PIECE OF THE ROCK: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY OF BLACKS IN BERMUDA

by

IYABO F. OSIAPEM

(Under the Direction of Sonja L. Lanehart)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is the collection of three articles that are the result of my experience with qualitative methodologies, descriptive linguistics, and Bermuda. There are many purposes for this research: (a) to explore aspects of the culture in which the 30 Black Bermudian participants selected for this study live; (b) to question and *trouble* sociolinguistic interview methodology, and (c) to describe Black Bermudian English (BBE) as used by the participants. In this dissertation, I explore what being Bermudian means to the 30 Black Bermudian participants by analyzing participants' answers to the primary interview question "What does it mean to be Bermudian?" using grounded theory methodology. I found that both positive and negative identities emerged in the data showing who they think they are and who they think they are not in relation to the Other, the non-Bermudian. I also *trouble* sociolinguistic data methodologies, particularly the sociolinguistic interview and call for increased examination and critique of the context of the sociolinguistic interview while offering suggestions towards that critique. Since very little research exists on the language of Black Bermudians, I also offer a descriptive analysis of language of the 30 participants by comparing and contrasting the features of BBE with other languages of the African Diaspora.

INDEX WORDS: Bermuda, Bermuda History, Bermuda Culture, Bermudian Identities, Bermudian English, Black Bermudian English, Language in the African Diaspora, Qualitative Methods, Sociolinguistic Interview, Phenomenological Interview

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This dissertation is the collection of three articles that are the result of my experience with qualitative methodologies, descriptive linguistics, and Bermuda. There are many purposes for this research: (a) to describe a component of the culture in which the 30 Black Bermudian participants selected for this study live, (b) to question and *trouble* sociolinguistic interview methodology, and (c) to describe Black Bermudian English (BBE) as used by the participants. I came to this study for a number of reasons. I wanted to explore my historical and cultural connection to Bermuda by listening to the stories of my participants and contrasting them with my own. I also wanted to extend my study of languages in the African Diaspora by describing the language of my participants. At the same time, I desired to question sociolinguistic data collection methodologies. These three goals controlled the structure of this dissertation. What follows are three articles that address different aspects of that research: (a) Being Bermudian: The Privileged Life, (b) Doing Real Sociolinguistics Differently: Phenomenology and the Sociolinguistic Interview, and (c) "An English of Their Own": Grammatical Features of Black Bermudian English.

This project began with the idea of interviewing Bermudians in order to describe their grammar. When I first started to think about how I would approach my project, I was more acquainted with studies using quantitative data collection methodologies. I was not particularly fond of quantitative analyses because I did not feel that they could adequately answer the questions I was interested in researching. To prepare myself for qualitative research, I enrolled in

an Introduction to Qualitative Research class with considerable encouragement from my major professor, Dr. Sonja Lanehart. It was during that class that I realized I was unprepared for the research I planned to conduct. I was unfamiliar, or rather unaware, of the epistemological approach that framed my research (or any research for that matter). I took several classes in qualitative research methodologies over the following two years, and they began to open my eyes to epistemological and theoretical positions that inform social research. As a result of these courses and my commitment to qualitative approaches, I have earned a Certificate in Qualitative Research. It was only after those courses that I felt prepared to embark on my own research in Bermuda. I have since learned that we can find more and say more about language development in the African Diaspora with a diversity of methods and methodologies than we have currently used to date.

Lass (1980) asks "…how do you go about practicing your discipline if you're convinced that much of the practice rests on shaky foundations?" (p. xi). I believe the answer is to question the practices of research while attempting to revise old or build new foundations. I believe some of these shaky foundations exist because researchers do not overtly express, or may not even know, how their theoretical positioning applies to their methodology. I have often asked myself, "if we all live by various theories that construct our research, but we don't overtly or consciously know what those theories are and do research anyway or study anyway, does that make us bad academicians?" No, but I think we could be better academicians. I feel that all methods of research should be continually critiqued and questioned and nothing should be accepted as *fact* or *truth* because neither exists—making everything somewhat shaky, and necessarily so.

As I constructed this research, it became obvious that I had accepted postmodernism as my macro theory and applied those thoughts to my approach to research because I wanted to

question the assumptions of sociolinguistic research and methodology. “Postmodernism therefore implies not a rejection of methods, but a questioning and doubting of all methods” (Punch, 1998, p. 145). However, postmodernism itself is not a method; it is a better described as a mood, an attitude, or a way in which to think about research (and life). I believe Richardson (2000) best describes postmodern thought as it pertains to research:

> The core of postmodernism is the doubt that any method or theory, discourse or genre, tradition or novelty, has a universal and general claim as the ‘right’ or the privileged form of authoritative knowledge. Postmodernism suspects all truth claims of masking and serving particular interests in local, cultural, and political struggles. But it does not automatically reject conventional methods of knowing and telling as false or archaic. Rather, it opens those standard methods to inquiry and introduces new methods, which are also, then, subject to critique. The postmodernist context of doubt distrusts all methods equally. No method has a privileged status. (p. 928)

It is within this framework that I construct my study. Additionally, interpretivism and informs my research. Interpretivism attempts to understand and explain our human social reality and I understand that we all interpret the world differently based on our experiences, and those experiences follow us everywhere and contribute to the ways in which we interpret life and, of course, research. The aim of sociolinguistics is interpretive since it looks at how language is used considering social constructs. Interpretivism allows for variation in research methods, analysis, and design, showing that there is no one right way to do research—just the sort of perspective sociolinguistics invites.

Subjectivities

As quoted in Bridges (2004), "uncover any dissertation and you will find an autobiography" (p. 15). The purpose of any research is to answer or explore questions we pose. We choose what to study because we want to explore a particular phenomenon. We desire somehow to understand a phenomenon, and, possibly, even explain the occurrence. However, the questions we are capable of posing—and how we attempt to answer or approach these questions—are based on who we are and how we have come to be that person.

As an African American woman with paternal roots in Bermuda, I come to the study from a unique perspective. First, although I have never considered myself completely Bermudian and BBE is not my language variety, I do strongly identify with Bermudian culture. I spent much of my youth in Bermuda during summers and other school holidays and I still try to visit the island at least twice per year (finances permitting). Even though I have never really considered Bermuda home, it is at times more *home* than anywhere else. My family lives in the same three homes they have lived in all my life, and my grandparent's home has never really changed since my first memories of it. Every time I return to Bermuda, I return to a place that is very familiar to me. At the same time, there is a lot about Bermuda I don't know, which was made painfully obvious as I conducted fieldwork and continuously got lost trying to find participants' homes (21 square miles seems small, but it's huge when you don't know where you're going). While trying to reach participants, I saw parts of the island I had never seen before, which immediately made me feel like an outsider—even more so when I had to ask for directions. There are few native Bermudians who have not seen the whole island and who don't know exactly where everything is and where everybody lives. Yet, while I was conducting fieldwork, it was clear that I was not entirely an outsider. I was familiar with most of the things my participants choose to talk about

and I could identify with many of the sentiments they expressed about Bermuda. However, the mere fact that I was doing the research at all and asking the questions I did made it obvious that I was not one of them. Being both an insider and an outsider puts me in a unique position for this study. Continually reflecting on my connection with the island helped me understand why this research was so important to me and why I felt the need to complete it. In a large way, this research helps me reaffirm my Bermudian heritage.

Dissertation Format

The University of Georgia Graduate School offers PhD students options as to the format of their dissertations, and does not limit students to the traditional 5-chapter dissertation format, proving to be more practical and flexible. For this reason, I have elected to compile a manuscript style dissertation that is the collection of a history chapter and three articles that I will submit to scholarly journals devoted to the study of linguistics and qualitative methodologies. In the following chapters, you will find a range of topics on the results of my research.

Chapter 2, "About Blacks in Bermuda," offers a brief history of the island, focusing mainly on the sociohistorical situation in early Bermuda, to help situate Chapters 3 and 5.

In Chapter 3, "Being Bermudian: The Privileged Life," I explore what being Bermudian means to my 30 participants using grounded theory analysis techniques. By examining their answers to the interview question ("What does it mean to be Bermudian?"), I was able to explore participant narratives. I found that both positive and negative identities emerged showing who they think they are and who they think they're not in relation to the Other, the non-Bermudian.

I *trouble* sociolinguistic data methodologies, particularly the sociolinguistic interview, in Chapter 4, "Doing Real Linguistics Differently," and call for increased examination and critique of the context of the sociolinguistic interview while offering suggestions towards that critique.

Chapter 5, “An English of Their Own: Features in Black Bermudian English,” presents an overview and description of the language of the 30 participants, on which very little research has been conducted. I compare and contrast the features of BBE with other languages of the African Diaspora.

This dissertation comes to a close with my final thoughts on the entire study and with suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

About Blacks in Bermuda

Bermuda is a relatively isolated archipelago[1] in the Atlantic Ocean about 565 miles southeast of North Carolina and nearly 800 miles north of the Bahamas. It is a British colony and maintains strong ties with England, the United States, and Canada. It is not a Caribbean island and, therefore, experiences subtropical weather, with threats of hurricanes from June to October. Its size is about 1/3 of Washington, DC, with an estimated population of 62,059 (Bermuda Government, 2004). Bermuda has one of the highest per capita incomes in the world with an economy based on providing financial services for international businesses and luxury vacation facilities. Although international business has increased Bermuda's success as an offshore financial center, tourism continues to be important to the Bermudian economy (Central Intelligence Agency, 2004).

Despite the abundance of travel guides on Bermuda, there is little literature on contemporary language or culture in Bermuda. Most published books are on the history of Bermuda and not as much on slavery on the island (Packwood, 1975), although the Black perspective of slavery was acknowledged only recently (Bernhard, 1999; Maxwell, 1999; Packwood, 1975, 1980; Robinson, 1980; Smith, C., 1980).

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[1] There are about 138 coral islands and inlets (Central Intelligence Agency, 2003). Some of the islands are barely pinpoints of dry land. The largest is the main island, which is 21.5 square miles (Zuill, 1999, p. 33).

Bermuda's Discovery and Settlement

Bermuda is named after the Spanish captain Juan Bermudez, reportedly the first to know of Bermuda's existence. There is, however, a legend of St. Brendan, an Irish monk, who explored the Atlantic before Bermudez and returned to tell tales of the island (Zuill, 1999), but his existence is not confirmed. Nonetheless, Bermudez discovered the uninhabited island by accident during the early part of the 16th century when his ship crashed against the coral reefs. The coral reefs that surrounded Bermuda made it difficult for ships to approach the island[2]. Bermudez and his crew, however, did not stay on the island. In 1609, the British ship the Sea Venture, whose admiral was Sir George Somers, hit the reefs of Bermuda on its way to Virginia from England (Zuill, 1999). Its crew remained in Bermuda long enough to build two ships. The ships sailed away in 1610, leaving two members of the crew behind, Christopher Carter[3] and Robin Waters.

Before Bermuda was settled, it was visited by many, including the Portuguese and French, because of the surrounding reefs on which they shipwrecked. However, none stayed for any significant period of time (except for Carter). For this, Bermuda had a reputation of being a devil's island that was enchanted with evil spirits. Carter was the only one who stayed in Bermuda for any significant period of time until the first 50 White British settlers came to the island in 1612 with Sir George Somers. Of the settlers, one was Indian and one was Black (Zuill, 1999). Three years later on June 28, 1613, the Somers Island Company, incorporated by a letters patent from the Crown (giving the company ownership of the island), became responsible for

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[2] Modern technology and a diminishing coral reef have made this easier.

[3] Carter was actually the first settler in Bermuda and remained on the island, minus one trip to England, until his death in 1624.

Bermuda (Packwood, 1975). Bermuda did not actually become a colony of the British Crown until 1684, when the Bermuda Company (formerlly the Somers Island Company) ended because of discontent about the way it was running the island (Zuill, 1999, p. 53).

Black Presence and Slavery

It was not until 1616 that Blacks arrived in Bermuda (beyond the one who arrived with Somers) after the Governor, Daniel Tucker, requested "Negroes to dive for pearls" and that they be brought from the "Savage Islands"[4] (Packwood, 1975, p. 2). Bermuda's economic stability at the time came from gold, tobacco, and fish. The settlers desired skilled laborers with knowledge of tobacco cultivation. In 1617, Captain John Powel brought skilled Blacks and Indians (the number is unknown) from the West Indies to help cultivate Bermuda's tobacco crops. These laborers were originally brought to the Island as indentured servants who, after some time, could gain their freedom. Blacks and Indians on the island were treated as indentured servants. Some Whites were indentured servants as well; however, they became indentured servants when punished for a crime. For example, in 1617, a White laborer found guilty of mutiny was sentenced to be hanged, but instead was committed to being an indentured servant until his behavior improved (Packwood, 1975).

White Bermudians soon realized that more manpower beyond indentured servitude was needed to meet the demand for labor. As a result, in 1619, 71 Blacks were seized from a Spanish ship and brought to Jamestown, Bermuda, on The Treasurer. Godet (1860) states that the Bermudian colonists refused to "purchase their Christian brethren[5], or to receive their fellow-creatures into slavery from…kidnappers" (p. 15). Therefore, the White Bermudians, to allow for

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[4] Savage Islands: West Indian and Caribbean islands.

[5] He may be talking about White people.

the purchase of slaves, deemed the "Black African [as] only half human" (p. 15) because of their lack of Christianity. Doing so allowed them to accept the Africans as slaves and they were able to justify slavery in their minds. The following year, 1620, the First Assembly made the first mention of apprentices and servants. One of several acts stated that servants and apprentices sent from England to particular individuals could not be leased or sold, but this did not apply to contracts already on the island. Blacks and Indians on the island were still treated as indentured servants. The act also stated that indentured servants who escaped or were found on other men's property would be whipped "on the naked back at the whipping post until blood appeared" (Packwood, 1980, p. 3). Indentured servants performed many of the tasks that produced economic success for Bermuda: planting, erecting fences, constructing roads, and building boats and houses (Packwood, 1975).

Bernhard (1999) notes that sometime during the 1620s, Bermuda received "'Atlantic creoles,' Africans who had developed a knowledge of trade and language skills from years of contact with Europeans in the coastal towns along Africa's west coast" (p. 23). These were Africans, who in Spanish colonies were called "White Negroes," because of their acculturated behavior and speech. These Blacks may possibly have come from the Dutch colony of New Netherland before coming to Bermuda. Bernhard speculates that these Blacks may have been multilingual because they had considerable interaction with Whites before they ever arrived on the island. Additionally, Bernhard claims that Robert Rich, who maintained the documents during Bermuda's colonization, did not mention any language barrier between the first Blacks and the White colonists, but that certainly does not mean a language barrier did not exist.

By 1622, Bermuda's population consisted of 1,200 people (Packwood, 1975). However, these numbers probably do not include slaves Black or Indian slaves—since the Governor at the

time did not want them included in the census. In 1623, the Governor instituted Act 12, the first act to apply to Blacks. The act was in response to accusations that Blacks were stealing pigs, potatoes, poultry, and fruit and carrying concealed weapons (Packwood, 1980). The act attempted to restrain the insolence of Black people and restrict their movement. Those convicted of a crime of insolence became penal slaves, which probably meant life servitude. However, this law did not apply to White indentured servants. In documentation from the 1620s, references to Blacks and Indians changed from indentured servants to life servants without the possibility of freedom. In 1645, the first reference to the selling of slaves between people living in Bermuda was reported. Three Black slaves were sold to settle a debt (Packwood, 1975).

Early Population

By 1629, there were 2,500 White people on the island and about 300-400 Black people (Packwood, 1975). Because of several unsuccessful escape attempts, on November 6, 1656, Governor Josias Forster issued a proclamation to banish all free Blacks from Bermuda to Eleuthera, Bahamas, because he feared the free Blacks would encourage slaves to revolt (Packwood, 1975; Zuill, 1999). He later declared that all slaves had to present a ticket if off their master's land after dark. Any Englishman had the right to kill a slave found without a ticket. By 1669, the new Governor, John Heydon, reported "the number of slaves had become unwieldy and threatened the existence of society as established on small individual estates (Packwood, 1975). Yet, in 1672, a Bermudian ship went to Africa to secure slaves. This is one of the only records of a ship going directly to Africa. The majority of slaves during the 17th century came from Spanish trades or were imported from the West Indies, Central America, and Africa, while many of the Indians came from New England. Also in 1672, a small ship took 125 slaves from

Callebar (on the Guinea coast) and brought half of them in Bermuda; the remainder were taken to Carolina and Virginia (Packwood, 1980).

The population increased in early Bermuda as follows: in 1670, the total population was 8,000 and 1/4 were slaves; in 1699, there were 3,615 White people and 2,247 Black people; in 1721, there were 4,850 Whites and 3,514 Blacks; and in 1727, there were 5,070 Whites and 3,877 Blacks. A table in Appendix B shows Bermuda's population from 1629-present.

Slavery in Bermuda

In 1706, in order to decrease the number of slaves brought to Bermuda, there was a 40-shilling tax placed on any slave brought to the island, but the practice of slavery was not outlawed (Smith, C., 1980). Bermuda was still securing more slave labor. By 1708, the Governor felt that Bermuda was overstocked with slaves so many were "disposed of" by being sent to America (Smith, C., 1980).

Packwood (1975) notes that slaves and Irish indentured servants on the island worked together to overthrow their masters. In 1661, there was a planned conspiracy by slaves and Irishmen. After its failure, slaves and Irishmen were prohibited from carrying weapons. The strictest law to apply to slaves in Bermuda was issued in 1674. The first time a slave was found off his master's estate, he could be whipped with a rod or whip. The second attempt to escape, he would be whipped and a piece of his ear cut off. On the third attempt, he would be branded with the letter "R" on his forehead. The law also stated that no more than three slaves not of the same family could talk and consult with each other.

Slaves were not allowed to trade and anyone, either Whites or free Blacks, found trading with slaves would have to forgo the value of the item(s). Slave owners were accountable for slaves on Sundays in order to deter interaction with free Blacks. However, this just made slaves

resolve to become free. Bermuda's slaves never accepted their status as slaves and found many opportunities to escape. However, because of Bermuda's small size and its considerable distance from other land, this was not always a success. There were several unsuccessful attempts to escape, but there is one noted success. In the mid 17th century, three young Black men escaped by boat and arrived on Long Island beach, NY. Indians supposedly rescued and befriended them. There were several attempts in the fall of 1656 to overthrow slave masters. There was another uprising in 1673 that resulted in the torture of 6 Black men, but no executions (Zuill, 1999, p. 96). There was another unsuccessful conspiracy in 1682 before the demise of the Somers Island Company.

The Somers Island Company, during its early years, allowed indentured servants to live under one roof with their family: husband, wife, and children. When Blacks became life servants, this arrangement changed and it led to the demise of the Black family unit. Slaves who were not owned by the same master were not allowed to live together. Under slavery, the Black family did not exist. When slaves owned by different people wished to marry, they had to seek the permission of both owners to determine ownership of any offspring. The marriage ceremony consisted of the two slaves jumping over a broomstick three times to relinquish ownership of whatever children resulted. The married couple often lived on separate estates and resolved to visit each other on weekends. Even with attempts to break up the Black family, according to Packwood (1975), Blassingame states that the slave "found companionship, love, sexual gratification, sympathetic understanding of his sufferings; he learned how to avoid punishment, to co-operate with other Blacks, and to maintain his self-esteem" (qtd. in Packwood, 1975, p. 6). Children provided future slaves for the slave masters and were usually taken from the mother and delivered to the new owner after the child reached a year and a day.

Packwood (1975) notes that Bermuda, during the early 19th century, received a large number of refugee Blacks from the U.S. Many came from the British occupied Chesapeake in 1814 seeking protection of the British flag. These Blacks were freed slaves and maintained their freedom in Bermuda; however, they did not have free access to the whole island. Several Blacks also came from Florida as they escaped their Spanish masters in 1816. They arrived on warships that were either captured from an enemy or were refugees from a country at war with England. These Black people were "unrecognized as Free agents" in Bermuda, but did not have to return to Florida against their will. Those who chose to return were guaranteed maltreatment by the former slave master (Packwood, 1975). In 1835, 72 Black American slaves stolen from a Virginia plantation were on a ship that arrived in Bermuda for provisions. The slaves were eventually brought into court and told that they could stay in Bermuda and be free. All but one woman and her child stayed (Zuill, 1999).

According to Zuill (1999), slavery in Bermuda was different and a milder version of plantation slavery in America and the West Indies and was probably more like the slavery practiced in West Africa where slaves learned trades or were domestic servants. However, Black and White people were obviously treated quite differently; therefore, the mildness of Bermudian slavery is untrue because slavery itself cannot be mild. Nonetheless, cotton and sugar plantations as such did not exist in Bermuda, so, although slaves were expected to "till the soil," there was no large estate to which large groups of slaves belonged. Slaves typically did "household work, mason's and carpenter's work, farm work, shipbuilding or were sent to sea in Bermuda's merchant fleet" (Zuill, 1999p. 94). Packwood (1980) debunks the myth of "mild" slavery in his account of the *Origins of Blacks in Bermuda* and states that, although Blacks in early Bermuda

were indentured servants who worked alongside White indentured servants, Bermuda is distinguished as the first country to write laws to restrain the insolence of Black people.

Zuill (1999) recounts a story that was printed by the Bermuda Anti-Slavery Society about a slave woman, Mary Prince. Mary Prince was forcibly separated from her mother and sisters and sold at an auction where she was stripped naked and inspected by potential buyers. Her new owner beat and raped her and eventually took her to the Turks Islands where she was sold and experienced even worse treatment at the hands of her next master. Her story of sale and mistreatment continued until she finally ended up in England where she found she could be free. Many who visited Bermuda during the time of slavery commented on the seemingly "mild" treatment of slaves. Harriett Suzette Lloyd, a British visitor to Bermuda in the 1800s, offered such comments as presented in Zuill (1999):

> …in these islands slavery wears the mildest aspect of which that pitiable condition is susceptible. The character of the Bermudians is kind and humane, and their slaves enjoy many secular advantages of which the poor in our own country are frequently destitute…Still, however…the coloured inhabitants of Bermuda are bondsmen, and have long suffered the heaviest ills of bondage, a political incapacity to receive equal justice, and a spiritual privation of religious instruction and happiness. (qtd. in Zuill, 1999).

There is also a report of 12 Bermudian seamen, who were slaves, aboard a vessel that went to Belfast, Northern Ireland. Once there, the slaves found they could be free. All but one decided to return to Bermuda to be with friends and family and to a life of servitude. This suggests that the life they wanted to return to must not have been so terrible (Zuill, 1999). But, despite whatever mild treatment Bermudian slaves were subjected to, they were still slaves and their lives were not

their own. Nonetheless, slaves in Bermuda did have different experiences than their counterparts in the US and the Caribbean.

