ABSTRACT

COGGSHALL, ELIZABETH LEARN. Differential Vowel Accommodation among Two Native American Groups. (Under the direction of Erik R. Thomas.)

Despite recent attention to English varieties spoken by Native Americans in the Eastern United States, (Anderson 1999; Wolfram & Dannenberg 1999; Dannenberg 2002), they have generally been overlooked in terms of their construction of ethnolinguistic identity (Fought 2002). Many Native American contact situations in the Eastern US are different from those in the Western US because of the relative length of contact with and exposure to marked dialects of English. Is there evidence for a pan-lectal core of Native American English or a "Boarding School effect" in Eastern US, as posited for the Southwest by Leap (1993) and others? How have Native American speakers accommodated to their regional English dialects? Is there evidence for lingering source language transfer or substrate influence? Do these Native American English varieties maintain an ethnic identity separate from their regional identity?

These questions are addressed through the comparative examination of the vowel systems of the Eastern Cherokee and Lumbee English, two prominent but quite distinct Native American groups in North Carolina. Their vowel systems are compared with each other and with their respective regional benchmark varieties—Appalachian English for the Eastern Cherokee and the Coastal Plain European American and African American English for the Lumbee in Robeson County. Based on acoustic analysis, their overall vowel systems are compared, with particular attention paid to the fronting of back vowels such as /u/, the upgliding of /ɔ/, and the realization of /ai/.

The Eastern Cherokee show more similarity to their European American Appalachian cohorts than do the Lumbee to their cohorts. The local Southern Highland dialect has played a primary formative role in the English of the Eastern Cherokee, especially in the production of /u/ and /ɔ/. At the same time, local dialect accommodation is complemented by some subtle substrate effects from the Cherokee language on the /ai/ diphthongs (Anderson 1999). In part, this accommodation may be explained in terms of the long-term, highly local interaction between European Americans and Cherokees and the durablity of the Cherokee community in this region. A strong sense of regional place is also shared by the Eastern Cherokees with their European American cohorts.

Though the Lumbee are regionally connected to other North Carolina dialect regions, they do not exhibit the degree of local dialect accommodation shown by the Cherokee. The differences include relic features such as backed /ai/ nuclei, especially among the older speakers. Furthermore, no detectable substrate effect occurs in their vowels. This difference may be explained in terms of the Lumbee's early exposure and shift to English. Furthermore, they were historically exposed to a wider range of varieties of English than the Cherokee, and have been living in close contact with both European and African Americans since around 1730. In the process, their identity as American Indians has been questioned continually, leading to greater linguistic burden on marking themselves symbolically as the ethnolinguisitic "other"—that is, neither white nor black—in the tri-ethnic setting of Robeson County.

DIFFERENTIAL VOWEL ACCOMMODATION AMONG TWO NATIVE AMERICAN GROUPS

BY

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For Gene and Donna Coggshall,
without whom I could have never have made it so far
… or anywhere for that matter

Biography

Elizabeth L. Coggshall is a Yankee, born and bred. Her modest Jersey upbringing instilled in her the desire to move cross country, to Claremont, CA, to get her BA in linguistics at Pomona College. After graduating on a warm May day in 2003, she spent a year traveling the southwest and mooching off of her parents, ending up at North Carolina State University in the fall of 2004. For two years, she has toiled there under the tutelage of the masters of linguistics in the English department, and she will be moving onto New York University in the fall of 2006.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables. vi
List of Figures. vii
Chapter One. 1
1.1 Introduction. 1
1.2 The Eastern Cherokee. 5
1.2.1 Before the Trail of Tears. 5
1.2.2 “They prefer death to Arkansas” 6
1.2.3 Non-Indians. 8
1.2.4 War. 11
1.2.5 Schooling. 12
1.2.6 Economy. 13
1.2.7 Tourist Industry. 14
1.2.8 Other Money Makers. 16
1.2.9 The Language Situation. 17
1.2.10 Conclusion. 20
1.3 The Lumbee. 21
1.3.1 Prehistory. 23
1.3.2 Early Contact. 25
1.3.3 Non-Indians. 27
1.3.4 Two Defining Lumbee Stories. 30
1.3.5 Schooling. 31
1.3.6 Economy. 32
1.3.7 The Language Situation 33
1.3.8 Conclusion. 36
Chapter Two. 38
2.1 Methods. 38
2.2 Results. 42
2.2.1 /ai/ Backing and Gliding. 42
2.2.2 /ɔ/ Back-gliding. 53
2.2.3 /u/ Fronting. 57
Chapter Three. 66
3.1 Discussion. 66
3.1.1 Change. 66
3.1.2 Accommodation. 70
3.2 Conclusion. 73
Works Cited. 75

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Speaker List 40
Table 2.2: Robeson County /ai^{o}/ nucleus. 43
Table 2.3: ANOVA results for Robeson County /ai^{o}/ nucleus. 45
Table 2.4: Robeson County /ai^{v}/ nucleus. 45
Table 2.5: ANOVA results for Robeson County /ai^{v}/ nucleus. 48
Table 2.6: Robeson County length of /ai^{o}/ glide. 48
Table 2.7: AVOVA results for Robeson County length of /ai^{o}/ glide. 50
Table 2.8: Robeson County length of /ai^{v}/ glide. 50
Table 2.9: ANOVA results for County length of /ai^{v}/ glide. 52
Table 2.10: Graham County /ɔ/ back-glide. 53
Table 2.11: t-Test results for Graham County /ɔ/ back-glide. 55
Table 2.12: Robeson County /ɔ/ back-glide. 55
Table 2.13: ANOVA results for Robeson County /ɔ/ back-glide. 57
Table 2.14: Graham County /u/. 58
Table 2.15: t-Test results for Graham County /u/. 60
Table 2.16: Graham County /u/, Z_2-Z_1. 60
Table 2.17: t-Test results for Graham County /u/, Z_2-Z_1. 62
Table 2.18: Robeson County /u/. 62
Table 2.19: t-Test results for Lumbee /u/ regression line. 64
Table 2.20: ANOVA results for Robeson County /u/. 65

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: North Carolina Language Families. 3
Figure 1.2: Map of Cherokee and Lumbee country. 3
Figure 1.3: Eastern Cherokee Reservations. 5
Figure 1.4: The Snowbird Reservation. 10
Figure 1.5: Robeson County. 21
Figure 2.1: Robeson County /ai^{o}/ Nucleus. 44
Figure 2.2: Robeson County /ai^{v}/ Nucleus. 47
Figure 2.3: Robeson County Length of /ai^{o}/ Glide. 49
Figure 2.4: Robeson County Length of /ai^{v}/ Glide. 51
Figure 2.5: Graham County /ɔ/ Back-glide. 54
Figure 2.6: Robeson County /ɔ/ Back-glide. 56
Figure 2.7: Graham County /u/. 59
Figure 2.8: Graham County /u/, Z_2-Z_1. 61
Figure 2.9: Robeson County /u/. 63

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

More than four million people in the United States claim Native American[1] heritage. Despite that, linguists and other academics have largely overlooked the dialects of English spoken by American Indians. In other words, American Indians have generally been disregarded in terms of their construction of ethnolinguistic identity (Fought 2002). Although there have been a myriad of studies about African American dialects and their origins, as well as studies of different age-group speakers, distinct geographic regions, and genders, groups such as American Indians have been neglected. This thesis fills some of the void in the descriptive attention assigned to Native American varieties.

When studies have been done on Native Americans in linguistics, anthropology, and sociology (Basso 1979, House 2002, Leap 1993, Miller 1977, Rowicka 2005, Wolfram 1984), the focus has mainly been on western tribes such as the Lakota or the Navajo. There are hundreds of tribes, both recognized and not, in the continental United States, and quite a few live in the eastern half of the country. The indigenous peoples still living in the eastern United States have been especially neglected in most scholarship, to the point where many people are surprised to learn that there are American Indians east of the Mississippi River at all. True, Native Americans make up a significantly smaller percentage of the population in the East, but that is hardly an excuse. Many Native American contact situations in the eastern

[1] In this thesis, the term American Indian is used often. This may seem politically and historically incorrect, but I find it to be more useful and accurate than Native American, though I do use the two interchangeably. The subjects of this study use Indian more than Native American. I also use the terms African American and European American because, though awkward, they are clear and general enough. The term non-Indian is often used by the Cherokee and Lumbee to refer to their African and European American cohorts, so that term is used to refer to those groups collectively.

United States differ from those in the West because of the relative length of contact with and exposure to marked dialects of English. This leads to some interesting questions about their dialects: How have Native American speakers accommodated to their regional English dialects? Is there evidence for lingering source language transfer or substrate influence in tribes who have been speaking only English for centuries? In a recent article, Rowicka (2005) suggested the possible emergence of a pan-Indian dialect based on a study of glottal stops; most of the evidence for this conclusion comes from western tribes with more recent exposure to English. Is this pan-Indian hypothesis applicable to eastern tribes as well?

Furthermore, many studies about minority groups in general have taken the stance that the majority group's language is the standard by which to judge the language of the minority group. This has been decried in studies of women's language (Bucholtz 2003, Coates 1998, Hill 2005, Mills 2003), but it continues to be the regular routine for studies of minority ethnic groups. Specifically, American Indian English needs to be recognized as a legitimate variety that has an intrinsic value apart from its differences from non-Indian dialects. There is a further myth: dialects of minority ethnic groups, especially isolated groups, are homogeneous and only interesting if compared to a non-minority standard. This is obviously untrue though barely investigated. As Schilling-Estes (2000) states, "socially marginal ethnic groups … may be more linguistically innovative than is often assumed." We must also take into account the traditional Native American view of ethnicity. It was not an all-or-nothing, categorical concept. Instead, "permeable and changing ethnic and cultural boundaries most likely were already characteristic of many Native American groups long before Europeans arrived" (Schilling-Estes 2000). American Indians do not necessarily see

themselves as one homogeneous population, even within a tribe, so to assume a homogeneous dialect of English is naïve at best.

This thesis examines the English of two North Carolinian tribes with surprisingly different backgrounds: the Lumbee and the Eastern Cherokee. Here I investigate a specific question: How has realization of the vowels /u/, /ɔ/, and /ai/ changed over time in these two groups, and has there been accommodation to the non-Indian dialects? /u/-fronting, a well-established Southern feature (Kurath & McDavid 1961), has yet to be explored in Native American English in the South (except in Coggshall 2005). /ɔ/ back-gliding is a similarly well-known phenomenon, described in these two American Indian groups for the first time here. The Cherokee English /ai/ has been studied before (Anderson 1998, 1999), but this thesis explores both nucleus-fronting and glide length in Lumbee English, which to date has been done only impressionistically (Schilling-Estes 2000). All these variables are measured in non-Indian speech as well. Using acoustic data from sociolinguistic interviews, I plot selected variables against the speaker's date of birth, using apparent time to show trajectories of change.

Before the vowels can be discussed, a sociohistorical background of the tribes is in order. North Carolina has the highest population of Native Americans in the East, including the two tribes that are the topic of this thesis. As of the 2000 census, there were more than 130,000 people claiming Native American heritage in North Carolina. The indigenous groups that settled there came from many different places, leading to a linguistically diverse area. Three language families (figure 1.1) existed in the state before 1492: Siouan, Algonquian, and Iroquoian (to which Cherokee belongs). The Lumbee and the Cherokee are just two of

the heirs of this diversity. Their respective home counties, Robeson and Graham, are depicted on the map in figure 1.2.

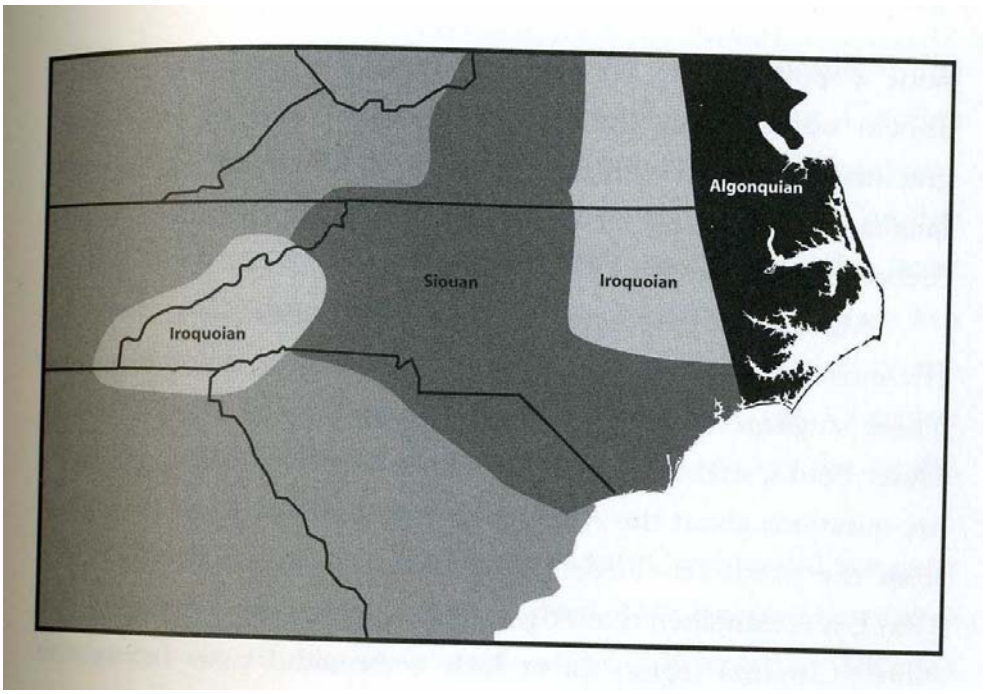

Figure 1.1: North Carolina Language Families (black is Algonquian, light gray is Iroquoian, dark gray is Siouan; from Wolfram et al. 2002)

Figure 1.2: Map of Cherokee and Lumbee Country

1.2 The Eastern Cherokee

> "Cherokees do not now, and never did, wear feather war bonnets, carve totem poles, or live in tipis."
> John Gulich, *Cherokees at the Crossroads*

Sharlotte Neely Williams put it best when she wrote, "The [Eastern] Cherokees are an adaptive people, conscious of how to survive. They do survive and with as much dignity and identity as the times and circumstances allow" (1973). Below, a brief summary of their history is laid out, focusing on aspects of education, economics, and language. Figure 1.3 details the Eastern Cherokee lands.

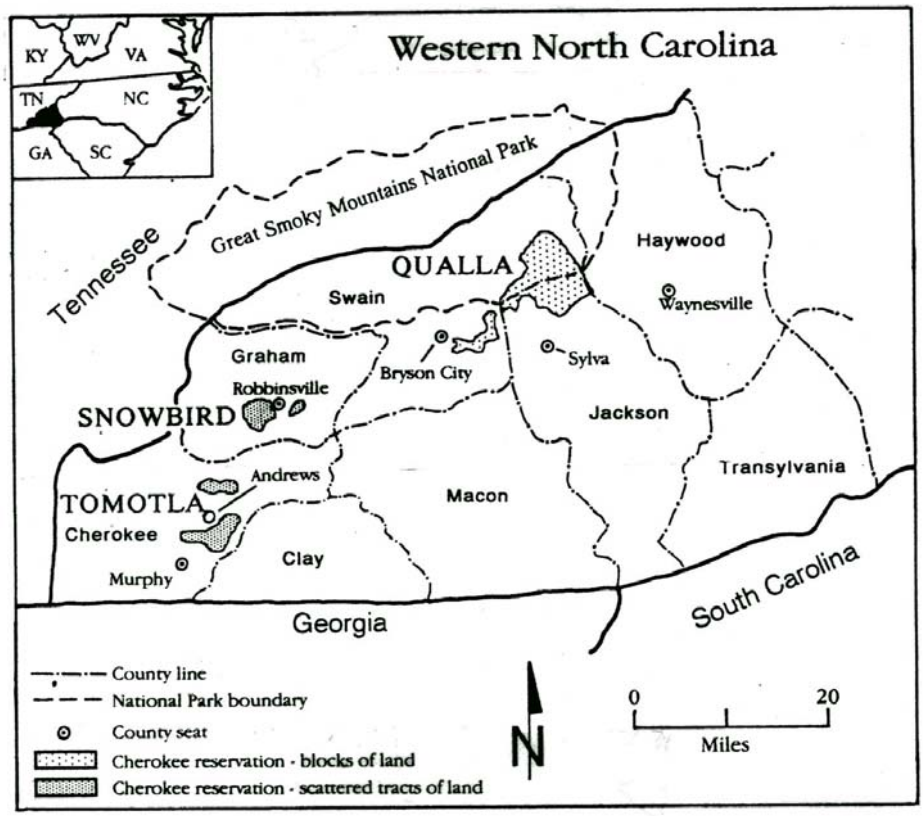

Figure 1.3: Eastern Cherokee Reservations (from Neely 1991)

1.2.1 Before the Trail of Tears

The Cherokee have lived in the southern Appalachian Mountains for an estimated four thousand years or more (Neely 1991). The Smoky Mountains are their homeland,

integral to their "collective tribal identity"; Kituwha, a city in western North Carolina, is thought to be the "mother town" of all Cherokee, perched on a mountain near present-day Bryson City (Finger 1991). Traditionally, in the days before European colonization, the Cherokee had a matrilineal and matrilocal society; women farmed corn, beans, and squash; communities were clustered around ceremonial town houses (Finger 1991). Contact with the European settlers changed all that. The European "lust for land" was contagious (Finger 1991). The Cherokee adopted Western ways so well that representative Henry Wise of Virginia was quoted as calling them "more advanced in civilization" than the rest of Georgia (Jahoda 1975), and Sam Houston was heard to warn, "These Indians are not inferior to white men" (Jahoda 1975). Most modern-day anthropologists and other "observers of Cherokee culture" unanimously proclaimed that this culture, once identified as the "most civilized" of the Five Civilized tribes, "has been modified almost to the point of oblivion" (Neely 1991). In most circumstances, a change in culture over a few hundred years would not be viewed as a disaster; after all, culture is not static. For numerous reasons, the rapid evolution of American Indian cultures is more troubling than the slower changes of other cultures.

