A Historical and Phonetic Study of Negro Dialect.

T. Earl Pardoe

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College
A

Historical and Phonetic Study of
Negro Dialect.

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By

T. Earl Pardoe

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Acknowledgement

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This thesis is a study of the speech of the southern Negro. It represents a chronological record of more than 160 selections of Negro-English dialect in orthographies, and a phonetic transcription of portions of these and of current selections from Negro speech. It undertakes to show that Negro dialect is the product of the teachings of former English-speaking overseers, British and American, modified by native African phonetic patterns.

A brief history of the coming of the Negroes to America is accompanied by a presentation of general West African language characteristics. These African language elements later are compared to Negro speech characteristics as revealed by phonetic and phonelescopic analysis of Negro voices.

A representative vocabulary gleaned from the best writers and more than 200 Louisiana Negroes is given in orthographic and in phonetic transcription, followed by numerous interlinear transcriptions of Negro speech recorded from personal interviews.

A comprehensive analysis of the phonetic structure of Negro dialects is made from the best orthographic representations and from interviews with Negroes in Louisiana, especially within the environs of Baton Rouge.

This thesis gives a record of orthographic Negro-English dialects from 1776 to the present; it endeavors to show that the speech of the isolated Negro in the South still contains
phonetic elements of African languages, and that the "southern drawl" is a resultant product of the Negro's native speech habits adapted to English language forms. Finally, it undertakes to establish a technique for the study of a dialect.
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I

Introduction
A Historical and Phonetic Study of Negro Dialect

I

-- Introduction --

This thesis is a study of the speech of the Southern Negro. It represents a chronological record of Negro-English dialects in orthographies and a phonetic transcription of portions of these and of current selections from Negro speech. It undertakes to show that Negro dialect is the product of the teachings of former English-speaking overseers, British and American, modified by native African phonetic patterns. It includes phonophotographic studies of samplings of colloquial Negro speech. The method followed in this study establishes a technique for the study of a dialect.

The Negroes of the southern portion of the United States have been selected for this study because of the abundance of available material, the wide interest in their history, the extensive use of Negro characters in modern fiction and drama, and the rich variety of speech adjustments used by Negroes in their attempts to communicate in the English language.

The literary data used in this thesis represent, of course, the gleanings of a lifetime, focused and organized during the two and one-half years of developing this study.

The phonetic data have been gathered over a period between June, 1934, and January, 1937, particularly during the summers of 1934, 1935 and 1936, and the first school semester of 1937.
During this time the investigator interviewed upwards of 800 individual Negroes, mainly in the following-named Louisiana communities and their neighborhoods: Baton Rouge, New Roads, St. Francisville, White Castle, Plaquemine, Opelousas, St. Martinville, New Iberia, Crowley, Lake Charles, LeCompte, Alexandria, Winfield, Arcadia, Ruston, Monroe, and Columbia, and the New Orleans docks. These interviews were productive of endless notes, vocabulary lists and fugitive phonetic transcriptions, and of an improved understanding of Negro ways, thought and living, folk-lore, vocal quality, intonation, and many less tangible things. Out of the large number interviewed, about twelve persons, consisting principally of residents of the Baton Rouge area, became the major sources of information. From these twelve, phonograph recordings were made of a selected four, Albert Jenkins being used as principal subject.

The recording and reproducing instrument first used was of the type commercially known as the Ampion; later, duplicates were made on the Fidelitones. Eleven of these records are filed with the Louisiana State University Department of Speech as accompaniment of this thesis.

The frequency graphs used in the later part of the study were made from a phonophotographic set-up adapted to a phono-oscopic technique.

It will aid in the understanding of the Negro to know his designated racial classification and to recognize the characteristics ascribed to that race. To grasp these, we must know something of the African continent and its peoples.

History reveals that slave-trading within African tribes was centuries old when the first Negroes were brought to
America, and that whole villages, with their kings and lords, priests and workers, were enslaved for the American trade. The Negroes who were brought to the United States as slaves had no written languages. Indeed, many African dialects existed near each other without the people being able to understand each other. (Excerpts from some of their orthographically recorded languages are included within this study to reveal their great dissimilarities.) Many of the speech habits and language forms of Africa were transplanted to America by the Negroes during their period of acquisition of the New World speech.

The great majority of the Negroes imported to the United States came from districts and tribes of the Niger and Congo rivers; this fact aids us in the study of their original language and social habits. Much native folk-lore and many folk-habits have been kept alive and have become traditional in the Carolina fields or along the Louisiana bayous.

The 1930 census of the population of the United States shows that there is a decided migration of the Negroes from the farm to the city and from the South to the North. This evident population change suggests the need of recording and studying the present-day Negro dialect before it changes too greatly.

