North Carolina Dialects Vocabulary

A lot can be learned by listening to the special words that a particular group uses. Oftentimes, these words describe the history, life, and land of a group. Examining the special words of communities throughout the state paints a picture of the diversity of North Carolina. The following exercise has students recall vocabulary items from *Outer Banks English, Appalachian English,* and *Lumbee English.* As with the previous exercise, students will need to use deduction to get a few words correct.

Worksheet 15: North Carolina Dialects Vocabulary Quiz
(Approximate time 25 minutes)

As we have seen, dialect vocabulary is often very important to dialect speakers. It is also the level of language that is most likely to differ between dialects, even dialects that are historically linked. Following are some dialect words from several different North Carolina dialects that have been featured in this unit. On pages 32-33 of their **Student Workbooks**, have students fill in the blanks in the following sentences with the appropriate dialect word.

WORD BANK

airish	boomer	buck	ellick	gaum
juvember	meehonky	mommuck	Lum	on the swamp
poke	slick cam	siggoglin	dingbatter	token

Teaching tip:
Cards for a dialect vocabulary Pictionary game can be found in Appendix R. This game is a fun review and can be done in addition to or instead of the quiz presented here.

ANSWER KEY

1. They used a <u>juvember</u> for target practice.
2. That <u>dingbatter</u> is from New Jersey.
3. Put those groceries in a <u>poke</u> and I'll take them home.
4. When I got up this morning it was right <u>airish</u> outside.
5. They're always together because he's his <u>buck</u>.
6. At night we used to play <u>meehonkey</u>.
7. I saw a <u>token</u> in the field last night and it scared me.
8. She stops by to see me whenever she's <u>on the swamp</u>.
9. Last night a <u>boomer</u> got in the attic and made quite a racket.
10. He ain't no <u>Lum</u>; he doesn't know anything about our history
11. If I don't have some <u>ellick</u> I'm going to fall asleep.
12. The road going up there sure is <u>sigogglin</u>.
13. She used to <u>mommuck</u> him when he was a child.
14. It sure was <u>slick cam</u> on the sound without any wind.
15. Don't <u>gaum</u> up the radiator with that stuff.

Defintions of the vocabulary words:

airish - breezy
boomer - red squirrel
buck- a friend (usually a male)
ellick - coffee with sugar
gaum - clogged or a mess
juvember - a slingshot
meehonky - hide-and-seek

mommuck - to harass or make a mess of
Lum - a Lumbee
on the swamp - in the neighborhood
poke - a bag
slick cam - water with no waves
siggoglin - crooked
dingbatter - a tourist
token - a foreboding omen

Day 4

Some of the dialect words are used on the Outer Banks, some are used in the Appalachian Mountains, and some used mostly by the Lumbee Indians in Robeson County. There are also some words that are shared by the different groups. In the following table, list the words that are used by each group as well as those that are shared by groups. What conclusions can you draw about the words dialects use? For example, which dialect would you expect might have a unique term for a shark?

Outer Banks	Lumbee	Appalachian	Shared

Notes on Dialect Vocabulary:

Background Information:

Some of the dialect words are used on the Outer Banks, some are used in the Appalachian Mountains, and some used mostly by the Lumbee Indians in Robeson County. There are also some words that are shared by the different groups. In the following table, list the words that are used by each group as well as those that are shared by groups. Then, discuss with students what can be concluded about the culture and life of each group of speakers.

ANSWER KEY

Outer Banks	Lumbee	Appalachian	Shared
buck	ellick	airish	guam
meehonkey	juvember	boomer	mommuck
dingbatter	Lum	poke	token
slick cam	on the swamp	sigogglin	

What can be learned?

- Groups/communities have labels for insiders and outsiders.

    Insiders: *Lum*, *Ococker*, etc.

    Outsiders: *Dingbatter*, *touron*, *halfback*, etc.

- Terms reflect the local geography, ecology, and way of life.

    There are no red squirrels on the Outer Banks and therefore they have no words for them. However, the Outer Banks dialect has lots of words to describe the water, crabs, and other activities related to fishing.

- Dialects tend to have more words that are unique than grammar or pronunciation differences. Vocabulary is the level of language that changes most rapidly. This is why slang, which by definition is vocabulary, changes so quickly among groups.

Teaching tip:

You may consider asking your students to reflect on dialect vocabulary that they have heard while traveling or the vocabulary they use in various groups in and out of school. For example, students on a sports team, in band, or drama, are likely to have some specialized vocabulary or slang associated with that activity. This also makes a good writing assignment.

Worksheet 16: Dialects of North Carolina: African American English

1. What is a pidgin language?

2. What is a creole language?

3. One theory of the history of African American English is that Africans learned an English Creole. Some linguists believe that this creole was similar to _____ , which continues to be spoken _____.

4. A second theory is that slaves in the South worked alongside _____ who spoke non-mainstream varieties of English. Under what condition did these people come to the United States?

5. How were they treated differently than the African Slaves?

6. Most of the slaves brought to North Carolina came from what neighboring state?

Other notes on African American English:

Dialects of North Carolina: African American English

Worksheet 16: Notes on African American History, Culture, and Language

A note-taking outline on the information below, plus comprehension questions for students can be found on page 32 of the **Student Workbook**.

Introduction and History

Even after decades of research on African American English (AAE), there is still no consensus as to exactly how it originally developed. One theory suggests that when slaves of different language backgrounds were transported from Africa to America, they developed a (1) _pidgin—a simplified version of a language used for communication between groups of people who do not have a common language_. This language subsequently developed into a full-fledged (2) _creole_ language that children acquired in their homes. (Some creole languages—languages that have developed out of pidgins and have acquired native speakers—have the word creole in their names—for example, Hawaiian Creole—while others do not—for example, Gullah and Geechee). It is believed that the (3) Gullah spoken to this day on the sea islands of South Carolina and Georgia closely resembles the language used by slaves on large plantations. Because plantation slaves were not taught English and had limited contact with English speakers, some features of this creole were passed from generation to generation. These features have survived post-slavery because as AAE developed, it became more than just a means of communicating between groups: it has now become a token of solidarity among people who use it.

(4) A second theory is that slaves in the South worked alongside indentured servants who spoke non-mainstream varieties of English. African American slaves learned English from these indentured servants (often of Scots-Irish descent). (5) Indentured servants were generally treated less harshly than the slave populations (for example, they were allowed to marry and taught to read and write whereas slaves were not) though they often lived and ate together. Indentured servants would also be free after a set period of time (often seven years). People who believe this explanation for the beginning of AAE say that it explains similarities between AAE and other non-mainstream varieties of English (such as Southern inland dialects, which share some linguistic features with AAE). This second theory may better fit early AAE in North Carolina because (6) the vast majority of slaves were brought here from Virginia and not Charleston, SC (where there is stronger evidence of a creole) and because North Carolina's plantations tended to be smaller than those in South Carolina and had more indentured servants. Thus, slaves in North Carolina (and the rest of the mid-South) probably had more exposure to English than slaves in the Deep South. North Carolina also had fewer slave-owning families than many other states: only about one in four families owned slaves in North Carolina and these families tended to be concentrated in the Cape Fear River valley in the Coastal Plain and the Virginia Piedmont. There were very few slaves west of what is now Raleigh. North Carolina was also one of the first Southern states to recognize "free people of color," such as the well-known furniture maker Thomas Day or the school teacher John Chavis. (This discussion is not meant to diminish in any way the cruelty of slavery in North Carolina or the devastation of the institution on Africans).

It is important to note that these theories are not mutually exclusive. The true history of AAE may lie somewhere in between or in both of these theories. It is possible that language developed differently depending on factors such as the number of slaves and indentured servants on a plantation, the economic focus (e.g., rice), and the role that overseers played. Whatever the origin of AAE, we do know that it has changed considerably over time, as can be seen by comparing modern day Gullah and AAE, which are quite different despite sharing some characteristics.

Worksheet 16: Dialects of North Carolina: African American English

1. What is a pidgin language?

2. What is a creole language?

3. One theory of the history of African American English is that Africans learned an English Creole. Some linguists believe that this creole was similar to _____ , which continues to be spoken _____.

4. A second theory is that slaves in the South worked alongside _____ who spoke non-mainstream varieties of English. Under what condition did these people come to the United States?

5. How were they treated differently than the African Slaves?

6. Most of the slaves brought to North Carolina came from what neighboring state?

Other notes on African American English:

Although AAE is clearly stigmatized socially in modern American culture, it continues to be spoken by millions of people. There are many reasons for this. Within the context of the some communities, AAE can be a valuable marker of group identity. Not speaking some form of AAE can lead to exclusion as an outsider. A person with in-group status will often have access to local resources and networks that outsiders will not have. In this sense, using AAE in the community can be as valuable and important as using Standard English in mainstream professional situations. Because of the covert prestige that AAE carries, it continues to be an important resource and symbol of solidarity for African Americans.

More information about African American English, including a number of ideas for classroom discussion, can be found at the *Do You Speak American?* homepage (www.pbs.org/speak). A unit on African American English can be found here (http://www.pbs.org/speak/education/curriculum/high/aae/).

The Features of African American English: A Brief Overview

Although it is not possible to give a complete list of AAE features here, a few features will illustrate the systematic structure of this dialect. This overview simplifies the patterns and structures to make them easier to understand. (Many of the features that typify AAE are also found in older Southern white English including the speech of older North Carolinians). It is important to keep in mind that speakers of AAE do not always use AAE features when they could do so. Like all speakers, they shift between less formal and more formal varieties of English.

Grammatical Features

- *Be* **copula absence (also called "linking verb absence")**
  "They hungry."
  AAE speakers will occasionally omit the form of the verb *to be* in sentences that require a form of *to be* in Standard English. Wherever standard English can contract *is* and *are,* African American English can delete them. Example sentences would include *She going* or *They hungry*. But *am* and past tense *was* and *were* are never left out; thus you would never hear sentences like **I going* or **They hungry last night* (The asterisk that precedes these sentences is a convention that linguists use to mark forms that would not be characteristic of a particular speech variety). Older white Southern speech occasionally omits *are* from sentences such as *they hungry* but would not omit *is* in sentences.

- **Habitual *be***
  "We be playing basketball after school."
  Perhaps the most stereotypical feature of AAE is what linguists refer to as "habitual *be*": using the unconjugated form of the verb *to be* to signal a habitual or regularly occurring action, as in sentences like *We be playing basketball* and *She be working late*, which mean "We play basketball from time to time" and "She works late a lot" (but which do not mean "We are playing basketball right now" and "She is working late right now"). Despite the stereotypes, people who use this feature do not use it in all sentences with the *be* verb, and they do not suffer from a lack of ability to conjugate *be*. Rather, uninflected *be* is used only to refer to habitual or regularly occurring actions. In other types of sentences, speakers of AAE will use inflected *be* or no *be* verb at all, as in *We're playing basketball right now* or *We playing basketball right now*. Note that Standard English does not have a special form of the *be* verb to indicate habituality. It uses an adverb or adverbial phrase with the verb to indicate this meaning (*We usually play basketball*; *She often works late*). Lumbees sometimes use this feature as well, though it is not always restricted to habitual or recurring contexts.

Worksheet 16: Dialects of North Carolina: African American English

1. What is a pidgin language?

2. What is a creole language?

3. One theory of the history of African American English is that Africans learned an English Creole. Some linguists believe that this creole was similar to _____ , which continues to be spoken _____.

4. A second theory is that slaves in the South worked alongside _____ who spoke non-mainstream varieties of English. Under what condition did these people come to the United States?

5. How were they treated differently than the African Slaves?

6. Most of the slaves brought to North Carolina came from what neighboring state?

Other notes on African American English:

- **3rd person singular -s deletion**

- **3rd person singular -s deletion**

  "He jump_ high."

  Another common feature of AAE is omitting the *–s* with verbs following a third person singular subject (compare Mainstream English *I jump, you jump, we jump, they jump*--but *she jump***s**).

- **Double negatives**

  "Ain't nobody can beat me."

  Also common in AAE is what is called *double negatives*, as in *We don't know nothing bout nobody*. Lumbee, white Appalachian, and Outer Banks dialect speakers also use this construction—and it can also be found in Chaucer and Shakespeare!

Pronunciation Features

- **Varying pronunciations of "th"**

  AAE also has distinctive pronunciation features. Perhaps most stereotypical is pronouncing *these*, *with*, and *birthday* with a "d", "t", or "f" replacing the "th" sounds of Mainstream English ("dese," "wit," and "birfday").

- **"*g*-dropping"**

  Another pronunciation pattern of AAE is "*g*-dropping" at the end of *–ing* words, as in *fishin'* and *fightin'*. (It is important to note that this pronunciation is not unique to AAE speakers but is used by speakers of Standard English, as well, in casual speech). This feature is common in virtually all dialects of English. The term, "*g*-dropping" is problematic because there is no actual "*g*" to drop at the end of regular *–ing* words. You can hear a "*g*" in the word "finger" but not "singer." *–ing* words typically have the same final sound as the word "sing" and in AAE and other dialects this sound is instead pronounced with the last sound in "sin." It is called "*g*-dropping" only because these words are spelled in Standard English with a "*g*" and without the "*g*" in written representations of the dialect, as in, *fishin'* and *fightin'*. Even in Standard English, these words are never actually pronounced with a "*g*" sound.

- **Consonant cluster reduction**

  AAE speakers often drop the second (or third) consonant sound in a string of consonants occurring at the end of words. For example, the word *mist* may be pronounced as "mis." Interestingly, *mist* and *missed* are pronounced exactly the same in English, and this same process can make the word *missed* come out as "mis"—thus giving the illusion that it is a present tense verb instead of a past tense verb. All English speakers eliminate final consonants occasionally, but speakers of vernacular dialects often delete consonants at a higher rate than speakers of more mainstream dialects. Speakers who learn English as a second language whose native language lacks consonant clusters (e.g., Chinese, Vietnamese, Hindi, etc.) often delete virtually all consonants that occur in clusters.

Day 4

Worksheet 17: Learning About African American English by Examining Dialect in Literature

The passage below comes from "Sweat," a short story by Zora Neale Hurston, an early-twentieth century African American author from Florida. It contains a number of the grammatical and pronunciation features that are typical of African American English.

Define *Eye-dialect*:

Original text:

"Sykes, what you throw dat whip on me like dat? You know it would skeer me—looks just like a snake an' you knows how skeered Ah is of snakes."

"Course Ah knowed it! That's how come Ah done it." He slapped his leg with his hand and almost rolled on the ground in his mirth. "If you such a big fool dat you got to have a fit over a earth worm or a string, Ah don't keer how bad Ah skeer you."

"You ain't got no business doing it. Gawd knows it's a sin. Some day Ah'm gointuh drop dead from some of yo' foolishness. 'Nother thing, where you been wid mah rig? Ah feeds dat pony. He ain't fuh you to be drivin' wid no whip."

1. What would the passage sound like if it were written in Standard English?

2. Why do you think the author wrote this passage like she did?

Worksheet 17: Learning About African American English by Examining Dialect in Literature

The passage below, found on page 35 of the **Student Workbook**, comes from "Sweat," a short story by Zora Neale Hurston, an early-twentieth-century African American author from Florida. It contains a number of the grammatical and pronunciation features described above. Work with students through the text, identifying the features and their Standard English equivalents. A good journal entry/short writing assignment would be to ask students to evaluate the importance that dialect plays in the passage. In other words, what would be lost if the passage was written in Standard English? Students can contrast the voice of the narrator with the voice of the characters. This passage describes a scene in which the husband scares his wife by tossing a whip at her and making her think it's a snake.

Teaching tip:
If you're teaching this curriculum in a Language Arts classroom, you may wish to skip this exercise and instead discuss the topic when covering other literature with dialect in it.

Background Information:

Eye-dialect is a technique used by many authors to make a speaker appear more dialectal than he or she might otherwise appear. This is accomplished through using non-standard spellings of words that do not actually reflect any dialect difference. That is, standard pronunciations are transcribed using non-standard spellings. Common examples include: <wuz> for *was,* <becuz> for *because*, and <dawg> for *dog*. The crucial point is that these misspellings would be pronounced in the same way as a standard English speaker would pronounce them. Try it, when you say "was," the pronunciation ends with a *z*-sound, not an *s*-sound, and therefore this is an example of *eye-dialect* since it is a non-standard spelling used for a standard pronunciation.

Original text:

"Sykes, what you throw dat whip on me like dat? You know it would skeer me—looks just like a snake an' you knows how skeered Ah is of snakes."

"Course Ah knowed it! That's how come Ah done it." He slapped his leg with his hand and almost rolled on the ground in his mirth. "If you such a big fool dat you got to have a fit over a earth worm or a string, Ah don't keer how bad Ah skeer you."

"You ain't got no business doing it. Gawd knows it's a sin. Some day Ah'm gointuh drop dead from some of yo' foolishness. 'Nother thing, where you been wid mah rig? Ah feeds dat pony. He ain't fuh you to be drivin' wid no whip."

Standard English translation:

"Sykes, why did you throw that whip on me like that? You knew it would scare me—looks just like a snake and you know how scared I am of snakes."

"[Of] Course I knew it! That's why I did it." He slapped his leg with his hand and almost rolled on the ground in his mirth. "If you're such a big fool that you have a fit over an earth worm or a string, [then] I don't care how bad I scare you."

"You don't have any business doing it. God knows it's a sin. Some day I'm going to drop dead from some of your foolishness. Another thing, where have you been with my rig [horse]? I feed that pony. He isn't for you to be driving with any whip."

Teaching tip:
It may take the students a long time to translate this passage. It is just as effective to have them translate the first sentence or two, or discuss a translation orally.

Point out to your students how this version of the text loses the passion or feeling that is captured in the original version. Authors use dialect in order to capture emotion as well as to provide more insight into characters and setting. While the author could write about how things were said, not using dialect would completely change the tone of the passage. The linguistic features in this passage are labeled in the reproduction below

ANSWER KEY

Worksheet 17: Learning About African American English by Examining Dialect in Literature

The passage below comes from "Sweat," a short story by Zora Neale Hurston, an early-twentieth century African American author from Florida. It contains a number of the grammatical and pronunciation features that are typical of African American English.

Define *Eye-dialect*:

Original text:

"Sykes, what you throw dat whip on me like dat? You know it would skeer me—looks just like a snake an' you knows how skeered Ah is of snakes."

"Course Ah knowed it! That's how come Ah done it." He slapped his leg with his hand and almost rolled on the ground in his mirth. "If you such a big fool dat you got to have a fit over a earth worm or a string, Ah don't keer how bad Ah skeer you."

"You ain't got no business doing it. Gawd knows it's a sin. Some day Ah'm gointuh drop dead from some of yo' foolishness. 'Nother thing, where you been wid mah rig? Ah feeds dat pony. He ain't fuh you to be drivin' wid no whip."

1. What would the passage sound like if it were written in Standard English?

2. Why do you think the author wrote this passage like she did?

ORIGINAL TEXT WITH LINGUISTIC FEATURES LABELED:

"Sykes, what you throw **dat** [th → d] whip on me like **dat** [th → d]? You **know** [present tense for past tense] it would **skeer** [vowel shift] me—looks just like a snake an' [consonant cluster reduction] you **knows** [-s attachment] how **skeered** [eye-dialect] **Ah** [eye-dialect] **is** [*is* leveling, just like *was* leveling but present tense instead of past tense] of snakes."

"Course **Ah** [eye-dialect] **knowed** [verb regularization, just like *was* leveling] it! That's how come **Ah** [eye-dialect] **done** [*done* for *did* is a grammatical difference] it." He slapped his leg with his hand and almost rolled on the ground in his mirth. "If **you such** [copula absence] a big fool **dat** [th → d] you **got to have** [colloquial English] a fit over a earth worm or a string, **Ah** [eye-dialect] don't **keer** [eye-dialect] how bad **Ah** [eye-dialect] **skeer** [eye-dialect or a slight pronunciation difference] you."

"You **ain't** got **no** [double negative] business doing it. **Gawd** [eye-dialect] knows it's a sin. Some day **Ah'm** [eye-dialect] **gointuh** [eye-dialect for "going to"] drop dead from some of **yo'** [*r*-lessness] foolishness. '**Nother** [colloquial English] thing, where you been **wid** [th → d] **mah** [eye-dialect] rig? **Ah** [eye-dialect] feeds **dat** [th → d] pony. He **ain't** fuh you to be **drivin'** [*g*-dropping] **wid** [th→ d] **no** [double negative] whip."

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: Some of the features in this passage have not been discussed in this unit. The use of the present tense form of a verb for a past tense construction (as in "know" for "knew") reflects the process of regularization or leveling, which is the same process that gives rise to the past tense *be* (*was* and *weren't* regularization) that was examined in the section on Outer Banks English. The use of "done" to mark an action as completed is also common in varieties of English around the world; especially in situations where English has been in contact with other languages. *th* → *d,* copula absence, double negatives, and g-dropping have all been discussed previously.

Worksheet 18: Understanding Linguistic Patterns: Uninflected *be* in African American English

We're going to examine a dialect pattern of African American English. It is important to remember that not all African Americans use this pattern. It is most common in the speech of young African American speakers in large cities. In this construction, the unconjugated form of *be* is used where other dialects use *am*, *is*, or *are*. But *be* is used only in certain contexts! Your job will be to decide what contexts can take *be* and what contexts cannot.

Unlike the *a*-prefixing exercise, not all English speakers have intuitions about when *be* can and cannot be used. Instead, only speakers familiar with African American English seem to have strong linguistic intuitions with respect to this feature. Before examining the data, you will test to see if you have intuitions about this feature. Read the sentences in **LIST A** and write a sentence that tells how you would interpret the sentence given. Be sure and mention when you think the event is happening. We will return to these sentences later.

LIST A:

1. My mom *be* working
2. He *be* absent
3. The students *be* talking in class

Next, examine the data in **LIST B**. This list contains the results from a forced choice test similar to the *a*-prefixing test, where speakers were asked to use their linguistic intuitions to determine which sentence sounded better. The data are from 35 fifth graders in Baltimore, Maryland. All these students were speakers of African American English. Notice that the students had a definite preference for one sentence over the other. This indicated that there is a linguistic pattern guiding their choices. Examine the data to determine what determines when a AAE speaker can use *be* and when they cannot.

LIST B: Number of Baltimore 5th graders who chose each answer

1. a. 32   *They usually be tired when they come home*
   b. 3   They be tired right now

2. a. 31   *When we play basketball, she be on my team*
   b. 4   The girl in the picture be my sister

3. a. 4   James be coming to school right now
   b. 31   *James always be coming to school*

4. a. 3   My ankle be broken from the fall
   b. 32   *Sometimes my ears be itching*

Write a rule that describes this pattern:

Worksheet 18:
Understanding Linguistic patterns: Uninflected *be* in African American English
(Approximate Time: 30 minutes)

In this exercise, found on pages 36-37 of the **Student Workbook**, we're going to examine a dialect feature of African American English. It is important to remember that not all African Americans use this pattern; it is most common in the speech of young African American speakers in large cities. In this construction, the inflected or unconjugated form of *be* is used where other dialects use *am*, *is*, or *are*. But, contrary to many people's beliefs, *be* is used only in specific contexts: those that happen habitually or are recurring.

Unlike the *a*-prefixing exercise, not all native English speakers have intuitions about when *be* can and cannot be used. Instead, only speakers familiar with African American English seem to have strong linguistic intuitions with respect to this feature. Before students examine data from AAE speakers, ask them to write how they would interpret, in terms of when the action described took place, the sentences in **LIST A**. Have them write their interpretations in their workbooks but do not discuss their answers until later.

LIST A:
1. My mom be working
2. He be absent
3. The students be talking in class

Next, ask students to examine the data in **LIST B**, which come from a forced choice test similar to the *a*-prefixing test, where speakers were asked to use their linguistic intuitions to determine which sentence sounded better. The data are from 35 AAE speakers in the fifth grade students in Baltimore, Maryland. If they are having trouble identifying the pattern, ask them to examine the type of action involved: is it something that happens once or more than once? It is important to note that if there was no pattern (that is, if it was random), we would expect that the same number of students would select each sentence as the one that sounds better. These students had a definite preference for one sentence over the other; therefore, there is a linguistic pattern guiding their choices.

LIST B: Number of Baltimore 5th graders who chose each answer

1. a. 32   *They usually be tired when they come home*

   b. 3   They be tired right now

2. a. 31   *When we play basketball, she be on my team*

   b. 4   The girl in the picture be my sister

3. a. 4   James be coming to school right now

   b. 31   *James always be coming to school*

4. a. 3   My ankle be broken from the fall

   b. 32   *Sometimes my ears be itching*

ANSWER

A good rule might read: An AAE speaker can use uninflected *BE* when talking about an action that occurs habitually (and not an action that ocurs once or a permanent state as in sentence 2b). In standard English, these sentences require the use of an adverb such as *usually, always, sometimes.*

Day 4

Examine your translations of the sentences in **LIST A**. Do you have linguistic intuitions about this feature?

Now that you understand when African American English speakers use *be*, use your rule to predict whether or not a speaker of African American English would use the sentences in **LIST C**. Write <u>Y</u> for **Yes** if the sentence follows the dialect pattern, and <u>N</u> for **No** if it does not.

LIST C: Applying the rule

1. _____ The students always *be* talking in class

2. _____ The students don't *be* talking right now

3. _____ Sometimes the teacher *be* early for class

4. _____ At the moment the teacher *be* in the lounge

5. _____ My name *be* Bill

Video Exercise 9: African American English

Despite the fact that African American English is rule-governed and patterned like all dialects, it is often viewed negatively by people. In the following video clip, you will see some African Americans from North Carolina who are proud of their dialect but also switch their speech to Standard English when they feel it is necessary. As you watch this video, think about responses to the following questions.

1. Could you hear differences in the speech of individuals in different situations?

2. Could you tell which African Americans lived in cities and which lived in rural areas?

3. Are these African Americans aware of the fact that they change their speech or not?

4. Why do you think that they feel that they must change their speech in different situations?

Finally, have the students reexamine their interpretations of the sentences in **LIST A**. These sentences did not have the adverbs (*usually, always, sometimes,* etc.) to indicate whether the action was habitual or not. A person with intuitions about this feature will interpret these as habitual constructions even if there is no adverb to indicate the habitualness. If a student interpreted the sentence as habitual, then he or she likely has linguistic intuitions about the pattern. Students who interpret the sentences as punctual, or happening one time, likely lack intuitions about this feature. See the chart below for a summary of this.

Sentence	Interpretation	Intuitions?
1. My mom be working	My mom is working right now	No
	My mom works all the time	Yes
2. He be absent	He is absent today	No
	He is absent from class a lot	Yes
3. The students be talking in class	The students are talking in class now	No
	The students often talk in class	Yes

The point of this exercise is to demonstrate how seemingly simple sentences can be interpreted differently by people depending on which intuitions they have. Incidentally, the non-italicized interpretations above would not be allowed by the uninflected *be* pattern in African American English. These interpretations do not fit within the grammatical pattern of uninflected *be* in African American English.

The final part of this exercise asks students to use the rule that they have learned to predict whether or not a speaker of African American English would use the sentences in **LIST C**. Have students write **Y** for "Yes" if the sentence follows the dialect pattern, and **N** for "No" if it does not.