1.2.2 "They Prefer Death to Arkansas"[2]

Perhaps one of the most shameful solutions to the "Indian Problem" came to fruition in the peaceful mountains of the Southeast. The Relocation Era was ushered in by European American philosophers and politicians who believed the only way to save the American Indians was to ship them off somewhere to die in peace, without the interference of the more plebian European Americans. The most infamous act of removal was, of course, the Trail of Tears in 1838. A quarter of the Cherokee people who started on the Trail of Tears to the Indian Territory never made it there (Jahoda 1975). The Trail of Tears irrevocably changed

[2] A white farmer quoted in Jahoda (1975:282).

the lives of those who lived to tell about it and those who were left behind. Many Cherokee realized that they would not last long in the East as the "Carolinas and Georgia were swiftly, inexorably filling with stern Scotch-Irish and tough plebian English" (Jahoda 1975). This said, there was never a doubt that they would not leave without a fight.

In 1835, the Cherokee Nation pled to the U.S. Congress: "On your sentence our fate is suspended, on your kindness, on your humanity, on your compassion, on your benevolence, we rest our hopes" (Jahoda 1975). In 1837, 600 Cherokee, led by a charismatic leader called The Ridge, voluntarily moved to Oklahoma; "the rest of the Cherokees clung onto their Appalachian villages. To them, the devil they knew, the white man, was better than the devil they didn't know" (Jahoda 1975). The Cherokee's years of intense acculturation, all their "strides toward self-development agriculturally, technologically, and literarily," would be for naught (Jahoda 1975). Andrew Jackson "asked" the Indians to give up all the land east of the Mississippi River; the Cherokee "were at first incredulous. Were they not good neighbors and farmers?" (Jahoda 1975). In the end, Jackson defied the U.S. Supreme Court, and went ahead with the removal of the Cherokee Nation (Neely 1991).

In charge of the removal effort, General Winfield Scott begged the Cherokee not to resist. On pamphlets printed in English (for even back in 1838 many Cherokee were fluent in English), he begged, "I am an old warrior, and have been present at many a scene of slaughter, but spare me … the horror of witnessing the destruction of the Cherokees" (Jahoda 1975). Andrew Jackson had claimed the emigration would be voluntary, but many Cherokee wondered, would "it be voluntary when it was pressed by the rifle and the bayonet? Would any Cherokees not want to emigrate 'voluntarily' when they knew that to say they opposed the law would mean spending six years in a Georgia prison?" (Jahoda 1975).

The irony, of course, is that the acculturated "white" Indians living outside of North Carolina were removed, while the full-blooded conservative Indians stayed in their homeland (Neely 1991). The people who would later become the Eastern Band of the Cherokee had withdrawn from the Cherokee Nation and claimed North Carolina citizenship earlier in 1819, and they were among the few who remained in their homeland after the Trail of Tears (Finger 1991). About 1,000 Indians remained in the East, most of them in present-day Qualla Boundary and Snowbird (Neely 1991). Those non-North Carolinian Cherokee who stayed could no longer call themselves Cherokee, but they did not fail to remember their heritage (Jahoda 1975). A number of anthropologists have shown that a direct correlation exists between which southeastern Indians were allowed to stay east of the Mississippi and how undesirable their land was (Neely 1991). Luckily for the Eastern Cherokee, the mountainous regions they inhabited were hardly desired by the European settlers. After the Trail of Tears, a lottery was held for the Eastern Cherokee land, and it was sold to the only people who were interested: the Eastern Cherokee (Neely 1991).[3]

1.2.3 Non-Indians

Unlike many of the western tribes of Indians, the Eastern Cherokee do not live in a reservation completely separated from the non-Indian[4] world. Their land and culture are intimately entwined with those of the local European Americans, so understanding their historic relations with their non-Indian neighbors is crucial for a sociolinguistic study such as this. Together, the Indians and European Americans of North Carolina's Appalachian Mountains feel a certain pride in their independence and their homeland (Finger 1991). These

[3] Perhaps the biggest insult to those Cherokees who went on to found the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma was an invitation from the State of Georgia to return on a "Trail of Cheers." Of course, this was hardly out of benevolence by the state; it was for the sake of tourism (Jahoda 234).
[4] Non-Indian is the Snowbird term for white or European American (Neely 5).

non-Indians (of Graham County, at least) are mostly descendants of those nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Scotch–Irish and English immigrants who moved there mostly from other parts of the Southeast (Neely 1991). The Cherokee and their neighbors must interact at work, at school (Neely 1991), and at the tourist hotspots.

Starting with the differences, the Cherokee have a well-defined (if a bit checkerboard in places) reservation and a separate language. While both peoples are Appalachian through-and-through, the Cherokee "have traditions and attachments to the mountains that predate those of whites and a history that emphasizes their distinctiveness" (Finger 1991). The Snowbird Reservation is a testament to how well some of the Cherokee have clung to the "old ways" even while in intense contact with outside cultures. According to Neely (1991), this phenomenon occurs because:

> a core of cultural traits and practices is maintained as signals for 'real Indianess' more intensely in Snowbird than in any other Eastern Cherokee community: the Cherokee language, sung as well as spoken; the concept of a homeland; the Trail of Tears Singing; […] native crafts, food, and jewelry; Indian medicine; [and] a basic Indian value system emphasizing harmony.

What is most amazing about the Snowbird Reservation is that it is both the most traditionalist (if that can be quantified) community and has the "most intense, long-term relations with local whites" (Neely 1991). This traditionalism is especially surprising since the layout of the Snowbird community has created a long-standing, intense relationship between the local non-Indians and the Cherokee. The reservation was created from several separate parcels of land that were not contiguous, forming a checkerboard pattern of Indian and non-Indian land (as

shown in figure 1.4). Clearly, many Cherokee have worked hard to maintain a separate culture from the neighboring European Americans.

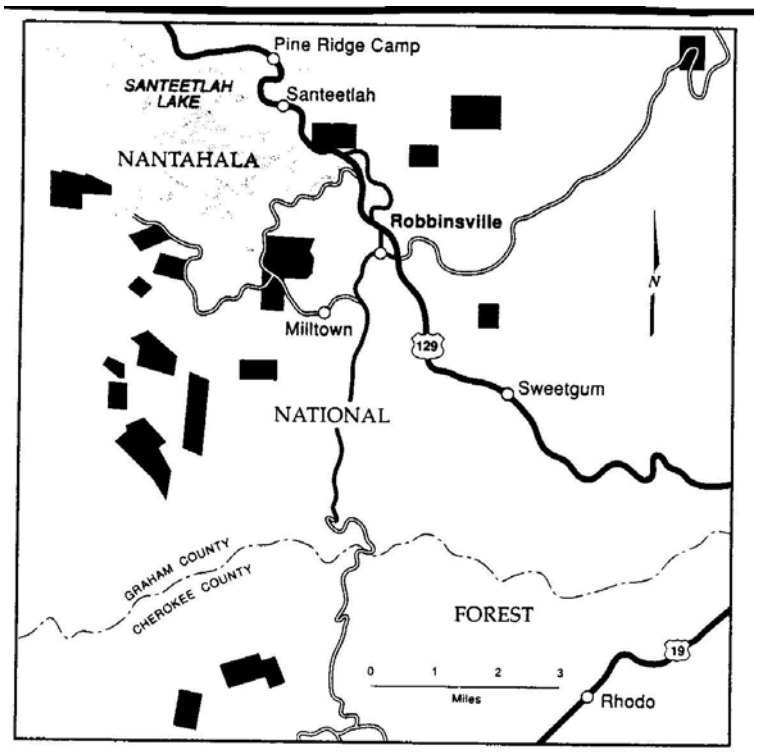

Figure 1.4: The Snowbird Reservation (from Neely 1991)

On the other hand, to discount the similarities and shared history would tell only half the story. Anthropologists working in the 1930s found the material culture of even the "traditional" Eastern Cherokee to be nearly identical to that of the local European Americans (Finger 1991). The first Indian–white intermarriage occurred in the 1880s on the Qualla Boundary, though not until 1960 in Snowbird (Neely 1991). Around 1900, the Cherokee possessed many attributes different from those of their neighbors. They spoke their own language; they had a "body of myths and legends defining their history" and a "recognized body of land." Most importantly "they perceived themselves as Cherokees" (Finger 1991). There were, however, several signs that their neighbors' lifestyle was rubbing off on them. The Cherokee school marching band wore the typical uniform and played songs by Sousa;

sports like baseball and football were supplanting traditional stick ball; Eastern Standard Time ruled the hours; traditional crafts were in decline; and Christian churches were plentiful, though most sermons were still in the Cherokee language (Finger 1991).

Although the Smoky Mountains are isolated from the rest of the South, the heavily racialized tension of the segregation years was felt even in the mountains of North Carolina. Much of this hostility came about through the desire of Cherokee children to go to school in the neighboring public schools. In the 1950s, many Cherokee were barred from the public schools (Finger 1991). In the end, though, the schools were desegregated. Many factors hindered amicable Indian/non-Indian relations. Since tribal lands had been withdrawn from the tax roll, many non-Indian residents were resentful (Finger 1991). This government help, along with other "handouts," just adds to a stereotype of the Indians as "lazy, tardy, and financially irresponsible," though these thoughts are seldom expressed (Neely 1991). Today, Indian–white relations seem to be fairly good, although in the late 1980s there were several complaints of white police abuse of Cherokee in all four counties of Cherokee country: Swain, Jackson, Graham, and Cherokee Counties(Finger 1991).

The Eastern Cherokee prove that "[i]ntense interethnic relations need not destroy an ethnic group's security and identity" (Neely 1991). The Cherokee have faced and continue to face the daunting challenge of retaining an Indian identity while at the same time negotiating the non-Indian-dominated world (Finger 1991); the hope is that this study of their language will increase the understanding of just how that process works.

1.2.4 War

One place where American Indians and European Americans are truly equal is on the battlefield. The World Wars were instrumental in exposing many of the Eastern Cherokee to

the world at large. Indians were not put in separate units, as the African American servicemen were segregated (Finger 1991), so many gained an intimate knowledge of the white world, meeting people from different states and educational levels (Finger 1991). For many Eastern Cherokee, service in the armed forces was the first (and often only) time they left the reservation for any appreciable period of time (Finger 1991). The Office of Indian Affairs viewed the wars as "a means of promoting the assimilation of Native Americans into the white-dominated mainstream" (Finger 1991). This was not a wholly successful venture in the case of the Eastern Cherokee. While a total of about 100,000 Indians left their reservations between the end of World War II and 1957, few Eastern Cherokee were among them; of the few that left, most returned to their Appalachian homes (Finger 1991).

1.2.5 Schooling

A co-educational boarding school was founded in 1884 at Cherokee for children five to eight years old. All the teaching was done in English, and the children were punished for speaking Cherokee. Twenty years into the founding of the school, only a third of the children on the reservation went to school even part-time (Finger 1991). Some children were sent to boarding schools as far away as Pennsylvania and Washington State. During the summer months, these children participated in the "outing system," where they were sent to live with non-Indians instead of home to the reservations (Finger 1991). As the boarding schools closed down, many Cherokee children were sent to the public schools in the area surrounding the reservation. By the mid-1960s, about a third of Eastern Cherokee children were attending the public school system with non-Indians (Finger 1991).

Though the federal government had persistently tried to further the cause of assimilation through the schools, the Eastern Cherokee continued to focus on reservation life.

In the 1920s, “a national reevaluation of Indian policy brought new educational developments that successfully challenged traditional ways,” claims Finger (1991), but he later contradicts himself to some degree, stating that by 1939, the reservation school system “unabashedly geared its education to reservation life rather than outside opportunities” (Finger 1991). Even today, only a small minority of high school–educated Cherokee go on to college, even though there are many scholarships established for them; instead, they feel that college is “irrelevant” for life on the reservation, which is where they plan to stay (Finger 1991).

1.2.6 Basic Economy

The mountains of North Carolina have never provided many regular wage jobs for any of their inhabitants. There are no big cities, few factories, some natural resources (such as timber), but nothing that could sustain a large industry for very long. It seems as if the scenic beauty is the only commodity the Smoky Mountain region has to offer its people. Though they may be up in the mountains, the Eastern Cherokee are certainly not separated from the money economy that runs the United States (Gulich 1973). The end of the nineteenth century, “their isolation was broken and their ecology became involved in external phenomena, such as the growing availability of manufactured goods and some opportunities for earning cash to buy them” (Gulich 1973).

In the 1920s, the economy was severely unbalanced. A boom in the population, along with the decline of the lumber industry and the chestnut blight, left many without food or the possibility of growing their own. Food was needed, but there was no money to buy it (Gulich 1973). The 1930s brought the Great Depression and the Indian New Deal, a program set up by the federal government that ended allotment and started the Indian Reorganization Act to

bring self-government to Native American tribes. Around that time, a plan was proposed to "encourage" more Eastern Cherokee to find jobs in big cities like Detroit, Flint, and Charlotte, where the automobile industry was flourishing (Finger 1973). The 1950s brought "a sharp division […] on the reservation between the haves and the have-nots" (Finger 1973). Since then, the Cherokee's economic condition has been improving, but it still lags well behind the average for the country (Williams 1973). Unemployment has plagued the reservation since the subsistence economy of old began to crumble. The non-tourist season tends to be the worst time of year, when the federal government must give the most money to the reservation.

Cherokee are free to leave the reservation if they please, but few do, and those that do tend to return home (Gulich 1973). In the end, those who do not leave the reservation are left with few choices for permanent employment: "specialized commercial farming, work for one of the relatively few industries […], or capitalize upon some aspect of tourism" (Gulich 1973). Industrial capitalism has opposed many of the long-held agrarian ideals of the Cherokee while it has furthered the assimilation of the Cherokee into mainstream America (Finger 1991). The economic situation is a precarious one.

1.2.7 The Tourist Industry

The most prevalent means of making ends meet on the reservation is the tourist trade. There is something undeniably attractive about observing "real Indians" to non-Indians, and "real Indians" are something the Cherokee reservation just happens to have in abundance, along with breathtaking vistas and fresh mountain air. Tourism came into play as the lumber industry declined in the 1920s (Finger 1991). The first annual Tribal Fair was held in 1914, and it brought a modest number of visitors to the reservation, as well as a revival in

traditional arts and crafts. When the Smoky Mountains National Park opened in the early 1930s, tourism really became a "vital force" in reservation life (Finger 1991). In 1939, there were 169,000 visitors to the Great Smoky Mountains, many of whom also went to the reservation (Finger 1991). The tourist industry was an impossibility until the advent of the automobile, for few were willing to brave the journey by foot or horse. In 1914, the first automobile rolled down the streets of Bryson City (Finger 1991). The Cherokee reservation opened its first souvenir shop early in the century, but the industry did not begin to thrive until the 1930s, when Highway 441 was paved, and it did not expand dramatically until the big automobile boom after World War II (Gulich 1973). The automobile also brought the Cherokee to the world beyond the Appalachians, thereby furthering acculturation (Neely 1991).

Tourism does not affect all Cherokee equally. Those living on the Qualla Boundary in Swain and Jackson Counties have much more involvement with the tourist industry than those living in Graham and Cherokee Counties. Because tourism cannot provide for everyone on the reservation, it cannot be seen as a "solution" to the Cherokee's economic woes (Gulich 1973). The Eastern Cherokee are also not unanimous in their support of the tourist industry; it has been the cause of some strife (Finger 1991). In the end, though, the tourist industry has been a major force in the Indian identity of many Cherokee. The Cherokee culture sells, "real Indians" sell, and thus many Cherokee who might otherwise have been willingly assimilated into mainstream life have decided instead to maintain their heritage. As Finger (1991) put it:

> powerfully influencing today's Cherokee is the tourist industry and its curious attendant dichotomy: on the one hand, it has made the Eastern Cherokee a people

> who appreciate the increased opportunities of modern America; on the other hand, it has also made them aware of their Cherokee identity and the necessity of maintaining it—at least to the extent of keeping tourism alive.

This may be an unnecessarily jaded view of the revitalization of Cherokee culture, but to deny the impact of tourism on the Eastern Cherokee oversimplifies the matter.

1.2.8 Other Money Makers

The reservation and the adjacent area have offered a few ways to make money other than through tourism. These include farming, logging, light industry, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the military, and gambling. The Cherokee are traditionally an agrarian people, but farming has always been a challenge in the rugged terrain of the Appalachians. For instance, only 6% of Graham County is suitable for farming (Neely 1991), and most of the bottomlands ended up in the hands of the non-Indians (Neely 1991). Since the decline of subsistence farming, two types of farmers have emerged: a few people still manage to survive using the older farming methods, and even fewer farm larger tracts of land using more modern methods, at least as of the 1960s (Gulich 1973).

From about 1880 until the 1920s, the main economic activity on the reservation was logging. The rich virgin forests of the North Carolina mountains attracted many investors to the reservation, and the wage labor they provided destabilized the subsistence agriculture and traditional values of the Eastern Cherokee (Finger 1991). On the other hand, logging also provided the tribe with a modicum of economic independence (Neely 1991), but the loss of the forests is hard to put a value on. Today, a few Cherokee work for the National Forest Service (Finger 1991).