Education of Slaves

In the early history of Bermuda, slaves were not educated. But, unlike America, it was legal to educate slaves although Robinson (1980) states, "to instruct slaves to read, even if only in order to Christianize them, was to threaten the status quo" (p. 38). By 1633, several efforts were made to open free schools, but Blacks did not attend. Between 1633 and 1655, two schools opened. One school closed in 1643 and the other closed in 1655. By the close of the Somers Island Company in 1684, there were four schools opened and one on the way. However, these schools were not for slaves. Efforts to educate slaves centered on introducing them to Christianity. Robinson (1980) believes that because of the efforts at Christianization, many slaves eventually learned to read. In fact, in 1649, John Stowe Marshall purchased a slave named Ellicke and promised to raise him "in the fears of God and to readinge [sic], as far as the understanding of the Bible" (qtd. in Robinson, 1980, p. 37). There were individual slaves who did learn to read, but there was no directed program for teaching slaves. Official education for Blacks did not began until 1775 when the first day schools were opened. However, there is some documentation of slaves in the mid 1700s who were taught to read by their masters or mistresses.

During the late 18th century and early 19th century, several people from England arrived with specific charges to teach Black people. Most of these people were missionaries who sought to convert the slaves to Christianity. In 1808, the Methodist Rev. John Stephenson started to teach some of the Black people in Hamilton and commented that "the objection that they (Blacks) have no capacities, is both foolish and untrue; for, how can we tell unless we make the trial?…A Black will learn to read nearly as soon as a White, has an excellent memory…" (qtd. in

Robinson, 1980, p. 39). Robinson points out that Stephenson successfully taught several Black people to read including a woman and her 70-year-old husband. There were nine Methodist schools for Blacks and on the island even though Stephenson left the island in 1812. These schools had 16 Black teachers, 184 free Black persons, and 283 slaves. In 1811, the Anglicans opened a day school for Black students and began to instruct Blacks on primarily religious topics (Robinson, 1980).

There were several other efforts to teach Black people before Emancipation. The Bishop Aubrey Spencer promoted education for both poor Black and White people and eventually a school was named after him. The Ladies' Society for the Promoting the early Education of Negro Children and Bishop Spencer opened a day school for Blacks in 1829 that initially enrolled 40 children. A visitor to the island, also a friend of the Bishop's, commented that she was impressed with the students "considering how much these children had to unlearn, how totally different everything they saw and heard[6] was from their former habits [and she was] really astonished at the progress they have made in a single month" (qtd. in Robinson, 1980, p. 40). She also comments on the performance of the students and that: "…[they] were wholly unprepared for what [they] witnessed. Children who could hardly stand alone, repeating, with good pronunciation, lessons of an easy and useful nature" (qtd. in Robinson, 1980, p. 40).

Black people were also instrumental in the education of slaves and freed persons. Maria Tucker, a Black woman, conducted one of the day schools for Blacks provided by Bishop Spencer and the Ladies' Society for Promoting the Early Education of Negro Children. Sally Socco, a Black man, ran a Sunday School in Harris Bay. Somerset also had a Black teacher. His

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[6] This may be an indication to the different speech the slaves had—specifically her reference to "how totally different everything they…heard was from their former habits…" (qtd. in Robinson, 1980, p. 40).

name was Tankard and he taught Sunday School as well. In 1837, the Chief Justice suggested that the White population was morally obligated to teach the children of former slaves, but it wasn't until 1839 that the government took on the responsibility of educating both Black and White children (Zuill, 1999). It was not until 1965 that the government withdrew support for racially segregated schools and desegregation began (Zuill, 1999). Black Bermudians pride themselves on having a long history of education, which is still highly valued today, as evidenced by comments from my participants.

Abolition of Slavery

In 1807, the British government abolished the slave trade for all of its colonies. Emancipation did not come to Bermuda until August 1833 via the House of Parliament in England, but Bermuda was not notified until January of 1834. On that day, 4000 people became free (Packwood, 1975; Zuill, 1999). Most Whites did not resist, although many were nervous that Blacks would riot on Emancipation day—but that never happened. Unlike other islands and the US, the "general feeling was that Bermuda's slaves were better prepared to accept the responsibilities of freedom than other West Indian Islands," as reported by the *Royal Gazette*[7] (Packwood, 1975). In many British colonies, when the slaves were freed, they had to work or apprentice with their former owners for a period of time before they were granted full freedom. The Bermuda Parliament, however, rejected this idea and granted slaves immediate freedom. However, the right to vote had previously been based on the ownership of 30 pounds worth of land, but was increased to 60 obviously to "keep white people in power" (Zuill, 1999). The government compensated slave owners for the loss of slaves. Emancipation day has been

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[7] A Bermudian newspaper still in print.

remembered yearly by the annual Cup Match cricket game between Somerset and St. George's and there is a ceremony on the square in St. George's to celebrate the freeing of the slaves.

Representation in Government

Blacks began to have representation in government during the late 19th century. In 1883, Mr. William Henry Thomas Joell was elected as a Member of the Colonial Parliament (Zuill, 1999). Black representation continued to increase and in 1953, Dr. Edgar Fitzgerald Gordon, after several unsuccessful attempts, was elected as a Member of Parliament along with eight other Black men. This was the largest Black representation of the 36 members that Bermuda had experienced at the time.

However, Bermuda still had a segregated society. On June 15, 1959, a group of youths, who remained anonymous, attempted to desegregate the movie theaters and by July 2, the movie theaters were desegregated. This also led to the desegregation of hotels and restaurants. Additionally, companies that had previously only hired White people began to hire Black people for positions as well. However, it was not until 1961 that a bill to prevent restaurants from discriminating against people because of their race or color was passed (Zuill, 1999). The fight for the right to vote ended in 1963 when it became law that every person over the age of 25 had the right to vote. Because of this, Black Bermudians have continued their representation in Bermuda government as evidenced by the fact that the last several Premiers have been Black.

Portuguese Immigration

Since its discovery, Bermuda remained pretty much a country of two cultures—Black and White, but, in 1849, 48 Portuguese immigrants came to Bermuda to answer the need for agricultural demands. Bermuda's government encouraged the migration of people from the Azores to fill jobs that Bermudians were not willing to do. The Portuguese continued to

immigrate to Bermuda well into the last century (Zuill, 1999). It is not clear how many Portuguese immigrated to Bermuda, but as of the 2000 census, there were 1,750 Bermudians who were born in the Azores (Bermuda Government, 2004).

Armies and Bases

During the War of 1812, Bermuda was used as a base by the British army, from where they attacked Washington, DC. Bermuda's strategic location soon became important to the US during the US Civil War. As a result, it hosted many steamships avoiding the Federal blockades that were transporting supplies and goods between the Confederacy, Britain, and Europe. After the Civil War ended, Bermuda became interested in fort building since the British Army and Navy were stationed there (Zuill, 1999). However, Bermuda remained quiet and out of the realm of world affairs until 1917 when the US declared war on Germany and set up a naval base on the island. However, the US gave up the base at the end of the war (Zuill, 1999). American bases returned in 1940 for WWII after the US president Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of Britain, agreed that the US should acquire a 99-year lease for bases in Bermuda and Newfoundland (Zuill, 1999). The American base was built on parts of St. David's Island, all of Cooper's Island, and Long Bird Island. Because of the airfield the US built, many Bermudians were forced to move from their homes because of the American base and relocate to Texas, Bermuda. Bermudians eventually went to work at the American base at a lower pay rate than the US paid their own citizens. This eventually led to the development of Bermuda trade unions to protect worker's rights (Zuill, 1999). Because of this, there is a large negative sentiment towards Americans[8]. However, Zuill (1999) states that:

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[8] This specific topic came up in a number of the interviews with older Bermudians where they expressed an extreme dislike for Americans.

> Despite problems, many people prospered through this work, saved their money, and helped lay the groundwork for the prospering island of the second half of the 20th century…[T]he depressed wartime economy changed radically. Goods and services were at a premium, and it was generally felt that Bermuda came out of the war richer than it went into it. (, p. 177-8)

By 1995, all outside military forces (US, Canadian, and British) left Bermuda (Zuill, 1999). Although the cultural (and linguistic) implications of the presence of the foreign bases are still questionable, Bermuda has today become one of the richest islands in the world (Central Intelligence Agency, 2004).

Tourism and Business

Bermuda is largely a tourist destination. This began in 1833, when Bermuda became a tourist hotspot after Princess Louise, the daughter of the British Queen Victoria, spent the winter on the island. Because of its proximity to the US and Canada, Bermuda became the ideal place for tourism because of its mild weather and its ease of access by boat. Subsequently, Bermuda experienced an increase in tourism. In 1950, there were 61,611 tourists who visited the island, in 1971, 412,947 people visited; and in 1988 there were 637,314 visitors—the ultimate peak in tourism. Since the 1988 peak, tourism has been on a decline. In 1994, only 590,000 people visited (Zuill, 1999). After the advent of air travel people ventured to warmer climates in the Caribbean that had been harder to reach by boat, which led to the decline of tourism in Bermuda (Zuill, 1999).

Current Bermuda

Bermuda's main source of income now is from offshore businesses. These companies are locally called "exempt companies" because they are not allowed to trade within the island, are

exempt from Bermuda regulations, and pay low direct taxes. In1985, income from exempt companies was only 30% of all economic activity, but by 1994, the Bermuda Monetary Authority estimated that tourism produced $383 million US for the island while exempt companies brought in $401 million US (Zuill, 1999).

As of the 2000 census, Bermuda's population consisted of 37,056 Blacks (included in this count are Bermudians who identify as Black, biracial Black and White, and biracial Black and other) and 25,003 Whites (including Asian and other races not stated) totaling a population of 62,059. Of this population, 44,290 people are Bermuda born, indicating that a large portion of the population (17,675) is not native and coming from places like the UK, US, Canada, various islands of the Caribbean, the Azores/Portugal, and other parts of Europe (Bermuda Government, 2004). Although tourism was affected by the events of September 11, 2001, more Exempt Companies have continued to invest in Bermuda. Bermuda now enjoys one of the highest per capita incomes in the world, equal to that of the US (Central Intelligence Agency, 2004).

CHAPTER 3

On Being a Black Bermudian: The Privileged Life[9]

My father is from Bermuda and my mother is from the States. Although I was born in New York, I have spent my whole life living between the two countries. Until I was 18, I spent summer and Christmas vacations in Bermuda with my father's side of the family, returning to the States for school. My first memories of school are of a Bermudian kindergarten class. My grandmother was principal of the school, and although I never officially attended, I used to visit the class when school was in session and I was in Bermuda. My school in New York got out for summer break a few weeks before schools in Bermuda, so there was always some overlap in time. My granny used to take me to school with her some times, which is probably how I ended up in that kindergarten class. I never lived in Bermuda and I did all my schooling in the States. Now I visit Bermuda two to three times a year to visit family and enjoy the beaches. It seems that I have the best of both worlds: urban convenience and an island getaway. At an intersection of the two cultures, I have never considered myself totally Bermudian or felt completely American either, unwilling to identify or *dis*identify with either.

And this is where my research begins.[10] All researchers come to their studies with certain assumptions about their topic; I came to my study with preconceived notions of what it means to

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[9] Osiapem, I. F. To be submitted to *Qualitative Inquiry*

[10] I collected this data in order to do a descriptive linguistic study of Black Bermudian English for my dissertation research. As I began to conceptualize the linguistic analysis of the study, I kept asking myself, what do I mean when I say Black Bermudian and how does that apply to Black Bermudian English?—much like Mufwene (2001) asks

be a Black[11] Bermudian because I have been struggling with and exploring these ideas my whole life, leading me to the study presented here. Without realizing it at first, I began this study long before I became a researcher, therefore, making it partly autobiographical. I have struggled with the duality of being partly Bermudian, partly American, exploring my dual identities whenever possible.

I present myself as both an insider and outsider in this study; however, it was not until after I collected the data for this study and began the analysis that I realized it is "a process of internal search through which one discovers the nature and meaning of experience and develops methods and procedures for further investigation and analysis" (Moustakas, 1990, p. 9). It is through writing about this research that I explore and understand myself and "experience [my] growing self-awareness and self-knowledge" (p. 9) and value my own self-experience. Writing is my method of inquiry (Richardson, 2000) into my personal journey of what it means to be a Black Bermudian. And although "the 'worded world' never accurately, precisely, completely captures the studied world" (p. 923), it is only through writing and thinking about my participants and their descriptions of themselves, the island, and others, that I discover the experiences of others.

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about African American English. I was not able to answer the question, and that's really where this study really begins. I decided to analyze a selection of interviews presented here to help me answer the question that kept coming up: What does it mean to be a Black Bermudian?

[11] My use of the identity marker 'Black' is not a necessarily a racial marker, which itself is a social construction, but rather a sociohistorical one identifying people who share ethnicity and a social and cultural heritage to which the participants self-identify (Helms, 1993).

In this study, I explore what it means to be a Black Bermudian by analyzing interviews I conducted with 30 Black Bermudians during 2003 and 2004 along with considering my own life experiences. Since this has been a heuristic process that "challenges me to rely on my own resources, and to gather within myself the full scope of my observations, thoughts, feelings, senses, and intuitions" (Moustakas, 1990, p. 13), I have remained ever present and ever changing throughout the research process.

Methodology

Because of the lack of knowledge about culture and life in current Bermuda, this study cannot be informed by already existing ideas about what it means to be Bermudian. I have the privilege of starting the process of filling the huge gap of undocumented knowledge. Therefore,

> I begin the heuristic journey with something that has called to me from within my life experience, something to which I have associations and fleeting awareness but whose nature is largely unknown. In such an odyssey, I know little of this territory through which I must travel. But one thing is certain, the mystery summons me and lures me 'to let go of the known and swim in an unknown current.'" (Moustakas, 1990, p. 13, p. 13)

But, how do you begin to describe a community of people, a culture? Geertz (2000) says that culture, although "ideational, does not exist in someone's head," and he questions whether "culture is patterned conduct or a frame of mind" (p. 10). Therefore, in this study I plan to explore their frames of minds and interpret what the participants tell me about the culture and their lives while exploring my own thoughts and ideas about what it means to be a Black Bermudian. Interpreting culture will never be an exact science, obviously, and Fay (1996) insists that "social science is a fraud" (p. 11)—or has the potential to be, largely because of positionality

and consciousness—being carried out by people who live in a world in which they are quite different from each other.

One of the things my training in qualitative research has helped me to understand is that differences in the worlds in which we live mean there are multiple ways to interpret data; this is my interpretation. Wolf (1992) also says that anthropologists[12] are seemingly charged with representing culture and "getting it right" (p. 3), but all we can really do is listen to as many voices as we can, including our own, and allow those voices to tell a story. I am allowing my participants to tell me what it means to be Bermudian and, as I listen and interpret their stories, I am incorporating my own story into my analysis.

Methods

For this qualitative study, I conducted 30 phenomenological interviews with Black Bermudians who have never lived outside of Bermuda for any significant period[13]. Each interview lasted for approximately one hour and covered topics about life and culture in Bermuda. I selected participants using snowball-sampling and interviewed them at a place of their choosing. I used grounded theory coding techniques and analyzed the interviews producing theory grounded in the data.

Participant Selection

I purposely selected participants for interviews who were lifelong residents of Bermuda and who self-identified as Black. Participants were from different social classes, but I purposely

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[12]I don't claim to be an anthropologist…yet.

[13] Most participants never lived outside of Bermuda at all. One participant was born in the US and returned with his Bermudian parents when he was three. One participant spent 9 months in New York during his youth. Another participant spent about three months in England during his youth.

selected participants based on race/ethnicity, sex, and age. I interviewed an equal number of men and women. I sought participants who had never lived outside of Bermuda for more than a year. Fifteen women and fifteen men agreed to participate—totaling 30 participants. I will introduce participants as they tell their stories, but pin profiles of participants are available in Appendix C: Meet the Participants. A table showing participants' demographic data is available in Appendix D: Participant Demographics.

Using a snowball sampling technique, I found the first participants through my family and friends in Bermuda. I found subsequent participants by asking interviewees to refer me to other people who also met my research needs. Since the data presented here is part of a larger study (a linguistic study) and I had collected much of the data before I decided to do this study, I did not use typical grounded theory theoretical sampling or theoretical saturation. Instead, I sought participants who fit the requirements for the linguistic analysis, which were race, sex, age, and not having lived outside of Bermuda for any significant period of time.

Data Collection

Some researchers believe that an interview is like a conversation, but it is more like a "pseudo-conversation" (Oakley, 1981). To be a successful interview, it must have the warmth and comfort of a personal exchange, but under the guidelines of an interview:

> The motif of successful interviewing is "be friendly but not too friendly." For the contradiction at the heart of the textbook paradigm is that interviewing necessitates the manipulation of interviewees as objects of study/sources of data, but this can only be achieved via a certain amount of humane treatment. (Briggs, 1986, p. 33)

I wanted to encourage participants to talk freely, but I did not want to manipulate participants. I felt a loosely-structured phenomenological interview would make this possible since "in this

approach interviewers use, primarily, open-ended questions. Their major task is to build upon and explore their participants' responses to these questions. The goal is to have the participant reconstruct his or her experience within the topic under study" (Seidman, 1998). I had one main question—"What does it mean to be Bermudian?"[14]—and I followed it up with open-ended exploratory questions as needed to continue the flow of the narrative. There were no typical exploratory questions used across interviews since every interview was different. I used exploratory questions when I heard the participant speak about something on which I wanted more information. I encouraged participants to explore areas by asking open-ended questions that did not presume the answer and allowed participants more opportunity for in-depth descriptions.

During each interview, I took notes on issues and topics discussed so I could return and ask participants to explore them further later. Although I did not use an interview schedule in this study, I started by asking participants to tell me about themselves. After some background information was presented, I asked participants "What does it mean to be Bermudian?" However, in some cases, I did not ask the main question until halfway through the interview (when there was a lull in the conversation) because the participants talked freely about themselves. Sometimes I did not need to ask the main question because, at some point in the interview, the participant addressed the main question before I asked. Because I told each participant I was interested in culture and life in Bermuda, they each gave me information to answer my research question.

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[14] In the first six interviews conducted, I asked participants "What was it like growing up in Bermuda." However, after several interviews, I found that I kept getting similar, short answers: "It was fun," "It was great," etc. After the first six interviews, I modified the question to, "What does it mean to be Bermudian."

In addition to general phenomenological interviewing methods, I was also informed by Seidman's (1998) three-level listening for interviewers which suggests: (a) listening to what participants have to say while concentrating on the substance of what they say to make sure it is understood and as detailed as the interviewer needs it to be; (b) making sure to listen for the inner, not the outer, public voice of participants; (c) and finally, being sensitive to the participants' energy level and non-verbal cues. This type of active listening requires concentration and focus beyond what we usually do in everyday life. It requires that, for a good part of the time, we squash our normal instinct to talk. At the same time, interviewers must be ready to say something when participants need a "navigational nudge."

Although I found it difficult to do to all three levels at every moment during an interview, being aware of these active listening skills helped during the interview process. I was able to focus on what the participants were saying, which allowed me to form follow-up questions. When I wanted to know more about something participants said or when I needed clarification, I asked. At times, unfortunately, there were silences. But I tolerated the silence, as Seidman (1998) suggests, and I tried not to become impatient. I tried to recognize the difference between silence because participants were thinking and silence because participants did not have anything else to say. Although uncomfortable at times, participants usually filled the silence and continued telling their stories. At other times, once the silence had extended beyond a point of comfort, I asked an exploratory question.

Interviews ended in various ways and there was no uniform conclusion of an interview. If the interview went over an hour, I reminded participants that our time was up, but that they could continue talking if they wished. Various things like a telephone call, another appointment, or the end of a lunch hour interrupted some interviews and brought them to a close. The one-hour

format was a general guideline—some ran over an hour and some under. Exact time of interviews is available in Appendix E: Participant Interview Length. I tried to keep to the one-hour timeframe because I did not want to monopolize participants' time. Also, when I asked for their participation, I told them the whole process would take about an hour.

Data Analysis

As mentioned earlier, because this study is part of a larger linguistic study, the research question presented here did not emerge until after I had collected and transcribed some of the data. However, the question had been on my mind for some time. From my personal deliberation over the focus of this study, the guiding question became, "What does it mean to be a Black Bermudian?," which was the main interview question in 24 of the 30 interviews[15]. I explored their statements about their identities, keeping in mind that "…person based identities that people hold, each constitute a set of meanings and expectations that function as a standard or stable reference defining who one is" (Burke, 2003, p. 4) and that anything a person says can reveal something about his or her identities (McCall, 2003). I started the analysis process by trying to determine what I was "hearing" in terms of how participants identified themselves while I read the transcripts. However,

> …the "reality" of interviews is…ambiguous, relative, and unknowable…Some of what occurs in an interview is verbal. Some is nonverbal. Some occurs only within the mind of each participant (interviewer or interviewee), but it may affect the entire interview…Indeed, the 'wild profusion; that occurs moment to moment in an interview is…ultimately indeterminable and indescribable. (Scheurich, 1995, p. 244)

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[15] In the other six interviews, I asked the participants, "What was it like growing up in `Bermuda?"

As Scheurich states above, it is difficult to identify and to describe talk during interviews. Although meaning in an interview may be indeterminate, there is the potential for order in the written representation. Scheurich continues to describe the process of interpretation and analysis of an interview by saying that after the interview and during analysis, "the researcher…fills this indeterminate openness with her or his interpretive baggage; imposes names, categories, constructions, conceptual schemes, theories upon the unknowable; and believes that the indeterminate is now located, constructed, known. Order has been created" (p. 249).

In my attempt to organize and analyze the data, I used a grounded theory inductive approach that "…is durable because it accounts for variation; it is flexible because researchers can modify their emerging or established analyses as conditions change or further data are gathered" (Charmaz, 2000, p. 511),[16] and it allows the researcher to locate units of data deemed meaningful. Using the constant comparative method requires the researcher to compare categories as they emerge from the data and continue to develop those categories that share conceptual relationships and reduce them. From these relationships, there is a core category developed to which all subsequent categories connect. I analyzed all 30 interviews and developed categories that connected the interviews in this way. I included selections from the participants whose interview data best represented the overall categories.

The grounded theory analysis process helps researchers develop theory grounded in the data that are *fluid* "because they emphasize temporality and process…they call for exploration of each new situation to see *if* they fit, *how* they might fit, and how they *might not* fit" (Strauss &

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[16] Unlike typical grounded studies that begin coding early in the data collection process, which directs future data gathering (theoretical sampling), I did not decide to use a grounded theory approach until I completed half of the interviews; hence, I used theoretical sampling with the last 15 interviews.

Corbin, 1999, p. 81). I used a rigorous coding process for grounded theory analyses as described by Strauss and Corbin (1999), Charmaz (2000), and Brott and Myers (2002): open coding, axial coding, and selective coding.