LIST C: Applying the rule

1. __Y__ The students always be talking in class

2. __N__ The students don't be talking right now

3. __Y__ Sometimes the teacher be early for class

4. __N__ At the moment the teacher be in the lounge

5. __N__ My name be Bill

Reinforce the point that African American English has rules that determine when you can say *be* and when you cannot say *be*, just like the *a*-prefixing rules (*he went a-fishing*) or any of the other dialect patterns that we've examined.

Examine your translations of the sentences in **LIST A**. Do you have linguistic intuitions about this feature?

Now that you understand when African American English speakers use *be*, use your rule to predict whether or not a speaker of African American English would use the sentences in **LIST C**. Write <u>Y</u> for **Yes** if the sentence follows the dialect pattern, and <u>N</u> for **No** if it does not.

LIST C: Applying the rule

1. _____ The students always *be* talking in class

2. _____ The students don't *be* talking right now

3. _____ Sometimes the teacher *be* early for class

4. _____ At the moment the teacher *be* in the lounge

5. _____ My name *be* Bill

Video Exercise 9: African American English

Despite the fact that African American English is rule-governed and patterned like all dialects, it is often viewed negatively by people. In the following video clip, you will see some African Americans from North Carolina who are proud of their dialect but also switch their speech to Standard English when they feel it is necessary. As you watch this video, think about responses to the following questions.

1. Could you hear differences in the speech of individuals in different situations?

2. Could you tell which African Americans lived in cities and which lived in rural areas?

3. Are these African Americans aware of the fact that they change their speech or not?

4. Why do you think that they feel that they must change their speech in different situations?
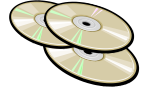
Video Exercise 9: African American English
(Approximate time: 20 minutes)

Despite the fact that African American English is rule-governed and patterned like all dialects, it is often viewed negatively by people. Not withstanding the negative views that many people have of African American English, it is a dialect that many young African Americans embrace as representative of their identity. In the following video clip, you will see some African Americans who are proud of their dialect but also switch their speech to Standard English when they feel it is necessary. You will see a video about the African Americans in North Carolina (**Chapter 27** of the **Resource DVD**, time = 8:48). As students watch this vignette, have them think about responses to the following questions. Have students either write answers to the questions in their **Student Workbooks** on page 37, and/or discuss them as a class.

ANSWER KEY

1. **Could you hear differences in the speech of individuals in different situations?**

   Most of the African Americans in the video do shift their speech even in the short time they're on screen. A few notable examples include the hip-hop artists who talk about the different styles of speech they use with people they know versus those they don't know. Also, the African Americans in the video who are filmed in professional settings talk about or switch into a less standard sounding dialect. It is interesting to note, however, that the biggest change is in their tone or pitch as opposed to their grammatical structures or vocabulary.

2. **Could you tell which African Americans lived in cities and which lived in rural areas?**

   Just like white speech, it is sometimes relatively easy to tell the difference between African Americans who were raised in urban as opposed to rural areas. That is not to say that no rural African Americans do not sound as though they are from cities. In fact, more and more rural African Americans are beginning to adopt speech patterns similar to those used by urban African Americans.

3. **Are these African Americans aware of the fact that they change their speech or not?**

   This is an opinion question. In some cases (such as the professional African American who talks about "talking like your mamma taught you to talk"), it is clear that they are aware they switch even if they may not be consciously trying to switch in any given situation. We all switch our speech and often times we do not need to think about what style is appropriate.

4. **Why do you think that they feel that they must change their speech in different situations?**

   This is an opinion question. We all switch our speech because different situations call for different styles of language use. However, the difference is that African Americans are expected to shift more radically in many situations in order to avoid using highly stigmatized forms of the language. The discrimination inherent in how many people view language, and AAE in particular, mean that there are more serious repercussions for African Americans who do not shift their speech than for most whites.

Worksheet 19: Language Change in African American English

Notes:

How long has African American English been spoken?

What are some of the reasons that it has changed over time?

Answer either *true* or *false* for the following questions. Then write a reason for your choice or provide an example that proves your choice

1. ____ True or False: African American is patterned, just like all dialects of English.

2. ____ True or False: All African Americans speak African American English.

3. ____ True or False: There are no Whites or Hispanics who speak African American English.

4. ____ True or False: African American English speakers all sound the same.

5. ____ True or False: African American English speakers cannot also use Standard English.

Language Change in African American English

Worksheet 19: Language Change in African American English

A note-taking outline on the information below, plus comprehension questions for students can be found on page 38 of the **Student Workbook**.

How did African American English develop? While we are not certain of all the details of the history of African American English (AAE), we know that African American English began developing during the institution of slavery over 300 years ago. Since the slaves came from many different areas of Africa, they did not share a common language and therefore had to use their limited English to communicate with each other.

After the practice of slavery ended, African Americans were segregated and maintained the dialect of English that they had learned on the plantations. By the time segregation came to an end and the Civil Rights Movement began, the African American dialect was something that African Americans began to take pride in. As roads and television have made it possible for rural African Americans to interact with popular African American culture, many have learned about their heritage and adopted AAE features into their dialects. Many people mistakenly believe that all African Americans sound the same. The truth is much more complex. Like other dialects, there is regional variation in AAE. Also, there are subtle but important differences between the speech of urban African Americans and their rural counterparts. Further, like all dialects, AAE continues to develop so that the AAE of an older speaker may be quite different from the speech of a younger speaker. Of course there will still be stylistic variation. In this manner, the way AAE varies from community to community, individual to individual, and within a single speaker, mirrors exactly the ways in which other dialect speakers vary. Finally, it is important to mention that being black does not lead a person to speak AAE nor is it a requirement for speaking AAE. The speech variety termed "AAE" refers to the speech associated with many African Americans and should not be viewed as a race-based dialect. It is a sociocultural dialect like other culturally and ethnically associated dialects. Some African Americans speak mainstream English and some non-African Americans (Whites, Hispanics, Asians, etc.) may adopt some or many elements of AAE into their speech and therefore, could have their speech described as AAE. Genetics do not cause people to speak a specific variety of language or dialect. Instead, people initially acquire the variety of speech that is most available to them, typically from their primary care-givers. More information about the history and features of AAE can be found in Appendices I and J, and at http://www.pbs.org/speak/education/curriculum/high/aae/.

1. *True*: African American is patterned, just like all dialects of English.

   All dialects are patterned. There are rules that govern the features of African American English such as the Habitual *be* feature just as there are rules for features like *a*-prefixing

2. *False:* All African Americans speak African American English.

   Many African Americans do not speak AAE. It is culturally-based language variety, not genetic and therefore, it is possible to be African American but not speak AAE.

3. *False*: There are no Whites or Hispanics who speak African American English.

   Since all dialects are culturally based, people will acquire the language variety that they identify with. Many whites and Hispanics identify with African American culture and therefore acquire AAE. The white hip-hop artist in the video is one such person.

4. *False*: African American English speakers all sound the same.

   As we saw in the video, rural and urban African Americans sound different - but speakers within these groups also do not all sound the same.

5. *False*: African American English speakers cannot also use Standard English.

   Many AAE speakers (and authors) can use both AAE and Standard English in the same way that bilinguals can use two langauges.

Day 4

Listening Exercise 3: Language Change in Hyde County

You will hear four different generations of speakers who lived all of their lives in mainland Hyde County. All of the speakers are members of the same family, a longstanding African American family of Hyde County. In this region of Eastern North Carolina, European Americans and African Americans have been living in close proximity since the early 1700s. Because the county is 80% marshland, residents have been more isolated here than in many other areas of North Carolina. The first paved roads into the county arrived in the mid-1900s, and dramatically changed life for the younger generations of Hyde County residents. Listen closely to the speakers and follow along with the transcripts on the screen. Think about the following questions as you listen to the passages.

1. How does the oldest speaker sound compared with the younger speaker? What changes do you see across the generations?

2. What differences in speech take place from generation to generation? What do you think is happening to the Outer Banks Brogue over time in this family?

3. Why do you think that some of these changes are taking place?

Now listen to two European American residents of Hyde County: A middle-aged male and a teenager. Do these two speakers sound similar? Compare the speech of the young European American male to the speech of the youngest speaker in the African American samples that you just listened to. Answer the following questions.

1. What differences do you hear between the younger European American male and the youngest African American speaker you just listened to?

2. Were the two European American speakers more or less similar to each other compared with the older and younger African American Speakers?

3. What does this comparison tell you about the way language is changing in mainland Hyde County for European Americans and for African Americans?

4. Why do you think these differences in language change are taking place?

Listening Exercise 3: Language Change in Hyde County
(Approximate time: 20 minutes)

Listen to some speech from four different generations of speakers who lived all of their lives in mainland Hyde County (**Chapters 28-31** of the **Resource DVD**). All of the speakers are members of the same family, a longstanding African American family of Hyde County. In this region of eastern North Carolina, European Americans and African Americans have been living in close proximity since the early 1700s. Because the county is 80% marshland, residents have been more isolated here than in many other areas of North Carolina. The first paved roads into the county arrived in the mid-1900s, and dramatically changed life for the younger generations of Hyde County residents. European Americans and African Americans continue to make a living fishing and farming, though they tend to live in separate communities. Note some of the dialect features in the excerpts, particularly the ones that are in bold and italicized. Think about the following questions, also found on page 36 of the **Student Workbook**, as you listen to the passages. Transcripts of the speech samples are found below and are included on the **Resource DVD** (**Chapters 28-31**).

ANSWER KEY

1. **How does the oldest speaker sound compared with the younger speaker? What changes do you see across the generations?**

   The oldest speaker is identified as "white" more than 90% of the time by listeners who don't know his ethnicity. His great granddaughter is identified as an African American more than 90% of the time. (The two middle generations are in between in how they're identified). This suggests that over the course of about 65 years (the difference in age between the oldest and youngest speaker), the dialect has shifted from sounding very much like "rural white speech" to sounding very African American. This is a remarkably rapid shift in speech. It is important to note that the oldest speaker sounds very similar to the Outer Banks English speakers we examined earlier. This is because Hyde County is in the same dialect region (see the Chapter 37 of the resource DVD). Older African Americans from Appalachia sound similar to older whites from the same region.

2. **What changes in speech take place from generation to generation? What do you think is happening to the Outer Banks Brogue over time in this family?**

   The shifts are away from local white dialect patterns (such as the pronunciation of side as "soid") to AAE patterns (such as the use of habitual BE by the youngest speaker). In the transcripts below, all the italicized words in the older male reflect features of the local white variety. In the transcript of the great granddaughter, the italicized features are exclusively those common to AAE.

3. **Why do you think that some of these changes are taking place?**

   Improved roads and the ability to travel easily out of the region are the biggest influences on the language. Television and radio are secondary influences. Another important influence stems from the Civil Rights Movement and the new-found importance of being familiar with African American history and culture, which includes the ability to use AAE.

Transcripts

Hyde County African American Male, born 1910 (**Chapter 28**)

We was young *fellers* and got to fighting, I hit him a lick or two and he run to the shelter to get a axe, and I *knowed, I knowed* what was in there when he—when he went there and a notion struck me, you better get *behind* the shelter. And he, when he come *out* he was looking for me where he left me out there, he had that axe just right, but I was *behind* him. I was stunting that *time*, and *I run* up *behind* him, you see, I was a better man 'n he was. I *run* up behind him and grabbed him and *throwed* him on the ground and struck him with that *fis'* a time or two and took that axe. And I threw it way out there and I beat him good. When I turned him *a-loose*, he didn't go look for that axe, he went to the *house*. Aah, but if I'da stayed out there where he left me, he *might woulda* chopped me in the head or something, can't never tell. So, that made his daddy mad cause I beat him. He was taking up for the boy but *he weren't* taking up for me.

Listening Exercise 3: Language Change in Hyde County

You will hear four different generations of speakers who lived all of their lives in mainland Hyde County. All of the speakers are members of the same family, a longstanding African American family of Hyde County. In this region of Eastern North Carolina, European Americans and African Americans have been living in close proximity since the early 1700s. Because the county is 80% marshland, residents have been more isolated here than in many other areas of North Carolina. The first paved roads into the county arrived in the mid-1900s, and dramatically changed life for the younger generations of Hyde County residents. Listen closely to the speakers and follow along with the transcripts on the screen. Think about the following questions as you listen to the passages.

1. How does the oldest speaker sound compared with the younger speaker? What changes do you see across the generations?

2. What differences in speech take place from generation to generation? What do you think is happening to the Outer Banks Brogue over time in this family?

3. Why do you think that some of these changes are taking place?

Now listen to two European American residents of Hyde County: A middle-aged male and a teenager. Do these two speakers sound similar? Compare the speech of the young European American male to the speech of the youngest speaker in the African American samples that you just listened to. Answer the following questions.

1. What differences do you hear between the younger European American male and the youngest African American speaker you just listened to?

2. Were the two European American speakers more or less similar to each other compared with the older and younger African American Speakers?

3. What does this comparison tell you about the way language is changing in mainland Hyde County for European Americans and for African Americans?

4. Why do you think these differences in language change are taking place?

Daughter, born 1935 (Chapter 29)

But I was just always scared of the cotton worm that was in--be in the cotton, *them great big old worms. Some of 'em about that long. Some of 'em 'bout that long* with big black and *striped* with horns on 'em. *And some bright green*, now I was scared of them. And the last year my daddy planted cotton, it was full of them. *And he didn't plant no more cotton,* 'cause he had a time getting that cotton picked. They called *'em old long black furry* ones sweet gum worms. And they *had got* all in the cotton. And honey, *they didn't plant no more cotton.*

Granddaughter, born 1958 (Chapter 30)

Well see, I was just in the, like, fourth and fifth grade. Well, honey, I wadn't nervous, not in there a bit 'cause *I always been a bully.* I was--I was in the fourth grade and I went up there to the white school, *I'ma* put it to you that way, but that it wadn't 'cause they scared us 'cause they didn't scare me nothin' cause as long as they fuss I fuss back with them and if they wanted me to fight me I'll fight them back. So I really wadn't scared 'cause I just always *growed up* to be a bully all my day. It was just my sister probably was nervous because she just, I don't know…

Great granddaughter, born 1975 (Chapter 31)

It's a ghost story that they tell about, like, over Slocum about, when you see these two stars in the sky fighting, there're these two *mens* that killed *theirself*, you know, about fighting, and they was, what, Chet and Tom. Now that's a light *be following* you 'cause there's so ma-that, so many *peoples* got killed that a light *be following you.* And then they have, they have told this story about, like, if this woman *be on the road thumbing* and you stop and you give her a ride and then you think *she honestly in the car with* you and then when you turn over she's not in the car with you. *Somebody have* honestly seen—that honestly happened to somebody, somebody honestly *seen* that light, but as far as me, I've never seen it cause *I don't be trying to worry about seeing nothing like that.* But we have been, cause Slocum would be, like seen a—two lights in the sky, *them two lights* in the sky, but, you know, never *known* what *they was* until somebody told us that, it was two, uh what? A slave *owner and slave was* fighting and they ki—they, you know, somebody said they killed each other right over there.

Now listen to two European American residents of Hyde County: a middle-aged male and a teenager (**Chapters 32 and 33** of the **Resource DVD**). Answer the following questions.

1. **What differences do you hear between the younger European American males and the youngest African American speaker you just listened to?**

   The younger European American should be clearly identifiable as "white" whereas the youngest African American is clearly identifiable as "black." Also, the younger European American maintains many of the Outer Banks English features in his speech.

2. **Were the two European American speakers more or less similar to each other than the older and younger African American Speakers?**

   The older speakers were more similar than the younger speakers.

3. **What does this comparison tell you about the way language is changing in mainland Hyde County for European Americans and for African Americans?**

   African Americans are changing in the direction of urban AAE norms whereas whites tend to maintain the local regional dialect.

4. **Why do you think these differences in language change are taking place?**

   Again, roads and increased transportation are the biggest factors along with the importance of emerging ethnic identification following the Civil Rights Movement. Television and radio are less important though do have some influence

ANSWER KEY

Listening Exercise 3: Language Change in Hyde County

You will hear four different generations of speakers who lived all of their lives in mainland Hyde County. All of the speakers are members of the same family, a longstanding African American family of Hyde County. In this region of Eastern North Carolina, European Americans and African Americans have been living in close proximity since the early 1700s. Because the county is 80% marshland, residents have been more isolated here than in many other areas of North Carolina. The first paved roads into the county arrived in the mid-1900s, and dramatically changed life for the younger generations of Hyde County residents. Listen closely to the speakers and follow along with the transcripts on the screen. Think about the following questions as you listen to the passages.

1. How does the oldest speaker sound compared with the younger speaker? What changes do you see across the generations?

2. What differences in speech take place from generation to generation? What do you think is happening to the Outer Banks Brogue over time in this family?

3. Why do you think that some of these changes are taking place?

Now listen to two European American residents of Hyde County: A middle-aged male and a teenager. Do these two speakers sound similar? Compare the speech of the young European American male to the speech of the youngest speaker in the African American samples that you just listened to. Answer the following questions.

1. What differences do you hear between the younger European American male and the youngest African American speaker you just listened to?

2. Were the two European American speakers more or less similar to each other compared with the older and younger African American Speakers?

3. What does this comparison tell you about the way language is changing in mainland Hyde County for European Americans and for African Americans?

4. Why do you think these differences in language change are taking place?

Transcripts

Hyde County European American male, 49 (born 1944) (Chapter 32)

Track 1: Well, like we say, we started on that end, and started running them back this way and then they used to come up, you know, *it weren't*, all this, this was *swamp* where we used to hunt. Every one of these *houses*. All these *houses* from where we turned at the *fire* station, up this way, been built since the 60s. There was only one *house* that was up here in the 60s. All this, subdivision, Jackson Dunes, Oyster Creek. And then the ponies would come up, you know, you'd pen them up, and they come right along the shore. You know, and we had beaches you know, before everybody started building you had a little beach all the way *around* on the *Sound side* just like you do on the ocean. But now you don't, everybody break-watered and filled in and built. And then in June we had a cattle penning.

Hyde County European American male, 18 (born 1979) (Chapter 33)

He was sittin' in the middle, we had him in between 'cause he was talkin' junk to these, about 15 big guys and stuff. And they didn't like it so, and uh, when we were ridin' he was just sittin' 'ere hittin' stuff, and he was bleedin' and everything, and, uh (so that's how you ended up jumpin' a curb), well, there's—it's like a U thing, the waterfront in Washington where everybody goes to hang out. *It's* a U and we were coming out around this way, and he was talkin' junk. And they were over here in this parking lot, and when we *come* back around here the traffic was stopped. If we'da stopped, we'da been *right* there *beside of* 'em. And they started comin' over toward the truck—all of 'em, so—*I weren't* about to get my tail whupped just for him talkin' junk, so. If I'da had rear view mirrors I'da never jumped it 'cause the cop was *right* behind me when I did it. I had no idea he was behind me, because if he had of, I'da never jumped the *curve*. But uh, I just jumped over the *curve* dere and went out the other driveway and I said, "We're going home." And by that time Little Jimmy *had done passed out*.

Summary of information in exercise:

As can be heard in these speech samples, the oldest African American had relatively few features that would be associated with AAE. In fact, in listening tests, about 90% of people thought he was a white speaker. Most of the noticeable features that the great grandfather has are associated with regional Outer Banks English (in fact, he sounds similar to the older European American). This suggests that at one time, the African Americans in this part of the country spoke very much like the other people who lived there. However, there are subtle features that are more associated with AAE than with white varieties. Thus, while older AAE may have been similar in many ways to local white varieties, there have been at least some distinct features. The great granddaughter, on the other hand, has a number of features that are associated with AAE and she is identified as an African American by over 90% of listeners. This shift away from local (white) norms in favor of more mainstream AAE is a common pattern throughout the rural South and provides a good illustration of language change in action. Meanwhile, there has been considerably less change in the speech of the European American community, as can be heard in the similarities between the speakers in **Chapters 32 and 33** of the **Resource DVD**.

Day 4

Day 5: NC's Cities, Spanish and Latino English, and Language Attitudes

Purpose:

Students will examine language change in North Carolina's urban areas. Students will synthesize information about a number of dialects as a means of review and discussion. This will be done using dialect vocabulary from around the state. Students will then investigate the role of the emerging Spanish-speaking population in North Carolina, including the cultural and linguistic impact.

Overview:

The most recent major change in the population demographics of North Carolina involves the rapidly growing Hispanic population. With the arrival of this group comes a vibrant new cultural influence to the state. Many people fear that Spanish will overcome English as the most common language. In this unit, it will be shown that Spanish does not pose a threat to English and instead, adds to the richness of the linguistic landscape of North Carolina.

Finally, students will reflect on what they've learned and how it is relevant to their lives in their schools and communities.

Key ideas:

1. Dialect change is happening in urban and rural areas, but this is not leading to dialect leveling

2. Dialect vocabulary can reveal a lot about the people who use it

3. Spanish has been spoken in the US longer than English has

4. Spanish is not a threat to English as the most common language

5. Spanish adds to the rich cultural and linguistic landscape of North Carolina

Resources

"Talkin' with mi Gente (Chicano English)," by Carmen Fought.
From American Voices: How Dialects Differ from Coast to Coast. This article, written for non-linguists, examines the social dialect of English spoken by many children and grandchildren of Mexican immigrants. Contrary to popular belief, this dialect is not "English with an accent" but is instead a "full" dialect of English whose speakers may not even speak Spanish! This article can be found in Appendix M

"Spanish in the U.S." by Phillip Carter:
http://www.pbs.org/speak/seatosea/americanvarieties/spanglish/usa/ This article addresses a number of myths associated with Spanish in the United States, and is included in Appendix N

Information on Spanish and Chicano English in the US can be found here:

http://www.pbs.org/speak/education/curriculum/high/spanish/

Information on the research NC State University faculty and students have done on Spanish in North Carolina can be found here:

http://ncsu.edu/linguistics/code/Research%20Sites/raleigh.htm
http://ncsu.edu/linguistics/code/Research%20Sites/durham.htm

Worksheet 20: Language Change in North Carolina's Cities

Notes on language and population change in North Carolina:

Video Exercise 10: Language Change in Urban North Carolina

You will see a clip that illustrates changes in the speech of Charlotte, North Carolina's largest city. As you watch this clip, think about responses to the following questions.

1. How do the older speakers sound compared to the younger speakers? What did the speech of the older speakers make you think of?

2. How do the older African American speakers sound in comparison to other older Charlotte speakers and younger African Americans? Do they sound anything like the older African Americans in Hyde County that you just heard?

3. What do people say is happening to Charlotte? Why is this? How do residents feel about the changes?

4. In your opinion, is language change a good thing, a bad thing, or neither?

5. In your opinion, should anything be done to try to stop language change? Is there anything that should be done to preserve older varieties of English?

Language Change in North Carolina's Cities

There is space for students to take notes on language and population change on page 40 of the **Student Workbook**. African American English is not the only language variety in North Carolina to undergo substantial language change over the past century. In fact, all "living" language varieties (languages that are learned as a first language, as opposed to, e.g., Latin) are constantly changing due to a number of factors: migration, cultural influence, group contact, isolation, etc. As has been seen in other units, rural white dialects like Outer Banks English or Appalachian English are also undergoing changes. The cities of North Carolina have also shown considerable linguistic change over the past half century or so. Many people are shocked to learn that some of the older speakers in North Carolina's cities such as Charlotte or Raleigh speak with what sounds like a stereotypical Savannah or lowland South Carolina dialect or something out of *Gone with the Wind (*See the article "Sounds of the South" in Appendix G). Due to the increased mobility of urban populations, lifetime residents of cities are becoming the exception rather than the rule. This results in the erosion or weakening of local dialects in favor of more mainstream ways of speaking. Now, even children who grow up in North Carolina's urban areas seldom have what would be considered a strong Southern accent. Instead, their speech is more likely to be less regionally marked and more mainstream.

The growth of North Carolina's cities is clear from census data. In the 1990s, Charlotte grew by 27%, from 1.4 million to 1.8 million people. The Raleigh-Durham area grew even more, up 35% from 1.1 million to 1.6 million people. The fastest growing rural counties were the ones that border these urban areas, suggesting that much of that growth can also be attributed to the cities. The population growth of the urban areas is now transforming the traditionally rural areas of the state as well.

Video Exercise 10: Language Change in Urban North Carolina
(Approximate time: 20 minutes)

You will see a vignette that illustrates changes in the speech of Charlotte, North Carolina's largest city. As students watch this vignette (**Chapter 34** of the **Resource DVD**, time = 7:14), have them think about responses to the following questions. Have students either write answers to the questions in their **Student Workbooks** on page 40, and/or discuss them as a class.

1. **How do the older speakers sound compared to the younger speakers? What did the speech of the older speakers make you think of?**

    The older speakers are often identified as sounding "country" or rural.

2. **How do the older African American speakers sound in comparison to other older Charlotte speakers and younger African Americans? Do they sound anything like the older African Americans in Hyde County that you just heard?**

    The older African Americans sound similar to the older European Americans from Charlotte. Again, earlier AAE seems to have been more regionalized than it is now. These speakers have only a few similarities with the older AAE speakers from Hyde County.

3. **What do people say is happening to Charlotte? Why is this? How do residents feel about the changes?**

    That Charlotte is becoming more metropolitian and less "country." Some appreciate the change because it bring greater opportunities and more wealth whereas others are sad to see the city lose its "charm."

4. **In your opinion, is language change a good thing, a bad thing, or neither?**

    Opinion.

5. **In your opinion, should anything be done to try to stop language change? Is there anything that should be done to preserve older varieties of English?**

    Opinion. Videos and audio recordings are one way of preserving older varieties.

ANSWER KEY

Worksheet 21: Languages of North Carolina: Spanish and Hispanic English in North Carolina

Notes:

1. When did Spanish speakers first arrive in North American?

2. What was the first town established by Spanish speakers in what is now the United States? When was this settled?

3. Which town was settled first: Santa Fe, New Mexico or Jamestown, Virginia?

4. _____ True or False: Everyone who speaks English with a "Spanish accent" must speak Spanish as a first language.

5. What are some features of Hispanic English?

Languages of North Carolina: Spanish and Hispanic English in North Carolina

Worksheet 20: Notes on Spanish and Hispanic English, History, and Culture

A note-taking outline on the information below, plus comprehension questions for students can be found on page 41 of the **Student Workbook**.

Introduction and History

There is no question that Spanish has becoming increasingly important in North Carolina. Over the past decade in North Carolina, the population of people of Spanish-speaking heritage has dramatically increased. From 1990 to 2000, the Hispanic population in North Carolina increased from about 75,000 to 375,000. This increase, 397% is substantially larger than the 58% average increase for the United States as a whole. North Carolina has one of the fastest growing Hispanic populations in the country, and currently has the largest percentage of monolingual Spanish speakers of any state, thus making Spanish an important part of North Carolina's linguistic makeup.

With increased size comes increased visibility and cultural influence – but also more widespread and entrenched stereotypes. As has been pointed out numerous times in this unit, most stereotypes are not accurate and assumptions about Spanish speakers are also inaccurate.