Those who do none of the above have few choices. There is some light industry on and near the reservation, such as the Stanley Furniture Company in Robbinsville, that mostly employs women (Williams 1973). A few more work for the Tennessee Valley Authority. Others with a yen for distant places go into the military (Finger 1991). Still more work for the casino. Harrah's runs a casino on the Qualla Boundary off of US 19. More than 1,800 jobs and millions of dollars are what the Cherokee have to show for their bet. One third of the employees are tribal members, as is 60% of the top management. The profits are split per capita to the whole tribe, twice a year (Wall 2005).

1.2.9 The Language Situation

By comparison with some other American Indian groups, the Eastern Cherokee are linguistically and geographically fortunate. They still live on their ancestral homeland and still have knowledge of their ancestral language (though the population of native speakers is rapidly diminishing). Edward Spicer has suggested that these two attributes (homeland and language) are the most important indications of ethnic identity (Neely 1991). It is quite impressive that the Eastern Cherokee have held on to their language, a very complex aspect of culture, as tenaciously as they have, especially considering that "so much of the aboriginal culture has disappeared" (Gulich 1973). This is not to say that everyone is fluent in Cherokee. Competence in Cherokee has been sloping downward until a recent revitalization movement. In the 1960s, Gulich (1973) hypothesized that while "the frequency of competence in the Cherokee language in the population is gradually decreasing, we do not feel warranted in concluding that it is doomed to a quick extinction." The fight to preserve and revitalize the language has always been strong on the Eastern Cherokee reservation.

Language is not just about communicating. It has a symbolic value that goes beyond mere utility, part of being an Indian (Gulich 1973). The language is not passed down to the children merely so that they can communicate, but instead for the pride that it elicits (Williams 1973). Blair Rudes (2005) has conjectured that the importance of language revitalization lies not in creating fluent speakers, but more in the symbolic act of speaking a few words of the native language. There are also some more "practical" reasons for speaking Cherokee, such as expressing anger, excluding non-speakers, teaching children, and including guests who can't/won't speak English (Gulich 1973). A minister in one of the reservation churches would often delight his congregation by calling English a foreign language and Cherokee an American language (Neely 1991).

Of course, language is more than a symbol of identity. Language needs to be used for communication, and English is often the most practical language for the purpose of communication. This is not a romantic fact, but "certain situations necessitate the use of English although the speaker may prefer the Cherokee language, just as some situations necessitate white behavior when traditionalist Cherokee may be preferred" (Neely 1991). Many factors have contributed to the decline of Cherokee over the past century or so. In the 1920s, an apparent balance was struck between English and Cherokee, but most people realized that soon English would gain the advantage (Finger 1991). The growing tourist industry has been and continues to be one of the major factors in the rapid decline of spoken Cherokee (Finger 1991), though, conversely, there is a possibility that marketing "real" Indians speaking a real Indian language could cause an upswing in Cherokee.

Another major factor contributing to the downward trend of the Cherokee language on the reservation is marriage between those who speak it and those who do not (Neely

1991). If both parents speak Cherokee, their children are much more likely to learn it. If only one speaks the language, the children will not be as exposed to Cherokee. It also helps if both parents are Cherokee, as it appears that "preferential use of the Cherokee language is concentrated among people with 3/4 to 4/4 degrees of Indian inheritance" (Gulich 1973). Gulich (1973) goes on to say that use of the language is "concentrated among people in whose family there has been little or no inclusion of non-Indians in the intimate process of acculturation."

Around the turn of the twentieth century, Indian children were sent to boarding schools where they were encouraged to speak English and often beaten for speaking Cherokee (Neely 1991). Of course, this abuse did not completely discourage the people from speaking their language, and even by the end of World War II, Cherokee children often entered school speaking no English at all (Finger 1991). Luckily, school systems have changed, and though there still may be a push for assimilation, there is an equally strong push for maintaining Cherokee language and customs. In the 1970s, community members started a bilingual program, which lasted only two years (Bender 2002). Williams (1973) noted this program as the key element in the educational changes of the early 1970s and as part of a "renewed pride in Cherokee culture."

In the 1980s, language classes were reintroduced in the schools for grades kindergarten through second; by the mid-1990s, this program had grown to a K–12 program that also taught the Cherokee syllabary (Bender 2002). The middle school children spend two to three hours a week learning the Cherokee language, culture, and history, while high school children have the option to take a class as an elective (Bender 2002). The people who worked to reintroduce the language in the schools came up with several goals as part of "actively

seeking to preserve" the Cherokee language: increase the fluency of Cherokee High School graduates; produce a talking dictionary as well as a series of grammar lessons; and to create a series of bilingual videos starring Cherokee elders (Bender 2002). Cherokee continues to undergo change, like all living languages. In its existence lies the "best example of cultural continuity" (Finger 1991) and perhaps the best hope for the continuation of Cherokee culture.

Only two previous studies have been conducted on Eastern Cherokee English. Anderson (1998, 1999) is an in-depth study of Snowbird Cherokee speakers, looking at the vowels /ai/ and /oi/. She found a subtle difference between the Cherokee and Graham County European Americans in the realization of these vowels, which she attributed to transfer from Cherokee language phonology. Coggshall (2005) is a study of two Eastern Cherokee speakers, one from Big Cove on the Qualla Boundary and one from Snowbird. Morpho-syntactic and phonological features, such as *h*-retention and negative concord, were studied along with the vowels /ai/, /u/, and /ɔ/. The study showed little difference between the two speakers and their non-Indian cohorts, except in the case of irregular past tense. Despite any findings to the contrary, there is a definite perception of a vast difference between the Cherokee and the non-Indian dialects. One of the younger, non-Indian informants remarked that the Cherokee kids in his school "talk funny" and that he had gotten into a few fights with Cherokee students merely because they were Indian. This may be an aberration, but there is definitely some deep-seated tension in Graham County.

1.2.10 Conclusion

Today, the Eastern Cherokee have mixed beliefs about whether tradition or progress is more important. Chief Youngdeer said, not so long ago: "We hate to lose them, but the old ways don't put bread on the table" (Finger 1991). At the same time there has been such a

resurgence in traditional crafts and language that some Cherokee must disagree with him. There are also those that take the middle road, enveloping both a "real" Indian and a "real" American identity (Neely 1991). Finger calls this a "process of adaptation and cultural selectivity" that has defined the Cherokee situation in the twentieth century (1991).

1.3 The Lumbee

> "To be a Lumbee is to be cloaked in the myths and uncertainties of the past, to find your pride in Indianess being challenged and denigrated." Adolph Dial, Lumbee, *The Only Land I Know*

Mulatto. Croatan. Indians of Robeson County. Cherokee Indians of Robeson County. Cheraw. Lumbee. Just plain Lum. Whatever you call them, the Lumbee are the largest American Indian tribe east of the Mississippi and the ninth largest in the United States. Few people outside of North Carolina have ever heard of them, and many people in North Carolina and elsewhere challenge their claim to American Indian heritage. The Lumbee live mostly in Robeson County, North Carolina, a map of which can be found in figure 1.5. Robeson County is the second largest county in North Carolina, encompassing 607,104 acres of mostly flat land lying between 100 and 200 feet above sea level (Knick 1988). It is in these inhospitable swamps that the Lumbee have survived and thrived for generations, along with their European American and African American neighbors.

Figure 1.5: Robeson County (from Dannenberg 2002)

Lumbee history is also the subject of much speculation and controversy. Linda E. Oxendine (2000) explains:

> for many scholars, Lumbee history has been no more than a group of isolated facts with very little connection or context. The facts just exist without any attempt to understand why. The old argument of scarcity of written information is used as a justification for leaving Lumbee history in historical limbo.

This section hopes to rectify some of this, though mainly it is to be a context in which to better understand the Lumbee dialect of English, because there is one fact that cannot be disputed about the Lumbee, and that is that they have a distinctive dialect of English. However, they have no knowledge of their ancestral language or languages.[5] They do not speak "Indian," which a significant difficulty the Lumbee have faced in demonstrating Native American heritage to outsiders.

In this section, I lay out some basic facts, some basic speculations, and tie it all together within the context of their language. Obviously, nothing definitive can be said about prehistoric Lumbee culture, but much can be gleaned from archaeological evidence as well as what is known of other American Indian groups in the Southeast.

It must also be noted that, while most of the American Indians in and around Robeson County consider themselves Lumbee, members of a small but vocal group call themselves Tuscarora (Maynor 2005). In this thesis, the term Lumbee is used to refer to those who claim Lumbee heritage.

[5] There is one prayer that has been passed down through the generations that may be an authentic clip of Lumbee language. This is discussed below.

1.3.1 Prehistory

Robeson County has been inhabited since the Pleistocene Epoch, around 12,000 B.C., though people could have possibly lived in the Coastal Plain of North Carolina as early as 20,000 B.C. (Knick 1988). There is no evidence of any waves of migration to the area (Knick 2000). Humans have probably lived there from that time through the present (Knick 1988), but it was not merely one group with one culture living in this one place (Knick 1993). This area has long been a "cultural crossroads" where several different groups of Native Americans interacted through trade and various other activities (Knick 2000). Ceramic and lithic evidence found in Robeson County supports this claim (Knick 1993).

These finds raise a big question: Are these the Lumbee's ancestors, or did the Lumbee come from somewhere else? While Knick (2000) concludes that his archaeological evidence proves the Lumbee are the descendants of the original inhabitants of Robeson County, many oral traditions and many Lumbee themselves beg to differ. Malinda Maynor (2005) gives three different areas that oral tradition claims as the Lumbee homeland: Roanoke Island, Pamlico Sound/Outerbanks, and the Piedmont region south and west of current-day Robeson County. Adolph L. Dial (1993) has tradition placing the ancestors in Sampson County, and then moving them inland from the coast of south-central North Carolina. The most commonly told story, the story told in almost everything ever written about the Lumbee, is that of the Lost Colony. Legend has it that the Lumbee absorbed the Anglo colonists on Roanoke Island in the late 1580s. The first written incidence of this theory was published in 1888 by a local European American historian, Hamilton McMillan (Blu 1979). However, it is unclear whether McMillan got this idea from the Lumbee, or the

Lumbee got it from McMillan (Blu 1979). Many people cite this story as an explanation for some of the Lumbee's early adoption of European ways.

The point of this thesis is not to answer this question definitively; each theory has its supporters and detractors, its strengths and weaknesses. Maynor put it best when she wrote "the area's cultural and linguistic diversity and the nature of Indian political and social organization thus make it difficult to define *one* particular group from which the present-day Lumbee … descend" (2005). The important ideas to glean from all this speculation are that this question exists and that it is important to those involved in the Lumbee community.[6]

What kind of life these ancestors led is, of course, open to speculation. They did not have Polaroid cameras or anything to take pictures for us, but the archaeological work done in that area as well as oral traditions of the peoples can give us an idea of how the Lumbee ancestors lived. They most likely grew corn (Knick 1988), fished, hunted, and gathered (Maynor 2005). They lived in small villages with political autonomy based around the extended family (Maynor 2005). They made ceramics and even built a few mounds (Knick 1988), though there is no evidence to suggest a full-blown Mississippian culture in Robeson County (Knick 2000).

Like almost every other native community in the Southeast, the indigenous peoples of Robeson County were in a stage of the Woodland Period[7] of cultural development at the time of contact with Europeans. And, like most Woodlands cultures, the indigenous peoples of the

[6] The Lumbee are similar in some respects to the Brandywine population of southern Maryland (Gilbert 1986). Both are Native Americans in a tri-ethnic community, both were grouped as "free people of color" before the Civil War, and both speak a marked dialect of English. The main difference is that the Brandywine spoke Piscataway, a "genuine" American Indian language, and their dialect can be traced back to a creole (Gilbert 1986).

[7] Woodland Period refers to a period of cultural development that archaeologists use to distinguish different Native American cultures as far as what technological advances they had made; it is also used to refer to different archaeological sites. The Woodland Period is the stage between Archaic and Mississippian and is marked by the use of pottery (Callaway 2004).

Lumbee homeland had an increased population and a more sedentary lifestyle during that period, which made it possible for the Lumbee ancestors "to develop a complicated social organization, with clans and other social structures within and among communities" (Knick 2000:12). However the Lumbee came about, it is obvious that they are the "offspring of nearly 300 years of migration and cultural exchange between the varied indigenous communities" of the Carolinas (Maynor 2005). What cannot be denied is that the coming of European Americans, with their diseases and their material culture, changed everything drastically and permanently.

1.3.2 Early Contact

Although the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese adventurers all passed through the land of the Lumbee before settlers from the British Isles (Knick 1988), they left little evidence or aftereffects. A Cheraw community was first detected in 1724 on the Lumber River ("Lumbee History" 2005). In the 1730s, Anglo settlers, with their African slaves (Blu 1977) reached the Lumber River and were surprised to find English-speaking natives (Dial 1993). According to Dial (1975), these Native Americans had an "essentially European culture" except that they held lands in common. In fact, they had European artifacts before there were any European settlements in the area (Knick 1993). These American Indians were among the ancestors of today's Lumbee.

European trade goods were not the only thing that preceded the Europeans; disease and ethnogenesis had already begun to forever change the destinies of the Lumbee. The early colonial years were a time of coalescence for many, many Native American groups in the Southeast (Knick 2000). These two harbingers of change worked hand in hand. Migration is a key to ethnogenesis. Groups escaping disease and war coalesced in settlements where

peoples from many different cultures came together. Disease killed many of the elders, thus erasing much of the past knowledge of the people and many of the traditions (Maynor 2005). As the Tuscarora and Cheraw Wars of 1711–1715 made it unsafe to be an Indian (many were shot for the "crime" of being native), many people fled for their lives (Knick 2000). The geographic isolation of Robeson County made it an ideal hiding place for those seeking a reprieve from war and plague (Knick 2000).

A very plausible story for the creation of the Lumbee people is set forth by Maynor (2005), and begins at the birth of recorded American history. In the first half of the eighteenth century, several families, both Indian and non-Indian, came together near Saponi and Tuscarora, and it is thought that these people were the Lumbee. The Native American groups were those who lost land during the Tuscarora War, including Potoskite, Yeopim, Saponi, Tuscarora, and Nansemond; they joined up with Cheraw and Hatteras peoples. Their collective identity as American Indians was not a matter of tribes; rather, kinship and home settlement were the means of reckoning their place, a tradition that continues to this day (Blu 1996).

The keyword of ethnogenesis is perseverance, perseverance in the face of drastic changes and calamities. The Lumbee were born of change, of tragedy, of coalescence. Languages and traditions were lost; cultures changed through contact with a foreign invasion. But at no point did the Lumbee or their ancestors forget that they were Indian (Knick 2000). Another keyword of ethnogenesis is adaptation, adaptation to all the changes noted above. "Native culture was too powerful, too much a part of this land and river, too deeply embedded in its people, to disappear. Instead, it adapted, as it had done again and again down the long centuries" (Knick 2000).

1.3.3 Non-Indians

The Lumbee live in a unique, tri-ethnic community in Robeson County. Whereas, traditionally, most of the South has been divided between black and white (or "other" and white, as in the case of the Snowbird Cherokee in Graham County), Robeson County has been more-or-less split evenly among European Americans, African Americans, and Native Americans. According to the 2000 census, there were 40,460 European Americans, 20,970 African Americans, and 46,896 Native Americans in Robeson County.

Race has not been a static category over the years based on the same criteria. In the early days of colonialism, the two main categories that divided the world, in the European view, at least, were Christian versus non-Christian. The American Indians were non-Christian, and thus inferior to the Europeans. Because most of the Indians in the South had adopted Christianity, the dichotomy that served the Spanish so well was no longer applicable or even useful to the United States. The Lumbee have been Christian for since the earliest records were made, and missionaries were never sent to Robeson County (Dial 1975). It was not until the removal era of Indian policy in the United States that race had anything to do with Indian identity. To justify the policy, European Americans had to declare Indians racially inferior (Maynor 2005).

The Lumbee were not relocated, though. They stayed right where they were, and continued to confound any attempt by European Americans to classify them. The years leading up to and during the Civil War were a time of great strife in this arena for the Lumbee. In 1835, the North Carolina Constitution was amended in order to disenfranchise both African Americans and Lumbee ("Lumbee History" 2005). At that time, there was a split in European American opinion in Robeson County; some were Radical Republicans and

others were Conservative Democrats, and this "schism" and lack of unified front aided the Lumbee people. Though the Lumbee were "free people of color" and were thus not officially enslaved, the state was intent on benefiting from the labor of the Lumbee by conscripting Lumbee men to build forts in the fever-infested area of Wilmington (Perdue & Green 2001). Many Lumbee today believe that the conscription was in fact a Confederate effort to merge the Lumbee and the African Americans (Blu 1979). It was not until 1868 that the Lumbee gained their enfranchisement back ("Lumbee History" 2005).

In 1936, about 100 years after the Relocation Era, the Bureau of Indian Affairs sent a group of anthropologist-types to do a "federally funded 'racial diagnosis'" on the Lumbee (Bordewich 1996). Heads and teeth were measured, hair and skin were tested, and all but 22 Lumbee failed the test of being "Indian." As one BIA agent wrote, "Our task was made difficult at the outset by the fact that these people did not have a clear understanding of the term Indian," meaning that the Lumbee did not understand that they were not American Indians by the BIA definition (Maynor 2005). "To government officials, Indianness was totally based on biology and physical characteristics … whereas Indians in eastern North Carolina based their identity on community and kinship, which was not limited to their ancestry" (Oakley 2005).