During the coding process, I used memo writing (Charmaz, 2000), which is a process of writing about the codes before the completed analysis:

> Through memo writing, we elaborate processes, assumptions, and actions that are subsumed under our codes. Memo writing leads us to explore our codes; we expand upon the processes they identify or suggest. Thus our codes take on substance as well as a structure for sorting data…Memo writing aids us in linking analytic interpretation with empirical reality. We bring raw data right into our memos so that we maintain those connections and examine them differently. (p. 517)

I found memo writing, which was more like free writing about the codes, helped me to understand the codes that emerged more thoroughly. It was through the memo writing process that I began to connect and collapse codes I created during the open and axial coding processes that directed the selective coding process, in turn resulting in the theories I present here.

Trustworthiness and Authenticity

Despite the use of rigorous methods, the crisis of representation (Marcus & Fischer, 1999) still questions the researcher's ability to adequately describe social reality—if a description is even possible. Although one might never be able to address all issues, researchers can consider a number of approaches that will contribute to the trustworthiness and authenticity of a study: (a) the extent of the engagement of the research; (b) the need for the study; (c) the consistency of results; (d) rigor in data collection and analysis; (e) the use of triangulation; and (f) the awareness of researcher's subjectivities (Merriam, 2002a).

Although the research for this particular study officially began in the summer of 2003, I have been doing this research my whole life. I bring much of myself to this research and I have attempted to make myself aware of the biases and assumptions—my subjectivities—I bring to this research.

Researcher Biases and Assumptions

I wanted to find out what it means to be a Black Bermudian from a native Black Bermudian perspective because, although I think I have an understanding of Black life and culture in Bermuda, I will always be an outsider due to my American heritage. Everyone who knows my dual status still considers me more American than Bermudian for a number of reasons: first, other than the short time spent in kindergarten, my schooling has been exclusively in the states, except for one year of undergraduate study in Japan. I was motivated to do the larger linguistic study because of my connection and disconnection with the community. My subjectivities, however, may make me more aware of things that might have gone unnoticed to someone not familiar with Bermuda. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) suggest that "reflecting on the experiences that make me the sum of who I am, my subjectivities manifest insights into what I want to discover and tempers my suspicions to see what would normally go undetected" (p. 105). But, like St. Pierre (1997) asked in her study of older women in her hometown, "I wonder sometimes whether I am writing my way into a catastrophe. How can I presume to interpret and represent the lives of these women? Who am I to do this work?" (p. 405). Like St. Pierre, my interest in this research is not innocent; my subjectivities are too numerous to count, most of which are beyond my conscious awareness.

> …an odd thing about consciousness is that you are the only one who actually has your consciousness; only you experience what you feel or see what you see. You may tell

> others what you feel or see (or believe or desire), but you have to use words to describe your mental states, and how do you know that you mean the same thing as others when they use the same words? (Fay, 1996, p. 10)

By acknowledging and being conscious of my subjectivities, it brings them to the forefront of my research and makes me aware that I can never be objective. I cannot transcend my location at any time and I must acknowledge it before I continue with the research (Alcoff, 1991).

Peshkin (1988) suggests that "subjectivity operates during the entire research process" (p. 17) and it cannot be ignored; instead, researchers need to recognize their subjectivities and not only work those subjectivities into the study since they cannot be removed, but also disclose them to their readers. When is a researcher aware she has engaged subjectivities? Peshkin (1988) tells of how he identified his during his research process:

> I looked for the warm and cool spots, the emergence of positive and negative feelings, the experiences I wanted more of or wanted to avoid, and when I felt moved to act in roles beyond those necessary to fulfill my research needs. In short, I felt that to identify my subjectivity, I had to monitor myself to sense how I was feeling. When I felt that my feelings were aroused, and, thus...my subjectivity had been evoked. (p. 18)

He does not say whether he identified his subjectivities before or after the interview process; I, however, identified many of my subjectivities while I was transcribing the interviews and even more during the analysis of the transcripts. While I listened to interviews and read along with the transcriptions, I wrote down the warm and cool spots that I felt at the moment I had them. I cannot promise that these were the same warm and cool moments I experienced during the actual interview, but I did acknowledge them before the analysis of the data. I found the cool spots were when participants saw me more as an outsider than an insider. I felt the warm spots when

participants acknowledged my Bermudian status, or when the participant talked about something I could directly relate to because I saw Bermudians similarly or had experienced the same thing.

It seems as if I was researching myself, or at least part of myself—the conflicted part. As the interviews suggest, one is not truly Bermudian unless she is raised exclusively in Bermuda. Therefore, my two selves, the American and Bermudian, were in constant conflict during the process. Chaudhry (1997) comments on her positionality during her study of Pakistani Muslim emigrants to the US, a community to which she belonged. She says she "is still plagued with contradictory emotions and conflicting loyalties" (p. 443), which is how I felt at times during interviews and throughout the research process, especially when I found an inner desire to defend either country against criticism from the participants. As I was interviewing the participants, I often felt like an outsider, someone who needed explanation of the details of Bermudian life, maybe because I was asking a question that I needed them to answer for me. Indeed, that is what this research seems to be about: if I say I am Bermudian, what exactly do I mean? What exactly do they mean? While I was transcribing, analyzing, and writing about the study, I felt more like a Bermudian insider, someone who understands what it means to be Bermudian, maybe because, although I needed participants to help answer my question, I somehow know the answer myself. Maybe it was because as I listened to the interviews for a second, third, fourth, etc., time while transcribing and analyzing the data, I had internalized the participants' experiences and they became my own.

Findings

The findings for this study reflect not only how the participants identify themselves as Black Bermudians, but also how I see them and myself. From the participants' narratives, both positive and negative identities emerged showing who they think they are and who they think

they're not in relation to the Other, the non-Bermudian, while negotiating the Me and the Not me (McCall, 2003). There were several categories that emerged during the analysis process, but during the selective coding process, one core category seemed obvious: Bermudians live a privileged life compared to many. The idea of privilege spoke to me because the participants seemed to confirm what I have always thought about Black Bermudians. Four interrelated categories emerged from the analysis: Black Bermudians: (a) have a privileged life, but have to struggle for it; (b) are arrogant and competitive; c) are internationally experienced; and (d) share a community spirit.

A Privileged Life

The participants in this study often spoke of the privileged lives Bermudians lead, and about the struggles necessary to maintain their lifestyles. The categories presented here show they have the ability and the resources to travel extensively; they live on one of the most beautiful islands in the world, by their description as well as being named Condé Nast Traveler's 2004 number one Caribbean/Atlantic Island destination. Bermuda also has one of the highest per capita incomes in the world, equal to the US (Central Intelligence Agency, 2004). They have a community-like spirit where everyone is connected. Though participants described Bermudians as being privileged, they also described them as being competitive and arrogant because of these things.

The struggle.

Despite Sandy's statement that "on the whole Bermudians are well kept people," the privileged lifestyle is not easy to obtain. Bermudians struggle in a number of ways. Thea, a 38-year-old single mother of one, told me: "Everybody's just trying to make ends meet. I mean, you got to have two, three jobs to pay rent here. You know the average rent for a one bedroom is

$1700…It's hard to find somewhere to live here." In June 2003, the average cost of a home was $976,000 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2004). Mark made similar comments. He believes that "you got to work three jobs and all. You either got to be a criminal or you got to break your back to survive," despite the fact that he comes from "a privileged background."

Marsha, in her sixties and a homeowner, discussed the difficulties she faced when buying her home. She said that at the time when she bought her house, about 45 years ago, banks were not known for giving loans to Black people. She had to have her White employer guarantee the loan for her, which he did almost reluctantly. However, as a result, she was able to plan financially: "I needed to establish myself to make sure that I had the funds to educate my son, which was a very big accomplishment." Because of her struggle, she was able to send her son abroad to attend school. Her son lives the privileged life.

Nettie, a young graphic artist, pointed out that Black Bermudians have to struggle significantly more than non-Blacks and non-Bermudians. She stated that "With the influx of foreign people…they [Blacks] can't compete or, they don't have a fair shot" in the job market. Nettie also mentioned that although it appears that racism does not exist in Bermuda, it does. She finds that some White people in Bermuda are:

> condescending and they look down on [Black] people. I mean, just today I was walking… I had my backpack…every time I approach someone I always put it in front of me. And I'm used to gentlemen walking side-by-side. And they like refused to go into single file. Like they kept walking towards me like, you know, two abreast, like "Hello, move out the way, I'm waiting for you."…It's not like big obvious things….I don't get called names or whatever. But there is underlying racial friction.

She continued talking about issues of race and employment in Bermuda and commented that, although there is no obvious policy in hiring practices, she has found that "certain rules apply to people of one race…[and not] another." In fact, she finds that these rules apply favorably to White British expatriates. Although Black Bermudians see their privilege, they also see their struggle through an underlying racist society.

Thea has similar comments about racism and the Black struggle. She commented on the struggle to own a home or to find a place to live. In her interview, she talked about how it was relatively easier for White Bermudians to buy homes than Black Bermudians because White Bermudians "start with something" before going out on their own, while Black Bermudians have to struggle in life to reach these same goals. Additionally, Thea stated that, "If you're Bermudian, and you don't work in [an] exempt company[17], it's hard to find somewhere to live here." As a result, according to Thea, there is an obvious divide between the two races in Bermuda, which she summarizes as "those who have and those that don't have." But, despite the obvious economic and racial divisions, Thea thinks that "those that had to struggle…appreciate things more."

Marsha, who experienced the struggle for equality in Bermuda, said that although she experienced many hardships, which she preferred not to elaborate on, "[she has] not allowed [herself] to become bitter" and only allows herself to think positively.[18] She spoke of a number

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[17] Bermuda has become a successful offshore financial center where many international business exist in order to avoid taxation in their home country—they are called "Exempt Companies" in Bermuda because they are tax exempt.

[18] I would like to pursue the silence in Marsha's narrative at a later date, because she was silent about many race-related issues in Bermuda.

of hardships through which she had to struggle. She was a single mother by choice and never talked about her child's father. She said that being a single mother "in those days" was more difficult than now because of the negative attitudes, which she did not want to elaborate on. But, despite her struggles, she successfully educated her son at a university in the States where he is now a tenured professor.

Nelson, who is 70 years old, spoke of his personal struggles maintaining his life in Bermuda. Nelson is one of the few participants who talked openly about the race struggle during the 1960s in Bermuda using specific examples. Nelson told me a story of how he was imprisoned for 10 months in the 1960s for participating in a race-related strike at a Bermuda electric company. According to Nelson, he was falsely accused for assaulting an off-duty police officer. He was released because of lack of evidence. He believes he was imprisoned because, at the time, he was a well-known cricket player who participated in the strike and, therefore, was made an example of. He was active in the Bermuda Civil Rights movement and remains active today. However, he believes that "today…ain't no more fight" because Bermudians "are spoiled people" and "don't know hard times," or at least hard times are not in recent memory.

Sean, a 64-year-old retired insurance salesman, echoed Nelson's comments. Sean told the story of Tucker's Town, a town in Bermuda that in the early 1900s was owned by a number of Black Bermudians. However, after the stock market crash of the 1920s, the Bermudian government forcibly bought the land at record low prices and forced the Black residents off the land and then gave it to hotel developers. Even despite the obvious racism, by the time Sean was a young man, he remembers that "you wouldn't take any crap from White people." But now, according to Sean, one of the struggles the Blacks in Bermuda face is the number of Black males

in prison, which Sean believes is largely because of the breakdown in the Black Bermudian family.

Lamar, a 41-year-old construction worker, talked about his struggle with racism in a government-sponsored boy's home as a youth. White World War II veterans ran the boy's home where Lamar spent his early teenage years because he was orphaned. Lamar's struggle was with "Christianity, the system, and White men. And you quickly learned how to approach the three…we saw the system as racist. Didn't like us, we didn't like them and we had this inherent thing to want to be a martyr or militant. You know, we were going to stand firmly; we weren't going to break. That was our way of rebelling."

All of the participants here had stories of some obstacle they had to overcome and talked of how they struggled to do it. Participants talked about how they were lucky to live in Bermuda. Although life at times seemed hard, that the struggle was worth it. For example, Lamar talked about how he struggled his whole life as a result of being orphaned, but from that struggle he learned to value life and its opportunities. At the time of the interview, he had just bought his own home that, according to participants and my own experience, is an achievement.

Privilege to Travel

Despite the hardships, part of the privileged life, even if they insist they lived modest ones, is the ability to travel. Although most participants talked about the inability to buy a home, and most of them did not own their homes, many still traveled abroad extensively and usually more than twice per year. Traveling abroad seems to allow the participants to see their privileged existences more clearly when they can compare their lives to others outside of Bermuda. Mark notes that "you can make good money in Bermuda" and that is why Bermudians can travel so often. Marsha travels to visit her son yearly and did not have much to say about the States.

Doddy and her husband, who passed away prior to the interview, traveled abroad twice every year after they married. She continues to travel frequently, yet she insists she is a "plain simple person" who lives a "quiet life. Nothing exciting." But she has had the opportunity to travel extensively throughout Europe, the Caribbean, and North America in addition to taking several cruises, including an Alaskan cruise.

Thea has traveled extensively for pleasure to places like Italy, Trinidad, Barbados (and other islands in the Caribbean) individually and on cruises. She has also been to numerous places in North America as well as Europe. She's been to "Atlanta fifty million times," so she says. Thea talked considerably about the real estate situation in Bermuda as compared to other islands. In her discussion of her trip to St. Kitts, she mentions that, unlike Bermuda, there are a number of shacks and poorly built homes, and they are not limited to a particular part of the island in St. Kitts. "You'll see [a] house like how you see in Bermuda, but then next to it you'll see a shack." She also talked about how there are more poor people, at least visibly, in St. Kitts than Bermuda. "I had my daughter with me, and people [were] just walking the streets with just their underwear on, no shoes, their hair not combed. And my daughter [asked]…'Mommy, how come he doesn't have any clothes on? Mommy, how come his hair's not combed? Mommy, how come he don't have any shoes on?'" It seems that both Thea and her daughter were not used to seeing such poverty-stricken people on a regular basis in Bermuda. Although there are low-income communities in Bermuda, it seems they are not as extensive as what Thea saw in St. Kitts.

Nettie believes that Bermudians, in comparison to people on other islands, have a more comfortable lifestyle. When telling me about her trip to Jamaica, she said that people seemed to be poorer than Bermudians, "but no less happy." Bermudians are also privileged because of the relatively low crime rate, according to Nettie. While in Jamaica, she noticed that "everything is

barred…it scared me…but it's necessary, cause one night somebody actually came and asked for money. And then all of a sudden the bars seemed inadequate."

Mark, a 35-year-old construction worker has traveled the States and to Antigua and believes that Bermudian "youth are spoiled cause it's a lot of work out [here] now" compared to other islands. Nelson, who has traveled extensively in Africa on at least nine separate occasions, believes that Bermudians are some of the most privileged people in the world especially compared to people in parts of Africa. "To know that that we've got so much here and they have nothing. And here we don't appreciate what we're getting."

So despite Bermudians working hard and having to hold several jobs in order to live in Bermuda (according to Thea), they are still able to travel extensively and live a privileged life compared to people on other islands by working extra jobs and saving money. Sandy believes that Bermudians travel so frequently because of the smallness of the island and the feeling of confinement. Every participant in this study talked about numerous traveling experiences, but many of these same participants did not describe themselves as wealthy or rich. Thea, for example, described herself as "not poor. But I'm not rich either…I have enough money not to be considered as I'm in dire need of government assistance, but I'm not the higher-up to go out and buy my own piece of property." So it seems Thea believes she has average income—not rich, not poor—yet still privileged compared to the people she's seen in other places, such as her description of people in St. Kitts. Thea believes Bermudians, some Bermudians, "are really blessed."

Arrogance and Competitiveness

All participants talked about how competitive Bermudians are. Thea stated "everybody wants what everybody's getting." Her friends tell her she has to be more culturally involved because

they are. She also feels that many parents in Bermuda push their children to be competitive. "You're…competing.…You just gotta have after school activities, gotta do a second language, gotta do a music, and….people will actually go out and get loans here just [to] make sure their children [are]…getting the best." Mark talked about the excessive competitiveness among his friends and family who want "to get what everybody else got" and how, at times, that makes them do things they wouldn't normally do.

Nettie believes "competitiveness is good in a sense, [be]cause it helps you to achieve better things." At the same time, she thinks that:

> It's not so good if you throw things constantly in other people's faces…You [should] want…to achieve something for yourself. You set that goal, you go after it, that's fine. But I don't think it's good to throw it in other people's faces. And a lot of people do that [here].

So, although Bermudians use their competitiveness to achieve greater goals, Nettie believes it sometimes borders on becoming arrogant. Nettie talked about the difference between confidence and arrogance when describing the values she planned to instill in her future children: "Confidence is when you are sure of yourself, but you don't put down the next person. Arrogance is when…you're very sure of yourself and you're going to [let] the next person know who you are." I asked her if there was a lot of that in Bermuda. She responded with a resounding, "Oh yes!" At the same time, however, Nettie displayed some of her own arrogance is illustrated in her response to my question about the difference between Americans and Bermudians. She said, "We [Bermudians] [are] more conservative and more sophisticated [than Americans]." Marsha said that "being a Bermudian…is one of the, in my opinion…one of the nicest gifts that…your parents can do for you." She continued talking about her belief that Bermudians are

more cultured than people on other islands because of the still existing British rule. Doddy reminisced about her youth and told me that "years ago, you know, it was a thing as, I'd suppose you'd call it class things…some people thought they were better than the others." However, she believes that today, although some people might think still this way, the majority of Bermudians don't.

Community Spirit

All participants talked about the community and family atmosphere in Bermuda. Nettie said that while she was growing up in Bermuda, "it felt like a family, a community type of vibe all the time….I really felt safe…and everybody knew you….We were always raised to take care of each other" and "it was like everybody raised everybody's children." Additionally, Thea talked about the community spirit when she was growing up. "If Mrs. Jones down the road said that you were misbehaving, Mrs. Jones could give you licks. And then your mommie come home and your mommie's gonna give you licks too." Thea talked about her grandmother and how she created a community environment. Her grandmother

> …was a big person, very thick person, and anybody that was skinny, their parents didn't feed them enough food. That was my granny's philosophy. If you're skinny, your granny didn't give you enough food, you come here you're going to sit down, you're going to eat, she's going to feed every child in the neighborhood. That was just my grandmother's way.

All participants talked about growing up on an island where everybody knew you. And although that has changed some, according to the participants, Thea said that "[we're] accustomed [to] seeing people, they speak to you, and you're having [a] conversation and you ain't gotta know that person's name from Adam." That seems to be the Bermudian way,

particularly the old way. Thea continued, "…the older Bermudians, they speak to everybody…on the street. They sit up and talk to you about everything and everything."

Sean talked extensively about his youth and the community in which he lived: "If you misbehaved in public, it would not be unusual for some adult to correct you either verbally and/or physically. And you hope like hell that your mother and father wouldn't find out…because they lick you [then] they'd find out afterwards what it was about!…And that's the environment we grew up in. People really looked out and cared for you. Whether it was your child or somebody else's." He also talked about how in his youth, the community would come together to help neighbors build houses by pooling their skills.

Marsha said that the Bermuda in which she was raised was more communal than it is now: "Years ago…people were…so…trustworthy and friendly and helpful and honest." She works at a gallery on a main street where she can watch people through the window. She said that she often witnesses young girls inappropriately dressed: "I am overwhelmed with today's look, with all the stomachs out….I see them more naked than dressed." Marsha said that if this was the old Bermuda, she would have gone to talk to those girls and insist that they wear something more fitting for Bermudian girls with such "fine backgrounds."

Even though the participants talk about the communal spirit in Bermuda having changed, they still gave plenty of examples of living in an existing communal environment. Thea talked about how supportive her friends and family are: "I think the reason I'm able to do it this way [be a single parent] cause I have a lot of support from my family and my friends." They support her in many ways. "Whenever I say, 'Look, I need five minutes. Can you take Charlotte [her daughter]?, I just need five minutes.' They take her."

Marsha, being considerably older than the other participants, said that the Bermudians she remembers when growing up were "friendly and helpful and honest and …everybody planted their own ground, everybody that I knew, planted their own grounds, you know the fruits and vegetables" and shared their harvests with the community.

Discussion

The participants seem to have a dichotomous attitude about what it means to be Bermudian. One common thread running through all of the categories was that Black Bermudans have a good life despite the many complaints they shared, largely because they feel they live on a beautiful island. I found that, although participants talked about this good life—a privileged life—there was always a 'but' involved. Therefore, the substantive theory that emerged is that being a Black Bermudian means having to struggle in various ways to maintain a privileged life. This struggle presents itself in many ways: struggling to earn a 'decent' income, struggling against a racist system, and struggling with each other. Being Bermudian means having a community spirit, but at the same time being competitive and seemingly narcissistic. It seems that Bermudians live in a contradictory world—but who doesn't?

As they talked about their travels to other islands, a constant, reoccurring theme was the comparison of lifestyles in Bermuda to everywhere else. Participants talked about how 'rich' Bermuda was compared to other islands that had more visible poverty. I have often had the same thoughts as I traveled to other islands and compared lifestyles with those in Bermuda. Bermuda has a relatively low unemployment rate (less than 5%,) while other islands like Barbados, the Bahamas, and the Virgin Islands all experience an unemployment rate over 9%. Other countries, like the US, have a 6.2% unemployment rate. Also, property values are higher in Bermuda than many other islands. The average cost of a home in Bermuda was $976,00 in June of 2003

(Central Intelligence Agency, 2003). According to my participants, the average Bermudian has difficulty owning property and usually cannot buy a home without serious struggle. As there is little undeveloped land[19] in Bermuda, the costs of land and houses are high. Many Bermudians will never own their own home largely because few are available to buy and those that are exceed what most people can pay. Many Bermudians will only own homes they inherit because of this. Moreover, the participants clearly recognized a difference between Bermuda and the islands of the Caribbean during their international travels, by not only location (Bermuda is 500 miles from North Carolina in the Atlantic Ocean, whereas the Caribbean is considerably farther), but also by standards of living. So, in this way, Bermudians are "truly blessed" because of their higher standard of living.

The participants believe Bermudians are also privileged because of the closeness of the community on the island. They talked about experiencing the feeling of being part of a larger whole and having a feeling of security, even if this feeling has diminished over time. This may be because Bermuda is only 21 square miles with a population of 64,935 as of July 2004 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2003). A feeling of closeness is inevitable. Thea in particular mentioned that being 'confined' on such a small island has to result in a closeness of the population. All participants talked about feeling safe on the island compared to other places—another instance of

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[19] EarthTrends (2003) reports that there are 87 protected areas in Bermuda totaling 9.6% of Bermuda's land area. The CIA (2004) reports that 55% of Bermuda is developed and 45% is open space (much of which is privately owned). The Bermuda National Trust (2004) reports that Section 34 of the Planning Act of 1974 protects privately owned land from future development, which is arranged through the landowner and the government. The homeowner is allowed to develop one portion of the land, but the majority is protected under Section 34.

privilege. Marsha, Nelson, and Sean, however, were clear that this community spirit was more intense when they were growing up and they find that spirit to be on the decline.