From the time of Brackenridge, Poe and Cooper, who first introduced the Negro character to fictional literature, the Negro has gained increasing importance in written
characterization. Attempts to represent the Negro orthographically have been legion. Section III of this study consists of a representative collection from the various dialect writers of record. These selections serve for a study of language structure, show characteristic variations in the Negro expression and demonstrate the necessity of a scientific research for dialect accuracy. An examination of these orthographic attempts to portray the speech of the Negro reveals a growing interest on the part of the more recent authors to depict Negro characters and their speech as accurately as possible.

Following these orthographic selections, the phonetic alphabet is introduced in Section IV. This alphabet is the one adopted by the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and system of Canada and concurs usually with the symbols and diacritical marks known as the International Phonetic Alphabet. A consistent and careful mastery of these symbols, with their phonetic values, will prepare the student for a better and more accurate interpretation of the Negro dialects.

A practical working vocabulary is presented in Section V. This vocabulary is made from the works of the more reputable authors and from actual phonetic transcriptions of Negro speech. To clarify the vocabulary for easy reference, it is alphabetically arranged and is presented in three columns: the standard English spelling, e.g., fog; the orthographic dialect spelling, fawg; and the phonetic transcription, (f₂g).
Section VI develops the phonetic structure of the Negro dialects. The vocabulary in Section I is an analysis, while this section is a synthetic treatment of sounds and language forms showing their relationship to each other. For the sake of convenience and accuracy, and because the best represents the cross section of transplanted primitive African life, the Louisiana Negro is the chief subject of this portion of the study. This section develops the view that the early Negroes in America were innovators as well as adaptors of the New World speech.

Interlinear transcriptions follow in Section VII, the better to make clear the relationships and comparisons between the orthographic and the phonetic representations of the dialects. The transcriptions were taken in actual interviews and conversations with Louisiana Negroes. Weeks were often consumed in running down some of the words in their free and natural settings. The subject, Albert Jenkins, was especially good as a representative type of the Negro used in this study and much of the technical work was made from his speech and through his kindly cooperation in procuring additional subjects.

The treatise proceeds to a collection of phonographic recordings (Section VIII) of the speech of several of the Negroes used for the study, and a phonophotographic analysis of Negro speech. This analysis, in Section IX, specifically has to do with the frequencies, pitch patterns and time, and with comparisons with some standard American-English phono-
photographic studies. This analysis presents visually a further aid for the study of the typical Negro speech.

To the knowledge of the writer, no attempt similar to this treatise has been made to establish a technique for the study of a dialect.

A study of this investigation will aid the student, speaker or writer, better to understand and present the Southern Negro dialect.

This thesis reveals that the Negro did more than assimilate the errors and variants of the early British dialects, that he is more than an important repository of British speech evolutions: he definitely used his own native language equipment and adapted the corrupt English taught him to fit his own phonetic concepts. And from his adaptations has come a unique linguistic contribution, the southern drawl.
II

The History of the Negro and His Coming to America
A Brief History of the Negro

A Preparation for the Understanding of the Negro-English Dialect

As to the time the first Negro tried to speak English, history makes no brief. We do have some interesting records of the early attempts of the English to enact Negro parts in plays. This study presents some of the first known efforts to portray the Negro character in English literature. Primarily, this treatise has to do with the Negro as we know him in America, and with his efforts and ability to use the American language within his own groups and in his associations with white people.

For the present, we are concerned with the very interesting problem of just who and what the Negro is. What do we know of the Negro's provenience? What class of Negroes came to the United States? What were some of the language characteristics in their native land? Under what conditions was the Negro brought to America? How much has the residence in the United States affected his thinking, social habits, folklore, and speech habits? These are all pertinent questions which should be answered for the intelligent understanding of the Negro dialect.

Who and What Is the Negro?

It has come to be a common approach for students of the human race to classify mankind under three general
1. Senegal  
2. Gambia  
3. Port. Guinea  
4. French Guinea  
5. Sierra Leone  
6. Liberia  
7. Ivory Coast  
8. Gold Coast  
9. Togo  
10. Dahomey  

Tropic of Capricorn  

South Atlantic Ocean  

AFRICA  

Figure I
headings; Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid. And the chief elements for judging a race are color of skin, stature, shape of head, type of hair, general characteristics of face, and shape of nose. The Negro we shall study in this treatise is that type of mankind generally meant when the average white American says "Negro". He is black of skin, varies in stature from 65 to 75 inches, has woolly hair, moderate dolichocerephaly, (i.e., a long head looked at from the side, with a cephalic index* averaging 74-75,) a broad flat nose, thick and often everted lips, and frequently a considerable degree of prognathism (projection) of the lower jaw. (1)

The average Negro seen in the woods, the fields, and the Negro districts of southern towns will generally conform to this pattern. It is this Negro we expect to see or represent on the stage and it is this Negro a Southerner has in mind when he writes of him in stories.

The race of people or peoples which best answers to the above classification of Negro is found chiefly in the continent of Africa. See Figure I.

For the purpose of this study, Africa is divided into two major divisions; the Northern portion, which had a written language at the time slavery was introduced into América, and the Western and major Central portion, which

*Cephalic index is the ratio of the breadth of the head to the length, the length being taken at 100. The C.I. equals $\frac{B}{L} \times 100$. The majority fall between 70 and 85.