Besides being Native Americans, the Lumbee are also just plain Americans. The Lumbee have been fighting and dying as Americans since the Revolutionary War. They fought on the side of the colonists in that war (Knick 2000), and eight Lumbee died in the War of 1812 (Dial 1975). The World Wars not only brought the Lumbee to the battlefield (Dial 1975), it brought other warriors of various ethnicities to Robeson County. As Dial tells it, the beautiful Lumbee women enticed soldiers from nearby Fort Bragg and Laurinburg-

Maxton Air Base to the streets of Robeson County. This not only chipped away at the isolation of the area, it also created many marriages between the ethnicities and between other American Indians from around the country (Dial 1975). Later on, Lumbee also fought in the Korean, Viet Nam, and Gulf Wars ("Historical Timeline of the Lumbee" 2004).

After World War II, segregation only worsened in Robeson County (Dial 1975). This policy had come to the land of the Lumbee in full force by the 1920s. In the South, one was either "white" or "colored," and the Lumbee often found themselves on the "colored" side (Maynor 2005). This dichotomy harkens back to the days of the Civil War when the Lumbee were declared "free people of color." Having strong ties of kinship and other American Indian cultural traits was not enough for the European Americans to believe a claim of Indianness (Maynor 2005). But it was these native traditions, the sense of community and kinship, the "faithfulness to the tribe's social values and institutions" that helped the Lumbee survive at a time where they were defined by their hair, teeth, and skin color (Maynor 2005). The Lumbee lost much of their land and were forced to become sharecroppers, and many migrated to find a better place (Maynor 2005).

The Lumbee have been fighting for federal recognition as Native Americans since 1888 ("Lumbee History" 2005). It has been a hard battle because the Lumbee never signed a treaty with any government ("Lumbee History" 2005). They were supported by John Collier during his reign as Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the 1930s, but his initiative was vetoed by the Secretary of the Interior (Perdue & Green 2001). Their struggle continues today, even though they do have limited recognition by the federal government.

1.3.4 Two Defining Lumbee Stories

Two of the most important historical events for the Lumbee have to do with their resistance to (European American) oppressors, and a history of the Lumbee would be incomplete without at least a passing mention of them. The stories are that of Henry Lowry and that of the routing of the Ku Klux Klan. Karen I. Blu (1979) went so far as to call them the defining stories for the Lumbee.

Briefly, Henry Berry Lowry was a Robin Hood-like figure who became an outlaw after the murder of his father and brother at the hands of the local Home Guard, who accused the Lumbee men of stealing from their European American neighbors (Blu 1979). Lowry and his band of kinsmen and others committed acts of revenge and generosity for years. Lowry hid in the swamp with his band of followers, and was never captured or killed.[8] These outlaws "became an inspiring example of successful Indian resistance to White pressures, an example that Indians could emulate if they chose" (Blu 1979).

Almost a century later, the Lumbee were again fighting intimidation at the hands of European American ne'er-do-wells. This time, instead of the Home Guard, the menaces wore white sheets, burned crosses, and called themselves the Ku Klux Klan. On January 18, 1958, the Lumbee were brought to international attention for standing up against the Klan and actually ousting them from Robeson County. A few days earlier, burning crosses had been found on the lawns of several Lumbee who had moved into white neighborhoods. The night of the 18th, the KKK gathered for a rally, which ended in a rout when some Lumbee arrived up to put a stop to it. Shots were fired, but no one was hurt, and two KKK members were indicted for inciting a riot (Dial 1975).

[8] For a much more complete version, see Evans (1995).

These two stories of fighting against racism and intimidation and for the Lumbee people serve to unite the Lumbee and instill a goodly amount of pride in their heritage.

1.3.5 Schooling

For a long time, the Lumbee controlled their own schools for their own children. In 1835, because of new laws governing "coloreds" in North Carolina, their schools were closed, not to be reopened until 1887, when the Normal School for teaching teachers was established in Pembroke (Dial 1975). The Normal School was necessary because of the lack of literacy 52 years without schools had caused (Knick 2000). The Normal School opened its doors to fifteen students and was the first state-supported school in all of Robeson County (Dial 1975). In 1945, it opened its doors to other American Indians, and in 1954 it was completely desegregated (Dial 1975). While the Lumbee were happy to see the end of the degradation that went along with segregation, they were sad to see their schools go (Perdue & Green 2001). The Normal School is now the University of North Carolina at Pembroke.

Education has been a great boon to the Lumbee, especially since they were able to control their own schools for so long, unlike most Native American tribes. Dial goes so far as to claim that "education has been the instrument that helped them overcome repression and moved them forward, as they sought successfully to improve the quality of their lives" (1975). Today, the Lumbee boast more doctors, lawyers, and Ph.D.'s than any other Native American group (Bordewich 1996). Unfortunately, many of these professionals do not move back home after earning their degrees. As one Lumbee put it, "If they have a Ph.D., they're not going to live in Robeson County. There's nowhere they can use it" (Blu 1996).

1.3.6 Economy

The original, precontact economy of the Lumbee's ancestors was probably one of agriculture, hunting, and gathering; all tools, food, clothing, and so forth, would have been made by the people for themselves. The society would have been relatively egalitarian, a system of bartering and trade, and a system of belief that tied it all together (Knick 2000). Of course, much has changed in the economy of the Lumbee since 1492. What follows is a chronology of how the Lumbee have made a living.

The Lumbee have been landowners since at least the eighteen century, when property records were first written for the area (Bordewich 1996). The Lumbee, according to Dial, have always been good farmers (1975). They farmed their own land, though those who did not farm historically worked in the lumber and turpentine industries (Dial 1975) that thrived on the forests of oak, hickory, and pine (Knick 1988). The first railroad in Robeson County was built in 1860 (Dial 1975). The railroad rearranged the towns, making some larger and turning others into ghost towns (Blu 1996). Like other parts of the country, the railroad vastly changed the economic landscape of Robeson County.

In the post–Civil War years, there was a growing participation in the national and international market economy (Blu 1996). There were also increased restrictions on "coloreds." Many Lumbee lost their land; many were forced to become sharecroppers (Maynor 2005); few could buy land (Blu 1996). Thus, land was consolidated into larger parcels of land owned by fewer people. Other Lumbee chose to move. Some moved farther south to Georgia to work in the turpentine industry there (Dial 1975). Cotton was the cash crop of this era, as it was through most of the South. Swamps were drained to get more out of

the land; forests were cut for timber and turpentine; better roads and railroads were built (Blu 1996).

Tobacco replaced cotton in the twentieth century (Blu 1996). The year 1923 saw the first highway built through Pembroke (Dial 1975). The Great Depression affected the Lumbee only indirectly; they owned no corporate stock, but the national economic problems intensified agricultural problems (Dial 1975). After World War II, many Lumbee headed to cities, mainly Baltimore and Detroit, to find work (Dial 1975). The end of segregation gave the Lumbee better economic opportunities, which often opened the door for many young people to leave Robeson County in search of better jobs (Perdue & Green 2001).

Today, the Robeson County economy is less reliant on tobacco. Tourism and "corporations" are year-round sources of income for the Lumbee (Dial 1975). Most of Robeson County is still rural, with a few larger towns; most people work in manufacturing (Blu 1996). There is a Converse plant in Lumberton, Kelly-Springfield in Fayetteville, and Campbell's Soup in Maxton (Bordewich 1996). Most of the town of Pembroke is run by Lumbee. UNC at Pembroke is a force for good in the economy, employing many people and contributing a substantial amount of money to the area (Dial 1975). The first bank opened by American Indians, the Lumbee Bank, opened in December of 1971 (Dial 1975).

1.3.7 The Language Situation

In 1891, historian Stephen Weeks wrote that the Lumbee were peculiar in that they spoke in Elizabethan English (Dial 1993). This, of course, was somewhat stereotypical, but it shows that the Lumbee have had a distinct way of speaking English for a long time. This is not to say a distinctive dialect can replace a native language, per se, but the Lumbee dialect does serve to set them apart from their European American and African American neighbors.

While the lack of an ancestral language has often been used against the Lumbee in their quest for recognition as a tribe, the 1956 Congressional Act that recognizes the Lumbee as a Native American group[9] also recognizes that the Lumbee have a "distinctive … manner of speech" (Act Relating to the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina, Congress of the United States, June 7, 1956; quoted in Schilling-Estes 2000).

Prior research (Brewer & Reising 1982; Dannenberg 2002; Hammonds 2000; Torbert 2001; Wolfram & Dannenberg 1999; Wolfram et al. 2002) has shown lexical, morphosyntactic, and phonological differences between the Lumbee and their non-Indian neighbors. These differences include structures such as the use of *bes* for invariant *be*, *I'm* in present perfect contexts, *weren't* leveling, consonant cluster reduction, vocabulary such as *toten* for a portent of death and *juvember* for a slingshot, and so on. Many of the features associated with the Lumbee dialect are thought to be "relics" of an older speech, much like that of Appalachia (Wolfram et al. 2002).

Whereas much can be said about how the Lumbee speak today, there is only speculation regarding what language their ancestors spoke. North Carolina has long been a region of linguistic diversity. Three language families existed in the state before 1492: Siouan, Algonquian, and Iroquoian (Wolfram et al. 2002). The Algonquian languages were mostly spoken on the northern part of the coast, including Roanoke, where some claim the Lumbee came from. There is some oral and documentary evidence that the Lumbee have Tuscaroran ancestry (as discussed above), and the Tuscorora speak an Iroquoian language (Knick 2000).

[9] The Lumbee are federally recognized as a tribe, but they do not receive any of the benefits (i.e., money, services, etc.) given to most recognized tribes. "The concluding clause used the term 'Indian' six times, an obvious acknowledgement of Native American identity. At the same time, however, the legislation denied the Lumbees the accompanying rights and privileges. In effect, the 1956 legislation simultaneously recognized and terminated the tribe" (Oakley 2005).

The bulk of the evidence, though, suggests that the ancestors of the Lumbee mostly spoke a Siouan language. The Saponi, Occaneechi, Santee, Wateree, Catawba, and Cheraw all spoke eastern Siouan languages, distant relatives to Lakota and Dakota languages (Knick 2000). One of the small pieces of evidence that suggests a Siouan ancestry is the Lumbee name itself. There is some documentary evidence that the people who lived along the banks of the Lumber (also known as Lumbee) River have been referred to as the Lumbee, so the name is not the neologism some have suggested (Wolfram et al. 2002). The Siouan tribes named above almost all end in –ee or –i. Catawban expert Blair Rudes has linked the name to a Catawban phrase *yą?be*, meaning "bank of a river" (Wolfram et al. 2002). Rudes has also proposed that the one putative snippet of Lumbee language, a short prayer, is similar to the Cheraw language (Rudes 2005).

Of course, trying to find just one language for a people who were born of ethnogenesis would be a waste of time and most likely incorrect. What is important to note is that a group of people coming together who speak disparate languages from disparate language families are going to need a lingua franca that can serve the whole community. In many areas of the world with a similar linguistic situation, a pidgin language is created to serve as a means of communication. Another trend is to adopt one of the languages or some other language, and this is what the Lumbee did. They had several good reasons not to choose one of the many indigenous languages, including a desire not to speak the language of a traditional enemy. English was a language most had come into contact with, and trade had made it an important language to know, so English would have made a good language to serve the community. Many of the people in the community probably already spoke English because of the contact they had with Englishmen in trade, marriage, and slavery (Read 1941).

Finally, these ancestors probably ran into many English-speaking people, including missionaries, who were immune to the ravages of the plagues that swept the area repeatedly. Perhaps there was something mystical about this language of English (and the religion that went along with it) that would prevent all the death and destruction (Knick 2000). The Lumbee's knowledge of English is probably what saved them from some of the worst Indian policies, although today it only serves to make them "less Indian" in the eyes of some. Language in general is important to the Lumbee. They characterize themselves as a "talking" people. By this, they mean to emphasize their "willingness … to talk and their skills as talkers" (Dial 1975). Also, they say that they "talk Indian," meaning both that they speak a distinctive dialect and that they always keep their word (Blu 1977).

1.3.8 Conclusion

In 1928, a delegation of Mohawk people came down to Robeson County to build a longhouse with their Tuscaroran and Lumbee relatives. This act of building something so quintessentially American Indian in the land of the Lumbee "represented a visible Indian institution that belonged to a distinct people who occupied a unique social and geographic place" (Maynor 2005). It was like the closing of a circle. The Lumbee ancestors were on the receiving end of a colonization effort and plagues that forever changed the face of this continent and the face of this world. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the change was at a fiery pitch: epidemics decimated populations; languages were wiped out; some tribes merged, others vanished; cultures were fundamentally altered (Knick 2000). One thing, however, was so rock solid that it withstood the weathering of hundreds of years and continues today: the Lumbee knowledge that they are American Indian, have always been American Indian, and will always be American Indian regardless of any recognition from

outside the community. Over so many centuries, the Lumbee were forced to forget their past; today, they need documentation of it to "prove" they are Indian (Knick 2000). While these laws, on some level, were made to protect "genuine" American Indians from those claiming some sort of noble savage ancestry for money and glory, these policies have often had the opposite effect of leaving many American Indians disenfranchised. When the Lumbee were finally recognized by the federal government in 1956, they were also effectively terminated as a tribe at the same time (Perdue & Green 2001).

Adolph Dial (1975) presents an alternative view of how Indians should be defined, how they define themselves:

> The central fact of Lumbee history is that the people are Indian in origin and social status. That the Lumbee believe in their Indianness has done a great deal to shape their history and way of viewing the world in which they live. Moreover, the Lumbee, more than most native Americans, are well aware that being Indian is not merely a physical foundation, but that it is even more importantly a state of mind, a self-concept.

Chapter Two

2.1 Methods of Analysis

For this study, I used sociolinguistic interviews conducted by the staff of the North Carolina Language and Life Project. These interviews were informal, audiotaped conversations, designed to elicit natural speech as much as possible. The oldest Lumbee interview was done as part of an oral history project in the late 1960s/early 1970s produced by the Lumbee statesman Adolph Dial. The tapes were digitized using a Tascam cc-222 with a sampling rate of 44.1 kHz. I then converted the music files created by the digitization to wav files using CDex version 1.51. I measured the vowels on Praat, using LPC (formant tracker). The settings were typically for 4.5 to 6 formants, though occasionally for as few as 4 or as many as 9. The maximum formant was set for 5,000 Hz for men and 5,500 Hz for women. The window length was 0.005 seconds. The spectrogram method was set for Fourier analysis and a Gaussian Window shape. Premphasis was set at 6 dB/oct. I recorded pitch using the pitch tracker, set for the AC method. I also used some vowels previously measured by other researchers, mainly Erik R. Thomas and Bridget Anderson. They analyzed the same interviews, but used a Kay Computerized Speech Laboratory. Sampling rate was 10,000 Hz, and the spectrograms were generated using a 100-point transform, low-pass filtering at 4 Hz, and pre-emphasis on higher-frequency parts of the signal.

I measured the vowels /ai/, /ɔ/, and /u/. The vowels /ai/ and /ɔ/ were treated as diphthongs, meaning I took my measurements at 35 ms following the onset of the vowel and 35 ms before the end of the vowel. The 35 ms is a relatively arbitrary number chosen to avoid most coarticulation effects from neighboring segments. The vowel /u/ for the Robeson County subjects was treated as a monophthong and was measured at the midpoint. The /u/

vowels for the Graham County subjects were measured by Bridget Anderson as diphthongs; the measurements closer to the onset were used in this study. The vowel measurements taken by the other researchers were composed of the mean of formant values taken in a window between 25 and 45 ms from the beginning and end of the vowel.

Ten tokens were taken of all the vowels used; occasionally, a scarcity of tokens necessitated the use of as few as seven. Not every informant was used in every analysis because not every interview yielded enough tokens of each vowel. I did not use tokens from the first five minutes of the interview, or in the following environments: pre- or post-/w/, /j/, and /r/; pre-nasal; pre-/l/; pre-/g/; and in unstressed position. My criteria for determining when a vowel began or ended depended on its environment. If it came after a stop, I looked for the burst or aspiration to end; if it came before a stop, I looked for the usual cessation of the formants, namely, that of the second formant. When the vowel was adjacent to a fricative, I simply looked for where frication noise started or ended and where periodic noise began or ended. For post-nasal vowels, I looked for stronger amplitude and narrower bandwidth; for post-/l/ vowels, I looked for the movement of F_1 and F_2 away from each other. Finding the boundary between two vowels was more elusive, but formant movement was often used as a cue. Unfortunately, these decisions were not always transparent; many of the recordings were of poor quality, so I often had to rely on my auditory perception rather than the visual marking in making these judgments. In total, the first four formants, pitch, and duration were measured for each token I measured. The other researchers took the same information, though only the first three formants were measured. F_4 was not used in this study, nor were pitch and duration.

Because many different speakers of different ages and genders were measured, it was necessary to normalize the Hertz measurements. This was done by first converting the first three formants into Barks using the equation developed by Traunmüller (1997): Bark = (26.81/(1 + 1960/Hz)) – 0.53. The resulting figures, referred to as Z_1, Z_2, and Z_3, were compared using a technique much like Syrdal and Gopal's (1986) method. Instead of using the F_0 in the normalization, as Syrdal and Gopal did, I used F_3 to minimize intonation interference. After the Hertz values of the means were converted to Barks, Z_1 was subtracted from Z_3 to obtain the height dimension, and Z_2 was subtracted from Z_3 to get the front-to-back dimension.

In total, 53 informants were studied: 13 Lumbee, 10 Cherokee, 10 African Americans from Robeson County, 10 European Americans from Robeson County, and 10 European Americans from Graham County. Table 1 lists the pertinent information on these speakers.