The participants believe Bermudians also feel the need to compete with each other. Most of them, at some time during the interview, talked about the pressure in Bermuda to keep up with others—be it financially or socially. Even though they all talked of the close feelings Bermudians share with each other, they all commented on the need to do better than others.

The participants talked about privilege in comparison to other countries—the Caribbean islands, the US, Canada, etc. It might be because of this privileged lives belief that some of the participants described Bermudians as being arrogant. Marsha in particular talked about and displayed considerable confidence and arrogance because of her Bermudian heritage—that of more "cultured" people. From my personal experiences, Black Bermudians believe that Bermuda is better than many other places in the world because of the "high" culture in the Black community. Marsha talked about high culture in terms of the British history of the island and the fact that Black Bermudian slaves were treated "better" than slaves on other islands, which have provided "fine backgrounds" for the Black Bermudians of today. This was the popular belief when slaves in Bermuda were freed as well. Marsha seems to think this somehow makes Black Bermudians more cultured than Black people from Jamaica and Barbados because Bermuda has the "benefit" of a continued British presence. For some of my participants, being a Black Bermudian means coming from a "better" and "richer" island.

This belief seems to indicate that many of my participants find pride in being a British colony. Bermuda remains a British colony, while and other islands like Barbados and Jamaica have gained their independence in 1966 and 1962 respectively. History has shown that Bermudians are content with being a colonized island. In 1994, there was talk of gaining

independence from Britain and a Commission of Enquiry looked into the possibility. However, the referendum failed in 1995 because the general consensus was that gaining independence would hinder Bermuda's economy because taxes would have to be increased and the wealth of the country would decrease (Zuill, 1999). The continued connection to the British Crown seems to shed light on the identities of my participants.

The participants also confirm what I have always known about Bermudians: they travel frequently, and this is often in competition with their friends. Having the bragging rights to what vacations or time shares you have is something I have always noticed among my friends and family. Additionally, Bermudians seem to look negatively upon people who do not, or cannot, travel. It is socially undesirable to be in Bermuda for long periods of time. In fact, you're seen as being unfortunate or just plain crazy. I have a friend who for 8 years never left Bermuda. All of my friends and family thought there was something wrong with her because they are not accustomed to people not traveling. There is actually a term for staying on the island for too long. It is called having "Rock Fever" (the Rock is a nickname for Bermuda used by Bermudians), which is "the psychological problem resulting from being on the island for too long at a stretch (i.e., more than 10 months)" (Smith, P. A. & Barrit, 1999).

While working on this study, I learned more about how Black Bermudians think about themselves and how I think about Bermudians and being Bermudian. As Lanehart (2002) comments on her study of literacy in her family, "I know some could say that I am too close to the subject to see it objectively. They might be right if there were such a thing as objectivity. Who we are and how we come to be influences how we do what we do and why we see what we think we see" (p. 10-11). The results of this study played right into my subjectivities: I too think Bermuda is one of the best places on earth not only because of my connection to the island, but

because of its beauty. As I was growing up, my friends, who did not get to spend their summers in Bermuda, constantly reminded me that I was one of the luckiest people because I could spend my summers on Bermuda's pink beaches playing in the crystal clear water. It is the best place to me and I have endless childhood memories of my time there.

I have not yet asked myself, at least directly, what it means to be Bermudian—or at least I didn't interview myself. I attempted to ask that question of the data. I tried not to ask, or rather, answer this question based solely on my own opinions, but obviously that is impossible. I think I have always known what it means to be Bermudian even though I cannot claim that I have experienced the same things that my participants have—I have never lived there for any extended period of time. What I think it means to be Bermudian must have something to do with the data I selected and presented here, which somehow has to represent how I, too, see Bermuda. Was I only able to "see" the things I already believed? Was my exploration of the data controlled by my many biases? For me, despite my dual status, or maybe because of my dual status, being Bermudian is an extreme source of pride—sometimes interpreted as luck. In fact, as I began on this study, my friends and colleagues reminded me many times that I was incredibly *lucky* to be able to do my dissertation research in Bermuda. How often do researchers get to interview participants in the morning and spend the afternoon writing field notes on beautiful pink sand beaches?

But now that this project is over, or at least for this write-up, I have had to return to my original question: what *does* it mean to be Bermudian, but more so, what does being Bermudian mean to *me*? It means a lot of things as I have constructed my many identities over my lifetime. After doing this research, I feel more Bermudian than when I began; but at the same time, I still feel very much like an outsider. I know a lot more about Bermuda because I have allowed my

participants to fill-in the gaps of my Bermudian identity by telling me what it means to them. I was able to identify with my participants a lot when they talked about doing things that Bermudians do because I have done those things—often. Maybe it's because at times I identified with my participants as they were telling their stories, but at other times I felt distant, especially when they talked about little towns that can't be found anywhere on a map (I still have to ask my aunts for directions when I go places I have never been—and, despite the small size of the island, I still have not been to a lot of places). I have experienced many of the feelings my participants described to me—things like the privileged life Black Bermudians lead, which is made more obvious whenever they leave the island; the shock at how much it costs to buy a home on the island and the realization that I will most likely not be able to do that; the sense of community spirit; and the comfort of knowing everybody, or at least who their family is. I have come to accept that I will never be completely Bermudian for many reasons. I don't have the accent or the school memories and I do not live there. But I'll never really be a tourist either. Locals expect me to know some of the customs and participate in the culture.

As I make my way around Bermuda during my future visits, I will run across the many people I know, and even more of the ones I don't, and offer the obligatory "good afternoon" or "good morning," showing that I understand the community spirit and that I'm being respectful of the traditions. But I'm still not completely one of them. Nonetheless, throughout the entire study, I was unable, and unwilling, to separate myself from the participants and the analysis. I, too, feel privileged being Bermudian—and American—showing my many identities. My participants only confirmed what I believed about Bermuda and being a Black Bermudian all along—it is something you feel, you believe, you just live. Being Bermudian is a way of life and a state of mind. I am privileged to be a part of it.

CHAPTER 4

Doing Sociolinguistics Differently: Phenomenology and the Sociolinguistic Interview[20]

What informs decision-making in sociolinguistic research methodology is based on what sociolinguists prefer and what they privilege as knowledge, all of which is dependent upon fundamental assumptions of sociolinguistic research. What are the ways of knowing for sociolinguistic researchers and how do sociolinguists apply this knowledge to sociolinguistic research methodology? This is a difficult question to answer because sociolinguistic knowledge is not shared by all sociolinguistic researchers and researchers often have different notions about what informs sociolinguistic research. Sociolinguists often base their approaches to research on "…incompatible assumptions as to the nature of the world, the nature of knowledge, the nature of society, the nature of 'scientific' enquiry, the role of linguists, and so forth" (Figueroa, 1994, p. 17). The theoretical[21] paradigm that structures sociolinguistic research methodology at a basic level varies from sociolinguist to sociolinguist or is often unknown. In her book *Sociolinguistic Metatheory*, Figeuroa (1994) suggests that it is fundamental to consider methodological metatheory (how we attempt to evaluate theory) because it makes researchers more capable of seeing and valuing research outside of their typical scope.

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[20] Osiapem, I. F. To be submitted to the *Journal of Sociolinguistics.*

[21] Theories in terms of this manuscript refer to the macro-theoretical orientations, perspectives, and overall epistemological frameworks that inform social research, i.e., postmodernism, hermeneutics, feminism, poststructuralism, etc. It is clear that various theories and microtheories exist in linguistics—such as phonological theories, syntactic theories, etc; however, it is the macrotheories that are absent.

As Romaine (1982) points out, we base our study of sociolinguistics on what we consider to be the structure of language. Moreover, we can only study what we know to look for; or rather, we study what we believe exists, which predetermines how we go about discovery. Sociolinguistic researchers frame research methodology by what they think of language and its structure and what they conceive as being possible, obvious, or even existent. What sociolinguists know about language is largely based upon the result of interview data, which has provided the data for many analyses. Yet, "we still know very little about the nature of the interview as a communicative event" (Briggs, 1986, p. 2) despite it being one of the prominent methods for data collection in sociolinguistic research. Therefore, working toward a goal of improving interviewing methodology provides an opportunity for improved analyses overall.

As Lass (1980) suggests, linguists[22] have often left theory for philosophers and felt as if theoretical frameworks or identifying a paradigm only detracted from actually doing linguistics.

> …it would seem that questions both about ontology in the widest sense (the nature of data and theoretical constructs) and methodology (the force and epistemic status of arguments) should be of pressing concern to linguists. But there are, within the profession, two attitudes toward this. One is that 'metaworries[23]'…are clearly a central concern, and that we are in something of a state of 'crisis' until we dispose of some of the worst ones. The other is that we should forget about them, rejoice in the 'paradigm'

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[22] Lass is referring to linguistics as a field and not specifically sociolinguistics. However, since sociolinguistics is a subfield of linguistics, I believe the comments apply.

[23] Lass uses "metaworries" to talk about the epistemological assumptions that inform our research and research methodology.

> Kuhn…has convinced some of us that we have[24], and get on with the serious business of *doing linguistics* [emphasis added]. Let the philosophers (if they are interested) worry. (Lass, 1980, p. ix)

Unfortunately, these "metaworries" have not been of interest for many linguists. Sociolinguistic methodological theory is not just for philosophers or linguistic historiographers—it is for doing sociolinguistic research and being sociolinguists as well. "If we don't identify and get rid of some of the worst metaworries, there will be precious little serious linguistics to do" (Lass, 1980). More than 20 years have passed since Lass's critique and sociolinguists still have not adequately dealt with these metaworries that Lass addresses.

It is clear that the tradition of American linguistics as a practice has gone through periods of extensive theoretical questioning, shifting paradigms from structuralism to empiricist structuralism (thanks to Sapir, Saussure, and Bloomfield among others) to generative linguistics (thanks to Chomsky), and finally to the post-generative debate (thanks to Labov and others). After the linguistic revolution of the mid 1900s, what Newmeyer (1986) refers to as "The Period of Optimism," there was a general consensus that the big problems of linguistics had been solved and there was not much need to question the 'basic' theoretical considerations. "In fact, many linguists felt that the procedures had been so well worked out that computers would take over the drudgery of linguistic analysis" (Newmeyer, 1986, p. 2). However, most of the theoretical questioning in linguistics as a whole has surrounded its existence and use or the analysis of

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[24] Kuhn (1970) suggests that the move from modernity to post-modernity causes us to think of globalization instead of nationalism, multiculturalism instead of cultural supremacy, etc. causing changes in the way we see ourselves and others, which is reflected in research practices. Scientific knowledge goes through a number of stages during this process; he calls this a "paradigm shift."

linguistic data. In the subfield of sociolinguistics, there has been relatively little questioning, exploring, or *troubling*[25] of the interview as a data-gathering methodology compared to other social science fields (Briggs, 1986). What's more, considering that sociolinguistics is a field that centers on people, their language, and language use in society, it is surprising that there has not been more critique of the underlying theoretical framework of interviewing methodologies.

There is still no prevailing paradigm in the approach to sociolinguistic research methodology, although sociolinguistic research has been conducted for more than five decades[26]. "At some level one must decide what models of description are relevant to the problem at hand, or even what the problem is. As much as we might like to believe we can avoid "a priori theoretical considerations," it is impossible to argue that there can be a description without a theory" (Romaine, 1982, p. 3). Although it is apparent that there exists a number of theoretical frameworks for *linguistic analyses* in general (i.e., dialectologist, variationist, generative, etc.), there seems to be a lack of theoretical frameworks for *sociolinguistic methodology* and *data collection methods*[27]. It is here that I offer one of many solutions.

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[25] Postmodernists use the term *troubling* to refer to the process of deconstructing and problematizing the knowledge behind assumed ideas, concepts, and terms that have gone unquestioned. By *troubling* an idea, concept, or term, postmodernists attempt to unsettle the assumed knowledge in order to rebuild it, only to *trouble* it again later.

[26] However, some linguists have made use of epistemological considerations. Figueroa (1994), for example, details the work of Hymes, Labov, and Gumperz and analyzes their sociolinguistic approaches in order to place their received sociolinguistic theory in relation to their approach.

[27] Many researchers often use the terms methodology and methods interchangeably. However, methodology is more than the technique for collecting data (Wolcott, 2001) and suggests more of a philosophical and theoretical approach to the ways in which data is collected. Methods, on the other hand, suggests the ways in which researchers actually collect data (i.e., interviews, participant observation, etc.)

Cameron (1990) suggests that if "…sociolinguistics is to move forward, or indeed to realize fully its current objectives, it will need to shift its views" (p. 80) about where language stands in relation to other human activities. In other words, we need to *trouble* sociolinguistic methodology and how it structures our data collection methods. Johnstone (2000) points out that it is time for sociolinguistic researchers to consider more methodological options than they have in the past because we are asking more questions and different questions than we have asked before. Although this could easily be an article about the lack of discussion about an a priori governing philosophy for sociolinguistic research, that is not the goal. My concerns are with the approach to sociolinguistic interviewing and developing an epistemologically-informed approach to data gathering. As Lass (1980) believes, if one wants to be justified in a critique of the field and/or the method, he or she should have something better to substitute for it. In this article, I offer postmodernism and the phenomenological interview as a new mode of thought to construct the sociolinguistic interview. I believe that applying a postmodern theoretical approach to research interviewing and using phenomenological interviewing techniques can improve sociolinguistic research.

Those who *do* science must understand that paradigms shift, epistemologies change, and metatheories develop and redevelop—change is not something to fear. A theory helps us to construct our knowledge and guides us in the research process. A unifying theory does not limit what we can do or what we want to do, but rather informs us of the limits of possibilities—it shows us what we can know, not limits what we should know or want to know. In her book *Qualitative Methods in Sociolinguistics,* Johnstone (2000) recognizes that other areas of social science have had and continue to have debates on the status of theory in social science. Johnstone mentions as well that sociolinguists rarely, if ever, have these debates or offer these

critiques, which can help sociolinguists think about how they view language, their language philosophies, and their approach to sociolinguistic research. She believes that a "postmodern critical theory [approach to sociolinguistics] suggests that, at the least, we ought to examine our assumptions about how objective observation can be and whether interpretation can arrive at *truth* [emphasis added]" (Johnstone, 2000, p. 3).

When I began as a graduate student, I was introduced to many types of linguistic methods and analyses, but I was not introduced to theoretical frameworks or the basic epistemologies behind sociolinguistic research methodology. It was not until I took an Introduction to Qualitative Methodologies class in the Interdisciplinary Qualitative Studies program that I was even aware that researchers took epistemologies seriously—and this was after finishing all course requirements for the PhD in Linguistics. On the first day of the qualitative methods course, my professor, who self-identified as a poststructuralist in educational research in her opening statement, asked students to briefly state their theoretical approach to research in general. She wanted us to elaborate on what theories informed our research agenda, what our ways of knowing were, and how we applied these beliefs to our chosen field. I had no answer and I was clearly ignorant of the options. It took me two years, timeless hours spent reading, and uncountable positonality statements to be able to say, "I am a descriptive sociolinguist informed by postmodern theory and epistemology." After taking these courses and being ready to return to linguistics in search of theory, I read Chambers *Sociolinguistic Theory* (2003), but I was disappointed to find no epistemological frameworks. Instead, it was a book on previous sociolinguistic research and analyses practices. The book presents a theory of sorts, more microtheory, but, unfortunately, not the theory that underlies sociolinguistic research

methodology. Though many claim to present sociolinguistic theory, few have provided an epistemological explanation for research methodology.

Based specifically on my studies of the literature in African American English and other varieties of the African Diaspora, what is considered sociolinguistic knowledge is based on countless studies where interviews are the privileged data collection method. However, in most sociolinguistic studies, researchers tend to make the methodology behind the construction of the interview unavailable. In my experience, sociolinguistic researchers may relegate their epistemological framework to front matter, isolated history sections of general sociolinguistic books, or in articles about the need for an exhaustive history of the field (Koerner, 1991; Shuy, 1990), if at all. Shuy (1990) suggests that sociolinguists, in the early days of the field, "chartered their own course" (p. 198) in terms of sociolinguistic methodology, borrowing from various fields like sociology and anthropology. There was a sense that *truth* (better known as the vernacular) can result from sociolinguistic interviewing (e.g., feature occurrence and feature frequency—it either occurred or it didn't) if the right factors are controlled for (like race, ethnicity, or familiarity) unlike data from sociological interviews where most believe *truth* is not obtainable. This expectation of linguistic *truth* may explain why researchers ignore epistemological assumptions surrounding the context of the sociolinguistic interview—because sociolinguistic researchers did not deem their epistemological assumptions to be important or even necessary in the search for linguistic *truth*.

Despite my critique of the field, I am in accord with Shuy (1990) who reminds us that "we benefit greatly from our predecessors in linguistics, however much more we think we have learned since they produced us" (p. 193). I have particularly benefited from Rickford and McNair-Knox (1994), Poplack (2000), Eckert (2000), Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2001), Poplack

and Tagliamonte (2001), Wolfram and Thomas (2002), Romaine (1982; Romaine, 1984), and Cameron (1990), among others, who do note some of the shortcomings of sociolinguistic data collection methodologies and have begun to rethink the ways in which they go about collecting data, including using a variety of methods beyond just the sociolinguistic interview. Nonetheless, to date, we have not sufficiently *troubled* the sociolinguistic interviewing methodology.

Interviewing in Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is based on observations and analyses of those observations and, therefore, is mainly empirical in nature. Interviewing has a long history in sociolinguistic research, specifically with dialectology and dialect geography research (Johnstone, 2000), but have been used in studies concerning language and identity, particularly in areas such as ethnolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and discourse analysis. Many sociolinguists go about collecting interview data in various ways and, consequently, sociolinguistic interviewing methods exist on a continuum and have progressed from formal and extensive Atlas style interviews to more fluid ethnographic and sociolinguistic interviews.

Although the primary goal of linguistic geography studies may be different from the goal of sociolinguistics (the former seeks to document language variation and the latter seeks to explain it), the American tradition of sociolinguistic interviewing begins here. Hans Kurath mainly designed the structure for Linguistic Atlas interviews in the US. He established the methods for the Atlas "interviews [that] required an average of eight hours to complete, divided into multiple sessions…[where] a questionnaire item corresponds to a particular page and line of the questionnaire" (Kretzschmar & Schneider, 1996, p. 5-6) and often left informants drained. Despite the diligence of the Atlas fieldworkers, these interviews proved taxing and time

consuming to both the participant and researcher. Some sociolinguists have issues with the data collection methods in Atlas studies because these interviews: (a) are very quantitatively based (the evaluation of an arguably right or wrong answer); (b) are less fluid than other approaches; and (c) require the researcher to continue to probe informants until a satisfactory answer is given. This "unique approach [that is trying to solicit a particular response from an informant] formulated the informants' answers but did not specify the questions [for the researcher], leaving that to the ingenuity of the fieldworker" (Shuy, 1990, p. 192).

The disappoint with these methodologies and the desire to approach the study of variation in a different way led Labov (1966; 1971; 1982) to develop what he called "the sociolinguistic interview." He based the format on developments in sociolinguistic research and methods used in his 1963 study of Martha's Vineyard. By the time he started the New York City study, he had modified the interview in an attempt to reduce its formality (Labov, 1984). Labov "constructed [the interview] around the problem of isolating contextual styles" (Labov, 1982, p. 89). The sociolinguistic interview Labov (1984) describes is more qualitative in nature than Atlas interviews, but do not require as much time as ethnographic interviews. Sociolinguistic interviews are often used to gather data for statistical analyses in search of the connection between social class and predetermined feature use. "…These interviews have most often been used to assemble statistics about how often people in certain predefined social categories…performing predetermined tasks…pronounce certain words" (Johnstone, 2000, p. 114-115). Labov designed the sociolinguistic interview to gather: (a) demographic information; (b) existing attitudes about life, culture and language; as well as (c) personal experience using mainly a narrative approach. In addition, one of the goals of the sociolinguistic interview is to gather specific information through conversation. During the interview, the researcher asks

participant questions focusing on various topics like children's games. Labov (1966; 1971; 1982) suggests that by using his modules to formulate questions, they will guide the interviewer to a more colloquial style.

Since Labov's (1966) description of the sociolinguistic interview, the method has been used in countless studies with varying modifications. Many linguistic researchers have considered how the interview setting might affect data collected (Baugh, 1993; Cukor-Avila & Bailey, 2001; Hannah, 1997; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 2001; Rickford, J. R. & McNair-Knox, 1994), particularly stylistic variation, in order to answer the sociolinguistic question: "*Why* did *this speaker* say it *this way* on *this occasion* [emphasis in original]" (Bell, 2001, p. 139). For example, Poplack (1989) used the sociolinguistic interview format in her study of cities along the boarders of Ontario and Quebec where she describes the interview process as one where the participant, in effect, controls the topic of talk and the interviewer only introduces topics when the participant stops talking. Rickford and McNair-Knox (1994) used a version of the sociolinguistic interview to show how race may affect stylistic or intraspeaker variation and, therefore, the subsequent quantitative analysis. In response to Rickford and McNair-Knox (1994), Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2001) used the interview format with modifications to show the that the interviewer's race can be mitigated by familiarity. Poplack and Sankoff (1987) interviewed Samaná English speakers to determine that the variety had little or no creole origin. In response, Hannah (1997) attempted to replicate the study in Samaná using the assistance of in-group members to guide her through remote areas and to solicit participants, which she believes helped create a sense of familiarity between her and her participants and caused her data to differ from Poplack and Sankoff's. Hannah suggests that her data contains more creole-like features because she used in-group members in the interview process whereas Poplack and Sankoff

(1987) conducted the interviews themselves. Hannah believes that because Poplack and Sankoff where seen as outsiders, their participants spoke more formally in the interview and used fewer creole features leading the researchers to determine that Samaná English does not derive from an English-based creole, but rather derives from White dialects of American and British English. And Schilling-Estes (2004) analyzed intertextuality in a sociolinguistic interview between two friends and questions the variationists' ability to analyze language as a speaker's own if people are continually uttering the words of another when retelling stories.

Although the sociolinguistic interview may be the primary method for collecting sociolinguistic data, new approaches to the study of language and its connection to society have led to the development of other methods, specifically ethnographic interviewing. Ethnographic approaches usually mean spending a significant amount of time in the field (often years) in order to "give reality to the identities being associated with linguistic data—to situate the sociolinguistic analysis in a rich social landscape" (Eckert, 2000). Many ethnolinguists as well as linguistic anthropologists believe that the interview itself does not always provide "the richness of information needed for a culturally informed linguistic analysis" (Duranti, 1997, p. 103). Instead, they believe researchers can gain more information outside of the interview context and they often use additional data in addition to interview data such as participant observation. One sociolinguist whose research looks beyond the interview context is Eckert (1989; 2000). She presents a quantitative ethnographic study of variation in a high school environment where she used a variety of methods to collect data, including participant observation and the sociolinguistic interview—both group and individual. Eckert spent two years in the field conducting an ethnographic study, providing her ample opportunity "to incorporate everyday local observations [to] extract…key elements of social structure, social practice, and social

meaning that can reliably be correlated with the variable use of linguistic forms" (p. 70). Moreover, in Eckert's study, her participants usually got to know her before she ever interviewed them (making them less of a stranger to her) and, therefore, she made sure that the interview itself was never her first contact with a participant.