(1) C. G. Seligman, Races of Africa, N.Y., Holt, 1930.
Distribution of Languages
- Semitic
- Hamitic
- Hottentot
- Bantu
- Sudanic
- Bushman - Pygmies

Figure II

Berber = Negroid - Caucasoid
Nilotes = Caucasoid - Hamitic
Bantu = Negroid in varying degrees
Hottentot and Bushman = Mongoloid eye
Sudanic = True Negro
had no written languages. The great Sahara Desert has been the principal dividing line between these peoples—deserts and forests have been and are the greatest geographical factors in the distribution of the African populations. From the very beginning, the explorers (2) of these regions always have been impressed by these great barriers. The Sahara has done much to separate the real Negro from the Mediterranean populations. The Abyssinian deep-cut massif has blocked easy access for the Negro to this portion of Northern Africa and to the culture of written languages. The extensive Nile-Congo watershed (3), though only two thousand feet high, has been an adequate obstacle to keep the Eastern tribes from further advance in the West.

The map of Figure II is after Struck by Seligman. (4) We have no place in the discussion of this treatise for the Bushman and the Hottentot, other than to state that they are the most primitive of the African races. Their size did not make them valuable as slaves and relatively few found their way to the Americas. The Negro we know best in the United States has come chiefly from the "Coasts" and the Bantu Country, as will be developed in brief in the paragraphs which follow.

What Do We Know of Negro Provenience?

We do not know the exact origin of the Negro race. Such authorities as Boas (5), Blyden (6), Breasted (7), DuBois (8), Frobenius (9), Haddon (10), Johnson (11), Johnston (12), Keith (13), and many others, express in various ways their total inability to state any positive facts as to Negro origin. Some authorities even are willing to doubt whether Africa was the first habitat of the Negro. The migration of people from colder to warmer regions, the effect of the sun's rays upon the skin's pigment, and the well known power of the body to adapt itself to environment, all tend to becloud this vexing problem. The great distribution of Negroid peoples makes further investigation necessary.

The coming of the African to the Americas is practically of recent times and most factors of Negro association with the aborigines and whites are easily ascertained. It is fortunate that the facts which aid us in the study of Negro-English dialect are quite well within our grasp, though fading and blurring fast.

(10) A. C. Haddon, *The Races of Man and their Distribution*, N.Y., Macmillan, 1925.
The origin of the Negro remains a fascinating problem for the archeologist and the ethnologist. The Negro we know in the United States originated in Africa, though his journey to our shores may have been delayed by way of Brazil or of the many islands of the Caribbean Sea. (14)

What Tribes and Class of Negroes Came to the United States?

It is not an uncommon method for students of sociology and geography to classify races by language, though the study of physical characters offers a more stable basis. The ethnologist Seligman (15) states, "Language—helpful as it may be—is itself no safe guide to race. Yet the study of the races of Africa has been so largely determined by the interest in speech, and it is so much easier to acquire a working knowledge of a language than any other part of man's cultural make-up, that names based upon linguistic criteria are constantly applied to large groups of mankind—indeed, if intelligently used, they often fit quite well." Seligman, following other scholars, classified the distinctive races of Africa as five; (1) Hamites, (2) Semites, (3) Negroes, (4) Bushmen and Hottentots, and (5) Negritoes. Herskovits, one of the best of modern scholars, classifies Africa as (1) Berber, (2) "True Negro," (3) Nilotes, (4) Hamitic, (5) Bantu, and (6) Hottentots and Bushmen.

It is a fact attested by most authorities that full-blooded Negroes are found only south of the Sahara Desert. (16) This desert region and immediate surrounding areas are occupied by people known as Berbers, of mixed blood, Negroid-Caucasoid. Caucasoid groups inhabit the northern areas of Africa skirting the Mediterranean, as found in Morocco, Algiers, Libya, and Northern Egypt. The Nilotes occupy the upper-Nile areas, less of Negroid in character and apparently a mixture of Caucasoid-Hamitic races. In Abyssinia live the true Hamitios, with less of the Negroid and more of the Arabian blood. The pygmy Bushmen, and their neighbors, the Hottentots, of normal size, represent the smaller groups in the southwestern portion of Africa. Both these tribes have slant-eyes and yellowish pigmentation and peculiar "frizzy" hair and a skin which wrinkles much more than that of the average human being. A few of the tribesmen came to the islands and later to the United States and infrequently some of their offspring may be seen.

The largest group of African tribesmen are the Bantu-speaking peoples. (17) These Negroes closely resemble the true Negro of the West Africa, though they may differ greatly in stature and form of face. This varying group occupies the great basin of the Congo and represents centuries of racial interchange which took place in the heart of the African continent.