Background Information:

The terms *Hispanic*, *Chicano,* and *Latino* are sometimes used interchangeably even though they may mean different things. The term *Chicano* or *Chicana* refers to the boy or girl offspring of Mexican immigrants living in the United States. *Latino/ Latina* technically refers specifically to people who have emigrated from the Iberian Peninsula (i.e., Spain and Portugal). *Latino* and *Latina* are popularly used to describe any person from the Spanish or Portuguese speaking world (including Brazil) that is not immediately from Spain, Portugal, or Mexico. The term *Hispanic* is a more general and thus preferred term that is used to describe people from anywhere in the Spanish-speaking world including Mexico, Central America, and South America. The term *Mexican,* when used as an ethnic label, is typically considered to be offensive throughout the US.

Some popular misconceptions

Myth #1: **Spanish is new in the United States.**

Reality: The Spanish began to explore (1) <u>North America in 1492,</u> and their first permanent settlement was (2) <u>St. Augustine, Florida, founded in 1565.</u> The Spanish also explored much of the American Southwest and West (including Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, and Oregon), beginning as early as 1540. (3) <u>In fact, Santa Fe, New Mexico, was established in 1605, two years before the first permanent English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia</u>.

Myth #2: **Spanish is a threat to English.**

Reality: Many people believe that Spanish threatens English's role as the most prominent language in the United States. These same concerns have been around for centuries. The Founding Fathers thought that German would likely supplant English as an official language. Therefore, they determined that there should be no official language of the United States. To this day, the United States has no official language. While Spanish has certainly become more prevalent in society, researchers have observed that speakers in the second generation born in the United States speak almost exclusively English and only often have very limited if any Spanish ability.

Worksheet 21: Languages of North Carolina: Spanish and Hispanic English in North Carolina

Notes:

1. When did Spanish speakers first arrive in North American?

2. What was the first town established by Spanish speakers in what is now the United States? When was this settled?

3. Which town was settled first: Santa Fe, New Mexico or Jamestown, Virginia?

4. _____ True or False: Everyone who speaks English with a "Spanish accent" must speak Spanish as a first language.

5. What are some features of Hispanic English?

Myth #3: People who sound like they have a "Spanish Accent" are Spanish-speakers who have not yet mastered English.

Reality: Oftentimes, we hear people speak English with what we classify as a "Spanish Accent." Linguists who have studied this variety of language in Arizona and California have named it *Chicano English*. People of Spanish-speaking descent in North Carolina seem to prefer the term *Hispanic English* to *Chicano English*. Regardless of the name, this language variety is a dialect of English that people of Hispanic heritage speak. It is a "full" dialect just like Appalachian English or African American English. (4) Many speakers of Hispanic English do not speak much or any Spanish. They speak English as a first language but have noticeable pronunciation features—just as Appalachian English or Outer Banks English has noticeable pronunciation features.

Language

What does Hispanic English sound like?

Hispanic English has some distinctive pronunciation patterns, some of which are shared with African American English (AAE) and other vernacular dialects. (5) One of these is the use of a *d*-sound instead of a *th*-sound: *these* and *them* are often pronounced "dese" and "dem." Another is the loss of a consonant at the end of a word if that consonant is part of a consonant blend (also called a consonant cluster). For example, the word *missed* (which sounds the same as *mist)* will likely be pronounced as "miss." Thus, when Hispanic English (or AAE) speakers say "I miss' Angel's party," it may sound like they are using the present tense of the verb. A third feature common to Hispanic English and other vernacular dialects is so-called *g*-dropping at the end of *–ing* verb forms, as in *fishin'* and *goin'.* But here Hispanic English differs from other vernacular varieties: it substitutes an "ee" sound for the short "i" sound in these verbs. So *going* may sound like "goween." Finally, Hispanic English is characterized by what linguists call the "non-reduction of unstressed vowels." In English, if a syllable is not stressed, its vowel is often "reduced"—that is, pronounced "uh." For example, most English speakers pronounce the first syllables of *because* or *together* with an "uh": "buh-cuz" and "tuh-gether." But Hispanic English speakers often use "ee" and "oo" sounds even in unstressed syllables: They are likely to say "bee-cuz" and "too-gether."

More can be learned about the history of Spanish in the United States and Hispanic English in Appendices M and N, and at the *Do You Speak American?* web site, which contains an overview of key ideas and links to more detailed materials appropriate for teachers and students. This Web site also contains activities appropriate for students who wish to learn more about Spanish: http://www.pbs.org/speak/education/curriculum/high/spanish/

Day 5

Listening Exercise 4: Is this speaker bilingual or not?

You will hear a bit of speech from eight speakers. Some of these speakers speak both Spanish and English, other speakers speak only English. Your job is to try and figure out which speakers speak only English (monolingual) and which speakers speak Spanish and English (bilingual). You will hear each voice repeated twice. Circle the response that you believe to be correct.

Speaker #1   Speaks English only   Speaks English and Spanish

Speaker #2   Speaks English only   Speaks English and Spanish

Speaker #3   Speaks English only   Speaks English and Spanish

Speaker #4   Speaks English only   Speaks English and Spanish

Speaker #5   Speaks English only   Speaks English and Spanish

Speaker #6   Speaks English only   Speaks English and Spanish

Speaker #7   Speaks English only   Speaks English and Spanish

Speaker #8   Speaks English only   Speaks English and Spanish

Notes:

Listening Exercise 4: Is this speaker bilingual or not?

Have students listen to the eight speakers on **Chapter 35** of the **Resource DVD** (**time = 1:57**). All speakers are of Hispanic heritage and some speak Spanish and Hispanic English while others speak only Hispanic English. Ask students to try to determine which speakers are bilingual and which speakers are monolingual. Answer choices are listed on page 42 of the **Student Workbook**. Have them try to describe what led them to their decisions.

ANSWER KEY

1. Spanish and English (Bilingual)
2. English only (Monolingual)
3. English only (Monolingual)
4. Spanish and English (Bilingual)
5. English only (Monolingual)
6. Spanish and English (Bilingual)
7. English only (Monolingual)
8. Spanish and English (Bilingual)

Discussion:

This exercise is meant to be difficult for students. In fact, many students will have to just guess at their answers. This is because there are many similarities between the speech of Hispanic ESL speakers and native English speakers who speak Hispanic English. Remind students that they should get four answers correct just by guessing. If they get more than two wrong, they are having a hard time telling the difference between a speaker whose first language is Spanish and a speaker whose first language is English.

Most of us think we can tell the difference between these groups of people but this exercise demonstrates that it is extremely difficult to do so consistently. Thus, much of the time when we assume a speaker is learning English as a second language, we may in fact be wrong. Hispanic English is a dialect of English, just like the other dialects we have examined. It is also sometimes referred to as "Chicano English." In schools around the country, Hispanic English speakers are incorrectly placed into ESL classes when they do not, in fact, speak Spanish. This diagnosis is sometimes done based on their accent or occasionally their last names! Some students will try to stay in these classes as a means of learning Spanish from their peers.

It is well worth the time to play the samples a second time after this discussion so that students can listen closely and come to realize that there is, in fact, very little if anything that they can use to effectively differentiate between monolingual and bilingual speakers.

Video Exercise 11: Spanish in North Carolina

You will see a clip about the emerging Spanish-speaking population in North Carolina and what some non-Spanish speaking people think about it. As you watch this clip, think about responses to the following questions.

1. What is taking place with the use of Spanish in North Carolina? Compare the case of Spanish with the case of Cherokee language shown before.

2. How do the people in the video view Spanish? How do they view English?

3. Is it important for English speakers to learn some Spanish? Why or why not?

4. What do you think will happen to the Spanish language in North Carolina? Why?

Video Exercise 11: Spanish in North Carolina
(Approximate time: 20 minutes)
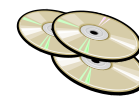
You will see a vignette about the emerging Spanish-speaking population in North Carolina (**Chapter 36** of the **Resource DVD**, time = 5:37). As students watch this vignette, have them think about responses to the following questions. Have students either answer the questions on page 43 of their **Student Workbooks**, and/or discuss them as a class.

1. What is taking place with the use of Spanish in North Carolina? Compare the case of Spanish with the case of Cherokee language shown before.

The language situations are very different. Cherokee is a language that has been spoken in North Carolina for a long time whereas Spanish is a newer addition to the linguistic landscape. The number of Spanish speakers is increasing rapidly whereas the Cherokee population is more stable. Both populations are working to preserve their native language. In the case of Cherokee, the community is actively teaching the language with the hopes of revitalizing it. In the case of Spanish many parents try to teach their children at least some Spanish. In both cases, English is the language in which the younger generation is likely to be most fluent.

2. How do the people in the video view Spanish? How do they view English?

The people in the video are all very proud of their Hispanic heritage, including their language. At the same time, they all describe English as the most important language and express a desire to be fluent in English. As one man says, "if you don't have English, you don't have nothing." Because of the importance placed on knowing English, some families fear that their children will not retain the Spanish language.

**3. Is it important for English speakers to learn some Spanish? Why or why not?**

This is an opinion question. It might be worth pointing out to students that the US is one of the only places in the world where monolingualism is the norm. Multilingualism is prevalent throughout most of the world and many studies suggest that there are cognitive benefits to being multilingual. Of course, this consideration is generally absent from social evaluations of the emerging Spanish presence in places like North Carolina.

4. What do you think will happen to the Spanish language in North Carolina? Why?

This is also an opinion question but can lead to a good discussion. Some points to consider include the fact that Spanish has been spoken in the US for longer than the US has actually existed. This coexistence with English has given rise to the Hispanic English dialect in the previous exercise. Linguists and sociologists have documented a clear shift from Spanish to English by immigrant families. This pattern is sometimes described as a "three generation shift" and is not limiter to Spanish but seems to describe the language shift of many immigrant groups. The first generation speaks only the native language. The second generation is bilingual in the native language and English, and the third generation speaks only English (though often one that is ethnically marked like Hispanic English). With Spanish, this traditional three-generation pattern is sometimes accelerated to two generations. Because of this, many scholars believe the number of Spanish speakers will decline in North Carolina. Many people say things like, "American has never seen an immigration like this" but the truth is that Americans had the same fears of Germans, Italians, and Irish immigrants at various times in our history. Each of these groups constituted a greater portion of the population than Spanish speakers do currently and so it is inaccurate to assume that the current situation is wholly unique.

ANSWER KEY

DIALECT JEOPARDY
(Approximate time: 15 to 40 minutes)
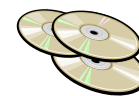
A fun way to review the information in this unit is to divide the class into teams and play Dialect Jeopardy (**Chapter 39** of the **Resource DVD**). Unlike real Jeopardy, teams must take turns selecting questions as opposed to buzzing in. You can decide exactly how he game will run but consider things such as how strict you will be making the teams answer in the form of a question, how much time the team has to provide an answer, and whether other teams will have a chance to "steal" incorrect questions (the answer is revealed after clicking "next" and so if you allow stealing, you should be familiar with all the answers ahead of time). The DVD-based game is sequential, so, unlike regular Jeopardy, teams cannot select their questions. The game can take as little or as much time as you wish. You can restart the game at any time by pressing "Menu" on your DVD remote control.

Instructions for post-curricular questionnaire (if applicable)
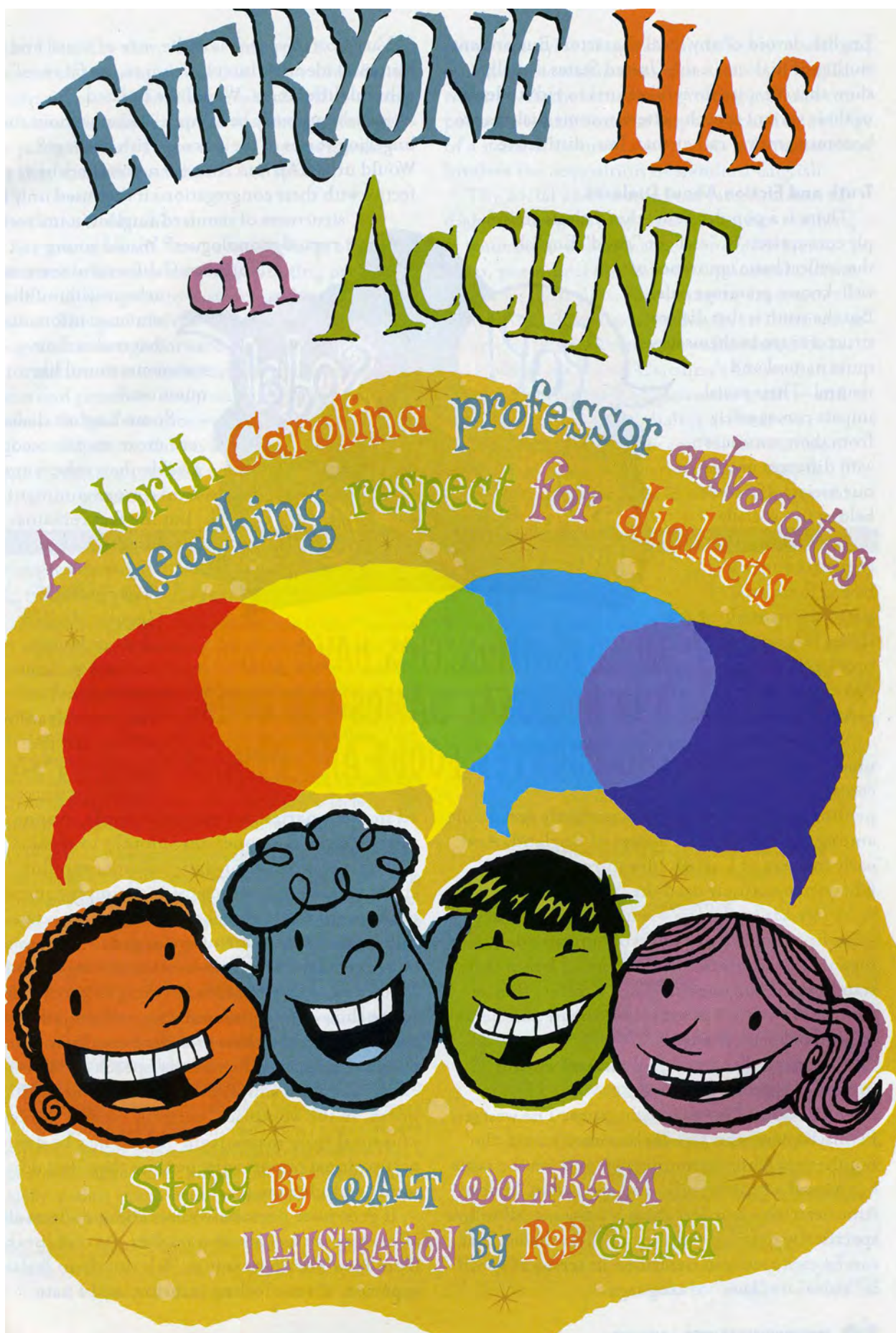*(Approximate time: 15 minutes)*

If you are using the pre-/post-curriculum questionnaires with your classes, please have the class complete the post-curricular questionnaire before doing the conclusions below. In fact, the students' responses to the open-ended questions may spark a more fruitful review discussion. Before passing the questionnaires out to your students, please let them know the following:

1. Students names and personal information will never be shared with anyone. I only use them to match pre- and post-curriculum questionnaires.
2. Students should take their time thinking about their responses to the questions.
3. Students should answer as honestly as possible.
4. If students want to make notes explaining why they chose an answer that is allowed – but they should still select one of the answers.
5. If a student does not understand what a question is asking, (s)he should ask you and that you will help students understand the question. If they still do not understand the question, they should respond "don't know."
6. Have a few extra questionnaires available in case a student makes mistakes or wants to start over.
7. Make sure all answers are clear – students are to circle only one answer. If they change their mind, they should completely erase or mark out the answer that they did not intend.

Conclusions: Reassessing language attitudes

In concluding this unit, it is useful to ask students to reflect on what they've learned. Review the key ideas with students. Have them write a journal entry or free write about how learning about language variation may be important in their lives – or ask students to describe views that they had that now believe need to be reevaluated. Some other questions to ask students:

- Why do you think that most people believe dialects don't have rules?
- Why do you think that people have such strong reactions to dialects?
- What do you think will happen to dialects in the US over the next 75 to 100 years?
- What would it take for people's attitudes toward dialects to change?

EVERYONE HAS an ACCENT

A North Carolina professor advocates teaching respect for dialects

STORY BY WALT WOLFRAM

ILLUSTRATION BY ROB COLLINET

Tanya's family has finally settled in. Now, after the long trek across the country, she faces one more hurdle — the first day of school. Tanya takes a deep breath as she enters a new 5th grade classroom, full of unfamiliar faces and voices.

The teacher senses her awkward isolation and steps forward. "Class, we have a new student who moved here over the summer." He smiles at Tanya. "Would you like to tell us a little bit about where you're from?"

Tanya begins to speak, but a buzz erupts in the classroom before she has finished her first sentence.

"You have a funny accent!"
"Where did you learn to talk?"
"Did you hear how she said her name?"

Even the teacher can hardly keep from chuckling at the way Tanya speaks, though he hushes the others quickly. No one seems to notice Tanya's bewilderment or her withdrawal at the assault on her speech. And no one bothers to acknowledge or address the prejudice reflected in the responses.

Tanya's experience is repeated every day in classrooms across the country. The Appalachian child from Kentucky who moves to Detroit, the urban child from Boston who moves to rural Texas, the Native American child from the Navajo reservation who moves to Tucson — all are subject to charges that they "talk funny."

Everyone notices dialects, and lots of people seem to be fascinated by them. But is it simply a matter of curiosity? What really lies beneath the laughter and the impetuous comments people make about how others speak?

The Dialect Game

Linguists use the term *dialect* to denote patterns in the way people use language. These patterns include pronunciation (or "accent"), vocabulary and grammatical structures that reflect the user's cultural and regional background. Dialect is not limited to spoken language; users of American Sign Language employ variations that reflect their regional and social backgrounds as well.

The lingering firestorm over Ebonics in the Oakland, Calif., schools a few years ago suggests that there is a lot at stake when it comes to dialect differences, in education and elsewhere. Pay attention to the labels used to describe "accents" or dialects in the media, in the classroom, and in social gatherings everywhere — *funny, thick, bad, foreign, hick, weird, corrupt.* A moment's reflection exposes the level of judgment and prejudice about dialects and, by extension, their speakers. Consider the following recorded examples:

• "They hear this Brooklyn accent, they think you grew up in the slum, hanging out on the corner."

• "Wisconsin people, they're really bad, they sound like they're Norwegian."

• "It's ignorant, it sounds ignorant, they gonna hear this and say, 'Look at them two beautiful girls; if they'd keep their mouth shut they'd be great.'"
— from the video American Tongues

• "What makes me feel that Blacks tend to be ignorant is that they fail to see that the word is spelled A-S-K, not A-X."
— from "The Oprah Winfrey Show"

The societal norm seems to be that attitudes about language differences don't even have to be disguised. Well-intentioned people who would be hesitant to make overt statements about race, gender or class openly mock and disparage language differences. In *English with an Accent* (see Resources), author Rosina Lippi-Green says that dialect discrimination is "so commonly accepted, so widely perceived as appropriate, that it must be seen as the last back door to discrimination. And the door stands wide open."

A recent column published in newspapers across the United States responded to the recognition of dialect differences with the headline, "There's a word for it; the word is 'wrong.'" Some people would like to stamp out dialects, imagining the development of a homogenized "standard"

English devoid of any local character. But present studies of dialects in the United States actually show that, despite forceful efforts to rid students of their variant speech patterns, some dialects are becoming more, rather than less, distinctive.

Truth and Fiction About Dialects

There is a popular belief that dialects are simply corruptions of "real" or "good" English that reflect basic ignorance of well-known grammar rules. But the truth is that dialect structures are in themselves quite natural and neutral. Their social impact comes solely from their association with different groups in our society. If people belong to a socially oppressed group, they can count on having their language stigmatized; if they belong to a prestigious group, their language will carry prestige value.

Most people are unaware that a few centuries ago, the pronunciation of *ask* as *ax* was perfectly acceptable among the socially elite classes of England. And early masters of English literature, including Chaucer, routinely used the "double negative" — as in *They didn't go nowhere* — without any fear of sounding illogical or conveying unintended meanings. Contrary to the common belief that standards of language are fixed forever, they respond, like any other aspect of culture, to the dynamics of social change.

Within this fluid state, all dialects involve intricate, detailed patterning governed by the scientific laws of language structure. The western Pennsylvanian who says *The house needs painted,* the Southerner who pronounces *pin* and *pen* the same but *bit* and *bet* differently, and the urban African American who says *They always be acting nice,* all follow specifically detailed patterns of their dialect that can be captured and described in terms of specific "rules" or "laws" of language.

Variation in speech is at the core of social and historical identity, interwoven into the fabric of cultural differences. Would the isolated Appalachians really be as Appalachian without the lingering voices of their Scots-Irish heritage? Would urban African American preachers be as effective with their congregations if they used only the structures of standard English in uninterrupted monologues? Would young Northern Californians seem as urbane without the sentence intonation that makes their statements sound like questions?

Some English dialects are more readily recognizable than others and evoke more comment, but the fact remains: *It is impossible to speak English without speaking some dialect of the language.* Skilled dialectologists trained to detect the nuances of language variation affirm that the notion of a "pure" English, safeguarded in dictionaries and grammar books, evaporates as soon as we open our mouths to speak.

The misinformation and misunderstanding about dialects in our society is not simply a matter of innocent folklore. People's intelligence, capability and character are often judged on the basis of a sentence, a few phrases or even a single word. Studies show that children as young as 3 to 5 years of age show strong preferences — and prejudices — based on dialect variations among speakers. Teachers sometimes classify students' speech as "deficient" when it is simply different from the testing norm. In the workplace, perfectly capable workers who speak non-mainstream dialects may be denied occupational opportunity because they "just don't sound right for the job."

It gets more personal: Views about dialects also affect how we feel about ourselves. As one speaker from New York City put it, "It's not them feeling superior, it's me feeling inferior, and I hate

MOST COMMUNITIES HAVE LOCAL AND REGIONAL NAMES FOR OVER-THE-COUNTER FOODS AND DRINKS

Pop! Soda! Soft Drink Fizz Cola!

when I feel like that. And when I speak, uh, horribly, I feel stupid and don't have confidence in myself, and it's holding me back." If someone has been told enough times that she speaks badly, it's just a matter of time before she starts believing that she is as worthless as her speech.

What's the Solution?

For over a decade now, a small group of linguists and educators have been piloting programs specifically designed to instruct students about dialect. The goal of these "dialect awareness" programs is straightforward: to provide accurate information about the nature of dialect differences and promote understanding of the role of dialects in American society.

Learning about dialects is hardly at odds with the acquisition of standard English grammar. In fact, part of the education process involves mastering appropriate styles of speech for different occasions, including those situations where standard English is required. At the same time, growing evidence supports the conclusion that respect for and knowledge of a student's community dialect aids rather than hinders the acquisition of standard English.

The social and educational ramifications of dialect awareness programs can be far-reaching, as students as well as teachers confront stereotypes, prejudices and misconceptions about dialects. In pilot classrooms ranging from 4th grade through secondary schools, in locations as diverse as central Baltimore and isolated Ocracoke Island on North Carolina's Outer Banks, these programs teach students the truth — and the consequences — of dialect differences.

Since nothing is more central to education and human behavior than language, dialect awareness programs should not be a tangential

---

ACTIVITY

Levels of Dialect

Language is organized on several different levels. One level of organization is **pronunciation,** which concerns how sounds are used in speech. Different dialects may use sounds in quite different ways. Sometimes this is referred to simply as *accent.* For example, some people from New England pronounce the words *car* and *far* without the *r.* Also, some people from the South may say *greasy* with a *z* sound in the middle of the word, so that they pronounce it *greazy.* On Ocracoke Island, the way some people say *hoi toide* for *high tide* is an example of distinctive pronunciation.

Another level of language organization is **grammar.** Grammar concerns the particular ways in which speakers arrange sentences and words. Different dialects may arrange words and sentences in different ways. For instance, when someone in western Pennsylvania says *The car needs washed,* while speakers from other regions say *The car needs washing,* we have an example of **dialect grammar.**

A third level of language involves how different words are used, called the **vocabulary** or **lexicon** of the language. Speakers of different dialects use different words to mean the same thing. For example, New Englanders may use *frappe* and Outer Banks residents *cabinet* to denote what is more widely known as a *milk shake.* In other cases, a common word might be used with different meanings across dialects. Thus, a speaker of African American dialect might use the verb *stay* to signify residing in a particular place, whereas speakers of other dialects might use the verb *live.*

Adapted from Dialects in Schools and Communities *(see Resources).*
Answers: 1-P; 2-V; 3-G; 4-G; 5-V; 6-G; 7-P; 8-G; 9-G; 10-G.

What Kind of Difference Is It?

In the sentences given below, decide whether the difference in each pair is at the pronunciation, grammar or vocabulary level. Place a **P** for *pronunciation,* a **G** for *grammar* or a **V** for *vocabulary* in the blank provided beside each pair.

1. _____ That *feller* sure was tall.
   That *fellow* sure was tall.

2. _____ She needed a *rubberband.*
   She needed a *gumband.*

3. _____ They usually *be doing* their homework.
   They usually *do* their homework.

4. _____ I *weren't* there yesterday.
   I *wasn't* there yesterday.

5. _____ She drank a *milk shake.*
   She drank a *cabinet.*

6. _____ I asked him *if he was going over the beach.*
   I asked him *if he was going to the beach.*

7. _____ The *skeeters* are bad in August.
   The *mosquitoes* are bad in August.

8. _____ That meal was *good-some.*
   That meal was *good.*

9. _____ They caught two hundred *pound* of flounder.
   They caught two hundred *pounds* of flounder.

10. _____ They went *hunting and fishing.*
    They went *a-hunting and a-fishing.*

Community Dialect Survey

Put together a list of 10 dialect words from your community. Often, words for different foods and refreshments are among the dialect words; for example, *soda, pop, cola* and *soft drink* are all used for the same type of carbonated drink in different regions. Now, figure out a way to ask people about each of these words without saying the word itself. For example, you may say, "When people are hot and thirsty, they may get a _____ from the machine" in order to get a person to name the carbonated drink.

Conduct the questionnaire with individuals who represent different groups in your community, such as older people, younger people, various racial or ethnic groups, and people who come from outside the community, as well as longtime residents.

After getting the responses, create a chart that tallies each group's responses to your words.

• What kinds of trends do you see in the use of the words?

• What does the survey show about the different groups of people?

• Does the community dialect seem to be changing with respect to the use of these words? If so, how?

adjunct to so-called "core" knowledge. In light of pervasive misunderstandings about dialects — as well as the illusion of a homogeneous "broadcast English" — it is essential to provide instruction specifically targeting language diversity at the local, regional and national levels. It is a curious and even dangerous omission when the unique sounds of a culture are silenced.

The current pilot programs on dialects are interwoven with social studies, language arts, history and science. In each of these subject areas, some of the most central issues of social equity are associated with variation in language use. Teachers can readily adapt some of the dialect awareness strategies to their existing curricula, emphasizing the need for understanding and tolerance.