However, most sociolinguists do not have the opportunity to spend extended time in the field and become members of the community, like Eckert. Hence, they often rely on interview data collected from strangers within a short amount of time. Therefore, the primary form for data collection in sociolinguistic research has been the sociolinguistic interview developed by Labov and has been used in many to help answer varying research questions. Despite the many ways sociolinguists may use the sociolinguistic interview to help answer those questions, Baugh (1993) suggests that "methodological diversity among linguists reflects the elastic nature of linguistic behavior and the fact that language can be examined in multifarious ways" (p. 169). However, Hannah (1997) appropriately suggests that we must rethink our operational assumption of the sociolinguistic interview because the context of the interview determines the type of data collected.

Critiques of the Sociolinguistic Interview

Briggs (1986), a linguist interested in interviewing methodology, asks "why is the nature of the interview process so poorly understood, and why has it not been more adequately researched?" (p. 3). He claims that the sociolinguistic interview methodology has not been revisited because most think it is intrinsically sound and accuses sociolinguists of failing to produce an adequate and systematic critique of sociolinguistic methodology leading to the improvement of sociolinguistic interviewing. Although I agree with Briggs (1986) that the

sociolinguistic interview has not been sufficiently critiqued to date and the interview context is still unclear to many of us, there have been some noteworthy critiques of the method.

Rickford (1999) critiques sociolinguistic interviewing methodologies and variationist analyses to suggest that what we know about language and language structure is based on the limitations of data collected. Most variationists attempt to collect large quantities of data, presumably in the most natural setting possible. They proceed to analyze the data in order to find cases where a given variant occurs out of all of the possible places it could have occurred[28]. However, the occurrences or possible occurrences of a feature are significantly dependent on the topic of conversation as well as the interview environment and interviewer—the context of the interview. Sociolinguists often manipulate interviews in order to elicit particular features (like suggesting certain topics to encourage the use of specific vocabulary) or to legitimate the methods of the intended interview. Rickford (1999) critiques variationists for being too preoccupied with gathering large samples of recorded speech without consideration for how they collect the data, which may lead to a limited analysis of salient features—

> The problem is particularly acute for those "variationists" whose data consists of large samples of tape-recorded speech, covering as wide a range of stylistic contexts as possible….While the advantages of this method in terms of "accountability" etc. should be clear to most of us by now, it has a built in limitation in providing large masses of data only on those phenomena which show up with high frequency in natural speech. (Rickford, John R. & Romaine, 1999, p. 15)

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[28]Although there are other methods of studying variation, including fraction of times method (Guy, 1993) and proportion test (Davis, 1990) among others, Rickford (1999) is referring to the principle of accountable reporting (Labov, 1966; Poplack, 1993).

These large samples of data allow for the selected picking of features relevant to the researcher's interests at the time, or at least what the researcher believes are the best data, which clearly relates to the researcher's likely unstated theoretical positioning at the time.

Additionally, Rickford and McNair-Knox (1994) suggest that sociolinguists need to rethink data collection methods that will diminish the effect of the researcher on the participant, particularly the impact of race (both interviewer and interviewee) in the interview setting. Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2001) responded to Rickford and McNair-Knox's (1994) suggestion that race had a direct impact on the speech of research participants by conducting a similar study. Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2001) suggest:

> Familiarity with the informant and the use of peer groups, for instance, can substantially ameliorate any effects that race of the fieldworker might have. The ameliorative effects of familiarity and peer groups suggest that perhaps interviewer race is simply one of a number of characteristics of the interviewer (e.g. gender, experience, social background) and the interview (e.g. the presence of peers, the relationship between interviewer and interviewee, the strategies used by the fieldworker to gather data) that may affect data from sociolinguistic fieldwork. (p. 267)

In order to accommodate for familiarity or race in attempts to avoid some of the issues Rickford and McNair-Knox (1994) and Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2001) note, some sociolinguistic researcher use in-group members as interviewers.

The best interview method in terms of eliciting particular features, according to Poplack (1993), is to use "skilled interviewers who not only are, but are also perceived by informants to be, in-group members, and whose own linguistic repertoires feature the same phenomena [they are] attempting to elicit" (p. 260). Only interviewers who can use these features will be able to

elicit these features, according to her experience[29]. She believes that sociolinguistic researchers have not thoroughly considered the role of familiarity in the interview context, but her research "suggests that it is a crucial factor affecting linguistic behaviour in interviews" (Cukor-Avila & Bailey, 2001, p. 256). However, having access to an in-group member is not always possible. Rickford (1999) suggests alternatives to the standard sociolinguistic interview with such ideas as "candid" recordings (clearly not possible without the participant's consent and IRB approval), including questions in the interview that stimulate frequent use of particular features—"eliciting the intuitions of other people" (p. 16-17) on components of language and participant observations.

These critiques make it clear that there are several components that are not always obvious or even knowable that may affect the interview context, the interviewee, and the interviewer and that no interview approach can adequately solve some of these issues. It is clear that many researchers recognize what Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2001) point out: we may never be able to determine how the interviewer's race, gender, background, etc., affect the interview context, the subject of the interview, and many other variables that exist in the interview situation. However, by attempting to control for social variables in theie studies, these researchers seem to suggest that they can, even if they haven't yet, isolate the motivation for

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[29] I have also had a similar experience with my interviews with Bermudians, but I do not necessarily agree with this statement because I think there are a number of reasons why participants do not use certain features. It was clear that during my interviews, participants did not use features that I know they use elsewhere. Whether this was an instance of lack of familiarity, the formal context of the interview, of the topics discussed is unclear, especially bcasue some participants saw me as an in-group member but still did not use certain features. What is clear, and an accepted *fact* of sociolinguistic research, is people have a number of language styles from which they can pick and choose, leaving the motivation for such selection unclear to the researcher.

linguistic choice. Whether it is race, familiarity, sameness or difference, not to mention gender, it is difficult (or absolutely impossible) to know to what extent an isolated variable affects participants and the language they use in an interview. Furthermore, as Johnson-Bailey (1999) and Beoku-Betts (1994) have shown in their research and interviewing experience, using interviewers of the same gender, race, ethnicity, etc. does not necessarily solve those issues and may, in fact, create others. Johnson-Bailey (1999) points out that—

> It is generally set forth…that when Blacks interview other Blacks and empathetic understanding will be accorded across racial lines. And the synergistic extrapolation of each of these conclusions would be that when Black women interview other Black women, there exists an immediate perceptive bond of sisterhood that provides and ideal research setting (citations). However, [these]…deductions discount the intersections of societal barriers omnipresent in a hierarchical world. Certainly, class concerns can cut through gender and racial solidarity and concepts of gender and racial identity can vary among women. (p. 659)

So it seems that even if researchers can accommodate for race, ethnicity, or other social variables, other issues may be created as a result and their influence may be indeterminate. Attempts to control biases with variables (like accommodating race, familiarity, gender, etc. of the interviewer with the interviewee) seem futile at times because in research with human subjects, many issues affect the data and are difficult or impossible to determine. Researchers will always be somewhat blind as to *how* their presence *changes* the data, but should be cognizant that it *does*.

A New approach to the Sociolinguistic Interview

While there have been critiques of interviewing methodologies (Baugh, 1993; Cukor-Avila & Bailey, 2001; Hannah, 1997; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 2001; Rickford, J. R. & McNair-Knox, 1994), in many ways, sociolinguists have ignored some of the most obvious methodological critiques—figuring out who we are as researchers and how that in itself biases the research. Although there are no field methods that are without shortcomings, I am offering suggestions to help address the current shortcomings in the traditional sociolinguistic interview to help address the issue of how we as researchers and interviewers affect the interview context in addition to providing a theoretical informed approach to sociolinguistic interviewing. In this approach, I am not attempting to solve the issue of the effect race, familiarity, or other factors on participants' language may have because I do not believe it is something that researchers can solve. However, I think that if we recognize our subjectivities toward research and the researched, rethink the context of the sociolinguistic interview in light of recent critiques, and provide a more comfortable interview context for our participants, we will be better prepared to present interview data and the subsequent analyses.

Addressing Subjectivities

Postmodernists maintain that all research is informed by epistemological understanding of how the world and human behavior work. Postmodernists believe there can be no neutral research and that we cannot describe the research process as unbiased because of individual subjectivities—as human beings studying other human beings, subjectivities always exist and attempting to control for these biases is hopeless. Subjectivities are "an amalgam of the persuasions that stem from the circumstances of one's class, status, and values interacting with the particulars of one's object of investigation" (Peshkin, 1988, p. 17). Sociolinguistic

researchers have written about how various biases and subjectivities affect the interview process (Baugh, 1993; Cukor-Avila & Bailey, 2001; Hannah, 1997; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 2001; Rickford, J. R. & McNair-Knox, 1994), supposing that there is a research approach that does not bias the results. By critiquing these issues in these ways, it seems like an attempt to prove one method over another is better—given the *right* circumstances—so that the desired language in an interview (maybe even the vernacular) may result.

However, many researchers, particularly ones informed by postmodern theory, believe that subjectivities and biases exist during the entire research process from the inception of the study, its design, and the writing preventing any possible concept of *truth* from emerging. Peshkin (1988), a qualitative researcher particularly interested in phenomenological methodologies, suggests that we cannot ignore our subjectivities because they shape us and, therefore, shape all of our research, particularly interviews and personal contact. Subjectivities "have the capacity to filter, skew, shape, block, transform, construe, and misconstrue what transpires from the onset of a research project to its culmination in a written statement" (p. 17). The difference between a qualitative and a quantitative approach[30] to sociolinguistic interviewing is that a qualitative approach recognizes the researcher as the primary instrument in data collection and accepts that subjectivities are always operating. Quantitative approaches often suggest that some biases can be controlled for, e.g. by matching the race of the interviewee with the interviewer (Johnstone, 2000). Researcher experiences, however, constantly affect the instrument, which make it impossible to eliminate them. However, if we identify subjectivities

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[30] I am not attempting to support one method over another. "Pitting the two [quantitative and qualitative approaches] in opposition does a great disservice by detracting from the contribution to be made by each, including what each can contribute to the other" (Wolcott, 2001)

ahead of time and work them into our research strategies, then it makes for better and more trustworthy research. “If researchers are informed about the qualities that have emerged during their research, they can at least disclose to their readers where self and subject become joined” (Peshkin, 1988, p. 17). There are many ways to identify subjectivities before interviewing begins. Those suggested here are through the process of *bracketing* and *reflecting*, common practices among qualitative researchers.

Bracketing is the process of acknowledging subjectivities so that they can be made obvious to researchers before they embark on their study, making them aware that, based on their subjectivities, there are particular questions they can ask, explore, or even conceive of. Identifying subjectivities does not alleviate them or allow control of them (which is impossible in social research), but rather brings them to the forefront of the research process, making researchers more trustworthy and credible to readers. By identifying subjectivities, including the epistemology framework from which they work, researchers can be more aware of their position in relation to research and the researched.

Locating subjectivities can be done in a number of ways and is often a private and intense process. One of the most common ways to identify subjectivities is what qualitative researchers call writing a “subjectivities” statement in which the researcher writes freely about herself, her connection to the topic, her ways of knowing (epistemological framework), her motivation for doing the research, and her personal opinions toward the research and researched. Researchers often feel defensive when asked to talk about subjectivities. In fact, “some researchers and writers are so concerned about controlling their personal biases that it immobilize[s] them” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 34). The process of bracketing helps you recognize that who you are and what you know shape what you study and how you go about research, therefore reducing the

need to ‘control’ for personal biases. “Acknowledge that no matter how much you try you can not divorce your research and writing from your past experiences, who you are, what you believe and what you value. Being a clean slate is neither possible nor desirable” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 34). Therefore, by identifying your subjectivities and biases before beginning the research process, you will at least make yourself aware of your own limitations and the limitations of the study. Being aware of subjectivities, however, will not reduce what Briggs (1986) calls the “bias theory”—i.e., if you could alleviate the interview situation of all biases and subjectivities (both interviewee and interviewer in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, etc.), then the *true* value (or in our case language) of the interview would unfold, making the study valid and reliable. From a postmodern perspective, this is not possible because subjectivities operate constantly through the research process even with attempts to control for them.

Moreover, if you incorporate a reflective research process, one in which you continually return to your subjectivities statement, revising and rethinking it, you will continue to address your subjectivities during the research process. A reflexive interview process also means you check the effectiveness of your interview approach during the course of data collection. Likewise, by addressing subjectivities and exploring (not determining) how you as the interviewer affect the research and the interview context—and you will affect the context just by your presence—researchers can more narrowly address the question of style in an interview. Similarly, if “style is what an individual speaker does with a language in relation to other people” (Bell, 2001, p. 141), then acknowledging the Other (the interviewer) in the interview context can only help later in the analysis of stylistic variation.

Understanding the Sociolinguistic Interview Context

First, sociolinguists need to start thinking about what an interview actually is using a postmodern framework. From the standard approach (an approach where there is a conceptual right and wrong way to do research) where sociolinguistic interviewing was born, an interview is a formal speech event or formal conversation—an unproblematic method for gathering data (Scheurich, 1995). However, some researchers believe that, although an interview is like a conversation, it is more like a "pseudo-conversation" (Oakley, 1981). To be a successful interview, it must have the warmth and comfort of a personal exchange, but under the guidelines of an interview (Oakley, 1981), while being friendly, but not too friendly. However, Scheurich (1995) says that many postmodernist believe an interview is a speech event where there is a constant power struggle between interviewer and interviewee and the "only avenue to equity for the interviewee is the benevolence of the researcher" (p. 247). Yet, despite the seeming power struggle in an interview, he believes that participants are actively resistant and, at the same time, not passive subjects because they can often gain control over their interview by changing topics or refusing to answer questions. Moreover, the *reality* of an interview is always elusive because, according to Scheurich (1995), "the complex play of conscious and unconscious thoughts, feelings, fears, power, desires, and needs on the part of both the interviewer and interviewee cannot be captured and categorized" (p. 249).

As Seidman (1998) admits, we interview people because we have long been interested in people's stories, their understanding of culture, and the world—and for sociolinguists, their language. These stories are a way to access their consciousness and interpret how they make meaning of the world. An interview for sociolinguistic purposes is an opportunity for researchers to gather information about participants' backgrounds, lifestyles, and culture, while gathering

language data to analyze. An interview is a multifaceted speech event where interviewers ask much of participants often without offering much in return.

Phenomenology and Sociolinguistic Interviewing

I am looking at the sociolinguistic interview in a new way because I am attempting to "set aside all previous habits of thought, see through and break down the mental barriers which these habits have set along the horizons of our thinking, and in full intellectual freedom proceed to lay hold on these genuine philosophical problems still awaiting completely fresh formulation which the liberated horizons on all sides disclose to us—these are hard demands" (Husserl, 1931/1952, p. 43). This is an opportunity to improve the sociolinguistic interview approach and, thereby, improve the quality of data to analyze.

Phenomenology is a "way of seeing" (Moran & Mooney, 2002, p. 1) the research process and not a set of doctrines. It "is the study of structures of consciousness as experienced from the first-person point of view" (Smith, D. W., 2003) and the focus is on how people see and interpret the world. There are six aims of phenomenology, but three are particularly important to sociolinguists as I see it: (a) to critique knowledge and ideas and foundation for logic; (b) to describe essential structures of experience; and (c) to provide a unified theory of science and knowledge (Faber, 1966). Phenomenological approaches to inquiry focus on the experience of an individual by "gaining a deeper understanding of the nature of meaning of our everyday experiences" (Van Manen, 1990, p. 9) to focus on how we put experiences together to develop a worldview and make sense of the world (Patton, 2002). Various researchers have used phenomenology as a data collection method or analytical perspective in studies of emotion (Fischer & Wertz, 1979), loneliness (Aanstoos, 1987), feeling guilty (Yoder, 1990), anger (Stevick, 1971), and other phenomena like a program or a culture (Patton, 2002). Sociology,

anthropology, and education researchers have used phenomenology to inform interview methods, making the interview process more relaxed and participant-centered, but it has yet to be applied to sociolinguistic methodology. Therefore, I propose that the method for phenomenological interviews be used in sociolinguistic interview research methodology.

Phenomenological interviewing brings together life-history interviewing and focused, in-depth interviewing to allow the participant to reconstruct the experience under study. "Phenomenology's first step is to seek to avoid all misconstructions and impositions placed on experience in advance, whether these are drawn from religious or cultural traditions, from everyday common sense, or indeed from science itself" (Moran, 2000, p. 5). Seidman (1998) suggests this interview format is appropriate to address any topic involving "the experience of contemporary people" (p. 9).

Seidman (1998) actually presents a 3-tier interview process conducted over several weeks where each interview lasts for about 90 minutes. The first interview explores the person's life history; the second interview details the experience under study; and the third seeks to reflect on the meaning of the experience. Seidman (1998) comments, researchers have to be considerate of people's time by not expecting or constructing an interview that lasts over an hour. Because most sociolinguistic researchers do not have the opportunity to conduct more than one interview with a participant, I think the three tiers can be collapsed into a one-hour[31] interview for purposes of gathering sociolinguistic data.

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[31] The one-hour length is a general timeframe, because imposing a time limit in a way structures the interview. Some participants will talk well over the hour and some will not use the time provided. However, when sociolinguists request participants' time, it helps to give a general idea of how long the process with take.

Therefore, in terms of the sociolinguistic interview, applying a phenomenological interview approach can change the structure of the interview to allow the participant more control over the talk and the direction it takes, providing the opportunity for a participant-centered interview. The phenomenological interview is an approach, a governing philosophy, over the conduct of the interview. It is not a 'format' or a 'protocol,' which suggests a more strict and formulaic approach to interviewing. It is an opportunity for participants to say what they want to say without the limits and the constraints of fixed question and answer protocol.

Phenomenological interviews in social research tend to center around asking the participant to focus on an experience to reveal the essence of that experience. The researcher usually asks only one question, followed by exploratory questions when there is a lull in the conversation. The interviewer then may ask questions that encourage the participant to explore the topic further. The goal of the interview is to allow the participant the opportunity to talk and, therefore, encourage the researcher to say as little as possible, including using fewer back channeling techniques. The researcher needs to avoid asking the participant "why" questions or closed questions and should instead ask "how" or open questions that help participants to reconstruct their experiences. In the interview, the participant should be encouraged to detail experiences on a topic.

There are only general guidelines for the phenomenological interview, which is different for the structured sociolinguistic interview approach. The most important thing to recognize is that without the participant, there is no research. Making the interview setting more comfortable for the interviewee will likely produce less strained talk. Additionally, interviewers must realize the obvious: people are different. Interviewers will have to adjust the interview approach to each participant. In my field experience of using the phenomenological interview approach with 30

Black Bermudians, I found I had to be willing to adjust my interview style with every interview I conducted. With some participants, asking one question at the beginning of the interview was all they needed to encourage them to talk (sometimes for more than an hour without any additional questions from me); but with others, I had to ask additional exploratory questions that helped them express their narrative. Despite whatever encouragement participants many have needed to continue their narratives, the phenomenological interview provided more freedom than structured approaches and seemed to serve participants well.

In my experience with the phenomenological interview, there is a simple goal in mind—make the interview situation comfortable enough to allow the participant freedom to talk in an unstructured way. Because participants are free to take the interview wherever they want, there is less pressure on the interviewer to accomplish tasks (like getting participants to use certain features or words) during the interview, making the interview a more relaxed experience for both the fieldworker and the participants. In my experience with my study of Black English in Bermuda, using a phenomenological interview in which I asked one question ("What does it mean to be Bermudian?") and acknowledged my subjectivities before designing the project, improved the quality of data I collected, in my opinion.

I do not believe that using a phenomenological interviewing approach to collect sociolinguistic data is without its flaws, and it deserves critique like any other sociolinguistic interviewing method. In this approach, the interviewer has the difficult task of designing a question to which participants can respond to in a narrative way as opposed to the researcher having to piece together a narrative later from multiple responses. Also, the interviewer must first be comfortable with allowing the participant to control the flow of the narrative, which is often hard to do. The interviewer must also be willing to experience participants' silences, which

can carry more meaning than the narrative itself. The interviewer must also be willing to refrain from interrupting, but at the same time, the interviewer needs to encourage the participant to continue talking by being engaging and using active listening skills. Moreover, this interviewing method (like other interviewing methods) cannot completely capture participants' linguistic repertoire within the course of an hour and it is unreasonable to expect any interviewing approach to accomplish that. What's more, this approach does not effectively reduce the impact the interviewer has on participants (and there will always be an impact), so it cannot solve the problem of race, familiarity, etc., that Rickford and McNair-Knox (1994), Hannah (1997), and Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2001) among others address. I do not believe that any interview format or approach can successfully address those issues. However, it can help researchers address their biases and subjectivities and present the data in that light.

Despite its flaws, I believe the phenomenological approach makes for a more comfortable interview setting and allows participants to control the interview content. While I cannot claim participants use the vernacular language (and I will never attempt to make that claim), I do believe the interview can be less formulaic and, therefore, richer as compared to other structured sociolinguistic interviews.

Conclusion

It seems that modern linguists want to move towards a more positivistic trend of study, but have not quite made the postmodern turn[32] (Best & Kellner, 1997). Cameron (1990) argues that linguistics started out as a field that was deconstructionist, but instead has moved into a rigid, positivistic field (seemingly quantitative linguistics) where there is only one right way to

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[32] Best and Kellner refer to the "passing of the old [positivistic research] and the advent of the new [postmodern research]" (p. 3) as the postmodern turn.

collect data and describe language variation and that way does not describe how language and culture are related. She claims that the consensus of what constitutes research on language in society has shifted "from the sociological towards the more purely linguistic" (p. 83), or the microanalysis of linguistic variation and the disregard for social theory. Therefore, sociolinguists often feel "they have to 'prove' the validity of what they do to their own academic colleagues in the mainstream; this again encourages them to be as 'rigorous' and 'objective' as possible (for instance, to make heavy use of statistical techniques)" (p. 84) or controlling for social variables of the researcher to reduce biases in data collection. Linguistic researchers are still working under a positivistic paradigm—trying to prove that there is a right way to do empirical research—where there's a right method, or a right interview, or a right analysis. There isn't. As a postmodernist, I believe no research method should be privileged (including my own), but rather all methods should be critiqued and explored making way for new theories that in turn should be critiqued, explored, and *troubled*. If sociolinguistics is really about language and how people use language in our social world (and not so much about validity and the control for social variables), it seems clear that by making people, their needs, and their desires the center of the research process and methodology, while also considering how we as researchers affect our research, we will be able to develop a *better* (not ultimate) sociolinguistic interview process.