(17) R. N. Cust, Modern Languages of Africa, London, Trübner & Co., 1883. (A comprehensive study, comprising the work of many of the world's greatest ethnological and linguistic scholars.)
Most of the slaves which ultimately reached America came from these Bantu-speaking peoples in the area known as the West Coast of Africa. The True Negro (18) lived in this southern sloping portion of the upper continent which faces the Gulf of Guinea, comprising the countries of Gambia, Porte Guinea, French Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Gold Coast, Togo, Dahomey, and Nigeria. The two great rivers, the Niger and the Congo, were contributing factors aiding in the concentration of population, and determining the easier mode of travel.

Folk Habits and Customs: The Negro of the important West Coast lived in the most densely populated district of Africa, had a well-developed economic life, and cared for certain domestic animals, the dog, pig, goat and hen. He grew beans, gourds, peanuts, and bananas. From this district came wood and ivory-carving, bronze and brass works, weaving and pottery and other evidences of culture. (19) In most tribes, the ancestral cult was very important and a universal belief in charms and magic was noteworthy. (20) Polygamy was not uncommon, which may well account for the well-known promiscuity of the ante-bellum Negro in America, and to quite a degree, for its post-bellum frequency.

The Bantu-speaking people depended very little on cattle and lived chiefly by other agricultural pursuits. Houses were collected in groups. Good government (21) was more

(19) Ibid., p. 221.
(20) Ibid., p. 231.
(21) Ibid., p. 228.
common than not, trades were developed in villages, such as bark-weaving, iron moulding, the carving of masks and wooden figures. Decoration of the body was not uncommon, a most intricate cicatrisation being found then and now in Congo villages. (22) The mystery of the drum language is always mentioned by the new traveler and explorer. The wooden drum (23) and a peculiar guitar (West-African harp) are still very common. Religious dances, common to all Africa (24), are highly developed both here and on the West Coast. The Negro of West Africa and the great Congo Basin was extremely religious. Magic, taboos, and charms were living realities and the progenitors of the practices of the Negro of southern United States. (25) Various kinds of "secret societies" have been present in West Africa for centuries—secrecies of varying types. This is significant in understanding our "group-seeking" Negro of today in the United States. (26).

The African lived in villages and worked in tribes; he developed a group loyalty, learned a trade and was taught tribal responsibility. He cultivated land and tended cattle. He knew the necessity of caring for crops and of increasing the herd. To share in tribal unity or to work for plantation prosperity was not such a tremendous change in his life habits. Nor was the plying of a bateau on a Louisiana bayou much

(22) Seligman, op. cit.
(26) Gorer, op. cit.
different from pushing a skiff or hollowed log in a tributary of the tropical Congo. It was easy to adjust to the fertile South and perpetuate many of his African traditions.

Type of People Taken in Slave Raids: This problem does not enter to any great extent into our study, but an answer must be given to the oft-repeated statement of some two decades ago that only the most ignorant of the Negroes were captured for slavery. Many of the missionaries' and explorers' reports tell of the capture of whole villages, the king, the priests and councillors and best warriors. The capture of a Negro village by an enemy tribe or by slave hunters was managed but little differently from the Roman's seizing of a beleaguered city—all the people, especially the leaders and the healthy, were taken as hostages and sold as slaves. (27) It was to avoid this that an amorous queen of Egypt died by the sting of an asp and escaped the victorious procession of a conquering Caesar.

Traffic in slaves was centuries old when the negroes were first brought to America, as we read in Beardsley (28), Cureau (29), Gorer (30), Park (31) and others—not only slave selling by various nations, but slave selling within their own tribes. The Negro yielded without much resistance when completely surrounded and the slave line was not a new sight when the Portugese came to Africa and began a traffic which ultimately culminated in the Civil War of the United States. The slaves

(29) Cureau, op. cit.
(30) Gorer, op. cit.
(31) Park, op. cit.
brought to America represented all social classes of West African Negroes. If any were left, it was the unfit.

The culture basis of study becomes the most important factor in studying the Negro in the United States.* West African tribes do not possess written languages except those vitally influenced by the Arabians in northern Africa and a tribe in the Sierra Leone country. (32) This means that practically all tribes south of the Sahara had no written languages. This easily accounts for the almost innumerable dialects within the Congo basin itself. The West Coast Negro (of the True Negro type) speaks a Sudanese language with some sixteen major dialects, and the Congo Basin groups speak variations of the Bantu tongue in some sixty major dialects with many differences in villages and tribes.

A list from the New Standard Encyclopedia (33) is presented here as a means of conveying somewhat of an idea of the many different tribes and the resultant variations in speech of the Bantu-speaking and True Negro groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Localities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BANTU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababwa</td>
<td>Welle River to Aruwimi River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana-Zoa</td>
<td>Orange Free State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amboella</td>
<td>West of Barotseland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Appendix One gives a brief working list of the studies of Folklore of the Negro in the United States.