One important theme in dialect awareness programs, particularly in social studies and language arts, is the "naturalness" of dialect variation. As students listen to a range of representative regional, class and ethnic speech samples, comparing them with each other and with their own dialects, they can appreciate the reality of diverse speech traditions. In the pilot programs, students view

vignettes of real-life situations from the popular video documentary *American Tongues* (see Resources) exposing them not only to dialect differences but also to some of the raw prejudices about dialects.

Teachers then raise questions for discussion: "What do you know about dialects?" "How do you feel about them?" "How are dialects portrayed in the media?" Such discussion often causes students to confront the stereotypes and prejudices that often surround specific speech patterns. It is not surprising that an evaluation of the dialect awareness curriculum on Appalachian English conducted a few years ago in Western Carolina showed that the most-cited learning experience was concern for the "unfairness" of dialect prejudice. As one 8th grader put it, "It's not right for people to make fun of the way people speak, and I will try to do that less."

Another important theme concerns the patterning of dialect. In order to identify and classify detailed dialect patterns, students must use cognitive skills and techniques of inquiry that link language arts with the science curriculum. For example, a dialect awareness lesson might require students to analyze sets of dialect data — such as information about words and phrases for the second person plural pronoun (e.g., *yous, you'ns* and *y'all*).

On the basis of the data sets presented or collected, students must determine the specific language pattern, or "rule," that describes precisely the patterning of the structure. In the process, they formulate a hypothesis about the language "law" and confirm or disconfirm it on the basis of its generality and predictability — the cornerstone of scientific inquiry.

Other dialect awareness activities focus on specific structures in a range of regional and ethnic dialects to illustrate these regular patterns — such as the use in Appalachia of the *uh* sound (usually transcribed as *a-*) before words ending in *ing* (*She's a-fishing today*), the use of *be* in urban African American English to denote habitual activities (*She be fishing all the time*), or the absence of the plural *-s* inflection (as in *four mile*) in rural Southern dialects.

To discover how natural and inevitable dialect differences are — and how they change over time and place — young dialectologists can collect examples of distinctive speech in their own environment. For example, virtually all communities have some local and regional names for over-the-

counter foods (*sub, hoagie, hero*) and drinks (*soda, pop, cola*). From such a simple starting point, the inquiry can take on wider dimensions as students interview parents, grandparents, friends and others about local words and work together in documenting, organizing and analyzing the findings.

Students begin to grasp the inner workings of dialects most effectively when they get a chance to observe and analyze their own speech patterns alongside those of others. Urban African American children revel in the patterning of Appalachian forms while learning about the use of *be* in their own dialect. At the same time, students in isolated Southeastern coastal communities learn new respect for the use of *be* in urban African American English while learning about their own use of *weren't* for *wasn't*, as in *I weren't there* or *She weren't ready.*

The opportunity to compare and contrast dialects offers students much more than a lesson in grammar. As an 8th grader from the unique Ocracoke dialect area of North Carolina's Outer Banks put it, "I never realized that our dialect rules were so complex. It makes me proud that I learned about my dialect."

For her teacher, Gail Hamilton, dialect studies have opened a new window on old assumptions. "I didn't realize there was a pattern," she says. "As an English teacher, when they would talk I would cringe at what I considered 'bad grammar.' Showing me that there is a specific pattern, a method of speech, is something that now I'm proud they know." •

Walt Wolfram is the William C. Friday Distinguished Professor of Linguistics at North Carolina State University.

RESOURCES

Dialects in Schools and Communities ($24.95), by Walt Wolfram, Carolyn Adger and Donna Christian, gives more specific details about the role of dialects in the acquisition of educational skills such as reading, writing and learning spoken standard English. It also includes more examples of dialect awareness activities and a useful list of vernacular dialect structures for a full range of American English dialects.

**Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
10 Industrial Ave.
Mahwah, NJ 07430-2262
www.erlbaum.com
(800) 926-6579**

Spoken Soul: The Story of Black English ($24.95) is a highly readable account of the history, structure and current controversy about Ebonics. The description shows how this unique dialect is effectively used by writers, orators, comedians, singers and rappers at the same time it is condemned in public commentary.

**John Wiley & Sons
1 Wiley Dr.
Somerset, NC 08875-1272
(800) 225-5945
www.wiley.com**

English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination ($21.99) presents

a sobering account of the manifestation of language prejudice and discrimination in American society. The book demonstrates how pervasive and subtle language discrimination can be in venues that range from animated films to the legal and educational system.

**Routledge Customer Service
7625 Empire Dr.
Florence, KY 41042
(800) 634-7064
cserve@routledge-ny.com**

Slang, code-switching and word migration are just a few of the topics that make *Spreading the Word: Language & Dialect in America* ($12.50) such a helpful guide to classroom communication. By placing dialects of English within a dynamic global context, the author opens new avenues for both sharpening language skills and appreciating expressive differences.

**Heinemann
88 Post Rd. W.
Westport, CT 06881
(800) 793-2154
www.heinemann.com**

American Tongues is an award-winning video documentary on American dialects for high school level and up. It combines an entertaining presentation

of American speech patterns with the reality of dialect prejudice in a way that encourages audiences to openly discuss their attitudes. A 40-minute high school version ($150) and a 56-minute adult version ($285) are available.

**CNAM Film Library
22-D Hollywood Ave.
Hohokus, NJ 07423
(800) 343-5540
www.cnam.com**

The Web site of the Center for Applied Linguistics (*www.cal.org*) is a good place to start for information on the practical application of linguistic knowledge to social and educational problems. The dialect/ebonics link provides helpful resources and references on dialects, as well as detailed information about the Ebonics controversy.

The Web site of the North Carolina Language and Life Project (*www.ncsu.edu/linguistics/llp.htm*) offers lots of audio examples and video clips of documentaries on dialects. North Carolina is one of the richest dialect areas in the United States, with Appalachian, Southern, Outer Banks, Native American and African American dialects, among others.

Levels of Dialect Quiz

In the sentence pairs given below, decide whether the difference between each pair is at the vocabulary, pronunciation, or grammar level. Place a <u>V</u> for **Vocabulary**, a <u>P</u> for **Pronunciation**, and a <u>G</u> for **Grammar** level difference in the blank provided beside each pair.

1. _____ He used to **mommuck** me when we were kids
   He used to **pick on** me when we were kids

2. _____ We ran over a nail and got a flat **tar**
   We ran over a nail and got a flat **tire**

3. _____ The **cah** that is parked in the garage won't start
   The **car** that is parked in the garage won't start

4. _____ **I'm been** to the store already today!
   I have been to the store already today!

5. _____ That **dude** is tall
   That **guy** is tall

6. _____ She's **runnin'** after school
   She's **running** after school

7. _____ They **be playing** together all the time
   They **are** playing together all the time

8. _____ It's **toime to** be quiet
   It's **time** to be quiet

9. _____ The radiator **was** all **gaumed** up
   The radiator was all **clogged** up

10. _____ We **was** late for class today
    We **were** late for class today

ANSWER KEY

1. Vocabulary
2. Pronunciation
3. Pronunciation
4. Grammar
5. Vocabulary

6. Pronunciation
7. Grammar
8. Pronunciation
9. Vocabulary
10. Grammar

Linguistic Patterns Quiz

I. Southern Vowel Pronunciation

Say whether a southerner pronounce the two words in each pair the **same** or **differently.**

1. _____ *pin* and *pen*
2. _____ *pick* and *peck*
3. _____ *nick* and *neck*
4. _____ *tin* and *ten*
5. _____ *sinned* and *send*

II. The Use of *a-* Prefix

Tell whether each sentence can or cannot take an *a*-prefix. If the sentence cannot use an *a*-prefix, explain why the *-ing* word may or may not take the *a-* prefix (which rule prevents it?).

1. My sister is **a-charming** girl
2. I was **a-hunting** this morning
3. They have fun by **a-playing** basketball
4. She was **a-recognizing** her mother
5. They were **a-following** a trail

III. Dropping *R* in English Dialects

Tell whether a speaker that drops his or her *r* could or could not drop the *r* in the bolded word. Write Y if the *r* can be dropped and N if the *r* cannot be dropped.

1. _____ The **car** parked under the tree
2. _____ The **computer** is broken
3. _____ Take a **right**, and then a left
4. _____ My **mother** was born here
5. _____ **Park** the car in the garage

ANSWER KEY

Section I: 1. Same, 2. Differently, 3. Differently, 4. Same, 5. Same

Section II: 1. No (not a verb), 2. Yes, 3. No (preposition), 4. No (Stress), 5. Yes

Section III: 1. Yes, 2. No (followed by a vowel), 3. No (never at the beginning of words), 4. Yes, 5. Yes

Appendix D

Beantown Babble (Boston, MA)

Jim Fitzpatrick

Boston street scene. © by Andrei Tchernov.

Ever'body says words different … Arkansas folks says 'em different, and Oklahomy folks says 'em different. And we seen a lady from Massachusetts, an' she said 'em differentest of all. Couldn' hardly make out what she was sayin'.

John Steinbeck's appraisal of Massachusetts speech in *The Grapes of Wrath* is one of the most often cited quotes in dialectology. It addresses the reality of differences in American English. From the North End to South Station, from West Roxbury to East Milton Square, the Boston dialect is one of the most widely recognized throughout the United States. While the city itself has changed significantly since the arrival of Europeans in the Hub in the early seventeenth century, the Boston dialect has remained a hallmark of the area, with its dropped *r*'s (*Pahk the cah*), lowered and broadened vowels (*I'm going to the bahthroom*), and distinctive vocabulary (*That's wicked pissa!*, i.e., very good). Visitors to the city can hardly escape its distinctive character, and lifetime residents have come to acknowledge it as part of what makes Boston unique. So grab a tonic, come on into the pahlar, and pull up a chay-ah. Next stop, Pahk Street!

Boston, Past and Present

The dialect history of Boston begins with a rock – more specifically, Plymouth Rock, the landing site of the ship *Mayflower*, which came ashore in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620. The 102 English Separatists who arrived on the ship helped establish the Massachusetts Bay Colony under Governor John Winthrop in the early 1630s. The first group of settlers in Boston proper were about 150 English Puritans who had fled from their native Lincolnshire to escape religious persecution. Boston quickly established itself as one of the major cultural, educational, and commercial centers of the original thirteen colonies; its fine harbor allowed for the development of shipping and maritime industry, and also set the stage for such historical events as the Boston Tea Party. Additionally, the Hub was home to such integral patriotic figures as Benjamin Franklin, Paul Revere, and John Hancock. The founding of Harvard College in 1636, sixteen years after the original landing of the *Mayflower* at Plymouth, established a rich educational tradition that is to this day one of the landmarks of the Boston area. With over 70 colleges and universities in the vicinity, it is the most densely populated region of higher learning in the United States,

attracting many residents from other regions. But few mistake the voice of a native Beantowner.

While the Massachusetts Bay Colony's original population was almost exclusively Puritan, this did not last. By the second half of the nineteenth century, Boston was in the midst of an immigration explosion. Many of the Irish immigrants uprooted by the potato famine landed in Boston, and by 1920 the Irish were joined by large groups from Italy, Russia, and Poland, as well as several thousand Lithuanians, Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians. In total, foreign-born immigrants constituted one-third of Boston's population in 1920. Within a generation, immigrants and their children made up three-quarters of the city's population. Restrictions on immigration policy after World War I caused the immigrant population of Boston to remain somewhat static over the next half-century or so, and by 1970 only one out of eight Bostonians was a foreign-born immigrant.

Contemporary Boston is an ethnically diverse city, from its Chinatown area to the distinctly Italian North End. Boston's ethnic history gives the city its working-class flavor, but also sustains the divide between the immigrant-descended working class and the descendants of the original Puritan settlers, a divide that is manifested linguistically even in the present day. There is also dialect variation among different ethnic groups, so that, strictly speaking, there is not a single "Boston accent." While some dialect traits are shared by many Bostonians, there are other features that occur more frequently in different parts of the city or among different ethnic groups. The perceptive listener can, in fact, learn a lot about a speaker of Boston English by paying attention to some of the finer details of speech.

In one study of subdialectal variations in Boston, Laferriere (1979) draws some interesting conclusions about the connections between ethnicity and linguistic behavior. The segment *-or-* in the word *short*, for example, may be produced a variety of ways. Some speakers pronounce the *r* fully though many do not; speakers may also glide the vowel to pronounce it closer to the *o* found in *boat*, resulting in something like *show-uh*. Still others pronounce the vowel lower and unglided so it sounds like *shot*. Furthermore, there are differences based on ethnic group membership. Jewish groups tend to shy away from complete *r*-dropping, identifying it as socially stigmatized. Italians, however, predominantly drop the *r*, while the Irish fall somewhere along the middle of the continuum, dropping more *r*'s than the Jewish groups but fewer than the Italians. The fact that groups who retain their *r*'s still identify *r*-dropping as a feature of Boston Irish speech shows how speakers are inclined to attribute marked linguistic features to the dominant sociopolitical group of the area. This feature is

also associated with the accent of East Boston, which is an area dominated by Italians, showing a strong connection between ethnicity and regional location in the city.

Boston continues to be a popular destination for transplants from around the country and around the world. Year after year, students flock to the Hub to attend the many colleges and universities in and around the city, and this phenomenon has given rise to a new group of young and middle-aged professionals who have settled in Boston but maintained their own linguistic backgrounds. From 1998 to 1999, over 75,000 people converted to Massachusetts driver's licenses from out of state, almost double that of a few years earlier. Because of these new arrivals, some observers have speculated that the Boston dialect is dwindling in scope and intensity; however, a walk down the streets of Southie (South Boston) will reveal that this is hardly the case – the Boston accent is alive and well.

Major Features of the Dialect

The icon of the Boston accent is its *r-dropping* after a vowel sound, so that Spider Man's alter ego is "Petah Pahkah." However, some of these *r*'s are not lost forever; they reappear across word boundaries when the following word begins with a vowel. The stereotypical Bostonian phrase, "Pahk the cah in Hahvahd Yahd," is thus not quite right; though the *r* would be dropped if *cah* were said in isolation, when following a vowel it is inserted. In fact, it is sometimes inserted where it wouldn't occur in other dialects, so that, "I know, the idear of it!" is an appropriate response to "The Red Sox ah lookin' good, they'ah goin' all the way this yeah!"

In addition to r-lessness, another particularly salient feature of the Boston dialect is the vowel shift that occurs in the speech of the Brahmins, a slowly disappearing group of upper-class Bostonians, and even among some non-Brahmins. The broad *a* sound, as in *can't* and *bath*, is produced somewhat lower and further back in this dialect than in Standard American English, so that they approach the *a* sound in *father*.

The Boston dialect also follows some of the features associated with eastern New England speech on a broader scale, including the merger of the vowels in words like *cot* and *caught*. Throughout eastern New England, these words are pronounced identically, and some New Englanders even have trouble fathoming how these vowels could ever be pronounced

differently. In this respect, Bostonians align with the majority of Western dialects in the United States that merge these vowel sounds, but for the Eastern coast, this feature is quite distinct.

Vocabulary

Perhaps the best resource currently available on the Boston lexicon is Adam Gaffin's *Wicked Good Guide to Boston English*, available online at www.boston-online.com. Boston mainstays include *frappe* 'milkshake', *spuckie* 'submarine sandwich', *tonic* 'pop' or 'soda', and *bubbler* 'water fountain'. A day in the life of a Bostonian might center around a shopping trip to the *Bahgie*, or the Bargain Center in Quincy, which is now sadly defunct; in the past, an insult commonly hurled among Boston children was "Ya motha shops at the Bahgie!" On the way there, a driver in Boston might remark that the traffic is *wicked* (a general intensifier, stronger than *very*) by *The Common* (the green in the center of town), backed up near the *rotary* (a traffic circle), and that he should have taken the *parkway* (a divided highway). After a hard day of shopping, it would be time to go home for *suppa* (the third meal of the day), which, in most large Irish Catholic Boston families, would involve some kind of *p'daydas* (a staple of the Irish diet, served mashed or baked). Or, it might be *American chop suey*, a dish consisting of macaroni, hamburg (ground beef), tomato, onion, and green peppers. Other distinct Boston word uses include the "negative positive" *So don't I*, which is used by Bostonians in place of *So do I*. The Boston lexicon is, of course, also constantly evolving; words such as *nizza* (roughly "great"), which was a favorite of my mother's in West Roxbury in the 1970s, have faded somewhat from view but still pop up occasionally, while new terms are being coined and adapted for different uses all the time.

Some lexical items in Boston are crucial for getting around in the city. Visitors are often confused by the *Big Dig* (a notoriously slow construction project meant to improve traffic and beautify the city), and it's impossible to find *Dot* (Dorchester) or *Rozzie* (Roslindale) on a map; sometimes it is better to avoid negotiating the Big Dig traffic and just take the *T* (Boston's subway train) – remembah, *inbound* trains head towahd the city cenna, *outbounds* head away from it, wheah you'll find moah people who pronounce theiah ah's. Some days, you may get to ride on a bluebird, an old style Red Line train.

Boston-to-English Phrasebook

The Bs The local NHL team. Also known as Da Broons.

Brahmin A member of the WASP overclass that once ruled the state. Typically found on Beacon Hill. Cleveland Amory's *The Proper Bostonians* remains the definitive study of this group.

The Cape Massachusetts has two capes – Ann and Cod – but only the latter is *The Cape*.

Curse of the Bambino A Red Sox fan's nightmare. During the eight years Babe Ruth played for the Red Sox, the team won four World Series. The last of these wins came in 1918, when the then owner Henry Frazee sold the Sultan of Swat to the New York Yankees to finance a production of *No No Nanette*. Until their luck changed in 2004, the Red Sox had not won a Series since that time, and many fans blamed this sale for the long drought. The phrase regained the national spotlight during the team's 2003 playoff run, which culminated in the Red Sox blowing a 5–2 lead against the hated Yankees when a win would have sent them back to the Series.

Dunkie's Dunkin' Donuts, so prevalent in Massachusetts that the author of this article grew up in a town with more Dunkin' Donuts stores than traffic lights.

Frappe A milkshake or malted elsewhere, it's basically ice cream, milk and chocolate syrup blended together. The "e" is silent. Despite the chocolate syrup, it actually comes in many flavors.

Green Monster This monster would never fit under the bed or in the closet. Standing 310 feet down the left-field line at Fenway Park, it towers 37 feet above the ground, and is a favorite target for hitters. The 2004 baseball season marked the first year of the *Monster Seats*, the hottest buy in Boston sports tickets, with their bird's-eye view from on top of the wall.

Hoodsie A small cup of ice cream, the kind that comes with a flat wooden spoon (from H. P. Hood, the dairy that sells them). On finishing them you'd suck and then fold the wooden spoon, risking splinnahs from the folded wood.

Jimmies Those little chocolate thingees you ask the guy at the ice-cream store to put on top of your cone.

Na-ah No way!

No SUH! ("No sir!") "Really?!?" or "What did you say?!?" Often answered with "Ya huh!"

Packie Wheah you buy beah.

The Pike The Massachusetts Turnpike. Also, the world's longest parking lot, at least out by Sturbridge on the day before Thanksgiving.

Pissa Cool. Often paired with *wicked*. "Jimmy's got a pissa new cah, an '83 Monee Cahlo with a 350, headiz, anna new leathinteriah."

Rawrout Meteorological condition characterized by low temperatures and a biting wind: "Boy, it's wicked rawrout theah!"

U-ey A U-turn – the Official Turn of Boston drivers. The proper expression for "make a U-turn" is "bang a u-ey."

Wicked A general intensifier: "He's wicked nuts!"

For the citizens of Boston, their language is a marker – a symbol of solidarity recognized throughout the country. Popular Boston disc jockey Eddie Andelman says of the dialect, "It signifies where you're from. It means you're an individualist, you're street smart, you save money, you read literature, and you're a passionate sports fan" (quoted in Bombardieri 1999). And while not all Bostonians are well versed in Shakespeare or live and die over the Red Sox, Andelman's statement captures the cultural essence of the Boston dialect. Many Bostonians are proud of the way they speak, and this linguistic pride has allowed the Boston dialect to remain strong despite the challenge of a changing city. The Boston dialect remains a badge of "honah" for many who speak it.

Further reading

Amory, Cleveland (1947) *The Proper Bostonians*. New York: E. P. Dutton.

Bombardieri, Marcella (1999) It's still a mahk of distinction: The accent sets Bostonians apart. *Boston Globe*, 23 September: B1.

Gaffin, Adam. *The Wicked Good Guide to Boston English*. www.boston-online.com/glossary.html.

International Institute of Boston. *Immigration to Boston: A Short History*. www.iiboston.org/immigrant_history.htm.

Laferriere, Martha (1979) Ethnicity in phonological variation and change. *Language* 55: 603–17.

Metcalf, Allan (2000) *How We Talk: American Regional English Today*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

30

Dialects in Danger (Outer Banks, NC)

Walt Wolfram

30 Ocracoke Island. © by Ann Eringhaus.

As the public argues about the status of well-known dialects such as Southern American English and Ebonics, a unique dialect heritage along the Southeastern coast is quietly eroding. For a couple of centuries, the dialect spoken on the barrier islands and the adjacent coastal mainland of North Carolina has been one of the most distinctive varieties of English in the US.

Small, isolated communities dotting the Outer Banks once nurtured the so-called Outer Banks brogue, a borrowed word from Irish meaning

"twisted tongue." In the last half century, however, the Outer Banks has been transformed into a tourist mecca flooded by outsiders, or *dingbatters*, for up to nine months of the year. In the process, a longstanding, unique dialect of American English has become an "endangered dialect."

Traits of the Outer Banks Brogue

The most distinguishing traits of the Outer Banks "brogue" are the pronunciation of several vowel sounds, although there are more subtle differences as well. The pronunciation of long *i* in words like *tide* and *high*, which sounds like the *oy* vowel of *boy* or *toy* to listeners, is the most noticeable trait, and the reason that these speakers are sometimes referred to as *hoi toiders*. (The actual production is more like the combination of the *uh* sound of *but* and the *ee* sound of *beet*, so that *tide* really sounds something like *t-uh-ee-d*.) This region is not the only place where this sound is found; it is characteristic of particular regions in the British Isles and in the English of Australia and New Zealand as well. But in the American South, including mainland North Carolina, the pronunciation contrasts sharply with the pronunciation of *tahm* for *time* or *tahd* for *tide*.

The Outer Banks production of the vowel in *brown* and *found* is also very distinctive. The vowel actually sounds closer to the vowel of *brain* and *feigned*, and outsiders often confuse words like *brown* and *brain*. In fact, when we play the pronunciation of the word *brown* to listeners from different areas and ask them what word it is, they typically say "brain."

Another pronunciation trait, the *augh* sound in words like *caught* and *bought* is produced closer to the vowel sound in words like *put* or *book*, a pronunciation that is quite distinctive among the dialects of American English. The pronunciation of this vowel is actually more like its pronunciation in many British dialects of English and one of the reasons that Outer Bankers are sometimes thought to sound British or Australian. As it turns out, North Americans are not the only ones who think that Outer Banks English sounds more like British dialects than it does American dialects. At one point in our study of Outer Banks English, the well-known British dialectologist Peter Trudgill visited the Outer Banks to hear the dialect for himself. He took back with him a sample of Outer Banks speech and played it to a group of 15 native speakers of British English in East Anglia. The listeners were unanimous in attributing a British Isles

origin to the Outer Banks speech sample; most listeners identified its place of origin in the "West Country" – that is, southwestern England.

Most people focus on the pronunciation of the Outer Banks brogue, but there are also vocabulary and grammatical dialect traits. Although we have found only a couple of dozen uniquely Outer Banks words out of the thousands of dialect words used in this area, they point to some important differences.

Words like *dingbatter*, and in some locations *dit dot*, are widely known terms for outsiders, whereas a term like *O'cocker* (OH-cock-er) is reserved exclusively for an ancestral islander of Ocracoke – that is, a person whose family genealogy is firmly rooted on the Outer Banks. There are also some meaning nuances of dialect words. The use of the word *mommuck*, an older English word found in the works of Shakespeare and in some more isolated dialect areas such as Appalachia, has developed a meaning on the Outer Banks that sets it apart from both its original meaning and its current meaning in other regions. In the works of William Shakespeare it is used to mean 'tearing apart' in a literal sense (e.g., *They mommucked the curtain*), whereas on the Outer Banks its meaning has been extended to refer to mental or physical harassment (e.g., *The young 'uns were mommucking me*).

Dialect words also reinforce an important point about Outer Banks dialects: it is the combination of the old with the new that defines its current state.

For example, words like *mommuck, quamish*, meaning 'upset', as in *quamished in the gut*, and *token of death*, meaning 'an unusual sign of impending death', such as a rooster crowing in the middle of the day, have been in the English language for centuries. On the other hand, words like *dingbatter* for 'outsiders', and *scud* for 'riding around the island' are relatively new. In fact, our research on the term *dingbatter* shows that it was adopted from the popular 1970s television sitcom "All in the Family." In this show, Archie Bunker regularly calls his wife Edith a "dingbat" when she displays a lack of common sense. Prior to that time, terms like *foreigner* and *stranger* were used for outsiders.

A few grammatical differences also distinguish the dialect. The use of *weren't* where other dialects use *wasn't*, as in *I weren't there* or *It weren't in the house*, is only found in the Mid-Atlantic coastal region, although its use extends from the coastal areas of Virginia and Maryland to the north down to the southern areas of coastal North Carolina. The use of the preposition *to* for *at*, as in *She's to the house tonight* is also fairly limited, though it is found in some other coastal areas of the mid-Atlantic coastal region.

from a self-contained, marine-based economy into a service-based tourist industry during the past half century? The classification of the brogue as an "endangered dialect" has sometimes caught the fancy of the media, but the threat to the brogue in communities up and down coastal Carolina is very real. If we compare just three generations within the same family, we can see how quickly a unique language can die. In some families, the grandparents may still retain many traditional speech characteristics of the dialect, including the traditional pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar; the children, however, show a significant reduction in the use of the forms, and the grandchildren have virtually none of these traits. We have documented this pattern of dialect erosion in a number of families we have interviewed over the past decade, so we know that the traditional dialect could, in fact, vanish in a couple of generations.

Dialectologists and linguists worry about the disappearance of the brogue, and liken language loss to the extinction of biological species, arguing that science, culture, and history are lost when a language or dialect of a language dies. In our quest to understand the general nature of language, we learn from diversity, just as we learn about the general nature of life from biological diversity. When a language or dialect dies, there is an essential and unique part of a human knowledge and culture that dies with it. The Outer Banks would certainly still be the Outer Banks if the dialect were to disappear completely, but a part of the traditional culture of the island surely will be lost if it does. I personally find it hard to imagine certain stories being told without the resonating sounds of the brogue.

One thing seems to be certain about the brogue. It has been an essential part of the traditional Outer Banks culture, and people in the community and students in the schools need to know about it if they have any desire of staying in touch with the legacy that has made the Outer Banks such a unique place. The dialect heritage deserves to be indelibly documented and preserved – for *hoi toiders*, for new residents, and for tourists who wish to understand why it is such a special place. To this end, our activities on the Outer Banks have included recording interviews with islanders of all ages, producing video documentaries and audio compact disks and cassettes that preserve the brogue, and developing a school-based curriculum for students to learn about their dialect heritage.