CHAPTER 5

"An English of their Own"[33]: A Descriptive Grammar of Black Bermudian English[34]

This article presents a synchronic descriptive study of the grammar of English spoken by 30 Blacks in Bermuda[35] and illustrates some of the structural highlights of Black Bermudian English (BBE[36]). There has been no substantive research done on English in Bermuda and even less on the English of Blacks in Bermuda. Bermuda is a relatively isolated archipelago in the Atlantic Ocean about 565 miles southeast of North Carolina and nearly 800 miles north of the Bahamas, but has maintained strong ties with England, the United States, and Canada. It is not a Caribbean island and, therefore, experiences subtropical weather, with threats of hurricanes from June to October. Although Bermuda is not a Caribbean island, it is often considered part of the Eastern Caribbean by some, despite being 800 miles north of the Bahamas. Its size is comparative to about 1/3 that of Washington, DC, with a population of 64,935 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2004). Bermuda has one of the highest per capita incomes in the world. Its economy is based on providing financial services for international businesses and luxury

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[33] Ayers (1933)

[34] Osiapem, I. F. To be submitted to *American Speech* or *English Worldwide*

[35] In my description of what I call Black Bermudian English, I am not suggesting that all Black Bermudians use these features; moreover, since I have only interviewed 30 people who identify as Black Bermudians, I can only legitimately say that this is the English of 30 Black Bermudian participants.

[36] Although BBE is often used for Black British English, it will be used exclusively for Black Bermudian English in this article.

vacation facilities. Although international business has increased its success as an offshore financial center, tourism continues to be important to the Bermudian economy (Central Intelligence Agency, 2004).

This study cannot rely on previous research on language in Bermuda because there is little research available. Ayers (1933), a linguist at Columbia University, traveled to Bermuda for holiday and wrote about some lexical and phonological differences between Bermudians (both Black and White) and other English speakers on the island. Though he does not acknowledge much of the sociohistorical contexts of language development on the island, he does make some points about phonological features of Bermudian English. Ayers (1933) describes Bermudian English as "hav[ing] the level tone of American speech, the briskness of the coastal type, a characteristic crispness, and would create least remark, if indeed any at all, between say, Norfolk, Virginia, and Charleston, South Carolina" (p. 4). Unfortunately, his description does not help to define the language structurally; however, he does go on to explain some of the phonological differences between Bermudian English and American English at that time. He also recognizes that language in Bermuda, at the time, differed slightly from language on other colonized islands at the time and the US. His study lasted over only a couple of weeks while he was on holiday in Bermuda and, therefore, he comments that "[he would] be glad to see any of [his] statements upset or modified and all [his] omissions filled in by more extended investigation" (p. 3).

This is not a study on the origin of BBE, but the question of the conditions for its development is of interest. However, exploring whether the sociohistorical conditions for creole language development existed is not pertinent for this article. Since scholars' lack of knowledge about the origins of Bermudian slaves, the native languages they spoke, and the interaction

between the races, creole influence on BBE is suspect. As we have learned from the history of a similar debate over the origins of African American Vernacular English (AAVE), this matter may never be resolved. Additionally, from its discovery, Bermuda's Black population did not exceed the white population until 1834, the year of Emancipation (and only then by 300 people). In 19th the Black to White ratio increased for the first time. Additionally, precise information on the origins of the Black population is virtually unavailable. In fact, according to Bernhard (1999), "where the [Blacks] in Bermuda had come from is a matter for speculation" (p. 23). Several historians such as Packwood (1975; 1980) and Bernhard (1999) claim that the majority of slaves were stolen from slave ships that wrecked on the reefs of Bermuda. Because of Bermuda's location and the surrounding coral reefs, ships traveling between the West Indies and parts of Europe often lost their course and shipwrecked on Bermuda's reefs[37]. Many of these were Spanish slave trading ships traveling from the West Indies to Europe, but their exact origin is unknown. Moreover, although not all historians of Bermuda's history agree, some suggest (Bernhard, 1999; Zuill, 1999), slavery in Bermuda was not typically the cruel and torturing sort practiced in the US and West Indian islands. Rickford and Rickford (2000) and Mufwene (2001), among others, believe that in order for a creole language to develop, there must be a social need for the oppressed to unite in response to an imbalance of power. Hence, exploring the sociocultural and historical conditions for BBE creole development, while interesting, is beyond the scope of this study. I will not attempt to qualify its development as either a creole or non-creole[38]. Moreover, as Ewers (1996) suggests, methodology in data collection and analyses often

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[37] In fact, Shakespeare's play The Tempest is rumored to be about a shipwreck in Bermuda.

[38]More information on the sociolinguistic situation in Bermuda from its discovery to the present is available in Chapter 2 to provide a better context for language use.

control creole or non-creole hypotheses, not the data alone. In other words, determining what languages qualify as creoles depend on the ways in which researchers collected[39] and later analyze[40] data to facilitate the occurrence or nonoccurrence of creole/non-creole-like features. However, I will make some comparisons between BBE and other varieties of the African Diaspora to help situate BBE. The linguistic analysis presented here is the result of 30 one-hour interviews I conducted with Black Bermudian participants in 2003 and 2004. Like Rickford (1999) suggests about AAVE, "even at its most vernacular, [it] does not consist simply of stringing together features" (p. 12), my linguistic description of BBE cannot fully represent the language of the 30 Black Bermudian participants. Language includes components of culture, style, and identity and not just a list of grammatical features. Nevertheless, I can venture to

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[39] In Ewers' (1996) study of the Hoodoo texts, he suggests that the data gathering methodology inadvertently controlled for the observer's paradox (Labov, 1971) because the interviewer, Harry Hyatt, disclosed the purpose of the interview (to collect data on Hoodoo, conjuration, witchcraft, and rootwork) to the participants. At the time, a linguistic analysis had not been conceived. The participants never knew that researchers would eventually use the data for linguistic analyses and, therefore, participants' may have provided less monitored speech. However, as most linguistic researchers recognize, it is difficult to record unmonitored speech when participants know the linguistic purposes of the study, contributing more to the observer's paradox. As a result, different kinds of data result from interviews where participants monitor speech compared to interviews where speech is less monitored. The various results from these types of interviews significantly contribute to researchers describing varieties as either creole or non-creole.

[40] For example, in Ewers' (1996) study of the creole origin of American Black English using the Hoodoo texts, he compares copula contraction and absence with data analyzed using the "Labov deletion and contraction" method to data analyzed using the "Romaine contraction" method and shows that the results are different dependent on the analysis method used. In this case, the use of different methods of analysis has implications for American Black English being described as a creole or non-creole variety.

present a descriptive grammar of the BBE of the 30 participants with emphasis on the noun phrase and verb phrase.

Methodology

My research interests are in descriptive linguistics of languages of the African Diaspora and, in this case, Black Bermudian English. I approached this study, both in terms of data collection and data analysis, qualitatively. Contrary to the popular belief "…that all dialect research, whether geographic or social, is inherently quantitative" (Guy, 1993, p. 224), I believe that qualitative methods are "a powerful tool for learning more about our lives and the sociohistorical context in which we live" (Merriam, 2002b, p. xv). What I like most about qualitative research is that it recognizes the researcher as the primary instrument. I designed this project using qualitative data gathering methods because I find them less constraining than quantitative methods. These interview methods enable the participants to discuss what they want without the constraints of a survey or questionnaire, which are typical methods used in sociolinguistic research, while still providing considerable linguistic data to analyze. In this case, the phenomenological interview format provided enough data to describe the participant's grammar.

The interview

Because I relied on phenomenological theory, the interview was loosely structured. Phenomenological interviewing brings together life-history interviewing and focused, in-depth interviewing to allow the participant to reconstruct the experience under study. In a phenomenological interview, the interviewer usually asks one main question followed by exploratory questions to help the flow of the narrative. The phenomenological interview is an approach, a governing philosophy, over the conduct of the interview. It is not a 'format' or a

'protocol', which suggests a more strict and formulaic approach to interviewing. It is an opportunity for participants to say what they want to say without the limits and the constraints of fixed question and answer protocol. Still, it was important for participants to talk for about an hour so that I would have a sufficient quantity of data to describe their grammar.

Because fieldwork in descriptive linguistics is more improvisational than other fields in linguistics (Johnstone, 2000), the phenomenological interview suited my purposes. For this study, I asked them a "life history" question for several reasons. First, I think a life history question provides the opportunity for the most interesting and dynamic data and such questions produce enough variety of data to establish a grammar. Second, I believe that when people talk about themselves, thereby providing more data. Finally, life history interviews often cover concepts of culture and local tradition (Glesne, 1998) that allow participants to use words and structures that are particular to their locale and their identities. I initiated a conversation with my participants and encouraged them to talk about their lives and histories.

I designed an interview that I felt would put participants at ease; therefore, I used phenomenological interviewing techniques, where the participant can control the conversation more than in structured interviews. "In this [phenomenological interviewing] approach interviewers use, primarily, open-ended questions. Their major task is to build upon and explore their participants' responses to these questions. The goal is to have the participant reconstruct his or her experience within the topic under study" (Seidman, 1998, p. 9). I had one main question—"What does it mean to be Bermudian?"[41]—and I followed it up with open-ended

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[41] In the first six interviews I conducted, I asked the participants, "What was it like growing up in Bermuda?" However, after several interviews, I found that I kept getting similar, short answers: "It was fun," "It was great," etc. After the first six interviews, I modified the question to, "What does it mean to be Bermudian."

exploratory questions to continue the flow of the narrative as needed. There were no typical exploratory questions used across interviews since every interview was different. I used exploratory questions when I heard the participant speak about something on which I wanted more information. I encouraged participants to explore areas by asking open-ended questions allowed participants more opportunity for in-depth descriptions. Most interviews lasted between 45 minutes and an hour (some lasted considerably longer than an hour, but only the first hour was used for this study) and covered talk on Bermudian culture, travel, food, and attitudes about language—among many other topics. The length of each interview is available in Appendix E: Participant Interview Length. I recorded each interview on an Olympus 330 digital recorder and downloaded it directly to my Macintosh computer. I transcribed each interview into a Microsoft Word file.

The Participants.

For this study, I interviewed 30 Black Bermudians who, during 2003 and 2004, self-identified as lifelong residents of the island. I used snowball sampling techniques to solicit participants mainly through friends and family. Though I sought life-long residents, one participant was born to Bermudian parents in the US and returned to Bermuda before his 3rd birthday. I interviewed fifteen women and fifteen men who ranged in age from 18-79[42]. Information on participant demographics is available in Appendix D: Participant Demographics

[42] Although I present a qualitative analysis here, I collected data with thoughts of one day analyzing the data quantitatively, possibly even using variationists techniques. Therefore, I selected participants to satisfy that type of analysis. I selected 10 participants (five men and five women) from each of the following age groups: young (18-39), middle (40-59), and old (60+).

and pin profiles of each participant are available in Appendix C: Meet the Participants: "Bermuda's Nicest Onions"

The Analysis.

In addition to providing a broad structural description of the BBE of my participants[43], I selected some features for analysis I simply found interesting and that occurred frequently since "discourse manifests recurrent patterns of speech behavior" (Poplack & Tagliamonte, 2001, p. 89). What I found interesting grammatically was influenced by the features I have studied during my academic career that are prevalent in English varieties[44] of the African Diaspora,including African American English, Gullah, Caribbean Englishes, and British Black English. I did not want to begin this study by comparing and contrasting BBE to other varieties in the African Diaspora, but that, of course, is almost impossible not to do since what I've learned about other varieties follows me to the study presented here. Therefore, as I present features found in BBE, I will compare it to features found in other African Diasporic varieties to help describe BBE in the appropriate context. I found Green's (2002) *African American English: A Linguistic Introduction* and Aceto and Williams (2003) *Contact English of the Eastern Caribbean* particularly helpful in identifying what features I wanted to analyze.

I decided not to use a quantitative analysis (particularly a variationist analysis) with this data because I did not believe it could adequately help me describe BBE. My purposes for this research differ from the purposes for variationist research that "seek[s] to discover *patterns* [emphasis in original] of usage, which pertain to the relative frequency of occurrence or co-

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[43] In this article, the use of the term BBE refers only to the speech of the 30 participants.

[44] As English is not one uniform variety, I will use the term "English" to mean Language of Wider Communication (LWC) as it is used in the continental US.

occurrence of structures, rather than simply to their existence or grammaticality" (Poplack, 1993, p. 252)[45].

The Description

The grammatical features presented here are those that are often discussed and analyzed in the studies of languages of the African Diaspora and particularly languages of the Eastern Caribbean. I am not presenting rules for BBE use, but rather a description of the language used by the participants. BBE shares many features with languages of the African Diaspora, which is shown in Table 2: BBE in Comparison to Other Englishes. Although this article does not address phonological features, there is much to be said about the BBE sound system. Ayers (1933) begins his article with a call for including language in Bermuda in the domain of the study of American English, but his 1933 call was never heard.

Martin & Wolfram (1998) note that, even when there is a notable difference in structure, AAVE is generally not unique. The same goes for BBE. Therefore, in my examination of BBE, I will not make any claims for its uniqueness except in the case of one feature—Perfective *to be*. Moreover, as with any variety of a language, intra-speaker and interspeaker language varies significantly and will be illustrated shortly. Similar to Mufwene's (1996) comments on his study of Gullah, intra-speaker and inter-speaker variation is one of the most difficult aspects of studying contemporary language. I provide a broad descriptive grammar of the general

[45] In an interview setting, it seems clear that the context of talk predetermines the type of talk. Therefore, I must note that the mere occurrence or non-occurrence of a feature in my description of BBE is not a definitive statement as to the existence or non-existence of that feature. There are features I know exist in BBE that did not occur in the data.

structure[46] of the BBE of the participants while I occasionally discuss some features I feel deserve more attention (e.g., noun phrase + Ø determiner and perfective *to be*).

Word Order

The word order of my participants' canonical BBE sentences is (S) V (O), but the subject does not have to be overtly expressed, especially if the subject is clearly understood and has been identified previously. Therefore, BBE is not a pro-drop language. BBE word order is common to many African Diasporic languages like African American English, Bajan Creole, Jamaican Creole English, and others Western languages like English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish. Like other varieties of English, the phrase structure of my participants' BBE is head first and, therefore, is always on the left.

Ø Subject.

As with many other varieties of English, there are cases of non-overt subject in BBE when it is clear what the subject is because it has been stated previously. Examples[47] 1 through 5 show cases of Ø subject in the speech of my participants.

1. I'm 39…Ø will be 40 in 2 months.
2. We came from Somerset…Ø been down here for 56 years.
3. And it was free tipping, that free tipping in the noonday Ø went to the bank before three.
4. We just played…Played all day until mama came home.

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[46] In my analysis and comparison to other English varieties, I do not consider any single occurrence of a feature and assume that a single occurrence is most likely a hypercorrection.

[47] BBE examples will be numerical and other language examples will be alphabetical.

5. You'll find I'm probably like most guys that you know. Ø be comfortable around…

Sentences with Ø subjects have also occurred in other Diasporic varieties such as Turks and Caicos Islands English (TCE). Cutler (2003) found Ø subject in the speech of her Turks and Caicos Islanders (an example is in A below) participants that are similar to the BBE examples 1 through 5 above.

A. …they tell her they pray how long to put something on her leg, something they bring back from Haiti…Ø Say put this on her leg. (TCE)

Question Formation.

BBE question formation uses the same strategies for question formation as mainstream English and other English varieties with subject-auxiliary inversion. Klammer and Schultz (1996) illustrate English yes/no questions as in example B below.

B. Is their new car in the driveway? (LWC)

In this example, *be* signals the tense in the question and appears in the beginning of the sentence. Martin and Wolfram (1998) illustrate AAVE yes/no questions in example C below.

C. Can they go to the show? (AAVE)

BBE question formation[48] behaves in the same way as AAVE subject-auxiliary inversion as illustrated in 6 below.

6. …can you take Charlotte?

Like other Englishes, if there is no auxiliary verb or *be*, *do* can appear at the beginning of the question as in example 7 below.

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[48] There were not that many instances of question formation in the data because in an interview situation, participants do not have much opportunity to ask questions.

7. …do you want it?

However, *do* may not appear if there is no auxiliary verb as in 8 below.

8. What else Ø you need?

Cutler also suggests that within her data, there was an absence of auxiliaries such as *do* and *did* illustrated in example D below.

D. Ø You have sisters? (TCE)

The BBE participants did not always use *did* or *do* in their question formation as in example 9 below.

9. Ø You know where that is?

BBE question formation also involves Wh-movement to ask for missing information. Martin and Wolfram (1998) provide an example in E below to illustrate Wh-question formation in AAVE.

E. Where will they go to the show? (AAVE)

Klammer and Schultz (1996) show the same formation in English in example F below.

F. What will the judge decide? (LWC)

BBE also has a similar structure for Wh-movement where the interrogative represents the missing information as in example 10 below.

10. What else you need?

Martin and Wolfram (1998) claim that AAVE has a distinctive question formation pattern: the non-inverted question. This is not simply an echo question and the movement of the Wh-term to the front of the sentence. It is independent from subject-auxiliary inversion as in example G below provided by Martin and Wolfram (1998).

G. Where the kids went?

Like G above, BBE also has Wh-questions without subject-auxiliary inversion as in example 11 below.

11. Where you stay?

Van Herk (2003) suggests that non-inversion with Wh-question is common in Barbadian English varieties as well, although he did not have any occurrences in his data set possibly for the same reasons I did not have any occurrences in my data set.

The BBE participants also formed interrogative sentences not changing the declarative word order, but by making the context clear like in examples 12 and 13 below.

12. You have question what I'm talking about?

13. [name withheld] works at Elbow Beach?

Cutler (2003) found the same in her TCE data illustrated in example H below.

H. You know what is wompers?

Negation.

The BBE negative sentence is the same as in English with the insertion of *not* after the auxiliary or *be* as in example 14 and 15 below.

14. I still would not marry him.

15. …the water is not blue like in Bermuda.

Negation also occurs with the insertion of *do* when there is not auxiliary verb as in 16 below.

16. I did not have that foresight.

Negative Concord

According to Martin and Wolfram (1998), one of the most noticed features of AAVE is negative concord. Although this feature exists in the language of the BBE participants, it is not as frequent as it is in other English varieties such as Bajan (Van Herk, 2003), English in St. Lucia

(Garrett, 2003), English in the Turks and Caicos Islands (Cutler, 2003), Gullah (Weldon, 1999), Trinidadian (Winford, 1983), African American English (Green, 1993, 1994, 1995, 2002; Howe, 1997; Martin & Wolfram, 1998; Weldon, 1999), and "nonstandard" British English (Trudgill, 1984). Negative elements are found both in the main clause and subordinate clauses of BBE. Negation can be marked with auxiliary negators and indefinite nouns.

17. I ain't go no way!

18. Cause mama didn't have no money for no medicines for his malaria.

19. That ain't no money.

20. Mr. Smith's daughter who don't know diddly squats about nothing...

Multiple negation can also occur in existential constructions.

21. Wouldn't be no vacation if you take children.

22. Ain't nothing to do with real life.

There were no instances of negative inversion in the data I collected.

The Noun Phrase

The noun phrase in BBE is like that in other Englishes (NP= (DET) + (AdjP) + N), with the exception of determiners. Like AAVE, the BBE NP resembles American English more than it does Gullah or other English creoles that developed at the same time (Mufwene, 1998). Examples 23 through 25 below illustrate the BBE NP.

23. The retail-ists love Cup Match because everybody needs to have their slamming, original outfit for Cup Match.

24. People were so nice.

25. It'll just be three months.

Like mainstream English and other varieties, there is no need for a determiner before a proper noun as in 23 above *Cup Match* or a determiner before collective nouns as in 24 above *People.* However, there are some occasions where Ø determiner is optional, which I will discuss shortly in example 39 through 54 below.

Adjectives are to the left of the NP as in example 23 above, *slamming original*, and example 26 below, *African.*

26. That African beat…even now it drives me crazy.

Plurality.

Plurality operates similarly to other English varieties and is marked with the suffix –s (and its allomorph –z) as in examples 27 through 29 below.

27. I don't know how I got outside because all the doors were locked.

28. She has an odd number like 30 or 40 grandkids.

29. Her parents were both from the West Indies.

There were also some cases of Ø plural in the speech of the participants as in examples 30 and 31 below.

30. …all my early recollectionØ of Bermuda.

31. …And then you have those earthquake belts that go through the Appalachian and…and those tornadoØ…and those earthquakeØ on that side…

The use of no plural –s is reminiscent of many creoles' economical plural marking feature (Baptista & Gueron, 2005). In example 31 above, the pronoun *those* mark the plurality of *tornado* and *earthquake,* making the need for an additional suffix unnecessary. However, there is variation in the use or non-use of the plural –s, even within the same speaker as illustrated in

example 32 below where the participant uses the unmarked *sport* and plural marked *sports* in the same sentence.

32. And I didn't play much sportØ at the beginning, but as I got older my…mates were playing sports, so I ended up playing sportØ as well.

Mufwene (1998) states that the variable absence of the plural marker is one of the most discussed features of AAVE. Mufwene suggests "the marker is assumed to be present at the syntactic level but disappears variably, according to some phonological conditions, at the phonological level of the derivation" (p. 77). This might possibly help explain this phenomenon in BBE and deserves further study.

Green (2002) explains that AAVE speakers can add an *–es* to words spelled with a final *st, sk,* or *sp* cluster the same way they would with words that end with *–s* as in example I below.

I. We having a lot of contestes at work.

Some of the BBE participants had this same feature as in example 33 below.

33. I enjoy codfish breakfastes.

However, this deserves more attention in terms of BBE phonology, which not included in this description.

Possession.

Possessives in BBE behave in a similar manner as they do in English and other African Diasporic varieties. The BBE participants typically expressed possessives with *–s* as in examples 34 though 36 below.

34. … they going to the neighbor's yard.

35. I remember my daughter's birthday.

36. ..that my mother's name.

This process is variable in BBE as it is in many language varieties (e.g., AAVE). Green (2002) explains the AAVE genitive *–s* as not being required in possessive contexts and that the word order is often a sufficient marker for the possessive as in example J below.

J. I always get bites cause we be hanging out at my mamaØ house. (AAVE)

The BBE participants did not necessarily use the genitive marker as in examples 37 and 38 below.

37. I've been fishing quite a few times and even caught a couple of snappers, which are BermudaØ nice fish.

38. ...everyday…somebodyØ house get broken in, you know?

Like Green's observation of AAVE, word order in examples 37 and 38 above provide the necessary context for possession. Based on word order alone, *nice fish* must belong to *Bermuda* and *house* must belong to *somebody* making possession clear. Even though participants chose to use the genitive marker more often than not, its occurrence here shows that is an option available to participants.

Pronouns.