(33) F. W. Migeod, A View of Sierra Leone, N. Y., Brentano, 1927.
ASHANTI
Bakalahari
Bakongo
Bakunda
Bakutu
Bakwena
Balante
Bangala
Bangwaketsi
Banyai
Banza
Bapinji
Bapoto

BAROTSE
Basenga
Bashilange
Basongo
Bassanga
Ba Sundi

BASUTO
Bateke
Batetela
Batoka (Batonga)
Bavili
Bayaka

BECUHANA
Barolong
Barwari

Gold Coast
Bechuanaland
Kasongo
Leopoldville
Belgian Congo
Mafeking
P.g. Guinea
Angola
Bechuanaland
Central Rhodesia
Congo River to Ubangi River
Near Brazzaville
Middle Congo River
Upper Zambezi River
N. of Mochaoland
N. of Luanda
French Congo
Belgian Congo
S.W. Belgian Congo
S. of Orange F. S.
Near Brazzaville
Lulaba to Lomami
Central Rhodesia
Loango
Loango
Mafeking
R. Molopo
**BECHUANA**

- Batlaro
- Belamoto

**DAHOMEY**

- Kabinda
- Kavirondo

**KIOKO**

- Kabinda
- Kavirondo

**LUBA-LUNDA**

- Makonde
- Makua
- Mangbettu

**MASHONA**

- Masai
- Mauri
- Maviti
- Mayumbe
- Minungo
- Mogwandi
- Mongo
- Niam-Niam (Azandeh, Sande)

**OVAHERERO**

- Ovambo
- Songo

**XOSA (Kafir)**

- Mpondo
- Tembu

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Geographic Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batlaro</td>
<td>Kuruman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belamoto</td>
<td>L. Moero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slave Coast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabinda</td>
<td>N. of Congo River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavirondo</td>
<td>N. E. shores of Victoria Nyanza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Angola</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bet. Kwango River and L. Tanganyika</td>
<td>Pg. E. Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makonde</td>
<td>Mazambique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangbettu</td>
<td>N.E. Belgian Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masai</td>
<td>W. Rhodesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauri</td>
<td>L. Nyasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maviti</td>
<td>Sokoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayumbe</td>
<td>L. Nyasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minungo</td>
<td>N. of mouth of Congo River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo River to Ubangi River</td>
<td>Valley of Ruki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niam-Niam (Azandeh, Sande)</td>
<td>N.E. Belg. Congo and S.W. Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovambo</td>
<td>N. Coast S. W. Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songo</td>
<td>Near Loanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpondo</td>
<td>E. Cape Good Hope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tembu</td>
<td>S.W. Cape Good Hope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
XOSA (Kaffir)
  Yaundi
  Yoruba

ZULU (Kaffir)
  Matabele
  Swazi

NEGRO
  Apa
  Bambara
  Basa
  Basa
  Bulom
  Deuka
  Ibo
  Jola
  Mandingo
  Munshi
  Nalou
  Nuehr
  Shilluk
  Timmene
  Wari

  Batanga
  West Coast
  Rhodesia
  E. of Transvaal
  Calabar
  Upper Niger
  Near Aowa
  Marua
  Zugeru
  Fashoda
  S. Nigeria
  S. Nigeria
  Upper Niger
  N. Nigeria
  Fr. Guinea
  Fashoda
  Fashoda
  Sierra Leone
  S. Nigeria
Language Characteristics of the Native African

Having never learned a language from writing, the Negro slave groups reverted to an exaggeration of pantomime and developed slowly to a speech of mutual comprehension. This fact is interesting for a basis of explaining the differences of speech among the Negro families within one plantation, as the mother spoke the new language at first in a manner greatly conditioned by her own lingual habits.

As a further evidence of the differences of the languages of these tribes, a few excerpts of speech are presented here-with from "Specimen Verses" of the American Bible Society (35), as the natives spoke the words of John III, 16: "For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

The following orthographic examples reveal sufficient evidence to make clear how difficult it must have been for a miscellaneous group of Negroes to learn a common language from rough, uneducated tutors.

SPECIMEN VERSES OF NEGRO SPEECH

200. Dualla (West Africa)

Lobo lo bo wasi ndulo, na a boli mpom mau mo kunu, ma motu na motu nyi dubu tenge na mo, a si manyami, 'ndi a ma bene longe la bwindia.

(35) American Bible Society, Specimen Verses of the Principal Languages and Dialects, N. Y., 1915.
202. Haussa. (West Africa)

Don Alla ya so dunia hakkenan Gi ya bada Dansa mafari, em kowa ya yirda da'wi, ba Gi gbata be, amma Gi yi rai hal abbada.

204. Yoruba. (West Africa)

Nitori ti Olørùn fẹ araiye tobọ ge, ti o fi Òmọ bíbi re nikanṣọọ fun ni pe, ẹnikẹni ti o ba gbà a gbó ki yio ẹgbẹ, ọgbọn yio ni lye ti ko nipẹkun.

205. Accra, or Ga. (West Africa)

Si nẹkẹ Nyongmo sumo dẹ lẹ, ake e ọgọ e bi kome, ni a fọ lẹ, e hâ, koni mofe'mo, ni hẹ o nọ yẹọ lẹ, hie a ka kpata, si, e na naa na gbọ wọla.