Table 2.1. Speaker List, including county, ethnicity, year of birth, and gender.

County	Ethnicity	Year of birth	Gender	Initials
Graham	Cherokee	1912	female	BS
Graham	Cherokee	1941	male	DB
Graham	Cherokee	1944	male	CL
Graham	Cherokee	1953	male	JJ
Graham	Cherokee	1961	female	EB
Graham	Cherokee	1961	female	CB
Graham	Cherokee	1965	female	AL
Graham	Cherokee	1971	male	NC
Graham	Cherokee	1972	female	TS
Graham	Cherokee	1981	female	MR
Graham	European	1903	male	WC
Graham	European	1908	female	AA
Graham	European	1922	female	Mrs. A
Graham	European	1924	male	CA
Graham	European	1940	female	IW
Graham	European	1948	female	JG
Graham	European	1950	male	RH

Table 2.1 (continued)				
Graham	European	1968	male	AH
Graham	European	1973	female	BA
Graham	European	1980	male	DA
Robeson	Lumbee	1881	male	DFL
Robeson	Lumbee	1899	male	IL
Robeson	Lumbee	1906	male	LR
Robeson	Lumbee	1919	male	JB
Robeson	Lumbee	1925	female	VH
Robeson	Lumbee	1928	female	ZL
Robeson	Lumbee	1938	female	GL
Robeson	Lumbee	1942	male	CL
Robeson	Lumbee	1954	male	EL
Robeson	Lumbee	1956	female	JO
Robeson	Lumbee	1972	male	DL
Robeson	Lumbee	1976	female	JS
Robeson	Lumbee	1980	female	CO
Robeson	African	1927	male	EM
Robeson	African	1927	female	BS
Robeson	African	1928	female	LH
Robeson	African	1938	female	RJ
Robeson	African	1952	female	HJ
Robeson	African	1962	female	EJ
Robeson	African	1974	female	LM
Robeson	African	1975	female	LJ
Robeson	African	1979	male	DJ
Robeson	African	1982	female	AB
Robeson	European	1900	female	ALC
Robeson	European	1915	male	JA
Robeson	European	1920	male	JP
Robeson	European	1922	female	SL
Robeson	European	1927	female	AL
Robeson	European	1973	male	PM
Robeson	European	1973	male	TO
Robeson	European	1974	male	JN
Robeson	European	1974	female	GL
Robeson	European	1978	female	KR

2.2 Results

2.2.1 /ai/ Backing and Gliding

As Bridget Anderson (1999) performed a study of the Cherokee of Snowbird a few years ago, and since I used her interviews, I merely summarize her findings here. She found that the traditional Southern dichotomy between pre-voiced and pre-voiceless was not as important as utterance-final and syllable boundary + vowel position in the realization of /ai/ as a monophthong or a diphthong for Snowbird Cherokee English speakers. Anderson (1999) explains how source language interference from Cherokee affects the /ai/ and /oi/ diphthongs and creates a subtle difference between them and their European American cohorts, findings that are consistent with Cherokee language phonology. Cherokee is a CV language that requires an onset and prohibits a closed syllable. Therefore, the glide is interpreted as the onset of the next syllable. There was no obvious change over time with these variables, though this was not the focus of her study.

The Lumbee, on the other hand, have a history of quite distinct /ai/ realization. The most salient feature of the Lumbee /ai/ is the backed (and sometimes raised) nucleus. This variant in pre-voiceless position comes about because vowels tend to be shorter before voiceless obstruents than before voiced obstruents, and because of this length difference, the pre-voiceless /ai/ is subject to greater coarticulation with the front offglide (Schilling-Estes 2000). The backed /ai/ variant is found in the Pamlico Sound of North Carolina (Wolfram & Thomas 2002), but Brewer and Reising (1982) point out that non-Indian speakers in Robeson County do not use it. In other communities, the backed /ai/ is found before voiceless consonants as per the discussion above, but not voiced. In their limited, impressionistic study, Brewer and Reising (1982) found that the backed /ai/ was generalized to both

environments, making the Lumbee unique. Schilling-Estes (2000) did a more exhaustive impressionistic study of the Lumbee /ai/. She looked at a larger number of environments, such as pre-nasal, and divided the tokens into three categories: fully gliding [ai], ungliding [a:], and with a backed nucleus. She found that the older, more isolated Lumbee were more likely to back their /ai/, especially in pre-voiceless environments, and that Lumbee had more monopthongal /ai^{o}/ than /ai^{v}/.[10] Her data also showed a significant amount of variation among the Lumbee, which diminished in the youngest speakers. This study is different since it looks at acoustic data instead of impressionistic data, so there is no clear division between backed/not backed and monophthongal/diphthongal; instead, there is a continuum.

Starting with the question of nucleus backing, we can see the $Z_3 - Z_2$ of the onset measurements of the Robeson County /ai/ tokens in tables 2.2 and 2.3, which are graphed onto figures 2.1 and 2.2 for a better visual understanding. The higher the number on the y-axis, the farther back the nucleus.

Table 2.2: Robeson County /ai^{o}/ nucleus

Ethnicity	Year of birth	$Z_3 - Z_2$ of onset
Lumbee	1881	
Lumbee	1899	4.689
Lumbee	1906	3.018
Lumbee	1919	
Lumbee	1925	
Lumbee	1928	
Lumbee	1938	3.346
Lumbee	1942	3.933
Lumbee	1954	4.423
Lumbee	1956	
Lumbee	1972	3.66
Lumbee	1976	3.165
Lumbee	1980	3.677

[10] /ai^{o}/ refers to /ai/ found in pre-voiceless environments, and /ai^{v}/ refers to those found in pre-voiced obstruent position (Labov et al., 1972, Labov 1991).

Table 2.2 (continued)		
African	1927	2.19
African	1927	2.723
African	1928	2.951
African	1938	3.32
African	1952	3.585
African	1962	4.062
African	1974	3.643
African	1975	3.087
African	1979	2.306
African	1982	2.969
European	1900	4.159
European	1915	3.181
European	1920	4.766
European	1922	3.362
European	1927	4.726
European	1973	4.807
European	1973	4.725
European	1974	5.083
European	1974	3.993
European	1978	3.417

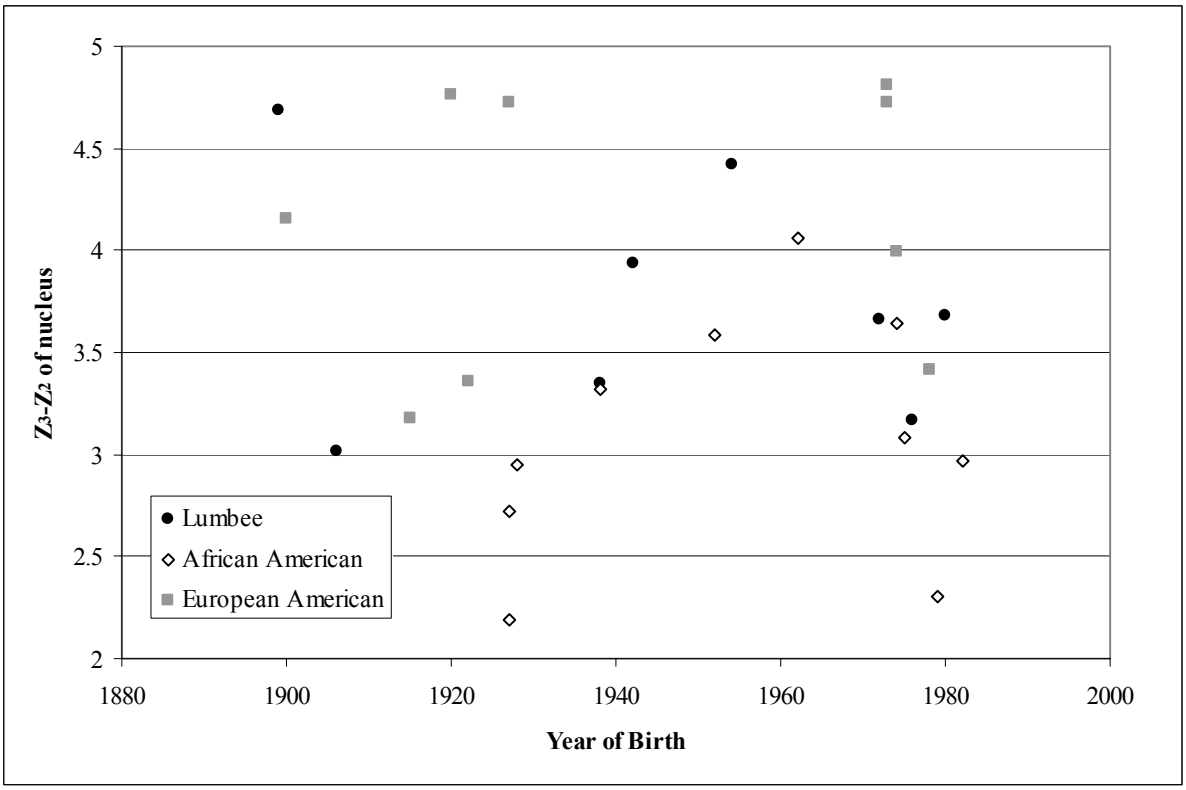

Figure 2.1: Robeson County /ai^{o}/ Nucleus

In figure 2.1, a great deal of variation in nucleus placement can be found for the Lumbee speakers born before 1960, who vary from 3 to about 4.75, with the youngest speakers clustering between 3 and about 3.75. Their African American cohorts show a wide range, with the speakers born between 1940 and 1970 having a more backed nucleus compared to the older and younger African Americans, who have the most fronting of all the Robeson County folks. It is also interesting to note that four of the five most backed subjects are European American, and not Lumbee.

I also ran an ANOVA test (table 2.3) with the null hypothesis that the mean values for all three ethnicities are equal. It should be noted that this does not take into account change over time. The p-value is less than 0.05; thus we can reject the null hypothesis. There is a statistically significant difference among the /ai^{o}/ nucleus of the Lumbee, European Americans, and African Americans.

Table 2.3: ANOVA Results for Robeson County /ai^{o}/ Nucleus

Source of variation	SS	df	MS	F	P-value	F crit
Between Groups	6.520929	2	3.260464	8.172351	0.001858	3.38519
Within Groups	9.974071	25	0.398963			
Total	16.495	27				

Table 2.4: Robeson County /ai^{v}/ Nucleus

Ethnicity	Year of birth	$Z_3 - Z_2$ of onset
Lumbee	1881	3.66
Lumbee	1899	4.57
Lumbee	1906	3.56
Lumbee	1919	
Lumbee	1925	3.7
Lumbee	1928	3.78
Lumbee	1938	3.49
Lumbee	1942	4.52

Table 2.4 (continued)		
Lumbee	1954	4.63
Lumbee	1956	3.78
Lumbee	1972	3.43
Lumbee	1976	3.45
Lumbee	1980	2.66
African	1927	2.68
African	1927	2.71
African	1928	2.19
African	1938	2.89
African	1952	2.74
African	1962	3.67
African	1974	4.22
African	1975	2.76
African	1979	2.31
African	1982	2.81
European	1900	3.39
European	1915	2.83
European	1920	4.15
European	1922	2.78
European	1927	4.19
European	1973	4.17
European	1973	4.08
European	1974	3.86
European	1974	3.68
European	1978	3.03

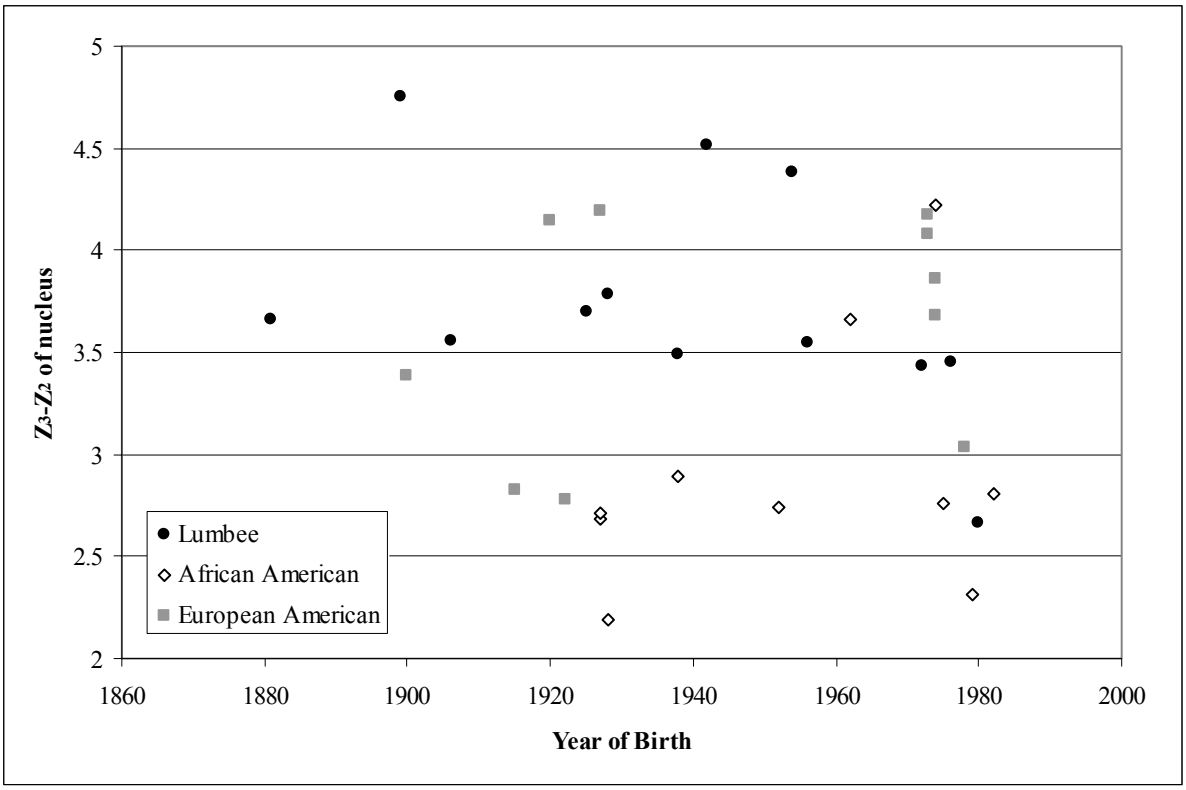

Figure 2.2: Robeson County /ai^{v}/ Nucleus

In table 2.4 and figure 2.2, the older Lumbee speakers are again more varied than the youngest speakers; while they are not entirely uniform, the youngest and most fronted Lumbee speaker's anomalous score may be due to a dearth of tokens. Notice that the Lumbee /ai^{v}/ tokens are, as a whole, as backed as (or more backed than) the /ai^{o}/ tokens, in opposition to Schilling-Estes's (2000) findings of /ai/ backing in pre-voiceless environments. Again, the African Americans have the most fronted nuclei, except for two of the younger speakers. The European Americans show an almost bimodal split, with some of the most fronted and the most backed nuclei. I ran another ANOVA test (table 2.5) for these data, set up the same as to the one for /ai^{o}/ nucleus. Again, the p-value is less than 0.05, and therefore we can reject the null hypothesis.

Table 2.5: ANOVA results for Robeson County /ai^{y}/ nucleus

Source of variation	SS	df	MS	F	P-value	F crit
Between Groups	4.349312	2	2.174656	6.462016	0.004776	3.327654
Within Groups	9.759341	29	0.336529			
Total	14.10865	31				

In tables 2.6 and 2.8 (as represented in figures 2.3 and 2.4), the length of the glide is plotted for the Robeson County speakers. These graphs were created by subtracting the $Z_3 - Z_2$ of the offset from the $Z_3 - Z_2$ of the onset. In this scatter plot, a higher number on the y-axis represents a more robust glide, whereas 0 represents a monophthong; the negative numbers are most likely the result of consonantal interference.