Walt Wolfram 193

he use of an -s on verbs in sentences such as *The dogs barks every night* aracteristic of the Outer Banks brogue, but it is also found in other rically isolated dialects as well, such as those in Appalachia, as is the of the *uh* sound with verbs, as in *The dogs was a-huntin' the possum.* he grammar of the Outer Banks does not add many unique dialect res to the make-up of the dialect, but it is certainly part of the overall that makes Outer Banks English what it is.

History of the Brogue

t of the early residents of the Outer Banks came south from Tidewater inia and from the eastern shores of Maryland, starting in the first des of the 1700s. The early migration south along the coast was by as the complicated network of rivers, estuaries, and inlets and the nsive marshlands made overland travel impossible. Although residents e tidewater area did not come from a single location in the British southwestern England was well represented in the early population, ugh there were people from East Anglia and other areas as well, ding some Scots-Irish. Some dialect traits can be traced to prominent res of southwestern English, but there are also some features that be traced to Irish English that make Outer Banks English similar e dialects of Appalachia, where the Scots-Irish English effect is well lished.

e dialect resulted from a selective molding of various traits from the h Isles that took on a regional dimension along the coastal areas and ls of the Mid-Atlantic, concentrated in the islands running from the peake Bay to the Outer Banks. Although we can only speculate about me of its emergence, the examination of some of the written docu- s, including the logs kept by lighthouse pilots, letters, and memoirs, s that the dialect was well in place by the early and mid-1800s and shed well into the mid-twentieth century.

uture of the Brogue

will happen to the brogue as the Outer Banks is flooded by the ncreasing wave of dingbatters who transformed the barrier islands

Dialects in Danger

An Ocracoke Lexicon

Following is a sample of some of the vocabulary items used on the Outer Banks Island of Ocracoke, taken from Wolfram and Schilling-Estes, 1997.

buck friend (male). *He's my buck.*

breakwater Set up a barrier to stop the flow of water. *They breakwatered the inlet.*

dingbatter A non-native resident or tourist. *Dingbatters now outnumber O'cockers.*

goaty Foul-smelling. *It sure does smell goaty there.*

meehonkey Hide and seek. *The kids used to play meehonkey a lot.*

mommuck Harass, bother. *They sure were mommucking the young 'uns.*

O'cocker A native of Ocracoke. *There are about 300 O'cockers on the Island.*

quamish sick to the stomach. *They were quamished in the gut from the rough sea.*

say a word Talk a lot. *Some folks sure can say a word.*

slick cam Smooth water. *The sound is slick cam today.*

Resources

A popular description of Ocracoke speech is found in Walt Wolfram and Natalie Schilling-Estes, *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks: The Story of the Ocracoke Brogue* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); a more technical description is provided in Walt Wolfram, Kirk Hazen, and Natalie Schilling-Estes, *Dialect Change and Maintenance on the Outer Banks* (Publication of the American Dialect Society 81, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999). A video, *The Ocracoke Brogue*, and a CD/cassette, "Ocracoke Speaks," which gives the stories of Ocracoke in the voice of the residents themselves, can be purchased from the Ocracoke Preservation Society (www.ocracoke-museum.org). Speech samples can also be found on the web at www.ncsu.edu/linguistics and www.ocracoke-museum.org.

Ocracoke Dialect Vocabulary Quiz: How to Tell an O'Cocker from a Dingbatter

Word List

across the beach	buck	dingbatter	doast	good-some
call the mail over	meehonkey	mommuck	quamish	goaty
miserable in the wind	Russian rat	say a word	scud	O'cocker
up the beach	slick cam	smidget	to	young 'uns

1. They went _____ to Hatteras to do some shopping.
2. That _____ is from New Jersey.
3. That place sure was smelling _____.
4. Elizabeth is _____ the restaurant right now.
5. I put a _____ of salt on my apple.
6. We took a _____ around the island in the car.
7. They're always together because he's his _____.
8. Back in the old days they used to call hide and seek _____.
9. The ocean was so rough today I felt _____ in my gut.
10. Last night she came down with a _____.
11. I saw a big _____ in the road.
12. That meal last night was _____.
13. When Rex and James Barrie get together they sure can _____.
14. You can't be an _____ unless you were born on the island.
15. The sea was real rough today, it was _____ out there.
16. When they _____ I hope I get my letter.
17. She used to _____ him when he was a child.
18. There was no wind at all today and it was a _____ out there on the sound.
19. There was a big, dead shark that they found _____.
20. _____ don't act like they used to back then.

Answers

1. up the beach 2. dingbatter 3. goaty 4. to 5. smidget 6. scud 7. buck 8. meehonkey 9. quamished 10. doast 11. Russian rat 12. good-some 13. say a word 14. O'cocker 15. miserable in the wind 16. call the mail over 17. mommuck 18. slick cam 19. across the beach 20. young 'uns

4

If These Hills Could Talk (Smoky Mountains)

Christine Mallinson, Becky Childs,
Bridget Anderson, and Neal Hutcheson

4 A creek running through the Great Smoky Mountain National Park. © by John von Rosenberg.

Driving the steep and winding roads along the border of western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee, it is easy to see why the Cherokee Indians who first settled in this mountainous region named it the "place of blue smoke." The trademark of these hills is the ever-present blue-gray mist that casts a hazy glow over the dense fir and spruce pine covered landscape. The Smoky Mountains, or the Smokies, as they are known locally, are a well-known destination for tourists from across the United States. At the same time, the lush forest, underground caves, and natural water sources provide a veil of cover under which one could easily fade into the backdrop of the mountains – as notorious fugitive Eric Rudolph did for nearly five years. The terrain has played a major role in the development of mountain life and culture, and continues to be a source of past and present local tradition.

Stereotypes abound about the people who call Appalachia their home. The common assumption is that it is a region lacking in racial and ethnic diversity, populated mostly by whites of European ancestry. But the Smoky Mountains and Appalachia in general were actually settled by diverse groups of people. Coming to the area around 1000 AD, the Cherokee Indians left a strong legacy: Oconoluftee, Nantahala, Hiwassee, Cheoah, Junaluska, Cataloochee, and Cullowhee are just a few of the places whose names pay homage to the Smoky Mountains' Cherokee settlers. Today, many flourishing communities of Cherokee Indians and other Native Americans still reside in the Smokies. For example, the Snowbird Cherokee in Graham County, North Carolina, continue to preserve their distinct ethnic and cultural identities as Native Americans and actively maintain their ancestral language. The tiny community of Snowbird contains nearly one-third of the total Cherokee-speaking population in the eastern United States, making it a significant community in the preservation and transmission of the Cherokee language and culture.

In addition to Native American groups, European Americans of varying ancestry – Scots-Irish, English, German, Polish, Swiss, Portuguese, Spanish, French and more – have populated the Smoky Mountain region since the late 1700s and early 1800s. Likewise, some African Americans were brought to the area as slaves of these white settlers, but independent, non-slave African American settlements have also existed in Appalachia since these earlier times. One small community, called Texana, was established high in the Smoky Mountains as early as 1850. Located high on a mountain about a mile from Murphy, North Carolina, Texana was named for an African American woman named Texana McClelland, who founded the first black settlement in the area. Today the community has about 150 residents who still live along the same mountain hillside where the original inhabitants first settled.

As these diverse groups of white, black, and Native American founders settled in the Smoky Mountain area, they all brought with them many different ways of speaking. Because of the extreme ruggedness of the high country's terrain, the relative inaccessibility of the Smoky Mountains allowed these different dialects to blend together in isolation over the past several centuries and develop into a distinct regional variety of speech that

Christine Mallinson, Becky Childs, et al.   23

is often called "mountain talk." Typically, outsiders who visit the area comment on the "twang" that they hear in locals' speech. Indeed, many Smoky Mountain English pronunciations are quite different from the speech that travelers might hear in the North, the Midwest, or other regions of the American South.

Pronunciation

Many of the vowels of the Smoky Mountain dialect are quite distinct from other English varieties, even those in Southern English. While these differences may sound strange to some people, they give mountain talk a distinct character or, as one early dialectologist put it, "a certain pleasing, musical quality . . . the colorful, distinctive quality of Great Smokies speech." One feature noticed by newcomers to the area is that Smoky Mountain speakers often lengthen certain vowels and break them into what sounds like two syllables. For example, the *eh* sound in the word *bear* may sound more like *bayer*, and the short *i* sound in a world like *hill* may come to sound more like *heal*. In another example, which tends to be found in the speech of older mountain folk, the short *a* vowel can split and turn into a diphthong, usually before *f, s, sh,* and *th* sounds, so that *pass* would sound like *pace* and *grass* like *grace*.

Another vowel characteristic of Smoky Mountain English speakers is their pronunciation of long *i*. The typical Smoky Mountain *i* is a broad, unglided version of *i*, so that the word *bright* would approximate the sound of the word *brat* and *right* would almost sound like *rat*. When *i* is followed by *r*, for example, the *ire* sound may sound more like *ar*, so that *fire* and *tire* will be pronounced as *far* and *tar* by Smoky Mountain speakers.

The *r* sound is also an important feature of Smoky Mountain English. In contrast to some Southern English varieties that drop their *r*'s, as in *deah* for *deer*, Smoky Mountain English is primarily an *r*-pronouncing dialect. Moreover, in certain cases, mountain speakers may sound like they are even "adding" *r*'s to words where standard varieties do not use them. For example, visitors to the Smokies may hear *winder* for *window*, *feller* for *fellow*, and *yeller* for *yellow*. Another pronunciation trait affects other vowels at the ends of words, so that *extra* and *soda* are pronounced as *extry* and *sody*. In fact, it was not uncommon for us to hear older mountain speakers refer to a soft drink or soda pop as *sody water*.

Grammar

Differences in pronunciation are not the only distinguishing traits of Smoky Mountain English. Distinct grammatical features characterize it as well. Perhaps one of the most well-known features is the tendency for Smoky Mountain speakers to attach the *a* prefix (pronounced as *uh*) to verbs that end in *-ing*, particularly when they are telling stories or recounting events. For example, one might hear a Smoky Mountain English speaker say *One night that dog was a-beggin' and a-cryin' to go out.* Although this sentence may occur in many varieties of American English, it is most common in Appalachian and Smoky Mountain English.

Another common feature of Smoky Mountain English is the tendency to regularize or use different verb forms in the past tense. This may take the form of using *was* where standard English would prescribe *were*, as in the sentence *We saw a bear when we was a-huntin' yesterday.* Or, speakers may use irregular past forms such as *growed* instead of *grew* or *clumb* instead of *climbed.* Although many of these sentence structures may be considered by some people to be "bad grammar" or "bad English," these non-standard dialect variations are no better or worse than any other language differences. Often, in fact, these features reflect older language patterns that were considered proper and standard at one time during the development of English.

Many of the differences in the Smoky Mountain dialect can be attributed to the linguistic legacy that was brought by the original founders to the area. Numerous early white settlers who came to the Smokies in the late 1700s were of Scots-Irish descent. In the language these settlers carried over from Ireland and Scotland, adding *-s* to third person plural verbs was an acceptable grammatical feature. As a result, we find many mountain speakers using constructions such as *The people that goes there* – not because they are speaking incorrect grammar, but because this form is similar to the way of marking agreement with certain types of verbs and plural nouns in Scots-Irish English.

Smoky Mountain English also uses special combinations of helping verbs – *can, could, may, might, must, ought to, shall, should, will,* and *would.* Speakers of many rural dialects may use one modal verb together with another, usually to mark a particular speaker frame of mind. The most frequent double modal combination is formed with *might* and *could,* as in *If it quits raining, you might could go.* In this sentence, the speaker is indicating that if conditions are right, then the action in the future may be

able to take place. Although this use may create some confusion for those who are not native users of this construction and who are unfamiliar with it, these verb combinations express possibility or probability in English in a way that is not otherwise available through a simple construction. Double modals such as *might would, would might, may could,* and even such interesting combinations as *might should ought to* are used to nuance meanings in subtle ways.

The verb particle *done* is also used in significant ways. In the sentence *She done gone there already,* the verb form *done* is combined with a past verb form to emphasize the fact that an action has already been completed. Completive *done* is used quite frequently in Smoky Mountain English, but it is found in other rural varieties of American English and in African American English as well. The form *liketa* also has a special meaning in Smoky Mountain English. In the sentence *It was so cold on our camping trip last night, we liketa froze to death,* the speaker uses this construction to indicate a narrowly averted action – real or imagined; the campers knew they weren't literally going to freeze to death, but they were still worried that they would. Dialects often use unique words and phrases to represent aspects of verb tense that standard English cannot express as succinctly.

Vocabulary

One of the most obvious ways in which the Smoky Mountain dialect distinguishes itself is in its vocabulary. Like any dialect, Smoky Mountain English has terms that refer to the local way of life and are woven into its culture. Many Smoky Mountain dialect words refer to unique places in the mountains. For example, *bald* means a mountaintop with no trees, *branch* is an area or settlement defined by a creek, *bottom* is a low-lying area or valley, and *holler* is a valley surrounded by mountains. Other vocabulary items refer to inhabitants or features of the mountain landscape. *Jasper* refers to an outsider, someone who is not from the mountains. *Boomer* is the name of the red squirrel that is indigenous to the Smokies. *Poke salad* is a salad made of wild greens that grow in the mountains – poisonous unless boiled properly before being eaten. And a *ramp* is a small wild onion with a distinctive, long-lasting smell.

Still other words are variants that may or may not have counterparts in Standard English; for example, *cut a shine* for *dance, tote* for *carry, fetch* for

go get, sigogglin for *crooked* or *leaning, tee-totally* for *completely,* and *yander* or *yonder* to mean *over there.* Other old-fashioned words, such as *dope* for *soft drink* or *soda pop,* are still used in the mountains, although elsewhere these terms have fallen out of use. Even though some of the unique words are carryovers from earlier history, especially Scots-Irish English, we also see new words being invented and the meanings of old words being changed and adapted to fit current communicative needs.

One of the most characteristic items of the Smokies is the use of *you'ns* where other Southerners might use the more familiar variant, *y'all,* pronounced more like *yuns* or *yunz* than a simple combination of *you-ones. You'ns* is most typically used for plural but may be used when speaking to one person in special circumstances. In fact, next time you visit the Smokies, ask for directions and you're likely to hear *Where you'ns from?*

Although outsiders may think that "mountain talk" is unsophisticated or uneducated, the complex features briefly surveyed here indicate that this dialect is anything but simple. The people of the Smoky Mountains have created and maintained a dialect that reflects both their history and their identity. This dialect is quite distinct both linguistically and socially. As you will hear when you visit the area, mountain talk displays and preserves local tradition, culture, and experience. To hear the language of the Smoky Mountains is to hear the mountains talk.

A Short Dictionary of Smoky Mountain English

afeared afraid
airish breezy, chilly
bald treeless mountaintop
bluff cliff, usually facing a river
boomer red squirrel indigenous to the Smokies
bottom flat land along a stream or riverbed
branch area or settlement defined by a creek
britches pants
cut a shine to dance
dope soft drink, soda pop
eh law! Oh well!
fair up when rainy weather clears up
fetch to get
fritter fried patty made out of cornmeal

haint	ghost
holler	valley surrounded by mountains
jasper	outsider, stranger
liketa	almost, nearly
mountain laurel	rhododendron
painter	local pronunciation of *panther*
pick	to play a stringed bluegrass instrument, like a banjo or a guitar
plait	to braid
poke	bag or sack
poke salad	wild greens boiled to leach out poisons; often mixed with egg
razorback	wild hog
ramp	small wild onion
right smart	great in quality, quantity, or number
sigogglin	tilted or leaning at an angle, crooked
tee-totally	completely
tote	to carry
(over) yander/yonder	over there (in the distance)
young'un	child
you'ns	(pronounced "yunz") you (plural)

References and Further Reading

Montgomery, Michael B. and Joseph S. Hall (2003) *Dictionary of Smoky Mountain English*. University of Tennessee Press.

Neal Hutcheson (director) (2003) *Mountain Talk*. A video documentary. North Carolina Language and Life Project, North Carolina State University.

Kephart, Horace, J. Karl Nicholas, and Harold F. Farwell (eds.) (1993) *Smoky Mountain Voices: A Lexicon of Southern Appalachian Speech Based on the Research of Horace Kephart*. University Press of Kentucky.

Sounds of the South

Guy Bailey and Jan Tillery
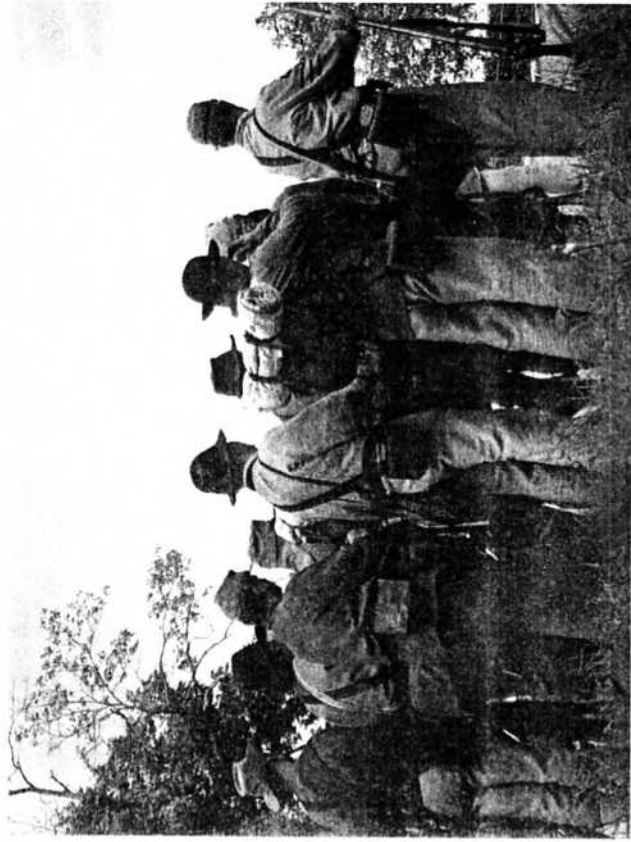
2 A group of Confederate soldiers awaits orders during the re-enactment of a Civil War battle.
© by Dan Brandenburg.

Southern American English (SAE) is the most widely recognized regional dialect of American English, but as most of its speakers know, widespread recognition is a mixed blessing. SAE is also the regional dialect that is most negatively evaluated. In a recent study of folk beliefs about American dialects, Dennis Preston (1996) found that 90 percent of his respondents

from Michigan and Indiana and 96 percent of those from South Carolina recognized SAE as a distinct variety of American English. The Michigan and Indiana respondents, however, also evaluated SAE as the most "incorrect" variety of American English (New York City speech was the only serious competitor), and the South Carolina respondents were ambivalent about its correctness as well.

The widespread recognition and negative evaluation of SAE can have practical consequences for its users that in some cases include negative stereotyping and linguistic discrimination, just as with African American Vernacular English (AAVE), or Ebonics. While SAE almost never generates the extreme reactions and extensive prejudice that AAVE often does, its users can anticipate at least polite (and often not so polite) condescension to their speech by non-Southerners. In spite of its low status outside of the South and of standardizing forces such as interregional migration and universal education that threaten many minority languages and dialects, SAE persists.

Some Features of Southern American English

Misunderstandings about what comprises SAE are almost as widespread as the recognition of its distinctiveness. These misunderstandings in large part have been fueled by media portrayals in movies such as *Gone with the Wind* and television shows such as *The Dukes of Hazzard* that presented grossly exaggerated and inaccurate stereotypes of SAE. More recent portrayals in television shows such as *Designing Women, Evening Shade* and *Grace Under Fire* are more accurate, but their effect on the public knowledge of SAE is unclear.

Traditionally, SAE differed from other varieties of American English in some of its lexical, grammatical, and phonological features, but many of the lexical differences, which were rooted in an agrarian economy and a traditional society, have begun to disappear. For instance, most young Southerners are as likely to use *green beans* as *snap beans* and are more likely to use *dragon fly* than either *snake doctor* or *mosquito hawk*. Just as these book terms have replaced the older folk terms with the advent of universal education, a significant part of the regional vocabulary associated with farm life has become obsolete as the artifacts to which they refer have disappeared. Few Southerners under 50 know what a *singletree* is (it is the bar of wood on a wagon to which the traces are attached) or have

heard the term *dogtrot* used for a type of house (usually a two-room house with an open hall down the middle). Many of the distinctive grammatical and phonological features of SAE persist however.

Some of the grammatical differences between SAE and other varieties are well known. For example, most Americans immediately recognize *you-all* or *y'all* as distinctively Southern second person pronouns, and many would know that *fixin'* to, as in *I'm fixin' to eat breakfast*, is Southern as well. The latter represents a modification of the English auxiliary system that enables Southerners to encode an aspectual distinction grammatically that must be encoded lexically elsewhere: *I'm fixin' to eat breakfast* means that I intend to eat breakfast in the next little while.

Other grammatical features are less widely known but are no less important. SAE also modifies the English auxiliary system by allowing for the use of more than one modal in a verb phrase. For instance, for most Southerners *I might could leave work early today* is a grammatically acceptable sentence. It translates roughly as *I might be able to leave work early*, but *might could* conveys a greater sense of tentativeness than *might be able* does. The use of multiple modals provides Southerners with a politeness strategy not available in other regional dialects. Although no generally agreed-upon list of acceptable multiple modals exists, the first modal in the sequence must be *might* or *may*, while the second is usually *could, can, would, will, should,* or *oughta*. In addition, SAE allows at least one triple modal option (*might should oughta*) and permits *useta* to precede a modal as well (e.g., *I useta could do that*).

All three of these grammatical features remain robust in SAE, and migrants to the South from other parts of the country often appropriate both *y'all* and *fixin' to*. Multiple modals, on the other hand, are typically used only by native Southerners. Most of the phonological features of SAE are also typically used only by natives.

The most widely recognized phonological features of SAE are the merger of the vowels like *pen* and *pin* or *ten* and *tin* (the vowel in both words has the sound of the second member of the pair) and the loss of the offglide of the *i* diphthong in words like *hide* (so that it sounds like *hahd*). SAE is also characterized by a series of vowel rotations that William Labov (1994) called the "Southern Shift." Describing the shift would require an extensive technical phonetic description of SAE vowels, but most people can hear its most important feature simply by listening to Bill Clinton's pronunciation of the vowel in *way* or *stayed*. The beginning of the vowel (which is a diphthong in SAE) will sound something like the vowel in *father*. Vowel differences such as these are hard to describe in non-technical terms, but

they are what make people immediately recognizable as speakers of SAE – long before a *might could, fixin' to,* or *y'all* crops up in their speech.

Change and Persistence in SAE

Much of the research on SAE has focused on its relationship to British regional dialects – on what many linguists see as its roots. The focus is primarily a result of the assumptions that American regional dialects are a reflex of settlement history and that they were formed during the colonial period. Recent research on SAE, though, suggests that both assumptions are inadequate. A case in point is the *pen/pin* merger. This merger occurred in the American South at least as early as the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Brown 1991), but it occurred in only a relatively small segment of the population. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, the *pen/pin* merger began to spread rapidly throughout the South until by World War II virtually all Southerners had the merger. This same 50-year period also saw the emergence and spread of the loss of offglide in *i* and of the distinctive vowel pronunciation in words like *way*. Moreover, during this time grammatical features such as *fixin' to* and *y'all* expanded rapidly.

The diffusion of these features after 1875, after the initial settlement of the South, may seem odd, but demographic and socioeconomic developments of this era suggest why these features may have begun to spread when they did. In *The Promise of the New South* (1992), Edward L. Ayers points out that during the last quarter of the nineteenth century the emergence of stores, villages, and towns and a dramatic expansion of the rail system set in motion a process of urbanization that would ultimately reshape the region. In 1860 less than one in ten Southerners lived in urban areas (communities with populations of 2500 or more), and only 21 towns from Virginia westward through Texas had populations of 5000 or more. By 1900 the urban population of the South had doubled, and it doubled again by the onset of World War II. What seems to have happened linguistically is that migration to towns and cities created contact among dialects that were formerly local and insular, and as a result, features that were relatively restricted in occurrence began either to spread out or to disappear. The parallel process of diffusion and extinction eliminated many local vernaculars but at the same time gave rise to the larger regional dialect known today as SAE. Vestiges of some local vernaculars persist

among older residents of insular communities, as the work of Wolfram and his associates shows, but among younger Southerners they have all but disappeared.

Demographic developments since World War II raise some interesting questions about future prospects for SAE. The urbanization that began before World War II expanded dramatically during and after the war, but with some significant differences. Before World War II people in Southern towns and cities came from the surrounding countryside, and most industry involved low-wage, manual-labor operations, such as cotton mills and petroleum-processing plants. After the war, and especially after 1970, the migration to the Southern cities was as likely to come from the North as the South, and new industries often included such things as the corporate headquarters of J. C. Penney and the Dell computer production facilities. In addition, in Texas, Florida, Virginia, and large cities throughout the South, migration from outside the United States is now occurring at an astonishing rate.

The linguistic impact that the new arrivals from outside the South will have is not yet clear, but some trends are already becoming apparent. In Texas and Oklahoma, and in many metropolitan areas around the South, some national linguistic trends such as the merger of the vowels in *caught* and *cot* (both sound like the latter) are emerging. In several of the larger metropolitan areas (e.g., Dallas–Fort Worth and Memphis) some traditional Southern vowel features such as the distinctive pronunciation of the vowel in words like *way* are beginning to wane. Even as these developments take hold in metropolitan areas, however, traditional grammatical features such as *y'all* and *fixin' to* are spreading to non-Southerners migrating to the region.

While the long-term consequences of the new developments are impossible to predict, it is apparent that SAE is continuing to evolve – just as it has over the last century and a half. The extent to which the results of that evolution will yield something that is recognizably "Southern" remains to be seen.

References

Ayers, Edward L. (1992) *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Bailey, Guy, and Jan Tillery (1996) The persistence of Southern American English. *Journal of English Linguistics* 24: 308–21.

Brown, Vivian (1991) The merger of /i/ and /e/ before nasals in Tennessee. *American Speech* 66: 303–15.

Labov, William (1994) *Principles of Linguistic Change: Internal Factors*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Preston, Dennis (1996) Where the worst English is spoken. In Edgar Schneider (ed.), *Focus on the USA*, 297–360. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Wolfram, Walt, Kirk Hazen, and Natalie Schilling-Estes (1999) *Dialect Maintenance and Change in Outer Banks English*. Publication of the American Dialect Society 81. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

38

From the Brickhouse to the Swamp (Lumbee Vernacular English)

Walt Wolfram

38 Lumbee girls. © by Neal Hutcheson.

Native American languages are in a cultural crisis. Many once-vibrant languages are now used by only a handful of elderly speakers, and as those last speakers die, their languages die with them. Despite efforts by some community members and linguists to maintain and revitalize these indigenous languages, they often simply disappear with the passing years. As a result, only a few of the Native American languages that were spoken in the 1800s are still spoken today, and the remaining ones are disappearing at an alarming rate.