207. Maudino. (West Africa)

Katuko Alla ye dunya kannu nyinuyama, an aking wulukideri di, mensating mo-omo men lata ala, ate tinvalya, barri asi balu abadaring sotto.

210. Benga. (West Africa)

Kekana ndi Anyambē a tândǎki he, ka Mâ-a vë Mwan' 'aju umbâkâ, na, ušhēpi a ke kamidē Mâ, a nyange, ndi a ne emēnâ ya egombe yšhēpi.

212. Mpongwe. (West Africa)

Kânde Anyambīr arândi utye yinlâ nli utândiulî më averle Ogwanli yē wikika, iulë om' edo o bekeliër averle, ndo e be donla nî 'emšulâ zabânlakâ.

213. Dikele. (West Africa)

Nadiambilindī Anyambīr a midih pënuhe nyi na thadin in thatî tāb̄o tha yē mivē Miana ngwēi ngwadikika, na mutyi jēshē ngwa yē bunbliē a tyi magwa, nji a bē' na thâk' th' adukwa jēshē.
Ke ṣi ke nenem Mawu edga xexe la me, bena etso ye ñito
vidšidši deka he na, ne ame aya ame, si exo edši ese ko la,
mele tšotšoro ge wo, nskpe wɔ akpo aɣbɛ mavo la.

Table of Consonants in African Languages Listed Below

| English sounds | p | b | m | w | f | v | θ | ʃ | t | d | n | r | s | z | ʒ | j | k | g | ɣ | h |
| Dualla         | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Haussa         | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Yoruba         | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | lj (also a ɣb) |
| Acra or Ga     | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | gm* |
| Benga          | * | - | m | b | m | w | - | * | - | - | * | dn | * | - | - | - | * | * | * | * | (md and nj) |
| Mpon-gwe       | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | (also mb) |
| Dikele         | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | (also mb) |
| Ewe            | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | ts | ks |

Legend: * indicates that the sound is present in the language.
- shows that the sound is absent in the language
Inadequate as the orthographic representation of languages may be, even a casual analysis of the above specimen verses from the different West Coast tribes will show their great dissimilarities.

It will be observed by examining Table I that there is a universal lack of wh (W) and the voiceless th (θ); and the voiced (ɔ) is used only by the Dikele of the groups we are discussing; z is used only by the Mpongwe; sh (ʃ) by the Dikele, and ah (ɔ) only by the Dikele. All these sounds would be very difficult for the African native in an English speaking country. The m, n, j, and k are almost universally used, though the Duala tribe does not possess the k sound. The Ewe tribes use a peculiar ks for some words, as well as the front and back k. g as in gum is often accompanied by an associative sound, usually a bi-labial, such as b or m. In several tribes, m and b are used simultaneously, with the nasal sonant m dominating in some dialects and the plosive b in the other (mb). This peculiar sound, when present, usually has the other difficult associates such as tj, nj, nt, nd, and nl. The Accra possesses some unusual peculiarities in such combinations as kp, ds and gm.

A study of a representative grammar of any of these languages reveals its striking differences from standard English. In discussing consonants in the recent grammars of West African languages, several writers refer to the Law of Contact. Aginsky (36) in a comprehensive study of the Mende language of the Sierra Leone country, says:

"Change of initial consonants of nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbial postpositions occur when certain syntactic relations exist. The rules governing these changes will follow the List of Changes.

List of Changes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>english</th>
<th>kho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compound Consonants

mb changes to b - exception: (mbu₄mbu₄) lift becomes (wu₄mbu₄)

\( \frac{m}{b} \) changes to \( \frac{b}{v} \)

Rules Governing These Laws of Contact

1. When a noun is immediately preceded by a possessive pronoun, a possessive noun, a qualifying noun, or the prefix (ma), its initial consonant is changed. Examples:

- (ka₄lo₂) a dish
- (nya₄ga₄lo₂₁₃) my dish
- (ke₄ne₂₁₃ ga₄lo₂₁₃) the man's dish
- (ggu₄lu₄ga₄lo₂₁₃) the wood dish
- (ma₄ga₄lo₂) dish belonging to me

Exception: Terms of relationship, as father, mother, and the others, do not change their initial consonant. The word for mother-in-law (nje₄ma₄mbu₄) is not included in this group of relationship terms, but falls in with the general group of nouns.

2. When a verb is preceded by its object, direct or indirect, or when it takes the suffix (ŋgo), its initial consonant changes. Examples:

- (ka₄) to give to someone
- (nya₄gə₄) give to me
- (nya₄gə₄ŋgo₂ lo₂) I am given

3. All adjectives, except numeral adjectives, change their initial consonants when qualifying nouns. Numeral adjectives keep their initial consonants unchanged. Examples:

* Numerals indicate tone levels. See paragraph later.
(kpo, to₄) plenty
(mb₂₂gbo₄, to₄) plenty rice
(fe₂le₄) two
(ndo₂po₄, fe₂le₄) two boys

4. Post-positional elements such as in, under, before, etc., change their initial consonants when preceded by the object (noun or pronoun) which they govern. Examples:

(ku, 1j₄) before
(ny₂₂gu₂, 1₄) before me
(ke₂₂n₂₂gu₂, 1₄) before a man.