Table 2.6: Robeson County length of /ai^{o}/ glide

Ethnicity	Year of birth	$Z_3 - Z_2$ of the onset	$Z_3 - Z_2$ of the offset	Onset minus offset
Lumbee	1881			
Lumbee	1899	4.689222	2.841937	1.847285
Lumbee	1906	3.018124	1.87287	1.145254
Lumbee	1919			
Lumbee	1925			
Lumbee	1928			
Lumbee	1938	3.346127	2.8365	0.509627
Lumbee	1942	3.932894	3.451044	0.48185
Lumbee	1954	4.422533	2.485404	1.937129
Lumbee	1956			
Lumbee	1972	3.65974	2.742082	0.917659
Lumbee	1976	3.16504	2.490831	0.674209
Lumbee	1980	3.677174	3.142817	0.534356
African	1927	2.190035	2.223464	-0.03343
African	1927	2.723465	2.610822	0.112643
African	1928	2.950899	1.941955	1.008944
African	1938	3.319655	2.555202	0.764453
African	1952	3.584563	1.633804	1.950758
African	1962	4.062298	2.170279	1.89202
African	1974	3.642746	2.213973	1.428773
African	1975	3.086942	2.165471	0.921471

Table 2.6 (continued)				
African	1979	2.306258	1.664273	0.641985
African	1982	2.968764	1.247173	1.721591
European	1900	4.158773	3.846408	0.312365
European	1915	3.181124	2.880595	0.300529
European	1920	4.766216	3.346592	1.419624
European	1922	3.361922	3.118506	0.243416
European	1927	4.725587	2.491649	2.233938
European	1973	4.806634	4.2122	0.594434
European	1973	4.724505	3.170077	1.554429
European	1974	5.08302	3.480607	1.602413
European	1974	3.993456	3.390997	0.60246
European	1978	3.417285	3.296651	0.120635

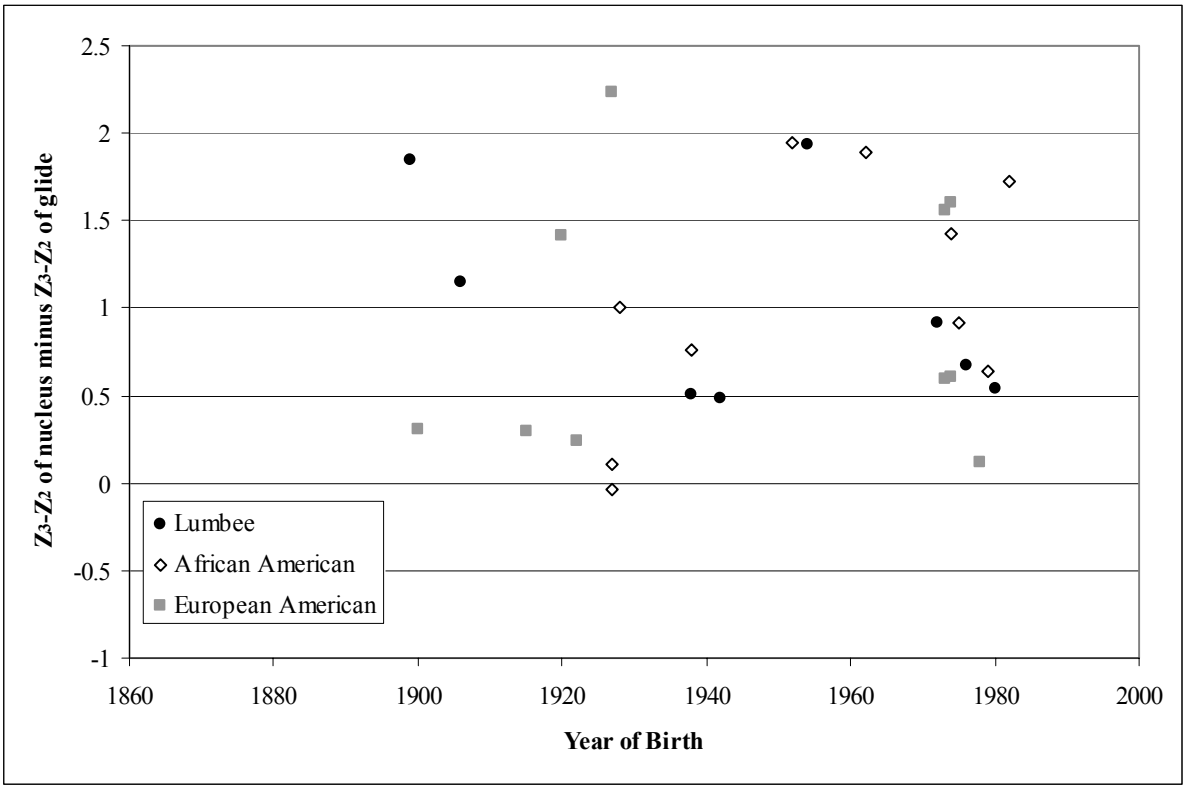

Figure 2.3: Robeson County Length of /ai^{o}/ Glide

In figure 2.3, the Lumbee speakers born before 1960 exhibit the same variability seen in the nucleus measurements, whereas the youngest three are again clustered between 0.5 and 1. The African American subjects are also quite variable, though there seems to be a general

trend toward a more robust glide. The European Americans are clustered mostly toward the less robust glides, though the speaker with the longest glide is European American.

An ANOVA test (table 2.7) was run for the glide length of all three ethnicities, with the null hypothesis that the means would all be equal. The p-value is greater than 0.05; therefore we fail to reject the null hypothesis. There is no statistically significant difference in the length of the /ai^{o}/ glides. This is surprising because, based on figure 2.3, there does seem to be some difference among them, but it is also unsurprising since there is such wide variation both over time and intraethnically.

Table 2.7: ANOVA results for Robeson County length of /ai^{o}/ glide

Source of variation	SS	df	MS	F	P-value	F crit
Between Groups	0.109035	2	0.054517	0.115655	0.891256	3.38519
Within Groups	11.78445	25	0.471378			
Total	11.89349	27				

Table 2.8: Robeson County length of /ai^{v}/ glide

Ethnicity	Year of birth	$Z_3 - Z_2$ of the onset	$Z_3 - Z_2$ of the offset	Onset minus offset
Lumbee	1881	3.656803	2.676476	0.980327
Lumbee	1899	4.754098	3.189326	1.564771
Lumbee	1906	3.560463	3.074508	0.485955
Lumbee	1919			
Lumbee	1925	3.697628	2.37248	1.325148
Lumbee	1928	3.782908	2.169776	1.613133
Lumbee	1938	3.487737	2.421401	1.066335
Lumbee	1942	4.520155	3.641877	0.878278
Lumbee	1954	4.381916	3.201828	1.180088
Lumbee	1956	3.780305	3.440301	0.340004
Lumbee	1972	3.43145	2.959987	0.471463
Lumbee	1976	3.448837	2.744917	0.703921
Lumbee	1980	2.663563	3.364992	–0.70143
African	1927	2.684839	2.491232	0.193607
African	1927	2.714049	2.849978	–0.13593

Table 2.8 (continued)				
African	1928	2.190293	2.719949	–0.52966
African	1938	2.88848	2.500591	0.387889
African	1952	2.739633	2.125585	0.614048
African	1962	3.665313	3.66746	–0.00215
African	1974	4.222619	3.557727	0.664892
African	1975	2.759869	2.640377	0.119491
African	1979	2.314813	2.308065	0.006748
African	1982	2.806002	2.244318	0.561684
European	1900	3.388141	3.348366	0.039775
European	1915	2.825614	2.835486	–0.00987
European	1920	4.14806	3.358753	0.789307
European	1922	2.775482	3.032951	–0.25747
European	1927	4.188347	3.505132	0.683215
European	1973	4.169346	4.573693	–0.40435
European	1973	4.075919	4.331863	–0.25594
European	1974	3.857784	4.124091	–0.26631
European	1974	3.68326	3.767814	–0.08455
European	1978	3.034472	3.274191	–0.23972

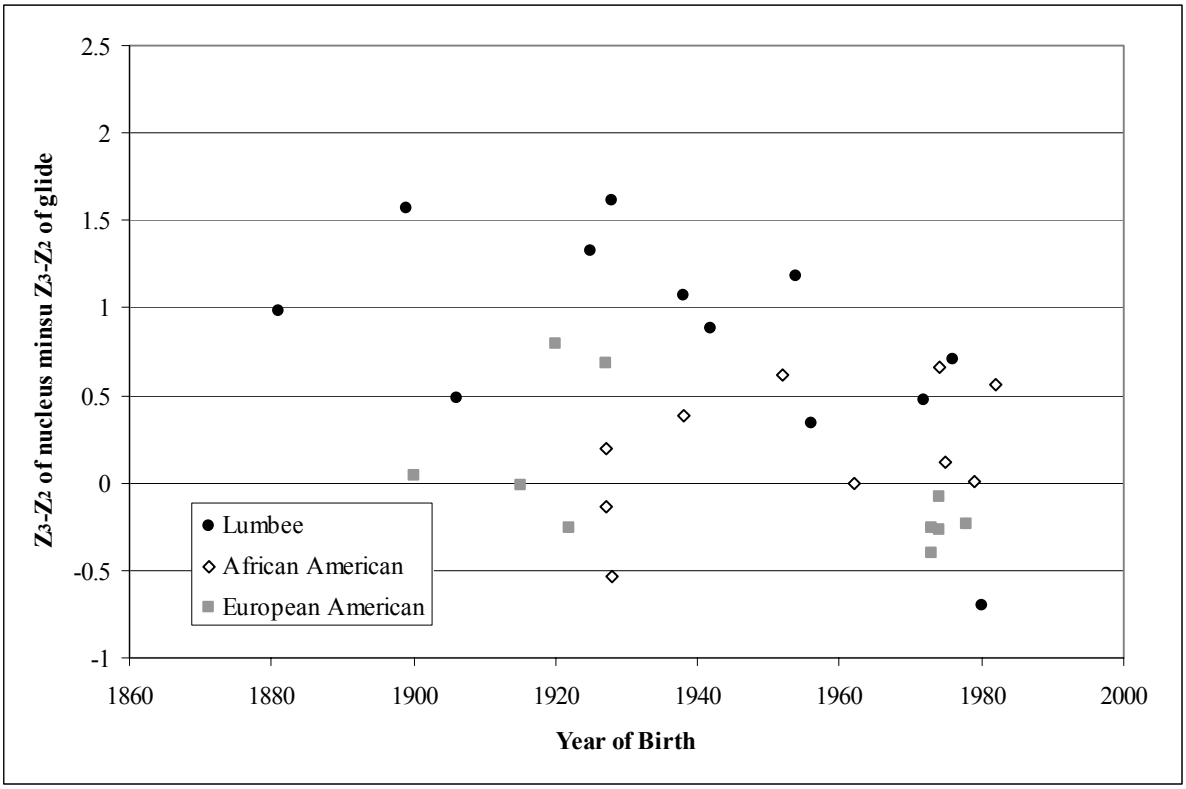

Figure 2.4: Robeson County Length of /ai^{y}/ Glide

The pre-voiced tokens in figure 2.4 for the Lumbee speakers are especially striking. We would expect monopthongization of /ai^{v}/ since this has long been a "hallmark of Southern speech," resulting most likely from the positional variation of /ai/ that "shows a stronger glide before voiceless obstruents" (Thomas 2003). The speakers born between 1920 and 1960 have fairly long glides, as Schilling-Estes's (2000) data had suggested. These dates correspond to the most intensely isolated time for the Lumbee, when they were not leaving the county for work and the schools were not yet integrated. The older speakers, born before 1920, show a wide range of glide lengths. I was particularly struck when listening to the oldest speaker; his pronunciation of /ai^{v}/ varied widely between strongly gliding and monophthongal. The youngest speakers have the shortest glides, showing a move toward the prototypically Southern ungliding /ai^{o}/. Most of the European Americans are clustered around zero, as are some of the African Americans. None of the non-Indians has glides above one, whereas five of the Lumbee are above one. The youngest Lumbee speaker's very negative value is a mystery. An ANOVA test (table 2.9) like that for the /ai^{o}/ glide was run, with the null hypothesis of all equal means. The p-value is less than 0.05, and the null hypothesis is rejected. There is a significant difference among the three ethnicities.

Table 2.9: ANOVA results for County length of /ai^{v}/ glide

Source of variation	SS	df	MS	F	P-value	F crit
Between Groups	4.195871	2	2.097936	8.386903	0.001336	3.327654
Within Groups	7.254183	29	0.250144			
Total	11.45005	31				

2.2.2 /ɔ/ Back-gliding

Throughout much of the South, the back-gliding of /ɔ/ is common and stereotypical (Kurath & McDavid1961). The Robeson and Graham County speakers fall within the area of this variant. In order to look at the length of back-gliding in these two counties, the $Z_3 - Z_2$ of the onset was subtracted from the $Z_3 - Z_2$ of the offset. A stronger glide will have a higher number. A zero means a monophthong.

Table 2.10: Graham County /ɔ/ back-glide

Ethnicity	Year of birth	$Z_3 - Z_2$ of the onset	$Z_3 - Z_2$ of the offset	Offset minus onset
Cherokee	1912			
Cherokee	1941	4.311026	4.609244	0.298218
Cherokee	1944	4.386112	4.95114	0.565028
Cherokee	1953	5.570376	5.442978	–0.1274
Cherokee	1961	4.668943	5.11735	0.448407
Cherokee	1961	4.371532	4.925882	0.554351
Cherokee	1965	4.784745	5.292365	0.50762
Cherokee	1971	4.385303	5.148176	0.762873
Cherokee	1972	3.264523	4.014301	0.749779
Cherokee	1981	3.840095	4.472064	0.631969
European	1903	3.19086	4.967628	1.776768
European	1908	4.455288	5.173417	0.718129
European	1922	3.915625	4.902397	0.986773
European	1924			
European	1940	4.595425	5.569209	0.973784
European	1948	3.994463	5.429825	1.435362
European	1950	6.718824	7.509679	0.790856
European	1968	4.527584	5.156633	0.62905
European	1973	4.394628	4.579691	0.185063
European	1980			

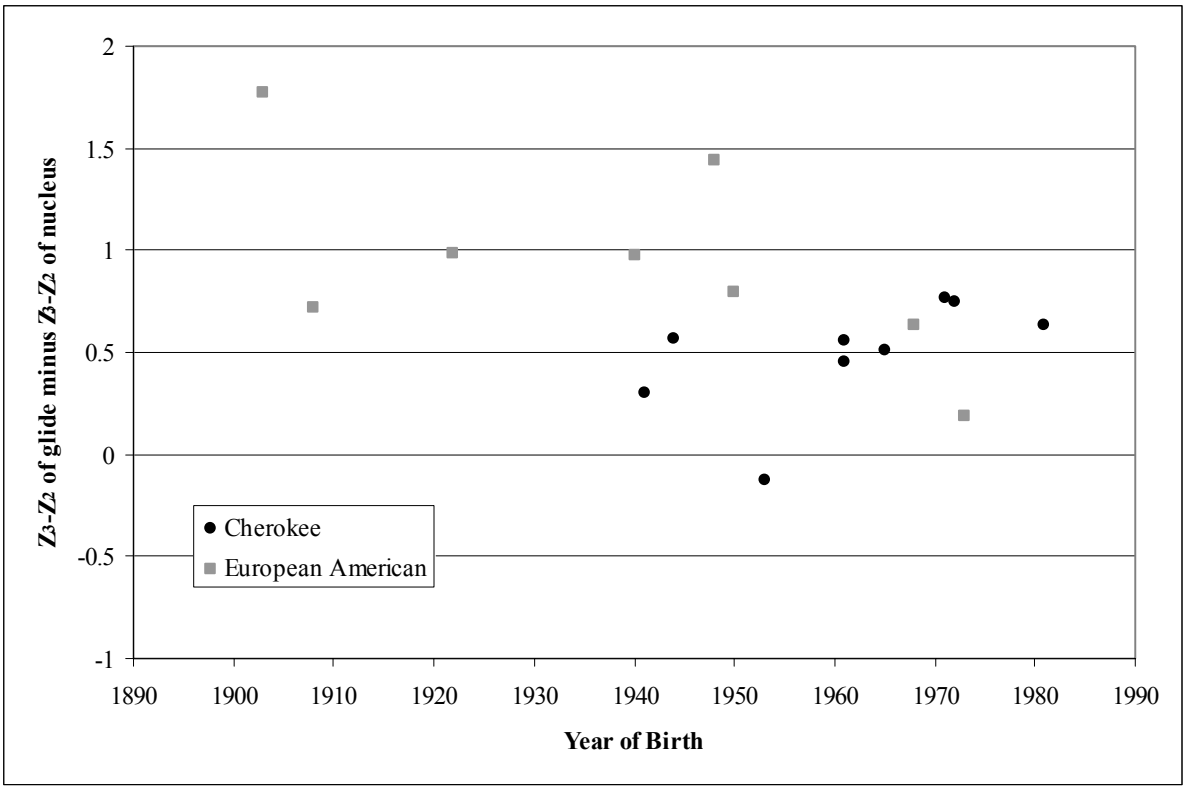

Figure 2.5: Graham County /ɔ/ Back-glide

Table 2.10 and figure 2.5 present the plot of the Graham County /ɔ/. Most of the Cherokee informants have glides between about 0.25 and 0.75; the one outlier seems to result from some problems with F_3. The Cherokee tokens are nicely lined up with little variation, very close to their non-Indian cohorts, though with somewhat less gliding overall. It is unfortunate that there are not more, older Cherokee speakers, since it appears that there is a trend among the European Americans toward less gliding. I ran a t-test (table 2.11) for the glide length of both ethnicities. My null hypothesis was that the means of the lengths would be equal. The p-value for both the one- and two-tailed test is less than 0.05, meaning that we reject the null hypothesis. There is a significant difference between the lengths of glides for the Cherokee and European American speakers. Perhaps this is because that many of the older European Americans have particularly long glides, but we do not have any older

Cherokee speakers to compare. Perhaps this is due to the observation that the Cherokee glides are a bit shorter than those of their cohorts.