What happens to the speech of Native American groups when their heritage language base erodes? Do they simply adopt the speech of the surrounding non-native community and blend into the English mainstream, or do they develop a distinct vernacular? In many cases, Native Americans have adopted the English dialect of the surrounding community. But there are also some instances where Native Americans have carved out a unique dialect niche – a kind of "American Indian English." No group is more representative of this latter category than the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina.

Who are the Lumbee?

The Lumbee are the largest Native American group east of the Mississippi and the seventh largest Native American group in the United States, with over 50,000 members listed on the tribal rolls. Although Lumbees can be found throughout the nation, they are concentrated in Robeson County, North Carolina, and are relatively unknown outside of southeastern North Carolina. In Robeson County they make up 40% of the population, and some communities in Robeson County are over 95% Lumbee. In contrast, European Americans comprise about 35% and African Americans approximately 25% of the Robeson County population, making the county a stable tri-ethnic area.

One of the curious aspects of the Lumbee is how little is known about their exact historical origins. There is ample archaeological evidence that Native Americans have inhabited the Robeson County region for thousands of years. In colonial times, the Carolinas were inhabited by speakers of several different major families of Native American languages, including Siouan, Iroquoian, and Algonquian languages. The Lumbee were among the first Native American Indians to learn English during the early English settlement of the Carolina coastal plain and were reported to be speaking English as early as the first half of the 1700s. With the growth of European settlements in the region, some tribes may have relocated or blended together, making it even more difficult to identify a specific ancestral dialect lineage for the Lumbee. Although some Lumbees believe their history can be traced to the famous Lost Colony on Roanoke Island, most scholars think that they are an amalgam of several different Native American groups.

The Lumbee were officially recognized as a tribe by a congressional act in 1956. Unfortunately, while the act recognized the Lumbee as an Indian tribe, it explicitly denied them entitlements usually afforded to recognized tribes, such as federal funding or reservation land. In fact, the Lumbees' ambiguous status as a tribe may be the ironic and unfortunate result of their early adoption of English, and their uncertain historical origin. They are one of the few Native American groups to be assigned such an ambiguous status. The Lumbees' century-long quest for full recognition is certainly one of the unheralded stories of the Native American struggle to maintain cultural identity and integrity.

Lumbee English

Since the loss of their heritage language generations ago, the Lumbee have perpetuated their identity through the development of a distinctive dialect of English. Even the congressional act of 1956 acknowledged their distinct dialect by noting that Lumbees could be identified by a "distinctive appearance and manner of speech." Residents of the area also recognize the existence of Lumbee English, which differs from the speech of the neighboring African American and European American communities in Robeson County. Given tape-recorded samples of African American, European American, and Lumbee residents, listeners from Robeson County correctly identified Lumbees over 80 percent of the time – a higher rate than their correct identification of European Americans in the county. Although patterns of social and cultural segregation, population density, and historical continuity have contributed to the development of Lumbee English, there is an important sense in which the dialect is a constructed identity, by which they have defined themselves as neither white nor black – a cultural "other" in the ideology of the bi-racial Southeastern US. Like other dialects, Lumbee English has distinct lexicon, pronunciation, and grammar. Although it possesses a few unique words and phrases, Lumbee English is defined more by the combination of words and structures that set it apart from Southern white and black varieties of English than by the existence of exclusive Lumbee lexicon. A few distinctive terms, such as ellick 'coffee with sugar', juvember 'slingshot', and yerker 'mischievous child', are mostly restricted to the Lumbee, but words like fatback 'fat meat of a hog', mommuck 'mess up', and headiness 'very bad' are shared with other dialects in the Southern coastal plains. As is often the case in enclave communities, a number of social designations are also embodied in some of the vocabulary items. Thus, the term daddy is used for close friends as well as a parent, and teenagers may greet one another with What's up, Daddy? The term Lum, a clipped form of Lumbee, is reserved for those who have identified with their Lumbee cultural heritage. Social distinctions within the community are captured by terms like brickhouse Indian and swamp Indian, which refer to higher and lower status in the community.

Pronunciation features of Lumbee English combine patterns from Mid-Atlantic coastal speech and from Appalachian English. For example, older Lumbee Indians in isolated communities pronounce side and time something like soid and toim, more like the traditional pronunciation of these vowels on the Outer Banks of North Carolina than the widespread current Southern pronunciation of sahd and tahm. Tobacco and potato may be pronounced as 'baccer and 'tater, combining the loss of an unstressed syllable and intrusive r in the final syllable in a way that parallels both the coastal dialect and Appalachian English. When combined with pronunciations such as tar for tire and far for fire, the dialect seems to resemble Appalachian speech to listeners from other regions.

Several prominent grammatical features characterize Lumbee English. One of the dialect icons of Lumbee English is the use of bes in sentences such as That's how it bes or The dogs bes doing that. Although the finite use of be is often associated with African American Vernacular English, its use in Lumbee English differs from its African American counterpart in two important ways. First, it is inflected with -s, whereas be in African American English does not take the inflectional -s. Second, finite be is more expansive in its meaning; it is not restricted to habitual activities as it usually is in African American Vernacular English. In Lumbee English, speakers can say both She usually bes playing, as well as She bes playing right now. Another prominent feature of Lumbee English is the use of weren't as the past tense form of be in sentences such as It weren't me or I weren't down there, a feature shared with coastal dialects in the Mid-Atlantic South. Also, the use of forms of be where the perfect use of have is found in other dialects, as in I'm been there already for I've been there already or He be took the food for He has taken the food characterizes the dialect. Although all of these structures are found in other vernacular dialects of English, the particular combination of traits sets Lumbee English apart, both from surrounding vernacular dialects and other dialects of English.

The Development of Lumbee English

No single source can account for the development of Lumbee English. There may be some residual effects from the ancestral language, but if so, they are very subtle and not readily apparent. This is hardly surprising given the tribes' early acquisition of English, and the fact that all traces of a heritage language can be lost within a couple of generations. Instead, Lumbee English has been molded primarily from the available models of English used by the Europeans settled in the area. For example, structures like *I weren't there* and the pronunciation of *fire* as *far* were apparently adopted originally from the regional dialects in the vicinity. In the 1700s and 1800s, Lumbee English was connected with the coastal dialects of North Carolina, and this historical connection is still reflected in some dialect features. At the same time, there is obvious influence from the Scots-Irish who spread eastward from the Appalachian region, as well as from the Highland Scots who settled in the region during the eighteenth century. Some of the features incorporated into the dialect are retentions of earlier forms that were once widespread in the English language, such as the use of forms of *be* for *have* in sentences like *I'm been there* or the use of the prefix *a-* in *She's a-fishin'*. The final ingredient added to the dialect mix includes innovations that took place within the Lumbee community itself, such as the development of some of the specialized meanings of lexical items. The resulting dialect is a distinctive mix blended from the various dialects in the region and some internal, community-based dialect development.

The Future of Lumbee English

Although many historically isolated dialect communities are now diminishing because of outside influences, this is not as evident in Lumbee English as it is in some other dialects. The set of identifying structures has shifted over time, but the dialect is still vibrant. In fact, the use of some dialect structures is actually increasing rather than receding. The use of *be* for *have* and the use of *weren't* as in *I weren't there* are still quite robust in the speech of some young people, even in the face of school-imposed standard English norms. As one Lumbee educator put it, "Since the 1880s, when they started the Indian schools, they have been trying to teach us standard English and they haven't succeeded yet."

The non-mainstream status of Lumbee Vernacular English has subjected the Lumbee to a type of double jeopardy. The community lost its ancestral language heritage originally to accommodate the sociopolitical and economic exigencies of European encroachment. Regrettably, their early adoption of English was subsequently used against them, as they were denied full recognition as an Indian tribe. There is little doubt that the Lumbee would be fully recognized by the US government today if they had maintained their heritage language. But they have not lost their linguistic identity. Instead, they creatively molded the English language to mark their ethnic distinctiveness. Their dialect supports their unflagging confidence that they are simply and utterly Indian. Unfortunately, many ill-informed individuals considered the dialect to have no linguistic integrity and dismissed it as an unworthy approximation of standard varieties of English. While Lumbee Vernacular English is undeniably different from standard English, it is much more than just another non-standard dialect of English. It remains one of the most transparent and authentic markers of cultural and ethnic identity for the Lumbee, even as they embrace other dimensions of the Native American cultural renaissance.

Despite persistent institutional efforts to repress and obliterate any linguistic traces of cultural distinctiveness in their language and dialect, the Lumbee have creatively maintained a distinct manner of speech as a symbolic indicator of their identity. As local artist Hayes Allan Locklear put it: "That [the dialect]'s how we recognize who we are, not only by looking at someone. We know just who we are by our language. You recognize someone is from Spain because they speak Spanish, or from France because they speak French, and that's how we recognize Lumbees. If we're anywhere in the country and hear ourselves speak, we know exactly who we are."

Lumbee Vocabulary Quiz

Word List

bate	brickhouse	buddyrow	chicken bog	ellick
headiness	jubious	juvember	lum	on the swamp
mommuck	sorry in the world	swamy	toten	yerker

1. He acts like a real _____.
2. She ate a _____ of greens.

3. You're my _____ for doing me the favor.

4. Come on down and we'll have some _____.

5. How are things _____?

6. I felt right _____ after I saw the haint.

7. Don't _____ the room.

8. She was _____ when her horse died.

9. They tell stories about how she heard a _____.

10. Fetch me some _____; I need to wake up.

11. They made a _____ from some branches they found.

12. I know you made this mess, you little _____.

13. She made the _____ mess in her room.

14. I _____ that I'll punish you if you don't behave!

15. He thinks that he is a _____ Indian.

Answers

1. Lum (Lumbee) 2. bate (lot) 3. buddyrow (friend) 4. chicken bog (chicken and rice) 5. on the swamp (neighborhood) 6. jubious (strange) 7. mommuck (mess up) 8. sorry in the world (sad) 9. toten (ghost) 10. ellick (coffee) 11. juvember (slingshot) 12. yerker (mischievous child) 13. headiness (very bad) 14. swanny (swear) 15. brick-house (upper status).

Resources

A more technical description of Lumbee English can be found in Walt Wolfram and Clare Dannenberg, "Dialect identity in a tri-ethnic context: The case of Lumbee American Indian English, *English World-Wide* 20: 79–116 (1999), and in the various publications by the staff of the North Carolina Language and Life Project. These are listed at www.ncsu.edu/linguistics, along with audio samples of representative speakers. For additional information on Lumbee history and culture, visit web sites at www.lumbee.com and www.uncp.edu/nativemuseum. More information on Native American varieties of English in general can be found in William A. Leap's book *American Indian English* (University of Utah Press, 1993). The video documentary on Lumbee English, *Indian by Birth: The Lumbee Dialect* (2000), can be ordered at www.uncp.edu/nativemuseum.

250   From the Brickhouse to the Swamp

34

Bridging the Great Divide (African American English)

John Baugh
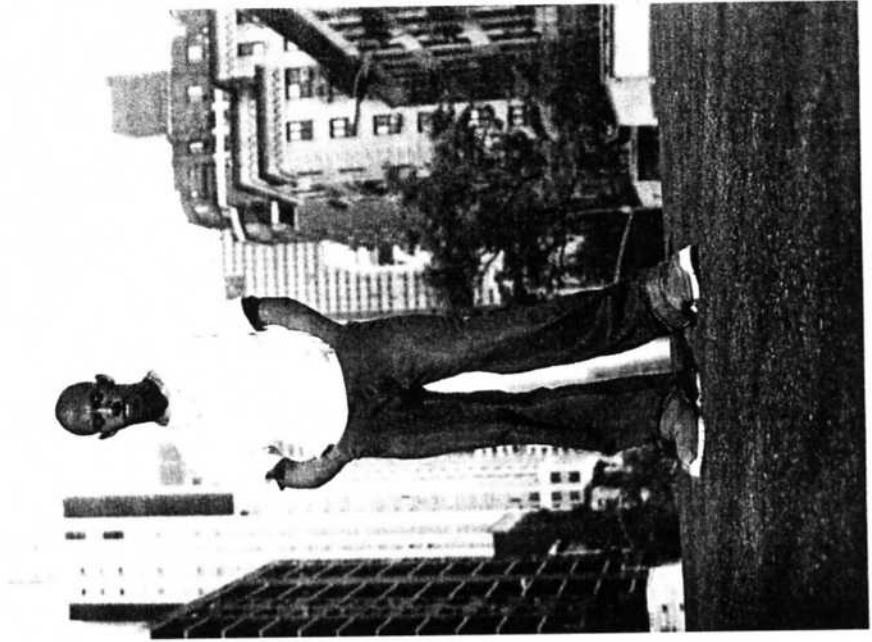
34 Young man in the city. © by Doug Logan.

The linguistic legacy of the African slave trade has been sorely misunderstood within the United States and throughout the world. Exacerbated by longstanding racial controversies, the linguistic behavior of African Americans, and slave descendants in particular, has been a source of political and educational contention since the birth of the nation. Many of the linguistic stereotypes that abound regarding African Americans are misleading and grossly exaggerated; indeed, American slave descendants do not constitute a linguistically homogeneous group. Thus, blacks who grew up in isolated rural farming communities speak quite differently from African Americans who grew up in heavily populated inner-city neighborhoods and older African Americans typically use language differently from younger African Americans.

Slave descendants share a unique linguistic history that sets them apart from those whose American ancestors were not enslaved Africans. Whereas typical immigrants to the United States may have come to America in poverty, speaking a language other than English, they usually did so with others who shared a common language and culture. The vast majority of Americans can trace their family ancestry to homelands where the languages of their ancestors are well known. Such is not the case for the typical slave descendant of African origin.

The explanation for this unique historical linguistic circumstance is fairly straightforward, as are the racial consequences of this legacy. Only blacks from Africa were imported as slaves throughout North and South America. Whenever possible, slave traders separated captives who spoke the same language. This practice, a crude form of language planning, attempted to disrupt communication among slaves to prevent uprisings during the Atlantic crossing and thereafter. Once placed on the auction block, slaves were then denied access to schools and literacy by law. Again, this linguistic heritage is unlike the vast majority of other immigrants who were exposed to Standard American English within their local public schools.

Because the linguistic consequences of slavery are not well known, many United States citizens, regardless of racial background, do not fully understand why vernacular African American dialects persist, particularly when public figures like Bryant Gumbel or Condoleezza Rice demonstrate full, fluent, and facile command of Standard English. Their linguistic example implies that speaking proficiency is a matter of personal choice, rather than historical circumstances. However, despite the existence of thousands of African Americans who have mastered Standard English, or, in more popular parlance, the fact that "many blacks sound white," it is all

too easy to lose sight of the historical linguistic dislocation born of slavery that has made it far more difficult for slave descendants to blend into the melting pot. While the vast majority of American immigrants had the luxury of sharing a minority (non-English) language upon their arrival to America, such was not the case for slaves. Indeed, no indigenous African language survived the Atlantic passage intact, giving rise to a host of African- and European-based pidgin and creole languages that resulted directly from the slave trade.

Due substantially to the lingering inequality that is the legacy of slavery, educators, politicians, and linguists have had highly contentious debates about how best to address the education of black students, and, more precisely, how best to improve literacy among American slave descendants. Does the problem lie with individual students, or are there other, systemic explanations for racial disparities in educational achievement, that lie beyond the control of individual students or those who care for them? While a full understanding of the linguistic behavior of African Americans will not resolve these pressing educational problems, it can shed light on many of the challenges that still face those who sincerely seek ways to overcome racial inequality.

Honest differences of opinion derived from the Ebonics controversy that began in Oakland, California in 1996 may help to clarify the linguistic and educational dilemma that exacerbates racial gaps in academic achievement throughout the nation. Without question, the sociopolitical controversy that erupted in the wake of the Ebonics debate proved to be one of the most contentious linguistic episodes ever to jolt America. Readers may recall that the Oakland, California school board passed a resolution declaring Ebonics to be the language of the 28,000 African American students who attended public schools within that district. The public outcry denouncing Ebonics and its advocates was swift and defied easy racial classification. Maya Angelou was among the first and most vocal of Ebonics' detractors, followed by Kweisi Mfume and other notable African Americans who decried any suggestion that African Americans speak a language other than English.

Although Oakland school officials eventually denied accusations that their resolution was intended to justify claims to obtain federal bilingual education funding, their official policy statement was explicit in this regard, claiming that "African-American pupils are equally entitled to be tested and where appropriate, shall be provided general funds and State and Federal (Title VII) bilingual education and ESL (English as a Second Language) programs to specifically address the needs of their limited English

proficiency/no English proficiency" (Oakland African American Task Force Policy Statement).

In addition, some of the most contentious political commentary was derived from an assertion contained within the original Oakland resolution stating that "African Language Systems are genetically based and not a dialect of English." This poorly chosen remark stirred the smoldering embers of Arthur Jensen's incendiary claims, published in the *Harvard Educational Review* of February, 1969, that African American students were cognitively inferior to white students because of genetic differences and that this inferiority was affirmed by standardized test results.

The Linguistic Society of America (LSA) waded into both the Jensen and Ebonics controversies, each time passing resolutions that sought to quell racially charged controversies surrounding the language of African Americans. In the first instance, following remarks authored by William Labov and Anthony Kroch, the LSA observed that:

The writings of Arthur Jensen which argue that many lower-class people are born with an inferior type of intelligence contain unfounded claims which are harmful to many members of our society. Jensen and others have introduced into the arena of public debate the theory that the population of the United States is divided by genetic inheritance into two levels of intelligence ability: one defined by the ability to form concepts freely, the other limited in this area and confined primarily to the association of ideas.

While these statements served to undercut unsubstantiated genetic claims in Jensen's comments, Oakland's resolution inadvertently reintroduced Jensen's genetic folly, although Oakland educators eventually claimed that their reference to genetics was restricted to linguistic classification and had nothing whatsoever to do with the racial genealogy of African Americans. In this instance the LSA, under the guidance of John Rickford, passed a resolution intended to affirm the linguistic integrity of African American Vernacular English, stating:

The variety known as "Ebonics," "African American Vernacular English" (AAVE), and "Vernacular Black English" and by other names is systematic and rule-governed like all natural speech varieties.

In so doing the LSA was able to accomplish two important tasks: first, and foremost, it affirmed the linguistic integrity of black American speech, and second, it asserted that Ebonics should be viewed as a dialect of English,

and not as a separate language without essential English derivation. Shortly after the LSA passed their resolution, the Oakland school board released a revised Ebonics resolution that deleted all references to genetic classification and conceded, albeit somewhat grudgingly, that Ebonics is "not merely a dialect of English."

The discussion of recent and longstanding historical linguistic controversies surrounding African Americans is necessary to fully appreciate that neither linguists nor educators have yet completely resolved these matters. The Ebonics episode in Oakland generated so much ill-will and hostility that educators and politicians have been loath to reconsider the topic; that is, despite the fact that many of the educational problems that are suffered by numerous African American students owe their existence to the very linguistic misunderstanding that lies at the heart of the Ebonics debate.

Some brief linguistic illustrations demonstrate the subtle but substantive barriers that many African American students face as they strive to succeed within an educational system that makes no accommodation for the dialect that so many of them bring to school. One of the most common dialect features of African American Vernacular English is that of habitual *be*, as found in *They be happy* or *She be staying at home.* An uncritical reflection might wrongly assume that these sentences are identical to Standard English *They are happy* or *She is staying at home.* In the first instance many speakers of vernacular African American English make a productive distinction between temporary and habitual states of affairs. Thus, *They('re) happy* and *They be happy* are not synonymous; the former conveys a temporary state of affairs while the latter conveys a habitual state of happiness. Similarly, *She is staying at home* can convey a temporary state of affairs in contrast to *She stays at home,* which suggests a habitual event. Speakers of AAVE can productively distinguish between *She('s) staying at home* (as a temporary state) and *She be staying at home* (as a habitual state).

Some insightful students of African American English have likewise observed that some African languages make similar "stative" versus "habitual" contrasts that they believe were integrated into the speech of slaves and their descendants. These forms were then linguistically codified under racial segregation and willful attempts to restrict literacy among slaves, thereby denying extensive exposure to written norms for Standard English.

Another linguistic illustration that is not exclusive to African Americans refers to standard versus nonstandard uses of *ain't* and other forms of

Table 34.1 Some common linguistic examples of African American Vernacular English (AAVE)

Standard English	AAVE
Reduction of final consonant clusters	
cold	col'
left	lef'
mind	min'
desk	des'
Suffix -s absence	
cents	cent
He has ten cents	He has ten cent
brother's	brother
My brother's book	My brother book
likes	like
He likes music	He like music
Post-vocalic r absence	
door	do'
car	ca'
Absence of present-tense auxiliary and linking verbs	
He is here	He here
We are leaving	We leaving
Phonological inversion	
Did you ask a question?	Did you aks a question?
Syntactic alternation	
What time is it?	What time it is?
How can you do that?	How you can do that?
What is the problem?	What the problem is?
Non-standard Negation	
I don't have any cards	I ain't got no cards.
He didn't leave any keys	He ain't leave no keys.

negative agreement. Whereas many speakers of American English may say and comprehend the meaning of *I ain't got no money*, few Americans (other than speakers of AAVE) use *ain't* as equivalent to *didn't* as in *I ain't drop the book*. As such, the English teacher working with a classroom of students from diverse American English backgrounds could easily launch into a carefully planned lesson intended to illustrate distinctions between *ain't* and other negatives such as *isn't* or *don't* without ever realizing that African American students also use *ain't* as equivalent to *didn't*.

An additional example, with strong African historical roots, illustrates some of the linguistic challenges that educators and their African American students face in school. If, for example, an African American student wrote a non-standard sentence that stated, *He been sad*, a teacher might readily "correct" this sentence to state *He was sad*. However, it is quite possible – even likely – that the student had intended to convey not only that was he sad but that he has continued to be sad for an extended period of time.

Many African languages convey changes in meaning through tonal contrasts; that is to say, they are "tone languages," and this allows their speakers to convey different meanings for the same word depending upon tone, stress, or emphasis. Speakers of AAVE and other American English dialects have come to adopt a tonal contrast regarding the use of the word *been*. In the preceding example, if the student had intended to say that *He been sad* was a temporary past event, they would have intended for an unstressed form of *been* to be implied. However, had it been the writer's intention to convey that "He is not only sad at this moment, but he has been sad for quite some time," then a stressed form of *been* as in *He BEEN sad* would have been the intention.

Other examples from AAVE are numerous, and generally occupy a complete monograph, but table 34.1 illustrates some of the examples worthy of educational attention. As with non-standard uses of *ain't* many such examples are not exclusive to AAVE. However, all of the examples that are identified in table 34.1 are common to speakers of vernacular African American English.

The contrastive examples illustrated in table 34.1 offer a small hint of the vast array of subtle-to-substantial linguistic variation that exists between AAVE and Standard American English. Slight though these examples may be, they serve to highlight the linguistic vestiges of the African slave trade that serve to remind us of the bygone era of overt racial discrimination that was sanctioned by Jim Crow laws and longstanding patterns of residential and educational segregation.

I offer these linguistic, historical, and sociopolitical observations in the hope of shedding additional light on the unique linguistic circumstances born of the African slave trade, and an ensuing recognition that legislators have yet to demonstrate the political will to adequately address the educational abyss that persists between black and white educational performance throughout the nation. Academic excellence does not demand that we attempt to eradicate AAVE; rather, by recognizing that many black students come to school using linguistic patterns that differ substantially from academic varieties of English, we can better prepare them and their teachers to bridge the linguistic and cultural gaps that will ultimately ensure that no child is ever left behind.

35

When Linguistic Worlds Collide (African American English)

Walt Wolfram and Benjamin Torbert

35 Boy in a field. © by Lise Gagne.

Debate about language origins and evolution is common, but the history of race relations in American society makes the case of African American English, popularly known as *Ebonics*, somewhat special. The broad path of historical development seems obvious. Africans speaking a rich assortment of West African languages such as Mandinka, Mende, and Gola – among many others – learned English subsequent to their shackled emigration from Africa to North America. But the process of this shift

and the possibility of lingering linguistic effects centuries later from the ancestral languages of West Africa remains a matter of controversy and intrigue.

Describing the early development of African American speech presents a historical, linguistic, and political challenge. Slave traders were hardly thinking of documenting their exploitation of human cargo for the historical record, and most references to speech in the early slave trade were connected to its role in moving and marketing human merchandise. For linguists, the reliance on limited historical records written for purposes other than linguistic documentation is always problematic, but the difficulties are compounded for vernacular speech that society has deemed unworthy of preservation. Writing was an illegal skill for early African Americans in North America, making first-hand accounts rare and questionable in terms of accuracy with respect to vernacular speech. But there are also questions of authenticity about other recorders of black speech, and its representation runs the gamut – from racist caricatures that exaggerate stereotypical differences to inclusive portrayals that over-look any possible ethnic differences in speech. Observations about African American speech have never been far removed from the politics of race in American society, so that it is hardly surprising that the status of African American English (AAE) has been – and continues to be – highly contentious and politically sensitive.

Competing Explanations

Two major explanations have dominated the modern debate over the origin and early development of AAE. The "Anglicist Hypothesis," originally set forth by prominent American dialectologists during the mid-twentieth century, argues that the origin of AAE can be traced to the same sources as earlier European American dialects of English – the varieties of English spoken in the British Isles. This position assumes that slaves speaking different African languages simply learned the regional and social varieties of the adjacent groups of white speakers as they acquired English. It further assumes that over the course of a couple of generations only a few minor traces of these ancestral languages remained, as in the typical American immigrant model of language shift.

In the mid-1960s and the 1970s, the Anglicist position was challenged by the "Creolist Hypothesis." Researchers of creole languages noted that

the early language situation for African descendants circumscribed by the conditions of slavery was hardly like that of Europeans who came by choice and blended with other European groups. Instead, the extreme circumstances of subordination and segregation led to the development of a "creole language," a specially adapted language formed when groups not sharing a common language need to communicate. Typically, the lexical stock of the creole comes from the language of the socially dominant group. The Creolist Hypothesis asserts that an English-based creole language spread throughout the African diaspora, and today creoles are still spoken in regions that extend from West African countries such as Sierra Leone and Liberia through the Caribbean to the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia, where the creole language Gullah is spoken (see chapter 28, "Gullah Gullah Islands"). This creole spread to the sprawling plantations of the American South, becoming the prototype for the development of AAE. The Creolist viewpoint argues that the speech of African Americans in North America has changed greatly over the centuries, but that the imprint of its creole past is still found in a number of language traits: the absence of the linking verb *be* (e.g., *You ugly*), the loss of inflection suffixes such as the *-s* on verbs (e.g. *She like school*), possessives (e.g., *the dog mouth*), and plurals (*many time*), as well as the distinctive verb particles such as the use of *done* to indicate completed action (e.g., *He done went*) and the use of *been* to indicate distant time (e.g., *She been known him forever*). All of these traits are typical of well-known, English-based creoles – from Gullah to Jamaican Creole, and to Krio, the dominant language of Sierra Leone.