The above are some of the more important elements of difference observed in the use of consonants in one African tribe. What a confusion of sounds confronted the young Negro slave when he tried to understand and converse with members of other African tribes, and more especially when he listened to the garbled instructions of illiterate overseers as they spoke in the different English dialects.

If the consonants were a confusion, the vowels were even more puzzling to the Negro on American shores.

In the first place most African tribes knew that all words ended in vowels, and, secondly they did not possess any diphthongs. Instead of the diphthong they had a definite note evaluation, within prescribed limitations, for all vowels, and the changing of the tone of a word was to change the meaning of the word. Glides with the pure vowel were common and in general practice with most African languages.

An examination of the Mende vowel system is indicative of the general African approach to the development of this part of their language. Aginsky (37) writes:

Vowels

(ə) as in father, e.g. (wəa) come
(e) " " ete, (French), e.g. (peə) do
(ɛ) " " met, e.g. (mɛt) eat
(i) " " me, e.g. (li) go
(o) " " mot, (French), e.g. (iɡo) break
(u) " between u as in put and oo as in pool, e.g. (puə) put

The vowels (ə), (u), (ɛ), and (i) are sometimes nasalized. Mende words always end in vowels, never in consonants.

Tones

Mende speech has four tone levels, which are indicated by the inferior numerals 1, 2, 3, and 4, placed after the vowels of the syllables whose tones they denote. Pitch is relative, not absolute. In my informant's voice, the interval between tone 1 and tone 4 is approximately a fifth (musical terminology). The interval between 2 and 3 is approximately a third. Between 3 and 4 the interval is one half that between 2 and 3. Between 1 and 2 the interval is variable, tone 1 being lowered when more emphasis is desired, but always being at least a whole tone lower than 2. Tone 1 is the lowest, and tone 4 is the highest level. These four tones are integral parts of the syllables, and the tone patterns of the words are as vital to their meaning as are the consonant and vowels. Words which are identical in respect to vowel and consonant combination may have entirely different meanings with different tone patterns. E.g.:

(kɛə) means but or and
(kɛə) " father
(kɛə) " then

Another example is:

(kpuəlɔ) means woodcock
(kpuəlɔ) " swelling
(kpuəlɔ) " container

The four tones are represented in

(nya, keə, paə, wa2pa2, ndə,)

my father pay well, meaning ' pay my father well'. Here there is one tone to each syllable. Glides from one tone to another, however, also occur on one syllable, and sometimes we even find one syllable having two glides. These will be denoted here by placing a hyphen between the numerals which show the tones of the glide. Some examples of glides are:
Some of the words maintain the same pitch level, as we select further from Aginsky:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(ma}_{2}\text{ma}_{4}) & \quad \text{person} \\
\text{(ka}_{4}\text{le}_{4}) & \quad \text{medicine} \\
\text{(te}_{4}\text{we}_{4}) & \quad \text{to out} \\
\text{(mi}_{2}\text{ma}_{4}) & \quad \text{glass} \\
\text{(ga}_{2}\text{ma}_{4}) & \quad \text{to go}
\end{align*}
\]

A final comment on the nature of the Mende vowels and their great dissimilarities to the English vowel system is significant; there are rules governing the tones and glides of nouns and pronouns, and there are different rules governing the tones of verbs.

To include all the lingual characteristics of Africa is beyond the scope of this study. We can but indicate some of the important facts gleaned by various scholars pertaining to the West Coast and the Congo Basin or the Bantu-speaking people.

We have previously stated that the West Coast Negro spoke chiefly the Sudanese language, and that Sudanese and Bantu were not written (38) --that is, not until the missionary came and began his patient studies. Migeod (39) tells of the Sudano-Guinean languages (West Coast groups). This linguistic family is divided into some sixteen groups with over

(38) Cust, op. cit., 162-434.
(39) Migeod, op. cit., "Languages of West Africa.
four hundred thirty-five languages of various types. Mende (Mandingo of Upper Niger) has no gender; Haussa of Kano has masculine and feminine; Fula of West Sudan has no less than seventeen non-sexual genders. In many of them, the monosyllabic words have special tones for special meaning (in Yoruba of the West Coast), and most of the words are monosyllabic. Most of the words of this entire group are built on a monosyllabic basis; there is a general absence of inflection — (including grammatical gender), (40). The genitive is placed before its governing noun. Most students of this district speak of the Yoruba as being one of the most typical. Most all of the verbs are monosyllables, consisting of a single consonant followed by a vowel, such as ba, be, bi, bo, bu, etc. Such combinations are limited and these languages become tonio. Lacking a sufficient number of language sounds, the Negro modifies the sounds he has for increasing his meanings—the pitch of voice may entirely change the meaning of the word. "Da" with a low tone means throw, with a high tone, cruel; "do" with a low tone means to be sad, with a level tone, sleep, etc., as previously shown in the Mende language.