Table 2.11: t-Test results for Graham County /ɔ/ back-glide

	Cherokee	**European American**
Mean	0.487872	0.936973101
Variance	0.073979	0.240987285
Observations	9	8
Pooled Variance	0.151916	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	15	
t Stat	–2.37129	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.015772	
t Critical one-tail	1.75305	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.031544	
t Critical two-tail	2.13145	

Table 2.12: Robeson County /ɔ/ back-glide

Ethnicity	**Year of birth**	**$Z_3 - Z_2$ of the onset**	**$Z_3 - Z_2$ of the offset**	**Offset minus onset**
Lumbee	1881	3.924953	5.428429	1.503476
Lumbee	1899	5.341551	6.200373	0.858822
Lumbee	1906	3.96286	5.002153	1.039293
Lumbee	1919			
Lumbee	1925	3.981578	3.992553	0.010975
Lumbee	1928	3.843751	5.421808	1.578057
Lumbee	1938	3.650037	4.703162	1.053125
Lumbee	1942	5.236524	5.919252	0.682728
Lumbee	1954	4.204913	5.034316	0.829403
Lumbee	1956	3.810259	4.461468	0.651209
Lumbee	1972	4.145548	5.236354	1.090805
Lumbee	1976	5.315412	5.371743	0.056331
Lumbee	1980			
African	1927	4.304867	4.90918	0.604313
African	1927	4.325569	5.39415	1.068581
African	1928	3.777979	4.576152	0.798173
African	1938	4.360894	5.183104	0.82221
African	1952	4.301887	4.576443	0.274557

Table 2.12 (continued)				
African	1962	4.741889	6.233996	1.492107
African	1974	5.742831	5.213678	–0.52915
African	1975	4.471489	4.115113	–0.35638
African	1979			
African	1982	3.323775	4.722415	1.39864
European	1900	4.822161	6.048536	1.226374
European	1915	3.624495	5.08931	1.464814
European	1920	5.447377	6.128058	0.680681
European	1922	3.926594	4.140405	0.21381
European	1927	5.026892	6.367018	1.340126
European	1973	4.892136	6.15284	1.260704
European	1973	5.42508	5.568337	0.143256
European	1974	4.814371	6.10939	1.295019
European	1974	3.80563	4.514761	0.709131
European	1978	3.554282	4.340743	0.786461

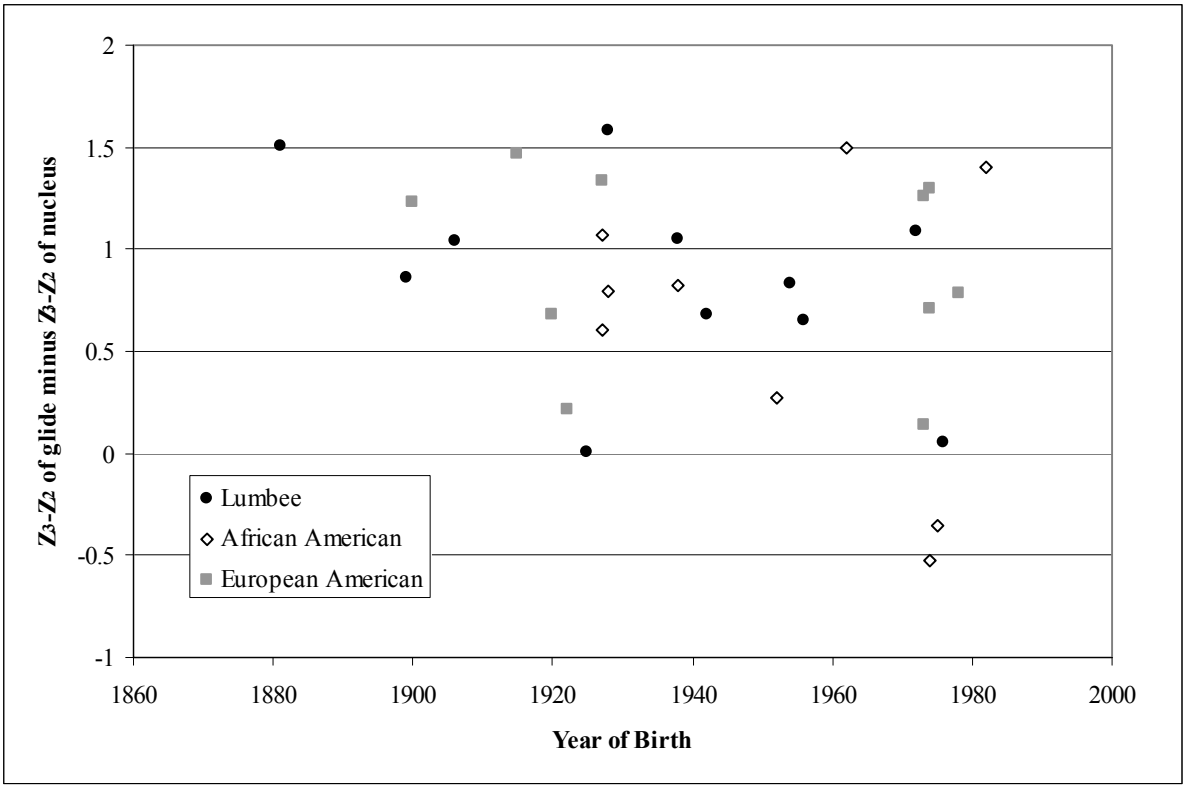

Figure 2.6: Robeson County /ɔ/ Back-glide

The Lumbee data, however, were not quite so neat. In table 2.12 and figure 2.6, the Robeson County tokens are graphed. While there are some Lumbee speakers who are

clustered in a descending line, others are almost randomly placed. There might be a general trend toward less gliding, but establishing that requires more data. Even among the youngest, where we might expect some cohesiveness, there is still a great amount of variation. Data on more speakers may give a clearer picture of just what is happening, or perhaps /ɔ/ is another case of intra-group variation. The non-Indians are similarly scattered, especially among the youngest speakers. One trend that is clear is that only African American speakers have front-gliding /ɔ/, which mirrors similar findings (Thomas, personal communication). Perhaps an in-depth, speaker-by-speaker analysis looking at a variety of other social features beyond ethnicity would shed light on some sort of pattern. Perhaps just the presence of a back-glide is enough to create two groups: those that glide back, and those that glide front. I ran an ANOVA test (table 2.13) for the length of the glide in the three ethnicities, with the null hypothesis that all means would be equal. Since the p-value is greater than 0.05, we fail to reject the null hypothesis. There is no statistical difference in the lengths of the glide in Robeson County.

Table 2.13: ANOVA results for Robeson County /ɔ/ back-glide

Source of variation	SS	df	MS	F	P-value	F crit
Between Groups	0.44748	2	0.22374	0.704645	0.503148	3.354131
Within Groups	8.573076	27	0.317521			
Total	9.020556	29				

2.2.3 /u/-Fronting

/u/-fronting is a phenomenon found in a number of American English dialects (Labov, Ash, & Boberg 2005, Fought 1999), but it is particularly characteristic of the South and has been for some time (Kurath & McDavid 1961). The /u/ data are perhaps the clearest

evidence for differential dialect change between the Cherokee and the Lumbee. The degree of fronting for these tokens is measured by looking at the $Z_3 - Z_1$ metric. A lower number on the y-axis corresponds to a more fronted /u/.

To understand the Cherokee /u/ fully, we have to look at the Cherokee language itself. I measured two speakers of Cherokee from interviews both on audiotape and videotape from Snowbird, as well as one speaker from Big Cove, a traditional community on the Qualla Boundary, and one speaker who grew up in Big Cove and moved to Snowbird. All speak Cherokee as a first language and have varying proficiencies in English. The Cherokee language has a six-vowel system, with /i/, /u/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and a nasalized schwa, as well as tones. The average $Z_3 - Z_2$ values of these /u/ tokens are represented by the dashed line in figure 2.7. The normalized values for all the Graham County speakers are presented in table 2.14 and figure 2.7.

Table 2.14: Graham County /u/

Ethnicity	Year of birth	$Z_3 - Z_2$
Cherokee	1912	3.122
Cherokee	1941	1.887
Cherokee	1944	3.391
Cherokee	1953	3.883
Cherokee	1961	1.959
Cherokee	1961	1.933
Cherokee	1965	2.787
Cherokee	1971	1.771
Cherokee	1972	
Cherokee	1981	2.485
European	1903	2.052
European	1908	2.647
European	1922	2.643
European	1924	1.744
European	1940	2.5
European	1948	2.325
European	1950	4.119
European	1968	2.26

Table 2.14 (continued)		
European	1973	1.676
European	1980	2.702

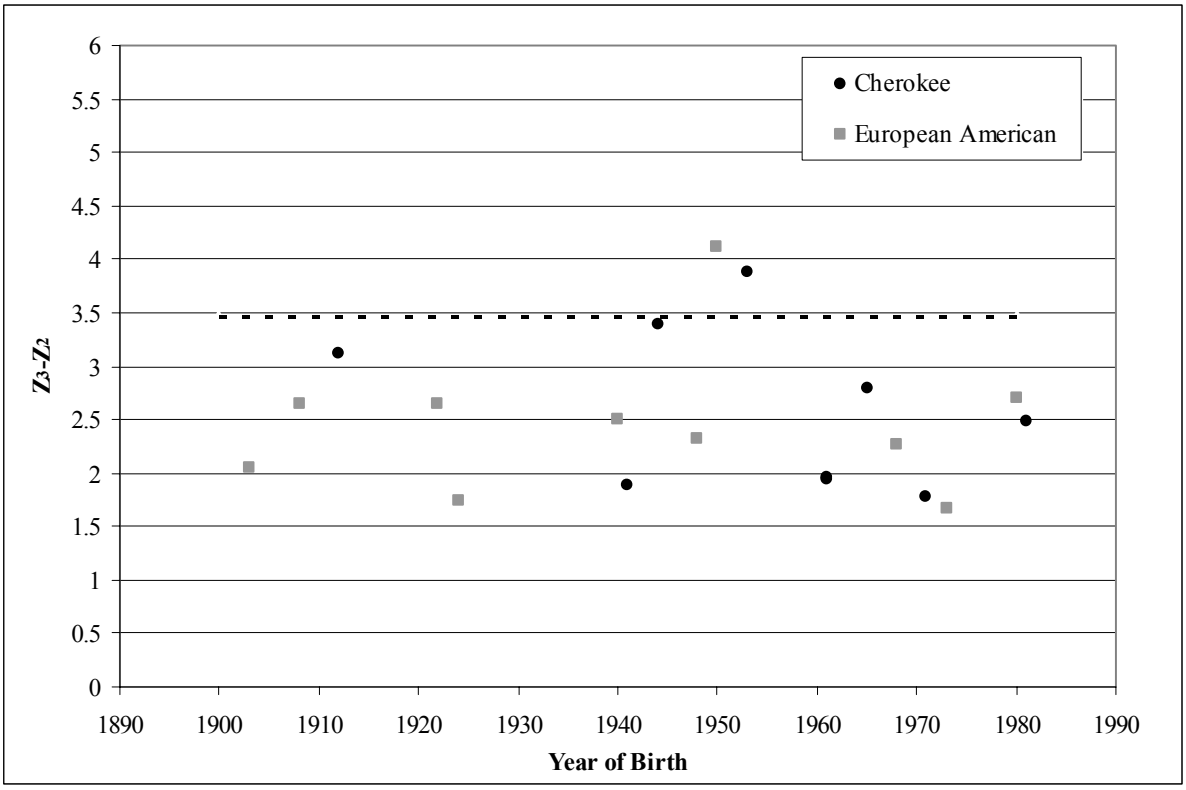

Figure 2.7: Graham County /u/

Looking at the Cherokee language /u/ that I measured, represented as the dotted line on figure 2.7, we can see that it is fairly backed. Now compare this to the Cherokee English /u/, which is clearly fronted. We can see our token European Americans' /u/ is also in a similar fronted range. The oldest Cherokee speaker is dominant in Cherokee, which would explain her backed /u/; the other speakers with backed /u/ have high F_3 values, so their normalized measurements may be flawed. The remaining speakers have clearly fronted /u/ much like the non-Indians. I ran a t-test for the Graham County /u/ data. The null hypothesis was that the means of the two ethnicities would be equal. We fail to reject this hypothesis,

since the p-value for the one-tail test is greater than 0.05. There is no significant difference between the mean values.

Table 2.15: t-Test results for Graham County /u/

	Cherokee	**European American**
Mean	2.57991228	2.466811039
Variance	0.580007967	0.470256958
Observations	9	10
Pooled Variance	0.521904491	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	17	
t Stat	0.340734654	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.368738971	
t Critical one-tail	1.739606716	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.737477942	
t Critical two-tail	2.109815559	

Because there may be a problem with the F_3 measurements for some of the speakers, I reanalyzed my data, using the F_1 measurements instead of the F_3 measurements, since the F_1 in /u/ tends to be more stable and less subject to aberrations than F_3. Thus, I subtracted the Z_1 measurements from the Z_2 measurements to obtain the data found in table 2.16 and figure 2.8.

Table 2.16: Graham County /u/, $Z_2 - Z_1$

Ethnicity	**Year of birth**	**$Z_2 - Z_1$**
Cherokee	1912	6.09919
Cherokee	1941	7.605786
Cherokee	1944	6.934627
Cherokee	1953	6.894165
Cherokee	1961	7.974641
Cherokee	1961	8.142097
Cherokee	1965	8.302958
Cherokee	1971	8.773453
Cherokee	1972	
Cherokee	1981	7.795396
European	1903	7.926616

Table 2.16 (continued)		
European	1908	8.211957
European	1922	7.186476
European	1924	7.846911
European	1940	8.396855
European	1948	8.570504
European	1950	6.429211
European	1968	7.720043
European	1973	8.697097
European	1980	7.529024

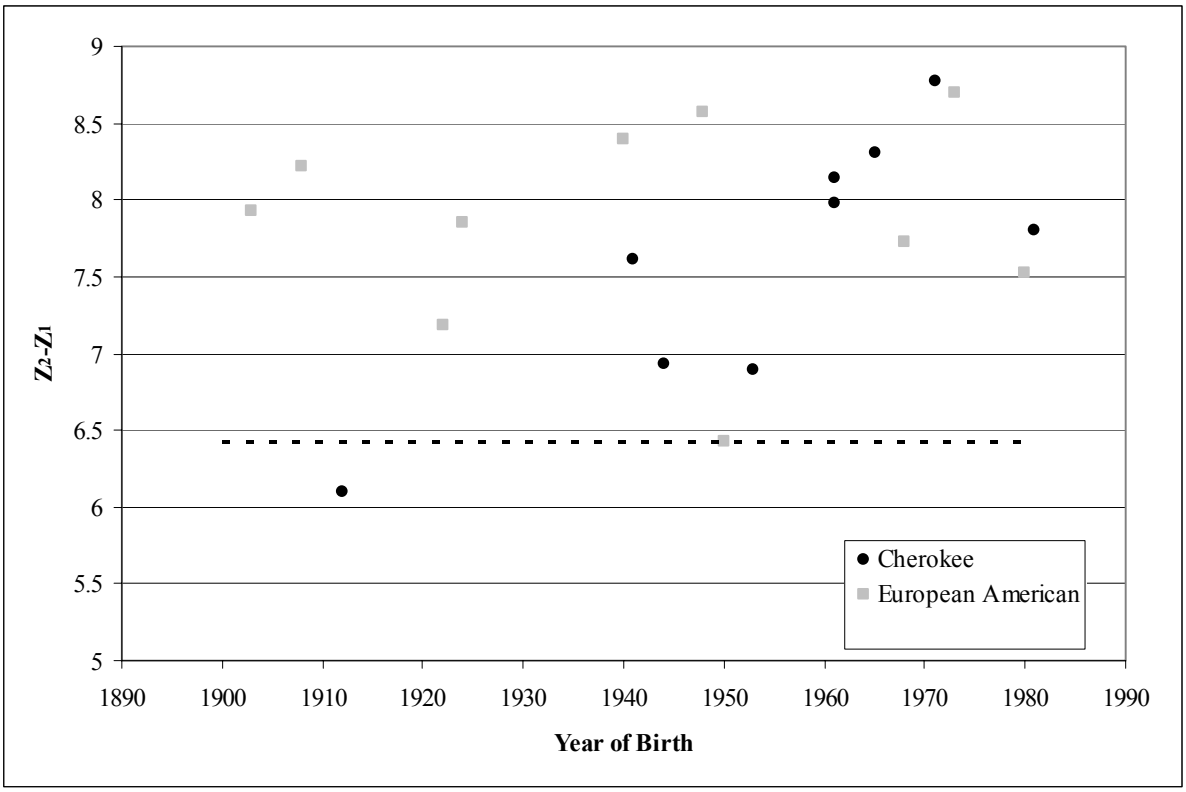

Figure 2.8: Graham County /u/, $Z_2 - Z_1$

Figure 2.8 is the reverse of figure 2.7, in that lower numbers on the y-axis refer to a more backed pronunciation. The dotted line again refers to the measurements of the Cherokee language /u/. With that in mind, a similar pattern can be seen; the same speakers with a backed /u/ in figure 2.7 have them in 2.8. The eldest Cherokee speaker has a very backed /u/. Two of the middle-aged Cherokee speakers have a backed /u/, and there seems to

be a general trend toward a more fronted /u/ for the Cherokee, while the European Americans, with one exception, have an almost uniformly fronted /u/. A t-test (table 2.17) was also run for these data, with the same null hypothesis, and again, the p-value is greater than 0.05; thus we cannot reject the null hypothesis. There is no significant difference between the mean of the $Z_2 – Z_1$ of the Cherokee and the European American speakers.