Revising the Hypothesis

New historical and linguistic information has brought the traditional positions on the origin of AAE under intensified scrutiny. One source of information comes from the ever-expanding written records of ex-slaves, including an extensive set of ex-slave narratives collected under the Works Project Administration (WPA), newly uncovered letters written by semi-literate ex-slaves in the mid-1800s; and other specialized texts, for example, an extensive set of interviews conducted with black practitioners of voodoo in the 1930s known as the Hyatt texts. In addition to these written texts, limited sets of archival audio recordings have been uncovered, including a set of tapes made by WPA workers with ex-slaves in the 1930s.

A quite different source of new information comes from the examination of the speech of groups of black expatriates who have lived in relative isolation since their exodus from the United States. For example, in the 1820s, a group of blacks migrated from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to the peninsula of Samaná in the Dominican Republic, where the descendants of this community continue to live today in relative seclusion. A significant population of African Americans also migrated from the United States to Canada in the early 1800s, and some of their descendants continue to live in remote, out-of-the-way regions of Nova Scotia. It is commonly assumed that secluded groups will be relatively conservative in their use of language and thus may provide a window into the earlier state of a language. The examination of speech in these transplanted, black-enclave communities has shown a striking resemblance to the speech of earlier European American varieties spoken in North America, reviving support for the Anglicist Hypothesis. However, there is an important difference between the British-origins position of a half-century ago and the current position referred to as the "Neo-Anglicist Hypothesis." The original Anglicist position concluded that the early accommodation of European American speech by African American speakers has been maintained to the present, so that there remain no essential differences between the speech of comparable groups of African Americans and European Americans in the rural American South, the regional source of the earliest African American speech in the United States. The Neo-Anglicist position, however, argues that AAE has diverged from European American varieties over the years, so that present-day AAE is now quite different from contemporary benchmark European American dialects. The differences are not due to earlier language history, but to the evolving nature of African American speech during the twentieth century.

Resolving the Controversy

For almost a decade now, a team of researchers from North Carolina State University has been re-examining the development of AAE based on yet another set of historical circumstances – longstanding, enclave African American communities in geographically remote areas of the United States. As in studies of expatriate situations, the lack of everyday contact with outside groups may provide insight into the history of African American speech. In one respect, these communities in the US may be preferable

to expatriate situations because they offer the advantage of long-term continuity in a regional context. For example, in Hyde County, North Carolina, a sparsely populated coastal region characterized by the unique Outer Banks dialect (see, for example, chapter 30, "Dialect in Danger"), African Americans and European Americans have co-existed since the first decade of the 1700s. Until the mid-twentieth century, the marshland terrain made it difficult to travel overland and there was little movement into and out of the region. The long-term seclusion and stable bi-ethnic settlement that included a 25 to 50 percent African American population for three centuries present an ideal laboratory for examining the development of language over time. Through our interviews with more than a hundred speakers ranging in age from 5 to 102, we can project what the earlier language was probably like for both African Americans and European Americans, as well as how it might have changed during the course of the twentieth century. Similar communities have also been examined in other regional settings of the South, including a couple of geographically remote communities of African American speakers in Appalachia, where their speech is surrounded by a dialect influenced historically by Scots-Irish (see, for example, chapter 3, "Defining Appalachian English", and chapter 4, "If These Hills Could Talk").

The research shows that the speech of older African Americans was more influenced by the regional dialect of the area than that of younger speakers. For example, in Hyde County, where the unique Outer Banks dialect features the pronunciation of *high tide* as *hoi toid* and the formation of negative sentences with *be* as *I weren't there* or *She weren't there*, older black and white speakers sound much alike. In Appalachia, older African Americans and European Americans share characteristic regional features such as the pronunciation of *fire* as *far*, the use of the prefix *uh-* in *He was a-huntin' and a-fishin'* and the use of *-s* on verbs in *People goes there all the time*. In fact, when we play excerpts of speech from these older speakers to outside listeners, they are often unable to identify the ethnicity of the speaker. This kind of evidence would seem to support the Anglicist position as the correct historical interpretation.

Closer inspection indicates that matters are not as simple as they might appear at first glance. The detailed investigation of different kinds of language structures shows that there are some features that have continuously distinguished speakers ethnically, though these are sometimes more subtle than the more salient items found in the current urban version of AAE. For example, we find a few pronunciation and grammatical features that apparently have been ethnically distinctive for centuries, co-existing

comfortably with a shared set of regional features. Though older African Americans and European Americans may have the same regional traits, they have differentiated themselves in the pronunciation of consonant blends before a vowel such as the loss of the final consonant in *wes' en'* for *west end*. The groups have also been different in the pronunciation of consonant sequences such as *skr* for *str*, in *skreet* for *street*. In grammar, the patterned absence of *be* in sentences such as *He ugly* and the absence of various inflectional suffixes in *she go, the boy hat,* or *many time* have probably differentiated black and white speech in some outlying Southern regions for as far back as we can project in the history of American English. Many of the traits that have distinguished black and white speech for centuries are directly or indirectly traceable to the early contact situation between English and West African languages. As African languages and English collided, there was an obvious accommodation to the regional manifestations of English, but the imprint of the original impact also remained indelible. This is hardly remarkable in language contact situations. The English vowels of some Minnesotans, for example, still bear the language-language marks of the earlier Scandinavian settlers, and southeastern Pennsylvanians continue to reflect German language influence in constructions such as *Are you going with* for *Are you going with me?* and *It's all* for *It's all gone* long after German was used regularly in the area – or, after German is all.

AAE has been influenced both by its earlier regional context in the US and its heritage language situation, making a clear-cut winner in Anglicist-Creolist debate difficult to pick. As is often the case in such debates, both sides have a point – and the truth lies somewhere in between. The position presented here, which admits both earlier regional influence and the persistent influence of the original language contact situation, is referred to as the "Substrate Hypothesis" simply to distinguish it from other positions.

The Evolution of Contemporary AAE

The story of AAE is an ongoing one. In fact, its modern path of change is every bit as intriguing as its earlier history. Current studies show that the distinctive traits of AAE are probably stronger at the beginning of the twenty-first century than they were a century earlier. Older speakers in

remote regional contexts may still sound quite local, but their younger counterparts are likely to sound more like their transregional urban AAE counterparts. Younger speakers in the outlying region of Hyde County, for example, usually reject the regional pronunciation of *high tide* as *hoi toid* and the use of *weren't* for *wasn't* as they pick up the use of habitual action *be* in sentences like *Sometimes they be trippin'* and intensify the absence of the *-s* suffix on verbs in sentences like *She go* for *She goes*. In the process, AAE has become a transregional variety that is more ethnically distinct today than it was a century ago. The fact that ethnicity now usually trumps region in African American speech is one of the great stories of modern dialectology.

There are a couple of reasons for the emergence of AAE as a super-regional, ethnically based variety of English. The expanded mobility of African Americans in the last century linked speakers from different regions, making it easier for interregional language spread to take place. At the same time, the pattern of persistent segregation in American society served as a fertile social environment for developing and maintaining a distinct ethnic variety. Many Northern urban areas are, in fact, more densely populated by African Americans today than they were several decades ago, and the informal social networks of many urban African Americans remain highly segregated. Population demographics, however, do not tell the only story. Over the past half-century, there has been a growing sense of ethnic identity associated with AAE, supported through a variety of social mechanisms that range from community-based social networks to stereotypical media projections of African American speech. In the process, regional dialects – and Standard English – have become associated with "white speech." The development of "oppositional identity," in which behavior with strong associations with white norms is avoided, became an important part of the ethnic divide. Though it might seem ironic that the association of Standard English with white speech would develop in a social and educational context that steadfastly rejects vernacular speech of any type – and African American English most vigorously of all – it is a true testament to the symbolic role of language in the African American experience. It is also an indication of the enduring cultural clash between white-dominant mainstream institutions and people of color in American society. In an important sense, there is no greater testament to the durability of African American culture than the vitality of the past and present voice of African American English.

Acknowledgment

Further Reading

Even the most restricted list of the articles and books on African American English would be excessive to cite here. The Substrate Hypothesis is presented in great technical detail in Walt Wolfram and Erik Thomas, *The Development of African American English* (Blackwell, 2002). Shana Poplack and Sali Tagliamonte, in *African American English in the Diaspora* (Blackwell, 2001), set forth the Neo-Anglicist position in equal technical detail. A more accessible description of the history and development of AAE is John Russell Rickford and Russell John Rickford's book, *Spoken Soul: The Story of Black English* (Wiley, 2000).

232   When Linguistic Worlds Collide

What is Ebonics?

(African American Vernacular English)

Written by John R. Rickford,
Stanford University

At its most literal level, *Ebonics* simply means 'black speech' (a blend of the words *ebony* 'black' and *phonics* 'sounds'). The term was created in 1973 by a group of black scholars who disliked the negative connotations of terms like 'Nonstandard Negro English' that had been coined in the 1960s when the first modern large-scale linguistic studies of African American speech-communities began. However, the term Ebonics never caught on among linguists, much less among the general public. That all changed with the 'Ebonics' controversy of December 1996 when the Oakland (CA) School Board recognized it as the 'primary' language of its majority African American students and resolved to take it into account in teaching them standard or academic English.

Most linguists refer to the distinctive speech of African Americans as 'Black English' or African American English (AAE) or, if they want to emphasize that this doesn't include the standard English usage of African Americans, as 'African American Vernacular English' (AAVE). In theory, scholars who prefer the term Ebonics (or alternatives like African American language) wish to highlight the African roots of African American speech and its connections with languages spoken elsewhere in the Black Diaspora, e.g. Jamaica or Nigeria. But in practice, AAE and Ebonics essentially refer to the same sets of speech forms. Here, we will use 'Ebonics' without ideological or theoretical qualification, preferring it to AAVE and other alternatives simply because it is the most widely-known public term right now.

What does Ebonics sound like?

To many people, the first examples that come to mind are slang words like *phat* 'excellent' and *bling-bling* 'glittery, expensive jewelry', words that are popular among teenagers and young adults, especially rap and hip hop fans. But words like *kitchen* 'the especially kinky hair at the nape of one's neck' and *ashy* 'the whitish appearance of black skin when dry, as in winter' are even more interesting. Unlike many slang words, these 'black' words have been around for ages, they are not restricted to particular regions or age groups, and they are virtually unknown (in their 'black' meanings) outside the African American community

Ebonics pronunciation includes features like the omission of the final consonant in words like 'past' (*pas'*) and 'hand' (*han'*), the pronunciation of the *th* in 'bath' as *t* (*bat*) or *f* (*baf*), and the pronunciation of the vowel in words like 'my' and 'ride' as a long *ah* (*mah*, *rahd*). Some of these occur in vernacular white English, too, especially in the South, but in general they occur more frequently in Ebonics. Some Ebonics pronunciations are more unique, for instance, dropping *b*, *d*, or *g* at the beginning of auxiliary verbs like 'don't' and 'gonna', yielding *Ah 'on know* for "I don't know" and *ama do it* for "I'm going to do it."

What does Ebonics look like?

These distinctive Ebonics pronunciations are all systematic, the result of regular rules and restrictions; they are not random 'errors'—and this is equally true of Ebonics grammar. For instance, Ebonics speakers regularly produce sentences without present tense *is* and *are*, as in "*John trippin*" or "*They allright*". But they don't omit present tense *am*. Instead of the ungrammatical *"*Ah walkin*", Ebonics speakers would say *"*Ahm walkin.*" Likewise, they do not omit *is* and *are* if they come at the end of a sentence—"*That's what he/they*" is ungrammatical. Many members of the public seem to have heard, too, that Ebonics speakers use an 'invariant' *be* in their speech (as in "*They be goin to school every day*"); however, this *be* is not simply equivalent to *is* or *are*. Invariant *be* refers to actions that occur regularly or habitually rather than on just one occasion.

What do people think of Ebonics?

That depends on whom you ask. Black writers from Paul Laurence Dunbar to Zora Neale Hurston to August Wilson have made extensive use of it in their work, and some, like James Baldwin ("*this passion, this skill, ... this incredible music.*"), Toni Morrison, and June Jordan have praised it explicitly. Black preachers and comedians and singers, especially rappers, also use it for dramatic or realistic effect. But many other people, black and white, regard it as a sign of limited education or sophistication, as a legacy of slavery or an impediment to socioeconomic mobility.

Some deny its existence (like the black Chicagoan whose words "*Ain't nobody here talkin' no Ebonics*" belied his claim). Others deprecate it (like Maya Angelou, who found the Oakland School Board's 1996 Ebonics resolutions "very threatening" although she uses Ebonics herself in her poems, e.g. "The Pusher").

It should be said, incidentally, that at least some of the overwhelmingly negative reaction to the Oakland resolutions arose because the resolutions were misinterpreted as proposals to teach Ebonics itself, or to teach in Ebonics, rather than as proposals to respect and take it into account while teaching standard English. The method of studying language known as 'contrastive analysis' involves drawing students' attention to similarities and differences between Ebonics and Standard English. Since the 1960s, it has been used successfully to boost Ebonics speakers' reading and writing performance in Standard English, most recently in public schools in DeKalb County, GA, and in Los Angeles, CA (as part of the LA Unified School District's Academic English Mastery Program).

Where did Ebonics come from?

On this point, linguists are quite divided. Some emphasize its English origins, pointing to the fact that most of the vocabulary of Ebonics is from English and that much of its pronunciation (e.g. pronouncing final *th* as *f*) and grammar (e.g. double negatives, "*I don't want none*") could have come from the nonstandard dialects of English indentured servants and other workers with whom African slaves interacted.

Others emphasize Ebonics' African origins, noting that West African languages often lack *th* sounds and final consonant clusters (e.g. *past*), and that replacing or simplifying these occurs both in US Ebonics and in West African English varieties spoken in Nigeria and Ghana. Moreover, they argue that the distinction made between completed actions ("*He done walked*") and habitual actions ("*We be walkin*") in the Ebonics tense-aspect system reflects their prevalence in West African language systems and that this applies to other aspects of Ebonics sentence structure.

Other linguists are drawn to the similarities between Ebonics and Caribbean Creole English varieties, for instance, the fact that both frequently drop *is* and *are*, and that both permit dropping word initial *d*, *b*, and *g* in tense-aspect markers (Caribbean examples include habitual/progressive *(d)a*, past tense *(b)en*, and future *(g)on*). These traits suggest that some varieties of American Ebonics might have undergone the kinds of simplification and mixture associated with Creole formation in the Caribbean and elsewhere. They might also suggest that American Ebonics was shaped by the high proportions of Creole-speaking slaves that were imported from the Caribbean in the earliest settlement periods of the thirteen original colonies.

Arguments about and evidence on the origins issue continue to be brought forth. A relatively new 'historical' issue has emerged in recent years: Is Ebonics converging with or diverging from other vernacular varieties of American English? One thing is for sure: This dynamic, distinctive variety—thoroughly intertwined with African American history and linked in many ways with African American literature, education, and social life—is one of the most extensively studied and discussed varieties of American English, and it will probably continue to be so for many years to come.

Further reading

Baugh, John. 2000. **Beyond Ebonics: Linguistic pride and racial prejudice.** Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Green, Lisa. 2002. **African American English: A linguistic introduction.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Labov, William. 1973. **Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English Vernacular.** Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Poplack, Shana, ed. 2000. **The English history of African American English.** Malden, MA, and Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Rickford, John R., and Russell J. Rickford. 2000. **Spoken Soul: The story of Black English.** New York: John Wiley.

Smitherman, Geneva. 2000. **Black talk: Words and phrases from the hood to the amen corner.** New York: Houghton Mifflin.

Wolfram, Walt, and Erik R. Thomas. 2002. **The development of African American English.** Malden, MA, and Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA was founded in 1924 for the advancement of the scientific study of language. The Society serves its nearly 7,000 personal and institutional members through scholarly meetings, publications, and special activities designed to advance the discipline.

The Society holds its Annual Meeting in early January each year and publishes a quarterly journal, LANGUAGE and the LSA Bulletin. Among its special education activities are the Linguistic Institutes held every other summer in odd-numbered years and co-sponsored by a host university.

The web site for the Society (http://www.lsadc.org) includes a Directory of Programs in Linguistics in the United States and Canada, The Field of Linguistics (brief, nontechnical essays describing the discipline and its subfields), and statements and resolutions issued by the Society on matters such as language rights, the English-only/English-plus debate, bilingual education, and ebonics.

Linguistic Society of America

1325 18th St, NW, Suite 211
Washington, DC 20036-6501
(202) 835-1714
lsa@lsadc.org
http://www.lsadc.org
Duplicate as needed

The Dialect Dilemma

Whether one is speaking Ebonics or Appalachian English, sociolinguists say all dialects are created equal

BY KENDRA HAMILTON

"Just forget telling your child to go to the Peace Corps. It's right around the corner (laughter). It's standing on the corner. It can't speak English. It doesn't want to speak English. I can't even talk the way these people talk: "Why you ain't?" "Where you is?" … I don't know who these people are.

"And I blamed the kid until I heard the mother talk (laughter). And then I heard the father talk. This is all in the house. You used to talk a certain way on the corner and you got into the house and switched to English. Everybody knows it's important to speak English except these knuckleheads. You can't land a plane with "Why you ain't." You can't be a doctor with that kind of crap coming out of your mouth."

— Bill Cosby
May 19, 2004
Constitution Hall, Washington, D.C.

Believe it or not, it's been nearly a year since America's most highly educated entertainer, Dr. Bill Cosby, embarked on his crusade to "save" Black youth by issuing a wake-up call about their language and behavior.

But while the dust from Cosby's critique has yet to settle, he seems to have become something of a cottage industry for some among the commentariat. *Black Issues* decided that it might lower the heat on the topic — and actually shed some light — to talk to some prominent sociolinguists about the controversy.

Apparently, it's a novel approach; very few

> "People watch their tongues, for the most part, these days on issues related to social identity and race, but they don't have the same feeling around dialect. It's acceptable, for the most part, to say the most awful things about other people's dialects."
>
> — Dr. Carolyn Adger, Director, Language in Society Division for the Center for Applied Linguistics

of the people who've weighed in on the matter — including Cosby — have been capable of giving the Linguistics 101 version.

"I wouldn't beat up on him for it," says Dr. Orlando Taylor, the much-published linguist and speech-language specialist who wears the dual hats of dean of the graduate school at Howard University and vice provost for research. "You wouldn't expect a person whose specialty is not in a particular area" to demonstrate knowledge of that area.

The problem is that, in this particular area, everyone's a self-appointed expert.

"It's like talking about religion, sex and politics — since we all speak and know a language there's a presumed right to have an opinion," says Dr. Walt Wolfram. A self-described "dialect nomad" who has published prolifically on African-American, Appalachian, Ozark, Amerindian, Puerto Rican and even Vietnamese English, Wolfram is the William C.

Friday Distinguished Professor of Linguistics at North Carolina State University, as well as a past president of both the Linguistics Society of America and the American Dialect Society.

Recalling the "Ebonics" controversy of the late 1990s — in which the Oakland, Calif., school district drew fire for passing a resolution that recognized Ebonics as the dialect of many of its Black students — Wolfram adds, "I would go on the air and I would find myself debating economists about language. Now what does an economist know about language? That's like me debating with a physicist about some principle of physics," he says.

But if there's one thing that sociolinguists know better than most, it's that dialect prejudice is as American as apple pie. Indeed, it may well be one of the last remaining bastions of open bigotry threaded through our culture.

"People watch their tongues, for the most part, these days on issues related to social identity and race, but they don't have the same feeling around dialect. It's acceptable, for the most part, to say the most awful things about other people's dialects," notes Dr. Carolyn Adger, director of the Language in Society Division for the Center for Applied Linguistics.

One has only to consider the use of the word "dialect." The conventional wisdom among the general population is pretty close to Cosby's: Dialects are bad; Standard English is good.

But the discipline of sociolinguistics sees things differently. "When sociolinguists use the word 'dialect,' it simply means a variety of a language — like Appalachian English or Boston English or any other variety of

> "But if a group is considered to be ignorant, primitive, backward, ill-informed, then their language is given similar attributes. The problem is that African-American people and Black people around the world are perceived by dominant societies to be inferior, and so their language is perceived in a similar way."

— Dr. Orlando Taylor, Dean of the Graduate School and Vice Provost for Research, Howard University

English," Adger says.

Moreover, to the sociolinguist, Standard English is not a standard in the sense of a "minimum acceptable standard," but in the sense of an "arbitrary standard" — because when it comes to language, it's variation that is the norm. Indeed, to the sociolinguist, all dialects are created equal.

The discipline's "most elementary principle is that all language is patterned and rule-governed, and you can apply that principle to African-American English, to Appalachian English, to every other dialect we look at," Wolfram says. "Journalists will say, 'Oh, but you academics are all liberal,' but this is not a political matter — this is not about liberals and conservatives. No, this is like the first law of physics: It's basic Linguistics 101."

The public doesn't get it, and that's in part because the public hasn't been taught. Think about it. Everyone has a language, but only colleges have linguistics. And that suggests to Taylor that the nerve struck by Cosby is bigger than language — it's, in fact, a cultural nerve.

"Language is a reflection of a people," Taylor says. "For example, French culture is perceived as high quality, its cuisine is considered to be great, its fashions are considered to be avant-garde, so if a person speaks with a French accent, it's perceived to be very positive because the people are perceived positively.

"But if a group is considered to be ignorant, primitive, backward, ill-informed, then their language is given similar attributes. The problem is that African-American people and Black people around the world are perceived by dominant societies to be inferior, and so their language is perceived in a similar way."

African Americans readily fall into the trap. They're as quick to stigmatize Black speech as they are to use it. Cosby, again, is an excellent example of the contradiction. Fat Albert and his friends weren't exactly speaking the King's English in the popular '70s-era cartoon nor in the recent motion picture.

So, in fact, what's happening is not a national conversation about the value of Black language — it's a national conversation about the value of Black culture. And the fact that we're still gnawing on the bone nearly a year later seems to indicate how conflicted we are — both as a nation and as African Americans.

On the one hand, notes Taylor, Cosby's economic argument — the notion that a people can't get ahead unless they've mastered the dominant speech — has its merits.

"We can agree that there is no single way to speak a language," Taylor says, "but we cannot escape the fact that, even within all those variations, some forms have more prestige than others. For example, the educated form — without mastery of the educated form of a language, it's very hard to be successful in schools or in the professional marketplace."

There are, of course, exceptions.

"Think, for example, of Chris Rock on the Academy Awards show," offers Adger. "Chris Rock is a very funny guy, but the source of his humor is his use of African-American English. He's really what we call bidialectal — it's his facility in moving from African-American English to standard English that makes us all laugh. He's masterful at it."

And that's an important distinction, says Taylor. "The critical statement about Chris Rock is that he can go back and forth. The problem with African-American youth is that large numbers are unable to do that. They are kind of stuck in a singular way of communicating and that's to their disadvantage. Folk in this country tend to believe that somehow there's a single standard and to switch is not good. I would say rather that it's an asset for students to be able to speak more than one language, one dialect — for one to be about to shift in accordance with the situational demands."

Even Cosby has touched on that point. In the speech that caused so much fuss last year, he said, "You used to talk a certain way on the corner and (then) you got into the house and switched to English."

For these and other reasons, Dr. John Baugh — one of the foremost national experts on "linguistic profiling," or the kinds of cues that allow a listener to identify the race of a speaker on the telephone — thinks Cosby hasn't quite gotten a fair shake in the media. Now an endowed professor and director of the African and Afro-American studies program at Washington University, Baugh was a senior professor of educational linguistics at Stanford when he heard
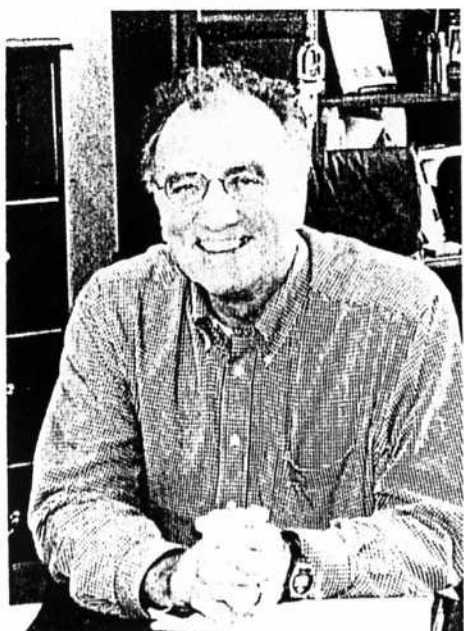
> "We know that people who feel good about themselves, including their language, make better learners, because you learn better from strength than you do from weakness."

— Dr. Walt Wolfram, Professor of Linguistics, North Carolina State University

Cosby deliver the very speech that was to get him in trouble in Washington, D.C., just days later.

The difference was the context. Cosby had come to the campus to give a live performance that raised $1 million for fellowships that would send teachers into the inner city. Not only did the entertainer meet with about 300 Bay area educators in a special ceremony before the event, he also specified that a large number of seats at the main event be reserved for low-income kids. And he did not leave the question-and-answer session afterwards until each and every child who wished to speak had had a chance to ask a question.

"When I looked at his performance in totality, I thought he was making a larger American statement about parenting, regardless of race," Baugh says. "He said some very powerful things about education that caused a hush to fall over the audience. But then he started to get funny, and some of the racial attributions he made — I'm not sure they were fair.

"But this is Cosby's Achilles heel," Baugh says, explaining that Cosby published a harsh satire titled "Igno-Ebonics" in the *Wall Street Journal* during that earlier controversy. "He's very uninformed about the linguistic consequences of the African slave trade, combined with the legacy of slavery — the anti-literacy laws, and so on."

If he knew more about sociolinguistics, he might be able to use his power and his bully pulpit to advocate for what the discipline sees as the solution to the literacy crisis — teaching youth how to shift easily between dialects.

For some reason, this solution remains controversial for schoolchildren, even though "with a person who comes from another country, we know how to reduce their original accent and teach them another accent," Taylor says, adding, "We can train Southerners not to sound Southern when they speak on network television. We know how to do these things — and we know that you don't have to denigrate Southern speech in order to do that.

"That's the challenge for our schools and educational institutions — to teach kids to speak the language of education without denigrating the speaker," Taylor says.

Linguists across the nation are forming partnerships to move this effort forward. Baugh, for example, was a key partner in founding Eastside High School, a private school in the tough, low-income enclave of East Palo Alto, Calif., that in nine years has sent 100 percent of its graduates to college.

Wolfram, meanwhile, has been taking the message to every eighth-grader on Ocracoke Island in North Carolina's Outer Bank. "And in those 13 years, we've seen a tremendous change in the attitude of the whole community" toward their language and the prejudice they've faced, he says.

"There's this sense in which Bill Cosby is not necessarily calling for the wrong thing. He just has the wrong reason," Wolfram notes.

Children should not be told they have to learn Standard English because they're "linguistically deficient," he says. All that does is set those children up to feel inferior and create a dynamic of resistance to the school experience.

"We know that people who feel good about themselves, including their language, make better learners, because you learn better from strength than you do from weakness. And so we're working on ways to get across the message to teachers that they can simply say, 'Look, there's this rule-governed way that African-American English works, and now we're going to learn Standard English because that's what the man expects.