The BBE personal pronouns are the same as English personal pronouns as Table 1 below shows and, therefore, require little explanation.

Table 1

English/BBE Personal Pronouns

	Subject	Object
1st person		
Singular	I	we
Plural	we	us

		Subject	Object
2nd person			
Singular/plural		You	
3rd person			
Singular	Masculine	he	him
	Feminine	she	her
	Neuter	It	
Plural		they	them

(Klammer & Schultz, 1996, p. 64)

Determiners.

BBE determiners, for the most part, are the same as in other Englishes. Participants used demonstratives, possessives, indefinites, cardinal numbers, and ordinal numbers as illustrated in examples 39 through 43 below.

39. …the same material her dress was made of and it had all of <u>these</u> little…dots… on it.

40. … at that time I was probably having <u>my</u> children.

41. …the only way you could get them was through <u>some</u> white person.

42. …she has <u>one</u> son who is married.

43. My <u>first</u> trip was in 1963.

BBE uses articles like *a/an* and *the* as in examples 44 through 48 below

44. It's <u>a</u> song, but it's <u>the</u> truth.

45. I never forget I had <u>an</u> accident on my bike…

46. We're probably <u>the</u> most traveled people in <u>the</u> world.

Unlike English, in the BBE NP, a determiner does not seem to be necessary with a definite or indefinite noun if the meaning is clear, thereby, leaving the nouns bare. In English, a definite article is used when there is a specific reference and an indefinite article is used when there is no specific reference. These BBE Bare NPs are not mass nouns, which are typically used without an article in AAVE (Mufwene, 1998). The Bare NPs that occurred were all with singular nouns and tended to have a specific reference. The examples show that these are typically bare NP adverbials and are singular.

47. I saw Ø little boy, about his age.

In 47 above, the speaker had already identified the boy in the context of the talk prior to this statement. So the reference here is specific—*the* boy—who I have already told you about. The same is true for 48 below.

48. If five us that can help Ø friend that is on hard times...

In 49 below, it is clear that the speaker is talking about a specific woman, her stepmother.

49. I had Ø step mama.

Bare NPs also occur as subject NPs (also singular with a specific reference) as seen in examples 50 and 51 below.

50. Working for Ø government was good.

This participant worked for Bermuda's government, which is a specific reference and does not refer to working for a *government* in general. The same is true for 51 below where the participant had already specified the *job* he currently holds.

51. But Ø job I'm at now it's not like that.

However, there were cases where the NP was not a specific one as in example 52 below.

52. Maybe they'll pay attention and try to get Ø better education.

Since there is no one *education*, this occurrence can be interpreted as being a non-specific reference. However, unlike 52 above, in 47 through 51 above, the examples are all specific and, therefore, do not require a determiner because their reference is clear based on context, despite being either definite or indefinite. The lack of an overt article does not confuse meaning. Allen (2003) argues that "every English NP is either definite or indefinite" (p. 75), but a definite is favored over an indefinite. Therefore, I believe that if the reference is clear as in the case of a definite NP, the article is see as not needed and, therefore, not used. Additionally, Baptista (2003) suggests that there are several reasons why bare NPs appeared in her study of Cape Verdean Creole: "…the speaker may consider information regarding specificity as irrelevant….[and] the entity may be easily identifiable by both the listener and speaker if such an entity is familiar to their world" (p. 31). In examples 47 through 51 above, the specificity seems irrelevant based on the context of the utterance. For each example, the meaning was easily discernable.

Although the use of the article in BBE seems optional and, as Mufwene (1998) notes, inconsistencies occur, even with the same speaker.

53. And I always say I'll go on Ø Concorde, and then <u>the</u> Concorde had to go crash last year.

In 53 above, the Bare NP seems non-specific, a general reference to Concorde planes. The participant later specifies *the* Concorde, which is clearly to the deadly 2000 crash. However, I do not believe the first occurrence is non-specific because there was only one Concorde that travels to and from Bermuda. It seems from the participant's reference point, the specificity was unnecessary.

Cutler (2003) notes that the TCE Islands has occurrences of Ø determiner, but she only notes it with the indefinite article as in example K below.

K. One room over there. One room here. Ø room for (()) [name withheld]. Ø rooms here. Ø rooms outside. The got plenty rooms all about. (TCE)

The Bare NP in Cutler's data occured with both singular and plural nouns. Based on example K above, the Bare NP only occurs with the plural noun *rooms* and not with its singular *room,* which shows a difference from the BBE data where only singular Bare NPs occur. For example, in example 54 below, if the noun were plural, there would be no need for the indefinite article.

54. I think it's just Ø excuse for people to get together.

This interpretation is not possible, however, because before the Bare NP occurrence in 54 above, the participant was talking about the May 24th holiday (also known as Bermuda Day). She talked about all the things Bermudians did on the May 24th holiday (like cooking, camping out, and visiting with family) and that most people did not know the significance of the holiday but instead use it as an excuse to get together with family. Therefore, the holiday, a singular holiday, could not possibly be plural because she was talking specifically about that holiday and not holidays in general. In BBE, it seems the definiteness of a NP is determined by its context and the need for specificity.

The Verb Phrase

Green (1998a) states that verbal forms have been the focus of study in AAVE because they show marked differences to other varieties of English. BBE verb phrase structure is like other English varieties: VP = (AUX) + V + (NP) + (PP). Although it may seem that the BBE VP is more like the English VP than the AAVE VP as described by Green (1998a; 2002), BBE does share some AAVE VP features such as Aspectual *be,* Ø copula, and Perfective *done*.

Present Tense.

The BBE present tense is the same as English as in 55 and 56 below.

55. We have a large family.

56. My sister says she does that too.

There was little variation in the BBE present tense.

Past Tense.

The BBE past tense is identical to English.

57. My grandmother just passed.

58. I noticed it the other day.

59. I recently bought a home.

According to Poplack and Tagliamonte (2001), past tense marking is the feature that has most contributed to the AAVE origins debate. Although there is some variation in BBE past tense marking, the verb is normally a marked form as in the examples 57 through 59 above. Cutler (2003) notes that in her data, TCE may retain present tense irregular verbs in the past tense as in example L below.

L. I cling to my mother. (TCE)

However, there were few examples of the present tense verbs remaining the same in the past tense in the BBE data illustrated in 60 and 61 below

60. They think those people was white[49].

61. I tell him you're very fortunate in me as a father.

---

[49] Although example 60 also shows disagreement with person and *was*, this seemed to be a singular occurrence in the data so I did not consider it in the analysis.

Unlike AAVE, as Green (1998a) describes, there were no instances of Preterite *had* as in the AAVE example M below.

M. I/you/he had ate. (AAVE)

Past Perfect.

Although there were examples of the AAVE narrative style (Cutler, 2003) past perfect as in example N below from Green (1998a), it was not prevalent in the BBE data. However, there were some examples as in 62 and 63.

N. I/you/he had ate. (AAVE)

62. I had saved money throughout my years from working in my grandfather's um restaurant. (AAVE)

63. I knew just what had happened. (AAVE)

Present Progressive.

The BBE present progressive is the same as English as in 64-69 below

64. …my father's deceased and my mother is living.

65. I'm going down the garden.

66. … we're selling the property.

Past Progressive.

The BBE past progressive can be indicated with *was* and a continuative verb as in examples 67-69 below.

67. I was doing very well.

68. Cause my mama getting, my mama was getting…

69. …was going between a black porter and a white senator and he made that senator look like hell, ok?

Aspectual Be

Aspectual *be* is a feature of languages of the African Diaspora that has been studied extensively (Edwards & Winford, 1991; Green, 2000; Walker, 2001). Although the use of the aspectual *be* occurs in the speech of the Bermudian participants, it was relatively rare in the data collected. Each of the occurrences of aspectual *be* in BBE has a habitual quality. In most instances, aspectual *be* occurs before verbs in the *–ing* verb form. Like AAVE, aspectual *be* in BBE always occurs in the uninflected or bare form (Green, 2002).

70. Don't be hailing anybody when you drive with me.

71. People be striving.

72. You sure be getting a whipping from your mother.

73. Then you get the mother saying don't be hitting my child, or don't be doing that.

There were of aspectual *be* occurring without *–ing*. One occurrence preceded a prepositional phrase indicating place as in 74 below.

74. …had to wait until Easter Monday and be in church all day Good Friday.

The other occurrence of aspectual *be* was be + uninflected verb.

75. They want to know if they be able to do things for themselves.

It does not appear that habitual *be* is an often occurring feature in the speech of the participants, but its occurrence shows that the construction is possible and should be considered part of the BBE grammar.

The Copula.

Variation in the use of the copula has been central in the description of many languages of the African Diaspora (Edwards & Winford, 1991; Green, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1998b, 2000, 2002; Hackert, 2004; Holm, 1999; Martin & Wolfram, 1998; Mufwene, Rickford, Bailey, &

Baugh, 1998; Poplack, 2000; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 2001; Rickford, John R., 1998a, 1998b; Rickford, John R. & Blake, 1990; Rickford, John R. & Romaine, 1999). BBE is similar to many African Diaspora varieties in the use of the copula. The copula occurred more often than not in the speech of the BBE participants as in 76 and 77 below.

76. Bermuda is such a beautiful place.

77. My name is [Marsha].

Zero copula is often used to support the Creole hypothesis of African American English, although I will not attempt to do that here. My participants used Ø copula as well. Zero copula in BBE occurred before a noun phrase, adjective, or locative and auxiliary *be* (before verb + *-ing* or *gon*(*na*)). Most occurrences of Ø copula in BBE were in present tense. Examples 84-86 below illustrate the use of Ø copula in BBE.

Ø _NP.

78. There Ø more variety in the US than here.

79. That Ø the little beach.

Ø _Loc.

80. He Ø with his mama.

81. They Ø both from Bermuda.

Ø _Ving.

82. They Ø eating breakfast.

83. You sound like you Ø coming from the back of Town.

Ø _Ad.j

84. I think my nana Ø absolutely beautiful.

85. Sundays Ø always a day for visiting each other.

Ø _Gonna.

86. He Ø gonna get back what you lost.

87. He Ø gonna straighten it out.

Rickford (1999), however, critiques most researchers' belief that only the present tense copula (is, are) can be deleted and past tense appears in full form. In the BBE data, I found instances of Ø copula in past tense form as in 88 and 89 below.

88. I Ø used to big money.

89. …and I don't know who Ø responsible for it at the time.

Rickford also suggests that it is almost impossible to recognize some deletions or contractions because in real-time speech, "he's sick" and "he sick" is indistinguishable. However, there were no cases where it was unclear whether there was an instance of Ø copula in the data.

Serial Verb.

Many researchers have studied the occurrence of the serial verb construction (SVC) in creole languages. SVCs are found in Kwa languages in parts of West Africa, many Caribbean Creole languages, and East and South-East Asian languages (Mufwene, 1990). A serial verb has two or more thematic verbs that are not separated by a conjunction nor by a subordinating marker, are single events, and share a subject. There were instances of SVC in BBE although English is considered a non-serializing language (Law & Veenstra, 1992). The "semantic function of SVCs consists in indicating concomitant circumstance, result or purpose" (Mufwene, 1990, p. 18).

90. I just <u>like travel</u> cause I just need a break.

91. And this man <u>came took the roof off</u>.

92. My knees started act up.

93. I'm going movies now.

94. ...I would have started think about this ahead of time.

Each of these examples (90-94 above) represent a single event and each SVC shares the same subject. SVCs must also have the same tense/aspects as the head, although Mufwene (1990) states that the tense/aspect should be stipulated on the head predicate, which would mean these examples would be excluded from SVC. However, Mufwene also says it is unnecessary to exclude them because, except for the tense/aspect marking, these examples are analogous to examples already considered SVC.

Despite the fact that SVC occurred in the data, participants did not use this construction at every opportunity. The existence of the syntactic category of PP in the language, even if they are used considerably, does not limit serialization as seen in 95 and 96 below.

95. I went to school in Somerset.

96. I just like to travel.

There was considerable variation in its use. According to Schiller (1999), "on rare occasions serialization will arise even in a prepositionally rich environment" (Schiller, 1999p. 2). In other words, the existence of prepositions does not block serialization, which is the case in BBE.

Perfective be.

Perfective *be* is the one feature that seems to be exclusive to BBE. This feature occurred most often in the speech of my participants. The feature is the combination of the present perfect with the *be* verb. The Perfective *be* typically occurs with the first person singular form as in examples 97 through 101 below; however, as I will illustrate shortly, perfective *be* is not exclusive to the first person singular. I may be able to contribute its frequency with the first

person singular to the type of data collected. The structure of the interview and the interview question encouraged participants to talk about themselves and their experiences, which may explain why perfective *be* occurred more often with the first person singular.

97. I'm been doing it so long now.

98. I'm a pitch in.

99. I'm got to find a job.

100. I'm got a guy coming out to you.

101. I'm seen Lion King.

Although perfective *be* typically occurred with first person singular, it also occurred with 2nd person singular pronouns.

102. If you're got something you don't want no more…

103. You're not been using anything.

104. I see you're walking to the door and you're got packages….

Additionally, it occurred with 3rd person plural.

105. They're got a date.

Finally, it occurred with 1st person plural.

106. We're got [Lamar]..

107. …we're been friends, what? More than 40 years.

Despite the fact that Perfective *to be* was the 2nd most frequent feature that occurred in the speech of my participants (the first was adverbial time/place), participants still used the perfective more often than the Perfective *be.*

Perfective Done.

Green (1998a) describes completive *done*, a completive feature of AAVE as illustrated in examples O and P below.

O. Look! I [done][50] cleaned a turkey! (AAVE)

P. Don't talk to me like that—after I [done] bought all these groceries. (AAVE)

Green explains that the completive *done* in AAVE can indicate the event is over as examples O and P above show. She also explains that *done* can mean the previous situation has continued relevance, which is similar to the perfect as in Q below.

Q. I [done] saw him today. (AAVE)

Although *done* did not occur in reference to a completed action in the BBE data, *done* did occur in the form similar to the prefect as in example 108-113 below.

108. I done lived down here for 60 years.

109. My auntie done a good job.

110. And a lot of hard work was done.

111. …lots of Bermudians of course have gone abroad and done quite well for themselves.

112. I see she's doing things that I done as a kid.

113. I just hate to see people run down a party because of what one person's done wrong.

Although BBE does have some of the same verbal mood nuances as AAVE that Green (Green, 2002) describes, there were no examples of some the defining verbal features of AAVE like the remote past *BIN* or the remote past perfect *had BIN* in the BBE data. That, of course,

[50] Green represents the examples of completive done phonetically; however, I have have not.

does not mean these features do not exist in the speech of my participants, but rather they did not surface during the course of the interviews.

Adverbial Phrases NP-time/NP-Place

Predicate adverbial phrases of time or place in BBE can exist in two forms: prepositional phrases and noun phrases. The predicate adverbial prepositional phrase is typical of that in other Englishes as in example 114 below.

114. I had big plans <u>for leaving the island</u>.

Participants also use adverbial NP for time as in 115-119 below.

115. Everybody would swim <u>certain time of the day</u>.

116. I was staying with this girl <u>5 years</u>.

117. Ok, making me think <u>nine o'clock in the morning</u>.

118. ...cause they only <u>came Thursday</u>.

119. So I picked the choice of going to school <u>nights</u>.

Adverbial noun phrases can also occur for place and as in example 115 thru 119 above.

120. We are living <u>a gold mine</u> here.

121. I couldn't wait to come here from school and go out and play marbles or go <u>down my pop's</u> yard and play hopscotch…

122. She goes <u>aerobics</u> in the morning.

123. I could stay <u>Vegas</u>.

124. I'm going <u>Town</u>.

These Adverbial NPs seem to function the same way as prepositional ADVPs, but without the preposition. The distribution of prepositional phrase adverbials and noun phrase adverbials seem to occur in free variation.

BBE in Comparison to Other Englishes in the African Diaspora

As the data show, the structure of BBE is much like other Englishes in the African Diaspora as well as mainstream English while still maintaining some distinctive features. The overall structure of BBE in terms of its noun phrase and verb phrase resembles other English varieties. However, there are some features that BBE does not have in common with these varieties. Table 2 below shows these BBE features in comparison with AAVE, TCI, and mainstream English.

Table 2

BBE in Comparison to Other Englishes

Feature	BBE	AAVE	TCI	Mainstream English
(S)V(O) word order	√	√	√	√
Ø Subject	√	√	√	—
Negative Concord	√	√	√	—
Plural -es + Final Consonant Cluster	√	√	√	—
Ø Genitive Marker	√	√	√	—
Ø Determiner	√	—	√	—
Aspectual Be	√	√	√	—
Ø Copula	√	√	√	—
Serial Verb	√	—	—	—
Perfective *be*	√	NA*	NA	NA

Feature	BBE	AAVE	TCI	Mainstream English
Perfective *done*	√	NA	NA	NA
Adverbial Phrase NP-Time/NP-Place	√	—	—	—

*No research available

As Table 2 above shows, BBE is more similar to TCI and AAVE than to mainstream English. Although two features, Perfective *be* and Perfective *done*, seem to be specific to BBE, research on these features in other varieties of English is unavailable. It will be interesting to see if these two features occur in other English varieties.

Final Remarks

In this article, I have provided linguistic evidence that suggests BBE has much in common with other Englishes of the African Diaspora, while still maintaining some distinctive qualities. Although it is clear that Bermuda has several features that are used in other Diaspora Englishes (i.e., Ø subject, bare NPs, Perfective *done,* and aspectual *be* for example), Perfective *be* seems to be particular to BBE.

The data here contributes to the continued study of history of language development in the African Diaspora, particularly as it pertains to African American English, largely because of its proximity to the US and influx of slaves and freedmen from the US (as noted in Chapter 2). Moreover, there seems to be a connection between Bermuda and islands of the Caribbean, particularly the Turks and Caicos Islands. Cutler (2003) notes that the Turks and Caicos islands

received slaves via Bermuda during the 17th and 18th centuries, although it is unclear whether these slaves were born in Bermuda or were just passing through.

Future research on this variety should examine the sound system of BBE as well as other grammatical features not presented here. Additionally, research on variation in the use of features presented here will contribute to the discussion of languages use among Blacks in Bermuda, especially since my participants told me they can tell where in Bermuda a person is from just by the way he or she speaks. Moreover, research on this variety in terms of its sound system will be beneficial because native Bermudians believe it is the sound system that makes the variety unique, as many of my participants explained. Additionally, they told me that they believe Blacks and Whites in Bermuda talk differently; therefore, data on the English of non-Black groups in Bermuda and a comparison between those and BBE will also help develop a more comprehensive description of English on the island.

CHAPTER 6

Future and Reflections

I designed this study to explore several areas of my research in Bermuda. My intent was to incorporate qualitative research mythologies in my approach to the linguistic study of Black English in Bermuda, which resulted in the investigation of sociolinguistic interviewing methods. Additionally, one of the aims of the research was to listen to participant descriptions of their lives as Black Bermudians and explore what that means to them. In this dissertation, I have presented the results of my study in three articles.

In Chapter 2: About Blacks in Bermuda, I present a brief history of Bermuda, specifically focusing on the Black Bermudian experience. In Chapter 3, "Being Bermudian: The Privileged Life," I explored participant's stories and descriptions of culture to help me describe what being a Black Bermudian means to my participants while also considering what it means to me using grounded theory analysis techniques. In Chapter 4, "Doing Real Linguistics Differently," I *troubled* the sociolinguistic interview and offered an option of a different approach using phenomenological interviewing techniques that I believe will help linguists collect richer data. In Chapter 5, "An English of Their Own: Features in Black Bermudian English," I presented a description of the language of my Black Bermudian participants. I found that it was similar to many Englishes of the African Diaspora but also has one distinctive feature, Perfective *to be*.

As this research comes to a close (for the purposes of this dissertation, at least), I am beginning to think about what other directions I want to take the data collected. The most

obvious direction is for the continuation of linguistic analysis and an acoustic analysis of the sound system of BBE. I believe that is one of the most salient features of the variety.

Because of Bermuda's location and historic connection to the slave trade, I believe that the study of this variety can contribute to the current debate of language development in the African Diaspora. McWhorter (1995) suggests that the future study of languages of the African Diaspora, particularly Atlantic English-based creoles, should be concerned with developing a theory for a protolanguage through comparative analysis of Atlantic English-based creoles. Although he is not the first to suggest this idea, he does admit that "[his] thesis has yet to gain unhesitating acceptance in the creolist community" (p. 290). This theory, however, cannot come to fruition without data from more languages of the area, and there are many more to be studied. Because language in Bermuda is rarely studied and, therefore, has not been used in developing these development theories, the linguistic data I have provided in this dissertation can contribute to that continued discussion.

I also would like to continue my exploration of the context of the sociolinguistic interview. Much more can be said about how we conduct research in light of critiques of the kinds of data being collected (Briggs, 1986; Cameron, 1990; Cukor-Avila & Bailey, 2001; Lass, 1980; Rickford, J. R. & McNair-Knox, 1994; Romaine, 1982). Although I truly believe there is no one right way to gather data or do research, I believe the field of linguistics has not thoroughly investigated the methodological options available to it. A vast part of social science has been almost disregarded in this area. Because any theory of language or a description of a variety can only be based on available data, the process by which this data is collected needs to be reconsidered. For example, Oakley (1981) suggests that there are extreme differences in the

way women respond to being interviewed compared to men[51] and that textbook interviewing techniques cannot be applied to both men and women equally. This difference becomes increasingly obvious, she believes, when men interview women because of power differentials. As a sociologist, she believes that although interviewing is the primary form of data collection in her field, most researchers do not bother to really describe the interview process. As a result, researchers take the interview process for granted. I think the same can be said about sociolinguistic interviewing. Oakley (1981) comments that with interviewing, "everybody knows what it is, an awful lot of people do it, and yet behind each closed front door there is a world of secrets" (p. 31). It's time we begin to reveal these secrets.

Although I conducted the research presented for only a year, it feels as if I have been living it my whole life. This dissertation represents more than 6 years of my academic career, but, even more so, it represents me. My journey through the Linguistics Program led me to the Qualitative Studies Program and together they define who I am as a researcher. The most extraordinary part of conducting this research, to me, was the time I was able to spend getting to know something about my participants. Despite whatever conclusions I may have drawn within the three articles presented here, the most important conclusions are that people are interesting, their stories are even better, and by listening to people talk about themselves and their lives, we get to know a little bit more about the world in which we live.

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[51] There is also literature on the differences with interviewing men e.g., (Schwalbe & Wolkomir, 2002).

APPENDIX A

Consent form

Franklin College of Arts and Sciences
Department of English

Consent to Participate in a Research Project

I agree to take part in a research study titled "Bermuda Narratives," which is being conducted by Iyabo Osiapem (706-542-2246) of the Linguistics Program under the direction of Dr. Sonja Lanehart (706-542-2260) of English Department of the University of Georgia. I do not have to take part in this study. I can stop taking part at any time without giving any reason, and without penalty. I can ask to have information related to me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed at any time before it is published or otherwise made public.