Table 2.17: t-Test results for Graham County /u/, $Z_2 – Z_1$

	Cherokee	**European American**
Mean	7.61359	7.851469
Variance	0.691909	0.472382
Observations	9	10
Pooled Variance	0.575689	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	17	
t Stat	–0.68235	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.252105	
t Critical one-tail	1.739607	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.50421	
t Critical two-tail	2.109816	

Table 2.18: Robeson County /u/

Ethnicity	**Year of birth**	**$Z_3 – Z_2$**
Lumbee	1881	4.466
Lumbee	1899	3.256
Lumbee	1906	3.121
Lumbee	1919	
Lumbee	1925	2.813
Lumbee	1928	3.367
Lumbee	1938	2.65
Lumbee	1942	2.822
Lumbee	1954	1.696
Lumbee	1956	2.109
Lumbee	1972	2.496
Lumbee	1976	2.187
Lumbee	1980	2.498
African	1927	5.303

Table 2.18 (continued)		
African	1927	3.716
African	1928	3.493
African	1938	3.599
African	1952	2.796
African	1962	3.155
African	1974	5.074
African	1975	4.329
African	1979	1.882
African	1982	3.525
European	1900	2.479
European	1915	2.178
European	1920	3.12
European	1922	2.624
European	1927	1.905
European	1973	2.616
European	1973	2.749
European	1974	3.021
European	1974	2.792
European	1978	1.956

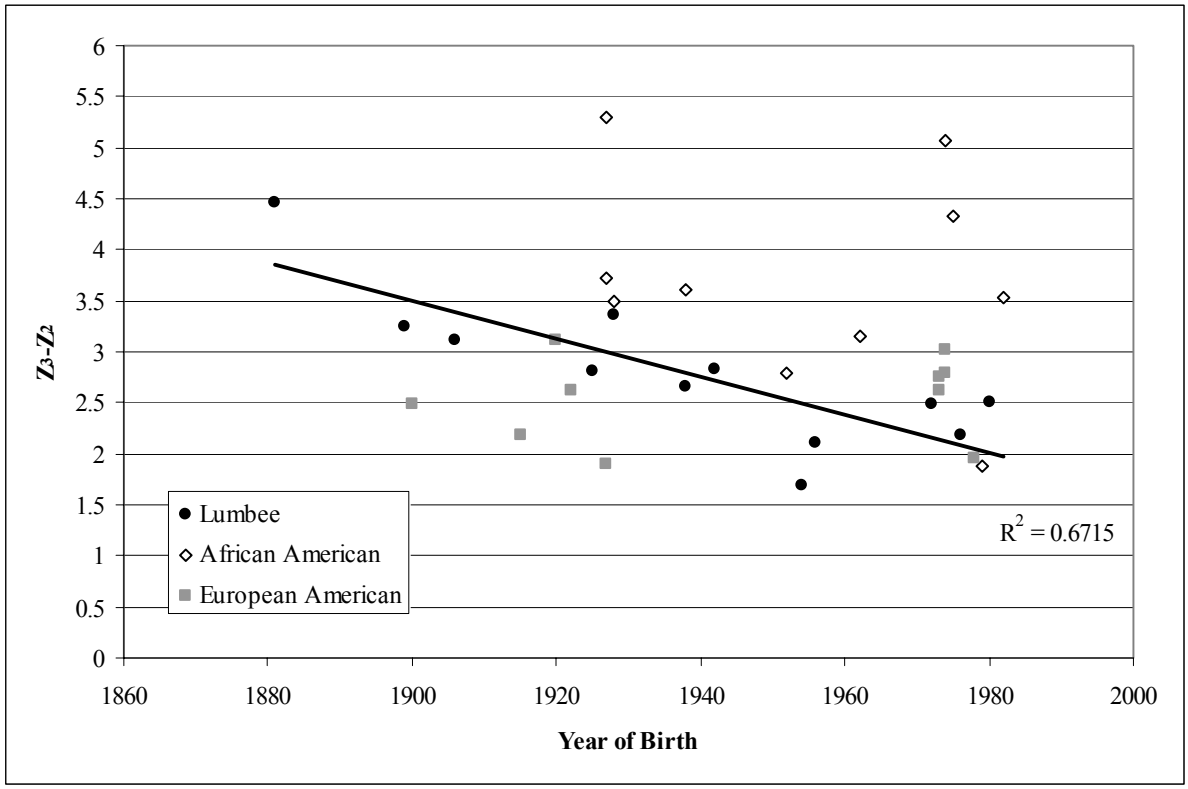

Figure 2.9: Robeson County /u/

A quite different pattern appears for the Lumbee in table 2.16 and figure 2.8. The younger Lumbee have a fronted /u/ while their older cohorts had a less fronted version. The regression line for the Lumbee has an R^2 value of 0.6715, which means that the line is a fairly good fit. I also ran a t-test of the regression line (table 2.19), with the null hypothesis being that the line is flat, i.e., that there was no change over time. The p-value is less than 0.05; thus we can reject the null hypothesis.

Table 2.19: t-Test results for Lumbee /u/ regression line

R	Standard deviation	N	Slope	P-value
–0.81947	0.43219	12	-0.0186	0.00111

The African American cohorts have a backed version, almost all with higher $Z_3 - Z_2$ values than both the Lumbee and the European Americans, whereas the European American cohorts are universally more fronted than both the Lumbee and African Americans. Why the change occurred in the Lumbee we can only speculate; perhaps this is just part of the seemingly nationwide trend toward a fronted /u/, or accommodation to the European American standard. There is always the possibility that the backed /u/ was a lingering substrate effect from whatever languages may have been spoken by the Lumbee's ancestors. In all probability, however, the backed /u/ variant is the form that was predominant in other dialects of English before the fronted variant took hold. What it definitely shows is the dynamic nature of the Lumbee dialect; though the "relic" features are often pointed out, the language used in Robeson County is hardly static. Another ANOVA test (table 2.20) was run on these data, with the null hypothesis that all three means would be equal. The p-value is less than 0.05; therefore we can reject the null hypothesis. There is a statistically significant difference among the means of the three ethnicities.

Table 2.20: ANOVA results for Robeson County /u/

Source of variation	SS	df	MS	F	P-value	F crit
Between Groups	7.329214	2	3.664607	6.399417	0.004988	3.327654
Within Groups	16.60676	29	0.572647			
Total	23.93598	31				

Chapter Three

3.1 Discussion

3.1.1 Change

From these data, we can see different trajectories of change for these two American Indian groups. With the these vowels, at least, we can see that Eastern Cherokee English has remained more or less static over the years, whereas Lumbee English has been dynamic despite its reputation as a relic-filled dialect.

For the Cherokee, the degree of back-gliding in /ɔ/ and the fronted /u/ has remained largely static. As shown in the data about the Appalachian dialects of their European American neighbors, these two variables are remarkably similar between the two groups. One would expect more substrate interference from Cherokee in the older speakers than was seen in /u/; this deficiency may be due to a dearth of older speakers. This lack of change over the past few decades could be the result of the stability both in the language situation and in the Cherokee's place in Graham County society. Though there is still a large percentage of Cherokee speakers, the movement to English began long ago, and English is now the first language for most of the younger Cherokee. The linguistic effects caused by the switch from Cherokee to English might well have dissipated, and the Cherokee have established their own version of English, most likely based on their European American cohorts' speech. The Cherokee are basically the only non-European group in Graham County. According to the 2000 census, other ethnic groups constitute less than 1% of the almost 8,000 residents.[11] The Cherokee do not need to establish who they are and where they stand in this community. The Cherokee also do not need to establish their authenticity as Native Americans, as most people

[11] The 2000 census lists 7,346 European Americans, 547 Native Americans, 15 African Americans, 13 Asians, 1 Pacific Islander, 16 Latinos, and 10 other in Graham County.

recognize that they qualify as "real Indians." From the Cherokee point of view, the Snowbird Cherokee are "traditional" as opposed to their relatives on the Qualla Boundary. They are proud of their continuing use of the Cherokee language as well as other markers of Native American identity such as crafts, song, and ceremony. The first mixed marriage in Snowbird was not until 1960 (Neely 1991). Perhaps the Cherokee themselves view themselves as "Indian enough" so that they do not need to change the way they speak to establish for themselves and assert for others that they are Indian.

The isolation of Graham County also may contribute to their status. There has been no great influx of people from other parts of the world; those who are born in Graham County tend to stay there or leave forever, or at least that is the popular perception. This lack of movement could be a contributing factor in dialect homogeneity, though that outcome is not always the case, as the Lumbee prove. There is also a clear separation of Cherokee and non-Indian, even if they do live in close proximity. In most of the interviews, the subjects describe the inhabitants of the county as *us* and *them*, and, occasionally, *us* versus *them*. A few interviewees, as mentioned before, talked about the differences in dialect, though usually they were vague in their reference of this difference. Further research will be needed to see just how the Cherokee dialect fits with the non-Indian dialect of Graham County and if this indeed is as it appears for this sample of speakers. My untested impression is that a study of intonation would greatly increase our understanding of the relationship between these two dialects of Appalachian English.

The Lumbee, on the other hand, do not have the same kind of ascribed relationship with their Robeson County neighbors. They do not fit the traditional mold of American Indian presentation. Perhaps this explains the dynamic nature of the Lumbee English vowels.

The persistent need to re-evaluate and re-stake their place in the tri-ethnic community could lead to this change over time. Their need to differentiate themselves from both their European American and African American cohorts is reflected in their language, along with a strong sense of Native American identity. Many informants remarked on the ability to hear other Lumbee, no matter where they may be in the country. In a perception experiment reported in Wolfram et al. (2002) and Hammonds (2003), it was found that, while Lumbee and other Robeson County inhabitants had little trouble differentiating among the three ethnicities based on speech samples, outsiders often mistook Lumbee for European Americans. In the Lumbee view of their ethnic place, being mistaken for European American is clearly preferable to being mistaken for African American. In this context, the progressively fronted /u/ may be interpreted as a move toward the European American standard.

However, this change may not merely be a matter of accommodation toward or preference for European American speech. Schilling-Estes (2000) presents a compelling argument about the change in /ai/ pronunciation in this respect. Her older speakers showed a great amount of heterogeneity, while the younger ones showed much more homogeneity. Schilling-Estes deduced that this may very well be due to the need to show a united front as one tribe. While in the past the Lumbee saw no problem with intra-ethnic divisions between groups of Lumbee based on religion, background, and geography, the struggle for recognition as Native Americans has diminished these divisions in order to appear as a unitary, cohesive group. Accordingly, the variation of language within the Lumbee has decreased.

We must also take into account that Robeson County changed from being a relatively isolated area of swamps to becoming part of the heavily traveled I-95 corridor. This increased mobility led not only to an influx of outsiders to Robeson County but also an efflux of Lumbee to other parts of the world. Before World War I, Lumbee often took jobs out of the county in the turpentine and lumber industries (Dial 1975), which may explain why Schilling-Estes (2000) found more heterogeneity among her oldest speakers. After the war, a new round of isolation for the Lumbee arose, only to be reversed by the integration of schools and improved transportation. All these new people and new places could potentially lead to a leveling in the Lumbee dialect as they interact with a wider group of people. The integration of the school systems also could have a similar effect. As the Native American, African American, and European American children are all now together, leveling among the dialects is to be expected. With the data presented here, it is clear that the Lumbee dialect is not merely a homogeneous relic of the way English was spoken years ago. It is a dynamic, fluid, and varying entity.

Finally, community size must be taken into account. The Lumbee number about 46,000, whereas the Snowbird Cherokee number only around 550. The Lumbee have more room for variation, and can be more self-sufficient when isolated. The Cherokee, on the other hand, are more reliant on non-Indians as well as more intimately wrapped up in non-Indian community. Yes, small isolated communities can have a lot of variety and change, but the Snowbird Cherokee are clearly a case of the opposite. The Lumbee, on the other hand, inhabit entire towns, make up 90% or more of some of the high schools in Robeson County. Even without official segregation, they have been able to proceed on their own, in their own way. The Cherokee do not have the numbers for that kind of self-sufficiency. These facts are

going to affect the trajectory of language change within the communities, and looking at the data through this lens is helpful.

3.1.2 Accommodation

The question that originally sparked this study was one of accommodation: Did these two groups accommodate to their non-Indian cohorts' speech, and if so, how did they accommodate and why? Some of this has been explored in the discussion above, but here I look a little more closely at the data to see what patterns have arisen.

Let's start with Graham County, bearing in mind the geographic and social isolation of this mountainous region. With /u/, we can see clear clustering of both Cherokee and European Americans in a fairly fronted position. This is in opposition to the Cherokee language /u/, which is backed, much like a French /u/. This is the clearest evidence in all of the data presented for accommodation to the local dialect and against a substrate effect. The eldest speaker's results and possibly one of the outliers could be the result of substrate influence, though more research on older Cherokee-fluent speakers would be necessary to tease out this effect. The other vowel, /ɔ/, is not found in the Cherokee language, so it seems natural that the Cherokee English speakers would accommodate to the local variety of English for that vowel. And, in fact, they do. They do, however, tend to produce relatively short glides; perhaps this is a result of a similar allophonic split as seen in /ai/ and /oi/ (Anderson 1999). Since there are so few tokens of word final /ɔ/ in the data, it would be hard to prove either case. This question, again, is another area for further study.

The Lumbee do not present such a clear pattern. Since they became English-dominant so long ago, and the record of their indigenous languages has been lost, their history of accommodation is going to be quite different. As has been stated before, the Lumbee were

thought to speak "Elizabethan English" (much like people in Appalachia), and many of the features that have been previously studied (including /ai/) were considered "relic" forms, throwbacks to English past. This suggests that the Lumbee accommodated to English as it was spoken locally hundreds of years ago, and while their non-Indian neighbors evolved in separate directions at separate rates, the Lumbee were more conservative, retaining these "obsolete" forms. The data presented earlier, though, paint a more complex picture, and taking into account the complex relationships in their tri-ethnic community, this should come as no surprise.

The Lumbee English /u/ presented here skirts the line between African American and European American, starting off among the most backed and ending more fronted than the European Americans, before becoming more or less equal to the European American /u/. One obvious explanation for this is that the Lumbee do not want to be mistaken for or accused of being not "real Indians" but African American, and therefore over-compensate, making their /u/ very fronted. Since the African Americans are "bucking the trend" and keeping the backed pronunciation, that leaves the Lumbee to front their /u/. Another explanation, as proposed earlier, is just that the Lumbee are following a nationwide trend. There is also the slight chance that the backed /u/ variant present in the older speakers is a substrate effect from their indigenous language(s). Robeson County /ɔ/, however, presents a bit of a conundrum. Since all three groups are so variable, difficulty arises in making any claims about accommodation or lack there of. The Lumbee vary from having no glide to having some of the strongest glides, even among the youngest speakers. Most of the speakers have some glide, since the $Z_3 - Z_2$ of the glide minus the $Z_3 - Z_2$ of the nucleus for most speakers is above 0.5. Again, though, we see the Lumbee distancing from the African American

speakers by not having front-gliding /ɔ/; however, they do not reach quite the same length of glide as many of the European Americans.

The nucleus of /ai^{o}/ is interesting because it appears that the Lumbee are moving closer to the African American average and away from the more backed variant that is closer to the European American tokens. This may also be the case for the /ai^{v}/ nucleus, especially if the youngest speaker's extremely fronted token is accurate. Overall, though, the /ai^{v}/ nucleus is well backed for the Lumbee, not quite on par with European Americans. Again, the Lumbee are skimming the line between African and European American, finding a niche that is neither/nor. For most Southerners, the pre-voiced /ai/ has a severely weakened glide, so the fact that the Lumbee produce glides that surpass many of the non-Indians, in pre-voiceless tokens as well their pre-voiced measurements, is particularly telling. This is the clearest evidence in this study of not so much accommodation but preservation, the Lumbee retaining an older variant. The /ai^{o}/ glide length is quite variable up until the youngest generation, as one would expect; the European and African Americans are also highly variable, even among the youngest speakers. The only hint of any sort of accommodation is in the three youngest Lumbee speakers, who are clustered around two European Americans and two African Americans in between 0.5 and 1. This is the only point in which all three ethnicities are so close. There are, however, other young non-Indians who have longer and shorter glides. Perhaps all three groups are accommodating to one another, ending up at a happy medium. Taking all of the vowels together, though, it does not look as if the Lumbee are accommodating at all to their non-Indian cohorts.

3.2 Conclusions

Native American identity, like any identity, is not a clear-cut dichotomy of Indian or not Indian. Especially today, when people are expected to fit into one mold, people who do not fit into those prescribed molds but claim to belong are questioned. The narrow view of what constitutes a Native American has placed considerable pressure on many tribes in the East to conform to the stereotypical notion of "Indian" in order to be taken seriously. American Indians in the East almost by definition do not fit the mold of what a Native American "is." We can see that even within one state, tribes do not take the same linguistic tactic toward constructing that identity. One of the observations Schilling-Estes (2000) made was that there is increasing pressure for the Lumbee to appear as a united, homogeneous tribe to be recognized as Indians and not as, say, African Americans or people of mixed ancestry trying to pass themselves off as Native Americans. Even the Eastern Cherokee fall prey to the pressure to conform to outside expectations. A common activity in the touristy areas near the Great Smoky Mountains National Park is "chiefing," i.e., dressing in war bonnets and fringed leather pants while hanging out around tee-pees and totem poles for tourists to take pictures (Finger 1991).

The diversity found within these two groups clearly goes against Rowicka's (2005) assertion of a pan-Indian dialect. This could be the result of many factors, not the least of which is the differing variables used in our two studies. Most likely, no sort of pan-Indian dialect will come to the East because of geographic and social isolation of these remote, rural areas. Though the Cherokee live in a more geographically isolated area, the fact that they are considered by outsiders to be "real, authentic Indians" may help in the future use of linguistic pan-Indian markers of identity. The Lumbee, on the other hand, are socially at a loss, since,

as one Lumbee woman put it, “Indians out West can’t accept us because we ain’t got feathers and beads. It really gets to me. You can’t expect anything from non-Indian society, but you’d expect Indians to empathize” (Bordewich 1996). The Lumbee are not only outsiders in their own county, but in the world of Native Americans at large.

This study started under the assumption of difference; the Lumbee and the Cherokee were expected to behave differently in the realm of change and accommodation because of their different backgrounds and current situations. This restricted study of only two tribes indicates the variety and change that can take place in isolated and marginal communities. We should take advantage of the unique opportunity afforded by these communities to understand the ethnolinguistic issues as well as the general cultural issues surrounding many American Indian communities. This thesis has shown that Native American English dialects are not necessarily homogeneous and of interest only in inter-ethnic comparisons. There is variation among and between American Indian English dialects that has yet to be studied.

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