"It's not about being a better or a worse person," Wolfram says. "It's just how you present yourself to the world." ∎

Linguists Say the Darnedest Things

IT MAY SOUND LIKE ENGLISH WHEN YOU HEAR THEM TALKING, BUT LINGUISTS DON'T ALWAYS MEAN THE SAME THING YOU AND I MEAN WHEN THEY USE THESE TERMS.

Accommodation: refers to the act of unconsciously picking up the accent of the person one is addressing.

Bidialectism: the ability to use more than one dialect, especially Standard English and a native dialect.

Black Vernacular English (BVE) or **African American Vernacular English (AAVE):** is a term originally coined in the late 1960s by linguists who wanted to avoid the negative connotations of previous labels such as "Negro dialect" or "Nonstandard Negro English." The Black working class is more likely to use these forms than the Black middle class. Ebonics is the circa-1972 version of the same term.

Divergence: One's dialect is said to diverge when it becomes distant from another language.

Hypercorrection: refers to making errors to avoid certain usage in one's spoken dialect.

Jargon: refers to the language used by a specific group.

Language acquisition: is the tacit and unknowing absorption of language rules that takes place through simple exposure to a language.

Language learning: derives from the overt teaching of particular structures of languages.

Regional accent: refers to features of pronunciation that convey information about a person's geographical origin.

Regional dialect: refers to features of grammar and vocabulary that convey information about a person's geographical origin.

Slang: is a term for a certain word or phrase used with a strong connotation of informality, particularly compared with words they replace.

Vernacular dialect: is a nonstandard dialect. ∎

36

Talkin' with mi Gente (Chicano English)

Carmen Fought

36 Time out on the railroad tracks. © by Jamison Boyer.

A coworker of mine asked me recently, "Why do so many Mexican American students seem to have such a hard time speaking English, even if they were born here in the US?" I realized that her comment was based on a mistaken impression. She heard some students speaking English with what sounded like a Spanish accent, and assumed that Spanish was their first

language. Instead, what she was hearing was probably Chicano English. Chicano English is a dialect spoken mainly by people of Mexican ethnic origin in California and the Southwest. There are other varieties associated with Latino communities as well. In New York City, for example, one finds Puerto Rican English, which shares some properties with Chicano English, but is different in other ways.

Why Study Chicano English?

One of the factors that makes Chicano English worth a long linguistic look is the fact that it "grew up" in a bilingual setting. As immigrants from Mexico came to California and other parts of the Southwest, communities developed which included many people who spoke only Spanish. Many of these speakers began to learn English and, like other learners of a language, they spoke a non-native variety which included sounds and grammatical constructions from their first language, Spanish. But the children of these immigrants grew up using both English and Spanish, and as the communities began to stabilize, so did a new dialect of English.

Because of its origins, Chicano English does have many features, especially in the phonology, that show the influence of Spanish. For example, the *a* sound in words like *pasta* or *saw* sounds much more like the Spanish *a* than in other dialects of English. In the ending on words like *going* or *talking*, Chicano English speakers tend to have a higher vowel, more like the *i* of Spanish (as in *sí*), so that the words end up sounding more like *goween* and *talkeen*. There is also a special use of the word *barely* in Chicano English to mean 'had just recently' as in *These were expensive when they barely came out.* (In my dialect, this would be translated as *These were expensive at the beginning, when they had just come out.*) This may come from the Spanish adverb *apenas*, which can mean that something almost did not happen but then it did (which is what *barely* means in many English dialects), or it can mean that something happened just recently. This latter meaning can sometimes be attached to *barely* in other dialects of English (*Don't leave; you barely got here!*) but not always (e.g., *I barely broke my leg*, which speakers of most other dialects don't say, but which is acceptable in Chicano English).

Is Chicano English Just the Non-native English of Spanish Speakers?

It would be a mistake to characterize Chicano English as "learner English," somehow imperfect and non-native. Chicano English is a stable and fully formed dialect, linguistically and structurally equivalent to other dialects of English, such as the varieties spoken by Anglos in the same regions. Like the coworker I mentioned earlier, many people hear Chicano English and assume that what they are hearing is the "accent" of someone whose first language is Spanish. The problem with this theory is that many speakers of Chicano English are not bilingual; they may not know any Spanish at all. Despite the mistaken impression that many people have, these Mexican American speakers have in fact learned English natively and / fluently, like most children growing up in the US. They just happened to have learned a non-standard variety that retains indicators of contact with Spanish.

My students often insist that they can tell whether someone is bilingual or not from their English. To test this, I have made up a tape of short segments (in English) spoken by four Chicano English speakers from my fieldwork in Los Angeles in the mid-1990s. Two of the speakers are bilingual, and two speak only English. I play this tape for the students and ask them to identify each speaker as bilingual or monolingual. In every class where I have done this test, the students are unable to classify the speakers correctly. The most non-standard sounding speaker, for example, is usually labeled by a majority of the class as bilingual, yet I discovered in the interview that the most he can do in Spanish is count to ten. The truth is that you don't need to know any Spanish to speak Chicano English.

Chicano English also includes features that are not clearly attributable to Spanish. An example is multiple negation (*She didn't tell me nothing about it*) which could be related to Spanish, but could just as easily have come from other non-standard dialects spoken by working-class African Americans or Anglos, for example.

More recently, it has been discovered that some Chicano English speakers also incorporate features from the local Anglo dialect, a California variety known colloquially as the "Valley Girl" dialect. Additionally, some speakers use features from African American English.

Of course, not everyone in a particular Mexican American community speaks Chicano English, and there is also a wide range of styles encompassed by this label, as is the case with other dialects, including standard

ones. Some middle-class speakers in a Mexican American community may speak a variety that is grammatically fairly similar to more standard dialects, but retains a special phonology, while other middle-class speakers might not speak Chicano English at all. Women, in general, speak Chicano English a bit differently than men. The language used by young speakers who are gang members includes terms that other members of the community do not use.

What is "Spanglish"?

Also characteristic of Chicano English is the use of Spanish lexical items. Even speakers who do not know much Spanish will occasionally throw in a word or phrase like *ándale* or *hasta la vista* as a kind of identity marker. This occasional use of a Spanish word is different from code-switching – the more complex mixing of lexical items and structures from English and Spanish in a single sentence. An example of code-switching would be *Es un little boy* (*It's a little boy*). This pattern is most common among speakers who are highly fluent in both languages. It can also occur among Chicano speakers who don't speak Chicano English, but mix Spanish with some other dialect of English.

Linguists have discovered that there is code-switching in most communities where two languages are spoken on a regular basis. It seems to be a basic human reaction to the everyday use of two languages in a society, and is subject to rules and norms just like any other part of language. Nonetheless, people often have a negative reaction to it, and assign it a negative label. In the communities where Chicano English is spoken, the term used for code-switching is usually "Spanglish." I think of this term as a somewhat negative one. However, I was surprised to find that the attitude toward Spanglish among the young adult speakers I talked to in Los Angeles was very positive.

David, 17, for example, told me, "Two languages sounds better for us Mexicans." Jorge, 18, told me he liked code-switching, and explained to me that it is what distinguishes Chicanos or Mexican Americans from people actually living in Mexico. He referred to code-switching as "Chicano language." Several other young Chicano speakers described this way of talking as "cool." So in some sense, one might say that fluency in Chicano English includes the acceptance of using Spanish and English in the same sentence, whether or not one does it.

Is Chicano English Influencing Other Dialects?

We know that Chicano English has been influenced by other dialects, such as Valley Girl English or African American English. An interesting question is to what extent that influence has gone in the other direction. The pronunciation of *going* as *goween*, for example, is something that I hear increasingly among California Anglo students. Did this come from Chicano English? I don't know the answer to this question, but in the meantime, I will keep a sharp eye on *barely* to see what happens in the future.

Appendix N

The Present and Past of Spanish in the United States

By Phillip Carter

Correcting Myths

Local, regional and national news stories have recently raised the misconception that native Spanish speakers are only now beginning to populate areas of the United States en masse. Although recent Census reports show that the U.S. Hispanic population has experienced an upsurge since the early 1990's, Hispanic communities and varieties of the Spanish language have been maintained in the United States for well more than four centuries. In fact, Spanish actually antedates English in the areas that now make up the composite United States — a fact that surprises many Americans. In terms of continuity and longevity in the United States, the Spanish language is second only to Native American languages that were spoken for centuries prior to colonization.

In parts of the Southwest, for instance, there are longstanding Hispanic communities where varieties of Spanish have co-existed with English varieties for centuries. Likewise, varieties of Spanish have been maintained for decades alongside English in a number of major urban U.S. cities. In this paper, I highlight a number of historical events in the history of Spanish in the United State s. I also hope to show how Spanish use today is not solely a function of immigration in the 20th and 21st centuries, but rather the consequence of social and historical factors that are as much a part of American history as the factors that lead to the development of American English.

A Brief History of the Spanish Language in the United States

By 1565, the Spanish established their first permanent colony in San Augustín, FL Led by Ponce de León, the Spanish first arrived in 1513 on the present-day United States on the Florida peninsula and returned in 1520 for further exploration. By 1565, they had established their first permanent colony in San Agustín, Florida, under the leadership of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. Between 1520 and 1570, the Spanish vigorously explored the Atlantic coast, with specific explorations taking place in the Carolinas, Virginia, Georgia and along the New England coast. Much later, the Spanish attempted to exert further influence in the Southeast with the 1763 purchase of Greater Louisiana from the French, though this territory was later resold.

After few successful attempts to produce prosperous colonies on the Atlantic coast, the Spanish turned their attention to the vast, unexplored territory in the West and Southwest of the present-day United States, where they left an indelible cultural and linguistic mark. Today, much of the long-term U.S. Spanish-speaking population is located in these areas, which include portions of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada and Texas. The earliest Spanish explorations of this region date to 1540, first by Francisco Coronado. Juan de Oñate followed in 1598. Spanish settlements were established throughout the Southwest. In 1605, Santa Fe, New Mexico, was established, making it one of the oldest cities in the United States. Spanish exploration and colonization of the Southwest was more successful than earlier attempts in the Southeast. According to Hernandez-Chavez et al. (1975), as many as 100,000 Spanish speakers were living in this region by the mid-19th century.

Despite the growing Spanish-speaking population in the Southwest, Anglo English-speakers were also rapidly populating the region. American immigration to present-day Texas was especially robust. Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821 and within one year, the new nation was offering land to American settlers willing to raise cattle in the barren northern regions of the country (present-day Texas). By 1835, the American immigrants, joined by a small number of native Spanish-speakers, decided to pursue independence from Mexico and establish an independent Texan republic -- thus sparking the Texas Revolution. Just one year later, Texas was established as a republic. In 1845, Texas was admitted into the United States, a move that angered the Mexicans and led to the Mexican-American War in 1846, the outcome of which was the American annexation of vast territories to the north and west of Texas in 1848.

This geographic co-optation, in conjunction with the general American policy of westward expansion — fueled by the ideological notion of "manifest destiny," facilitated the spread of English across much of North America, as well as the demise of Spanish as the first language of most of the area's future inhabitants. However, despite the marginalization of Spanish, the language endured in many Southwestern communities and developed into unique regional varieties (Post 1933; Rael 1939; Ornstein 1951) that are still used as the first or second language of Hispanics. Though English eventually became the dominant language of the United States, Spanish played an important role in the early linguistic landscape of the country, as the Spanish influence spread to nearly every region by the mid-19th century. Similarly, the Spanish-language will significant shape the linguistic landscape of America in the 21st century, as evidenced by the sizeable Spanish-speaking communities located throughout the country.

Spanish Language Variation in the United States

A common misconception is that Spanish in the U.S. is a monolithic entity. Another misconception commonly held by many native English-speaking Americans is that "Spanish in the United States" is a singular, monolithic entity. Sociolinguists and dialectologists have shown time and again that American English is a dialectally diverse language, but less often do we think of American Spanish as being equally diverse. As with American English, Spanish-language variation in the United States is due in part to diversity among Spanish speakers who settled during colonization. Although the Iberian Peninsula (home of Spain and Portugal) is relatively small, it has been home for centuries to rich linguistic diversity. When groups representing different regions of Spain settled in the New World, they brought unique varieties of Spanish, resulting in what linguists call the founder effect, which can trace linguistic features of contemporary dialects to dialect differences at the time of settlement.

For instance, linguists have identified a number of unique Spanish dialects within the United States, each with core features traceable to 16th- and 17th-century Spain. In the evolution of Spanish, many monophthongs (single vowel sounds) underwent a process of diphthongization, which combines two vowel sounds into one vocalic segment. The Spanish of Colorado, for example, exhibits forms with the earlier, monophthongal vowels instead of the later diphthongal developments. Many words that begin with /h/ in Spanish (hijo, "son") began with /f/ in Latin. As Spanish evolved, the /f/ slowly changed to /h/, passing through several intermediary stages in the process. Many lexical items in Coloradan Spanish that would be /h/-initial in other varieties of Spanish still exhibit some of the intermediary stages in the evolution of this development.

Other Spanish varieties in the United States (New Mexican, Arizonan, New Mexican, Texan, etc.) that evolved independently of Spanish on the Iberian Peninsula and in Latin America show other dialect features, such as the reduction of consonant clusters (bsà s; ptà t, etc.) and the aspiration of word final /s/ (vamoh for vamos). Additionally, varieties of Spanish in the United States are distinctive because of their unique contact situations with various Native American languages. Some words were borrowed into Spanish from indigenous languages in the Southwest, though these contributions are generally regarded as relatively slight. Cuban Spanish, Puerto-Rican Spanish and dialects of Mexican Spanish are the most notable varieties.

Not all dialects of Spanish in the United States are the result of the founder effect. In addition to the dialects of Spanish common in the United States (resulting in part from the founder effect), there are now a number of varieties from the Spanish diaspora, most notably Cuban Spanish, Puerto-Rican Spanish and dialects of Mexican Spanish, as well as other varieties from disparate locations in the Spanish-speaking world. In sum, Spanish in the United States represents many dialects that are the result of a number of historical and social factors, above all the 400 years of development in America.

The Coexistence of Spanish and English in the United States

Despite the robust diversity, enduring nature and increased visibility of Spanish in the United States in the 21st-century, the Spanish language in no way poses a threat to English, contrary to the speculation of many English-only zealots. In fact, just the opposite may be true. For instance, there is some evidence that the Spanish language tense system may be undergoing simplification in parts of California (Silva-Corvalán 1991). Moreover, immigrant languages are usually lost by the third generation of speakers.

Although Spanish has successfully endured in some parts of the country, there is evidence that language shift may be underway for some speakers, even in communities where Spanish is ostensibly thriving. For example, there is some preliminary evidence that Spanish may not have the staying power for Miami Cubans that many people once assumed (see: Lynch 2000; Resnick 1988; Zurer Pearson & McGee 1993). Many young second-generation Mexican-Americans in Raleigh, N.C., where the Hispanic population increased approximately 400 percent between 1990 and 2000, report a preference for English use with peers and siblings, despite the presence of a strong Spanish-speaking community (Carter 2004). In sum, many Hispanics may perceive the access to social opportunity that English language-use affords as outweighing the cultural, social and familial benefits of maintaining Spanish.

Correcting the Myths about U.S. Spanish

As this essay has shown, a number of myths about Spanish in the United States are being continually reproduced and promulgated.

> **MYTH #1:** Spanish in the United States in purely a function of immigration in the 20th and 21st centuries .
> **REALITY:** Spanish has been spoken in the United States as long or longer than English

> **MYTH #2:** Spanish in the United States is a monolithic entity and is not characterized by the same amount of variation as American English.
> **REALITY:** Spanish in the United States is highly diverse and exhibits a wide array of variation regionally, ethnically and socially. Variation in the Spanish of the United States is due to the results of a founder effect, later immigration from across the Spanish diaspora, and sociolinguistic variables such as ethnicity, socioeconomic status, age and gender.

> **MYTH #3:** Spanish language use in the United States presents a threat to the use of English.
> **REALITY:** The use of Spanish by Hispanics poses no threat to the dominance of English in the United States. Spanish and English have coexisted in this country for nearly 400 years

Although the Spanish language has become more visible in the United States over the past decade, it is important to remember that Spanish has quietly been used by Hispanics for nearly four centuries in this country, not only by immigrants, but also by Hispanics born within U.S. borders. Whatever role Spanish may have in the linguistic fabric of United States' future, we should honor its unique place in American linguistic history.

Reprinted courtesy of Phillip M. Carter, North Carolina State University and Duke University

Phillip Carter is currently a PhD student in English Linguistics at Duke University. He has also worked as a lecturer in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at North Carolina State University. He previously earned his MA in English/Linguistics from North Carolina State University after completing his bachelor's in Spanish Language and Literature. His primary research interests are in the field of sociolinguistics and his current research explores the production of speech prosody in Spanish and English and the acquisition of rhythm by Hispanic immigrants living in an urban community in Raleigh, North Carolina.

Appendix 0

Was **and** *Weren't* **Regularization**

Standard English conjugation of
affirmative past tense *to be* (irregular pattern)

I **was**   we **were**
you **were**   you **were**
he/she/it **was**   they **were**

Standard English conjugation of
affirmative past tense *to miss* (regular pattern)

I **missed**   we **missed**
you **missed**   you **missed**
he/she/it **missed**   they **missed**

Outer Banks conjugation of affirmative
past tense *to be* (regularized or leveled pattern)

I **was**   we **was**
you **was**   you **was**
he/she/it **was**   they **was**

Standard English conjugation of
negative past tense *to be* (irregular pattern)

I **wasn't**   we **weren't**
you **weren't**   you **weren't**
he/she/it **wasn't**   they **weren't**

Outer Banks conjugation of negative
past tense *to be* (regularized or leveled pattern)

I **weren't**   we **weren't**
you **weren't**   you **weren't**
he/she/it **weren't**   they **weren't**

Appendix P

North Carolina Dialect Charts

Vocabulary

Vocabulary Item	Outer Banks English	Lumbee English	Piedmont English	Appalachian English
meehonkey 'hide and seek'	✓			
slick cam 'smooth water'	✓			
jimmy 'mature male crab'	✓			
token/toten 'omen, ghost'	✓	✓		
mommuck 'harass'	✓			
mommuck 'mess up'		✓		✓
ellick 'coffee with sugar'		✓		
juvember 'slingshot'		✓		
on the swamp 'neighborhood'		✓		
gaum 'mess'		✓		✓
boomer 'red squirrel'				✓
siggoglin' 'crooked'				✓
fixin' to 'intend, plan'	✓	✓		✓

Pronunciation

Pronunciation Feature	Outer Banks English	Lumbee English	Piedmont English	Appalachian English
oi for long *i* in *tide* 'hoi toid'	✓	✓		
ah for long *i* in *tide* or *time* 'tahd' or 'tahm'		✓	✓	✓
h in *it* and *ain't* 'hit' or 'haint'	✓	✓		✓
t after *s* 'oncet' or 'twicet'	✓	✓		✓
final *ow* → *r* 'feller' or 'yeller'	✓	✓	✓	✓
ar for *ire* tire → 'tar' or fire → 'far'	✓	✓	✓	✓

Grammar

Grammatical Structure	Outer Banks English	Lumbee English	Piedmont English	Appalachian English
weren't use 'it *weren't* me that did it'	✓	✓		
-s absence on measure nouns 'we caught 25 *pound_* of bluefish'	✓	✓		✓
a-prefixing 'he kept *a-looking* at the water'	✓	✓		✓
double helping verbs (modals) 'Kenny *might could* take us fishing later'	✓	✓	✓	✓
double negative 'we didn't like *nothing*'	✓	✓	✓	✓
second person plural *y'all* 'will *y'all* help me move on Saturday?'	✓	✓	✓	
second person plural *you'ns* 'let us know when *you'ns* are back in town'				✓

Cherokee Syllabary

	Column A		Column B		Column C		Column D		Column E		Column F	
	"ah"		"eh"		"ee"		"o"		"ew"		"uh"	
Row 1	D	"ah"	R	"eh"	T	"e"	Ꮝ	"o"	Ꮎ	"ew"	i	"uh"
Row 2	S Ꮣ	"gah" "kah"	Ꮙ	"gay"	y	"gee"	A	"go"	J	"goo"	E	"guh"
Row 3	Ꮤ	"hah"	Ꮖ	"hey"	Ꮙ	"hee"	Ꮆ	"hoe"	Ꭺ	"who"	Ꮕ	"huh"
Row 4	W	"lah"	Ꮷ	"lay"	Ꮈ	"lee"	G	"low"	M	"lou"	Ꮰ	"luh"
Row 5	Ꮵ	"mah"	Ol	"may"	H	"me"	Ꮒ	"mow"	Ꮍ	"mu"	--	
Row 6	Ө Ꮑ Ꮹ	"nah" "hnah" "nahh"	Ʌ	"nay"	h	"nee"	Z	"no"	Ꮗ	"new"	Ꮼ	"nuh"
Row 7	Ꮿ	"qua"	Ꮗ	"quay"	Ꮽ	"qui"	Ꮴ	"quo"	Ꮳ	"que"	Ɛ	"quuh"
Row 8	Ꮿ Ꮁ	"s" "sah"	Ꮷ	"say"	Ꮈ	"see"	Ꮇ	"so"	Ꮊ	"sue"	R	"suh"
Row 9	Ꮬ Ꮤ	"dah" "tah"	Ꮪ Ꮩ	"day" "tay"	Ꮫ Ꮭ	"dee" "tee"	V	"doh"	S	"dew"	Ꮲ	"duh"
Row 10	Ꮣ Ꮭ	"dlah" "tlah"	L	"tlay"	C	"tlee"	Ꮺ	"tlow"	Ꮀ	"tlew"	P	"tluh"
Row 11	G	"tsah"	Ꮴ	"tsay"	Ꮢ	"tsee"	K	"tsoo"	Ꮷ	"tsue"	Ꮯ	"tsuh"
Row 12	G	"wah"	Ꮿ	"way"	Ꮝ	"we"	Ꮼ	"woe"	Ꮽ	"woo"	Ꮾ	"wuh"
Row 13	Ꮿ	"yah"	ß	"yay"	Ꮵ	"ye"	Ꮂ	"yo"	Ꮿ	"you"	B	"yuh"

Cherokee Syllabary

	Column A		Column B		Column C		Column D		Column E		Column F	
	"ah"		"eh"		"ee"		"o"		"ew"		"uh"	
Row 1	D	"*au*gust"	R	"*eh*"	T	"*e*"	Ꭳ	"*o*"	Ꮻ	"*ew*"	i	"*uh*"
Row 2	Ꮡ Ꮣ	"*go*ne" "*co*n"	Ꮄ	"*gay*"	y	"*gee*"	A	"*go*"	J	"*goo*ey"	E	"*gu*m"
Row 3	Ꮙ	"*hah*"	Ꭿ	"*hey*"	Ꭾ	"*he*"	Ꮻ	"*hoe*"	Ꭾ	"*who*"	Ꭴ	"*huh*"
Row 4	W	"*la*va"	Ꮭ	"*lay*"	Ꮅ	"*lee*"	Ꮐ	"*low*"	M	"*loot*"	Ꮑ	"*lu*nch"
Row 5	Ꮧ	"*Mau*ndy"	Ꭴ	"*may*"	H	"*me*"	Ꮒ	"*mow*"	Ꭹ	"*mu*sic"	--	--
Row 6	Ө ꮔ Ꮕ	"*no*n" "hnah" "nahh"	Ʌ	"*neigh*"	Ꮂ	"*knee*"	Z	"*no*"	Ꮕ	"*new*"	Ꮒ	"*nu*n"
Row 7	Ꮶ	"*qua*ndry"	Ꮼ	"*quay*"	Ꮜ	"*qui*"	Ꮿ	"*quo*te"	Ꮸ	"*cue*"	Ɛ	"*Que*bec"
Row 8	Ꮝ Ꮑ	"cat*s*" "*so*d"	Ꮞ	"*say*"	Ꮟ	"*see*"	Ꮩ	"*so*"	Ꮡ	"*sue*"	R	"*some*"
Row 9	Ꮍ W	"*do*g" "*To*m"	Ꮥ Ꮦ	"*day*" "*ta*ke"	Ꮧ Ꮨ	"*dee*d" "*tee*"	V	"*dough*"	S	"*dew*"	Ꮪ	"*duh*"
Row 10	Ꮫ Ꮬ	"dlah" "tlah"	L	"tlay"	C	"tlee"	Ꮰ	"tlow"	Ꮲ	"tlew"	P	"tluh"
Row 11	Ꮝ	"*tsa*r"	Ꮴ	"tsay"	Ꮢ	"*tse*tse"	K	"shi*tszu*"	Ꮳ	"tsue"	Ꮯ	"tsuh"
Row 12	Ꭶ	"*wa*ter"	Ꮽ	"*way*"	Ꮺ	"*we*"	Ꮼ	"*woe*"	Ꮾ	"*woo*"	Ꮗ	"*what*"
Row 13	Ꮵ	"*ya*wn"	β	"*yay*"	Ꮿ	"*ye*"	Ꭶ	"*yo*del"	Ꮿ	"*you*"	B	"*yu*ck"

(Shaded boxes contain sounds that are <u>not</u> used in English)

Appendix R: Dialect Vocabulary Pictionary

Mommuck Verb: to harass or mess up Outer Banks and Lumbee English	**Quamish** Adj: a sick feeling in ones stomach Outer Banks English	**Good-some** Adj: very good Outer Banks English
Buck Noun: A good friend Outer Banks English	**Fladget** noun: a piece or small amount Outer Banks English	**Meehonkey** Noun: A game like hide-and-seek Outer Banks English
Ococker Noun: a native Ocracoke resident Outer Banks English	**Dingbatter -or- Touron** Noun: A tourist Outer Banks English	**Call the mail over** Verb: to deliver mail Outer Banks English
Slick cam Adj: smooth water Outer Banks English	**Jimmy** Noun: a male crab Outer Banks English	**toten -or- token** Noun: an omen or ghost Outer Banks and Lumbee Englis
Ellick Noun: coffee with sugar Lumbee English	**Juvember** Noun: a slingshot Lumbee English	**On the swamp** **Adj**: nearby or in the neighborhood Lumbee English

Gaum(ed)

Verb: to clog (or be clogged)

Lumbee and Appalachian English

Boomer

Noun: a red squirrel

Appalachian English

Sigogglin -or- antigogglin

Adj: crooked

Appalachian English

Tote

Verb: to carry

Appalachian English

Poke

Noun: a bag

Appalachian English

Jasper

Noun: A stranger who's probably ok

Appalachian English

Peckerwood

Noun: A stranger who's you wont like

Appalachian English

Plumb

Adj: "all the way" or "very"

Appalachian English

airish

Adj: breezy or chilly due to wind

Appalachian English

Dope

Noun: a soda pop

Outer Banks English and Lumbee

Scald

Noun: poor land that wont grow crops

Appalachian English

Sorry in the world

Adj: feeling badly or ill

Lumbee English

Lum

Noun: A Lumbee who participates in the community

Lumbee English

Brickhouse Indian

Noun: a well-off Lumbee

Lumbee English

Jubious

Adj: weary or afraid

Lumbee English