*****

The reason for this research is to increase understanding of the culture of Bermuda in the area of the interviews. This may eventually bring benefits such as greater understanding of the community and its culture. The research is not intended to benefit you personally.

Your part in the study will be to talk with the interviewer. I will make a tape recording of the interview. I will then have a conversation with you about your life in your local community; the conversation will take about 60 minutes. I am not trying to be nosy, but I need to get enough information to help understand your life in the community. You should feel no discomfort or stress during this research, and there are no risks for participation.

The tape recording made from your interview will be written down, and the written version will be made public. I intend that researchers and teachers, and even members of the general public will be able to read your interview, in order to learn more about the culture of your local community. Before I publish the interview, I will remove any information from the written version that might identify you, such as names and addresses, and I will also remove any personal information that I think could make it easy for somebody to identify you, such as details of your personal life. However, I cannot prevent people from guessing who you are from something you say, so I cannot guarantee that nobody will ever find out who you are. All identifying information about you such as names, addresses, and personal information will be kept private. However, you should know that research records may be obtained by court order. The University of Georgia is a non-profit organization that does not expect to get a financial return from any publication of your Linguistic Interview. In order to make this study a valid one, some information about your participation will be withheld until after the study.

I will be happy to answer any further questions about the research that you may have, now or during the course of the project, and you may reach me by calling the Linguistic Atlas Office at 706-542-2246.

*****

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Signature of Investigator: _____ Date: _____
Iyabo Osiapem
706-542-2246
osiapem@uga.edu

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____
For questions or problems about your rights please call or write: Human Subjects Office, University of Georgia, 606A Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-6514; email address irb@uga.edu.

APPENDIX B

Bermuda's Population

Table 3

Bermuda's population 1629-present

Year	Black	White
1629	300-400*	2,500*
1670	2,000*	6,000*
1699	2,427	3,615
1721	3,514	4,850
1727	3,877	5,070
1774	5,023	5,632
1822	5,964	4,648
1834	4,559	4,259
1950	22,638	14,765
1970	30,897	21,433

Year	Black	White
2000	37,056	25,003

Note. *Approximations (Bermuda Government, 2004; Packwood, 1975, 1980)

APPENDIX C

Meet the Participants: "Bermuda's Nicest Onions"[52]

I have long felt that academic research, particularly in fields where quantitative methods are more prevalent like sociolinguistics, that participants who provide the data for the research are often invisible in the write-up of that research. It was that feeling that led me to pursue a qualitative approach for my dissertation research. I wanted a chance to let readers know a little bit more about each participant, but the format of this dissertation did not allow for that. What follows are short summaries of participant stories that I interpreted from their interviews. Although I only spent about an hour with participants, I have spent many hours listening to their stories and felt that they needed to appear in the write-up of my research to acknowledge their participation, if only in a small way. I have attempted to present the participants without revealing information that may identify them. Therefore, all participant names are pseudonyms and I changed some information about participants to avoid recognition.

Women Participants

Doddy is a retired widow who used to work for the government. She has four children. Doddy now spends her time visiting friends around Bermuda and participating in senior citizen events. She talked fondly of Bermuda during the height of its tourist years when all types of famous people visited the island. She told me stories of old Bermuda and how much it has changed since her youth. She believes that Bermuda has changed for the better and it has become

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[52] Marsha (line 85). Bermudians often call themselves Onions in reference to the Bermuda Onion, which is surprisingly sweet for an onion.

a place where everybody wants to come visit. But that doesn't stop her from wanting to travel elsewhere to see how other people live.

Janice was raised in Southampton. Janice went to Bermuda College and works in an office environment. What she likes most about Bermuda is that all of her family lives nearby and she does not have to travel far to see them. She also believes that Bermuda is made richer because of all the foreigners who visit and those who have come to live on the island. She used to work in the hotel industry and loved meeting people from other places. It always made her proud when visitors would rave about Bermuda's natural beauty and the friendly people on the island. Janice loves cooking and enjoying holidays with her family.

Jannifer is a widow who raised several children. She stays active in her church and with senior citizen clubs around Bermuda. While her husband was alive, they traveled at least once a year to places all around the world. Jannifer worked in a hotel before she retired and now enjoys spending time with her children and grandchildren. She has lived in Somerset all of her life and enjoyed telling me about the "good old days," horse and carriages, and the train that used to run across the island. Although she admits she doesn't travel like she used to, she does take trips abroad whenever she can.

Joan recently retired from a retail job and is enjoying her free time, although she still works part-time. Joan grew up and still lives in the same area of Somerset. She is single and has one daughter. She believes that Bermuda has lost much of its charm from the time she grew up to now. She believes this is largely because of the influence of television and popular media on Bermuda's youth. Despite the changes Bermuda has faced, Joan believes that most Bermudians share a sense of camaraderie and feel a familial connection. She prides herself on her ability to relate to young people and tries to encourage them better themselves.

Karmen grew up in Somerset and is now a married mother of three. She works and an exempt company and in her free time she enjoys cooking and taking care of her grandchildren. She centers her life around her family and cannot wait to retire so that she can spend more time with them. Although she got married and had children young, she believes that was the best way because now she is young enough to stay active with her grandchildren and would not have it any other way. She travels a lot, at least twice a year, and is constantly surprised by the level of poverty on many other islands she's visited and is grateful that she had the fortune of being born in Bermuda.

Kay is a married mother of three who has recently retired. Kay grew up in Bailey's Bay. Kay enjoyed telling me about her school days and the mischief she and her friends would get into. She stressed that the Bermuda she grew up in is not the same as the one her children and grandchildren have. She explained to me that when she was coming up, parents were not fearful of letting their children freely roam around the island because nothing bad ever happened back then. Kay feels that now parents have to be more cautious of letting children out without supervision because there are so many bad things that can happen, like the use of drugs or being harassed. However, Kay reminded me that though Bermuda may face many problems, the island is still significantly safer than many Caribbean islands and the US.

Lucy is married with one child. She went to Bermuda College and works in an office environment. She was raised and lives in Somerset. She believes that Bermuda is the best place on earth, not only because of the natural beauty but also because of the Bermudian people. She believes that although Bermuda does not have much to offer in terms of entertainment, as a young person she was able to make the most of it and had a lot of fun. Lucy likes to travel and see how the rest of the world lives, but then enjoys returning home to Bermuda.

Mable is a retired widow who has four children. She has lived in Somerset all her life. Mable enjoyed telling me about the days of her youth when she helped her family farm their land. She told me many stories about taking care of the farm animals and about how sad she was when many people stopped farming and instead sought jobs in Town. Although she loved talking about all the work that went into just surviving, she admits that she prefers the many conveniences of a modern society like kitchen appliances and VCRs. Mable traveled often with her husband and their friends, but now she finds it difficult and, therefore, chooses not to. She admits she will go abroad for any of her grandchildren's college graduations.

Marsha is a semi-retired office manager. She raised one child on her own. She said that when she retired from her retail job, which she held for most of her working life, she did not feel like sitting at home. She now works part-time to occupy her time. She believes that Bermuda is one of the best places on earth because of its glorious history and strong people. She enjoys traveling and reminiscing about her life in Bermuda. Although she believes that Bermuda has come a long way and has succeed in becoming one of the richest countries in the world, she wonders whether new advances in technology and travel have brought an undesirable component to Bermuda, namely drugs. Marsha believes that Bermudians are being negatively impacted by the influx of non-Bermudians. She hopes that younger Bermudians will restore Bermuda to its original glory.

Nettie has traveled a bit, but hopes to do more after she finishes school. She did some courses at Bermuda College, but felt that she needed more than the small college could offer. In her travels, she discovered that everybody does not live like Bermudians and that many islands experience a high level of poverty, which she wasn't aware of. She feels that now, as an adult,

she notices more racist attitudes than when she was young. She believes that many Ex-patriots in Bermuda have negative attitudes about Bermudians. Nettie was raised and still lives in Somerset.

Sandy is a single mother of two and works in an office environment. She enjoyed her time growing up in Bermuda, but thinks the island has changed for the worse over the years. She believes that Bermuda used to be very family oriented and although that feeling still exits, it's to a lesser extent than when she grew up. Because of that, she has to keep a closer watch on her children than her parents did on her. Sandy also believes that the sentiment "it takes a village to raise a child" was true when she was young, but now that is not the case because people are no longer responsible for correcting children who are not their own. However, despite the changes, she believes that Bermuda is one of the safest places to live and does not want to live anywhere else.

Sherry is married and has one child. She went to Bermuda College and is now works in an office. She has fond memories of growing up in Bermuda and believes that Bermuda is still the same place as it was in her youth. She believes that because of the recent immigration to Bermuda has caused more racism than before because now Bermudians are often overlooked for jobs when companies can get cheaper workers from overseas. She thinks that even though there are a lot of foreigners in Bermuda, they are picking up the traditions and culture and are fitting into Bermudian society.

Tanya grew up in Somerest, is a divorced mother of one, and works at an exempt company. Although she owned a home in Bermuda, she was forced to sell it because of her divorce. She travels often, but at the time of the interview she had not left the island in over two

years and was experiencing "Rock Fever[53]." She fondly remembers her youth in Bermuda, where she believes children were more creative with entertaining themselves because they did not have all of the games and toys that children today have. However, she feels pleased that she is able to give her child a life that she did not have. She hopes one day to remarry, but wants to take her time when dating someone new so that she does not make the same mistakes as before.

Thea is a single mother who has one child. She grew up in Southampton and still lives there. She used to work in a hotel, but changed careers and went to Bermuda College and now works at an exempt company. She travels often throughout the US and the Caribbean. She hopes to buy a house in Bermuda, but has decided that if she cannot do that, she will look into buying property in the States. She likes the community spirit of Bermuda and enjoys the closeness she shares with her family. Thea feels that because of the influx of exempt companies and the emigration of British Ex-patriots that Bermuda is loosing that "old time feeling" because the foreigners do not know and, therefore, cannot perpetuate Bermudian culture like acknowledging people as you walk around Town. However, despite the "loss" of culture, Thea believes that having people of other cultures enhances Bermuda's environment.

Tracy is a single mother of one. She was raised in Pembroke, but now lives in Warwick. Tracy works in an office environment and is taking courses at the College. She hopes to change careers shortly. She likes the quiet atmosphere of Bermuda more than any aspect of the island, but she enjoys going away for a little more excitement. She does not think that Bermuda's social environment is suitable for young people because there's not much to do, but she cannot imagine living anywhere else. Although she considered going abroad for school, she decided to stay on

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[53] Rock Fever' (the Rock is a nickname for Bermuda used by Bermudians), which is "the psychological problem resulting from being on the island for too long at a stretch (i.e., more than 10 months)" (Smith, P. A. & Barrit, 1999)

the island and save money so she can send her child to private school. She promised herself that she will save money for her child's college education.

Men Participants

Brett is single and believes that the biggest thing Bermudians have to worry about is Rock Fever. He believes that Bermudians travel more than most people on an island because most Bermudians save their money in order to be able to travel. Brett has traveled extensively in the US and Europe and is now getting to know the Caribbean better. According to Brett, in order to keep his sanity, he must leave Bermuda at least twice a year and get away from his routine. Additionally, Brett believes that because of Ex-Patriots entering Bermuda, Black Bermudians are experiencing more racism, specifically with hiring practices.

Donald is divorced with three children and lives in Somerset. He works as an equipment operator in Bermuda. Donald travels often for pleasure, mostly to the US, but has also traveled abroad for career training. He believes that Bermuda is virtually the same place has it was when he grew up, but that now there are more things that children have to contend with like drugs and sex. Donald believes that the government should take more of an active role in keep drugs off the island and should encourage convicted convicts to pursue other career options while incarcerated. He believes that the family unit has been destroyed, but that alone does not give children the right to terrorize the island.

James is married with three children. He is retired, but works part-time jobs to stay busy. He believes that not only are Bermudians some of the richest people in the world, but also that Bermudians are some of the most traveled people in the world. James told me that Bermudians feel the need to travel so often because they live on such a tiny island and that smallness can make people crazy. Therefore, in order to address their feelings of claustrophobia, they must

leave often. According to James, this is one of the reasons why people never really retire, because they need to continue to make money so they can travel.

Keith is single with no children. He has taken courses Bermuda College but does not know where his career is headed yet. Keith believes that because Bermuda is so small, everybody knows everything about you and it's hard to just be yourself because everybody will judge you. However, he enjoys living on such a small island because there's nothing about Bermuda that he doesn't know and he has been everywhere on the island. Even though he gets frustrated by the smallness of the islands, he admits that knowing everything and everybody is very comforting.

Lamar is single and was raised in several parts of Bermuda. He now works in construction. Lamar does not travel often and says he feels more comfortable in Bermuda and has little desire to leave. He talked about his childhood in Bermuda and the fun he had getting to know Bermuda in his youth. Lamar thinks that although Bermuda is small, smallness is just a state of mind and Bermuda can be as big or as small and you want it to be.

Malcolm sees himself as an entrepreneur. He is single with no children and spends his free time reading history books about Bermuda. He believes that most Bermudians are unaware their history because Bermuda's history is not emphasized in schools. Malcolm believes that because many Bermudians live luxurious lives, they are often unaware of hardships that some Bermudians do not live as well. Malcolm told me that most Bermudians want to present a rosy side of Bermuda because that is what tourists expect and want.

Mark was raised in Bailey's Bay, is single, and has three children. He believes that Bermudians have lived a privileged life compared to people on many other islands because in Bermuda there are always jobs available to people as long as they are willing to work.

Additionally, Mark told me that most Bermudians have the opportunity to go abroad to school, although many do not take that opportunity. Because of that, educated Bermudians can demand higher salaries when they return. He believes that unlike other islands, Bermudians have a higher value for being educated abroad, which is why people look at Bermuda College as an extension of high school. Although Mark considered going away to school, he decided to stay in Bermuda to begin a career in construction.

Nelson is a retired engineer who spends his time with his children and grandchildren while keeping up with current events in Bermuda. He travels often to the US, Europe, and Africa. He prides himself on his participation in Bermuda's Civil Rights movement and is proud of how far Black people have come since then. However, he believes that Bermuda's downfall is the influence from other cultures, particularly American culture, and that the Bermuda Government should make a better effort to keep drugs off the island. Although be believes that drugs are not as big of a problem in Bermuda as they are on other islands, he believes it's only going to get worse before it gets better. Moreover, Nelson believes that the use of drugs has caused an increase in violent crimes in Bermuda.

Randy is married and used to work in the hotel industry. He left that job and is now trying to create another career for himself. He went to Bermuda College for some technical training and has taken career advancement courses in Bermuda and abroad. He's traveled throughout the States and Europe, and a few places in the Caribbean. He enjoyed telling me about his youth and what it was like growing up in Bermuda and believes that Bermuda has not changed much from his youth.

Robert is married and now works in Town. He believes that although Bermuda, as a country, has made major advances, Bermudians have lost their sense of family, familiarity, and

closeness that the island was known for. He enjoyed telling stories about when he was young. If he ever got in trouble, his parents would find out about it before he got home—and that was before everyone had a telephone. He says a lot of changes are because people stay inside more and are not forced to make friends with people outside of their normal social circle. Robert travels often, both by himself and with his family.

Sean is a semi-retired salesman. He is married and has two children. He believes that Bermuda has a culture like no other island but that most Bermudians don't recognize the culture. Sean enjoyed telling me about old Bermuda and the differences he sees today. He told me stories of Bermuda's history, particularly events that most people don't know about. He believes that the advent of technology, like cars, telephones, and TV, has eroded the familial atmosphere in Bermuda because people are not forced to meet others and, therefore, do not perpetuate the sense of community that Bermuda used to have.

Winston is a semi-retired computer technician who has always lived in Somerset. He travels often to the US and has been to most of Central and South America. He believes that Bermuda's culture is a mixture of cultures from elsewhere and that there is little that is uniquely Bermudian, which he believes is largely due to Bermuda's international presence. Winston believes that because Bermuda was an uninhabited island and since its founding has hosted people from all over the world, that Bermudians have absorbed the culture of others. However, he believes that there are attempts to preserve culture but that eventually Bermudian culture will become synonymous with American culture.

Ziggy is a retired engineer who talked fondly about his childhood in Bermuda. He grew up on a farm where they grew almost everything they needed. When they didn't have something that they needed, they would barter with the neighbors. Ziggy believes that growing up in a

community that was self-sufficient taught him valuable lessons in life, which he believes younger Bermudians have missed. Ziggy stays active in several clubs across the island and enjoys the garden that he tends to at his home.

APPENDIX D

Participant Demographics

Table 4

Women Participants Demographics

Name	Age	Highest Education	Martial Status	Occupation	Lives in
Nettie	21	Bermuda College	Single	Office worker	Sandys
Tracy	24	Bermuda College	Single	Office worker	Warwick
Tanya	33	High School	Single	Hotel employee	Sandys
Sherry	34	Bermuda College	Married	Office worker	Devonshire
Thea	39	Bermuda College	Single	Office worker	Pembroke
Karmen	41	High School	Married	Office worker	Pembroke
Janice	41	Bermuda College	Single	Office worker	Warwick
Lucy	44	Bermuda College	Married	Office worker	Somerset
Sandy	45	High School	Single	Office worker	Devonshire
Joan	55	High School	Single	Retail	Sandys
Kay	65	High School	Married	Office worker	Somerset
Marsha	75	Bermuda College	Single	Office worker	Southampton
Doddy	76	Middle School	Widowed	Retired	Southampton
Mable	79	High School	Widowed	Retired	Somerset
Jannifer	80	Middle School	Widowed	Retired	Somerset

Table 5

Men Participants Demographics

Name	Age	Highest Education	Martial Status	Occupation	Lives in
Keith	23	Bermuda College	Single	Construction	Pembroke
Mark	32	High School	Single	Construction	Bailey's Bay
Randy	35	Bermuda College	Married	Hotel employee	Southampton
Brett	35	High School	Single	Office worker	Warwick
Malcolm	37	High School	Single	Construction	Hamilton
Mark	33	High School	Single	Construction	Hamilton
Lamar	41	Primary School	Single	Construction	St. George’s
Robert	51	High School	Married	Security officer	Smith’s
James	57	Primary School	Married	Security officer	St. David's
Leon	59	Primary School	Married	Retired	Pembroke
Willard	59	Some College	Married	Retired	Devonshire
Donald	60	Primary School	Divorced	Equipment operator	Warwick
Ziggy	60+	High School	Unknown	Electrician	Pembroke
Winston	61	Some College	Unknown	Computer technician	Somerset
Sean	63	Some College	Married	Retired	Somerset
Nelson	70	High School	Married	Electrician	Devonshire

APPENDIX E

Participant Interview Length

Table 6

Women Participants Interview Length

Name	Interview length[54]	Transcript page length[55]	Word count
Nettie	56:44	10	7805
Tracy	49:05	6	4306
Tanya	60:15	9	6867
Sherry	46:32	5	5749
Thea	60:09*	13	10205
Karmen	47:01	8	6728
Janice	44:41	8	6008
Lucy	49:59	8	7069
Sandy	51:50	7	5579
Joan	69:33*	13	9991
Kay	52:43	10	7985

[54] *For those interviews that lasted over an hour, I only used the first hour of speech for my analysis. The transcript length and word count are based on 1 hour of speech.

[55] To determine transcript length, I took out all of my occurrences of speech. These transcripts are all single space 12 pt. font and have no line breaks.

Name	Interview length[54]	Transcript page length[55]	Word count
Marsha	60:00	9	6985
Doddy	54:56	6	7021
Mable	63:15*	12	9862
Jannifer	51:44	6	4954

Table 7

Men Participants Interview Length

Name	Interview length	Transcript length	Word count
Keith	37:24	7	4942
Mark	63:29*	9	9543
Randy	46:36	7	5744
Brett	38:28	8	5869
Malcolm	48:18	7	6012
Lamar	89:50*	20	15708
Robert	51:29	7	5398
James	66:20*	13	9213
Leon	67:51*	13	10487
Willard	63:56*	12	10023
Donald	49:27	9	7020
Winston	39:01	7	6535
Sean	58:41	10	7490

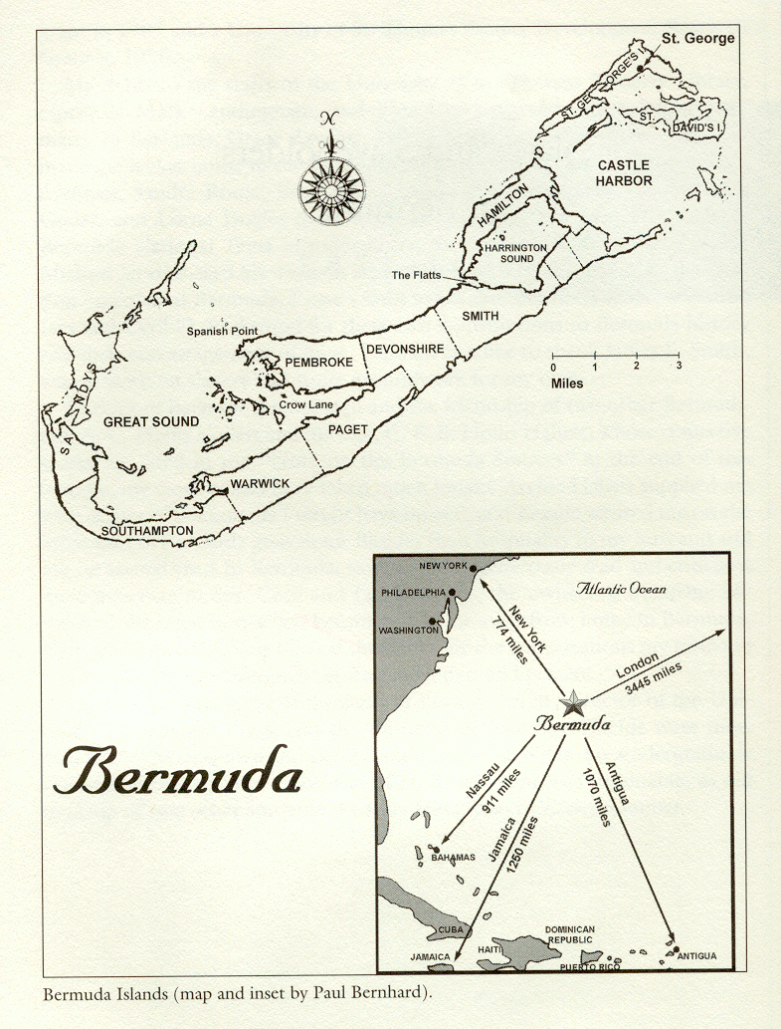
Name	Interview length	Transcript length	Word count
Nelson	57:09	9	6249
Ziggy	38:21	7	5066

APPENDIX G

Map of Bermuda

Figure 1

Map of Bermuda



Bermuda Islands (map and inset by Paul Bernhard).

(Bernhard, 1999)

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