The Bantu-speaking groups are made up of more than a hundred languages, and are usually classified as Western Bantu, Southern Bantu, and Eastern Bantu. Most of the words are dissyllabic and all end in a vowel. The singular is made plural by altering the prefix; "muntu" is man, while "bantu" is men, etc.

While our study is Negro-English dialect, much work of significant importance is yet to be done by a study of Africanisms still extant in English Negro speech.

A comment by Herskovitz (41) is significant: "The curious turns of phrase in Negro-French, ordinarily accounted for by a supposed inability of the child-like mind of these African 'savages' to grasp the intricacies of European modes of expression, can clearly be shown to have resulted from a process of placing European words in an African grammatical frame. As is well known, the educated Negro has no trouble in speaking the language of his country perfectly; it is only where formal education has been denied Negroes that they speak the language of their adopted land with a non-European idiom. The proof of this lies in the fact that whether in French, in Spanish or in English, the turns of phrase employed by Negroes are the same." In all of these the use of sex-gender is universally disregarded and many of their "odd" ways of expression are but African methods of expressing the same or similar thoughts.

We may conclude that the Africans who were brought to America as slaves came predominantly from the West Coast and the Congo Valley; that they had no written languages; that their spoken languages differed considerably from one another; that, accordingly, they had but a small basis for mutual intercommunication when they arrived in America, and that their consonant and vowel systems differed radically from the English consonant and vowel systems.

To repeat; the actual words of a language may die from memory through disuse, but the manner of speaking that childhood language runs through many generations before its "hidden" death is ultimate. This persistence of the genius of a language after the speaker has adapted a new language is sometimes referred to as the substratum theory. (42) Very often, when a group of white children and Negro children are at play in the dark, the only way to distinguish them is to observe the melody and manner of speech, not the words or their pronunciations. The soul of a race lies subtly deep in the speech of its people.

The Coming of the Negro to America

A brief survey of the slave trade and the bringing of the Negro to America is condensed below.

1442—Antem Gonsalves of Portugal seized some Negroid Moors at Rio de Oro, and Prince Henry the Navigator gave him gold and some ten Negroes. These slaves he sold in Lisbon. This event started Portugese slave raiding and trading.

1444—Regular European slave trade began—Portugese monopolized slave-trade for half century.

1475-1481—Gold Coast absorbed by Portugese, with protective fortification. Trading and slaving posts of Portugese spread to Angola and along the Congo.

1502—Is first exact date known of Negro slaves being in the new world. Negroes were working in the mines of the Islands of Santo Domingo (Hispaniola), and a further allotment was denied because they "corrupted the Aboriginal Indians."

1517—Charles the Great of Spain granted patent to import four thousand slaves annually to the Caribbean Islands.

1553—Hawkins made his first slave venture.

1562—The first recorded Englishman, John Hawkins, brought three hundred Negro slaves to Hispaniola. This started a gradual increase of English adventurers in the slave traffic. Holland soon followed.

1619—A Dutch man-of-war sold twenty Negroes to John Smith, (recorded by John Rolfe, in his "General History"). They were designated as "bondsmen."

1641—Slavery legalized in Massachusetts.

1650—Slavery legalized in Connecticut.

1661—Slavery legalized in Virginia. Other colonies followed.

1670—From Elizabeth to this date England had granted five separate patents for slave monopoly to favored companies. Virginia passed the first law of its kind in the United States, "all servants not being Christians, imported into this colony by ships were slaves for life."
It was the commonly accepted practice by now, in many communities, that children born of slave women must remain in the social level of their mothers.

1666-1766—Morel (43) reports that the British imported 3,000,000 slaves into British, French and Spanish colonies.

1680-1786—Jamaica absorbed 610,000 slaves.

1712-1749—Exclusive supply of Negro slaves for Spanish colonies was granted by Spain to English South Sea Company. After 1749 any Englishman could carry on in the slave trade.

1759-1762—Guadelupe imported 40,000 slaves.

1790-1800—Bryan Edwards (44) estimates that there were 74,000 Negroes exported annually from Africa.

1791—Haiti abolished slavery following Negro insurrection.

1800—There were 893,041 slaves in the United States by this time.

1808—The Constitution forbade importing of slaves into the United States; the States followed Great Britain's prohibition immediately.

1815—At peace of 1815, Great Britain induced many nations to cease importing slaves, following the example already set by the United States, Great Britain, Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, Sweden, Denmark and France.

1840—By this date all northern states had emancipated their slaves.

1842—Ashburton treaty between the United States and England provided for the maintenance by each country of a squadron of vessels on the African Coast to suppress slave trading.

1845—A joint cooperation of England and France was substituted for the mutual right of search.

1848—France emancipated all her slaves.

1860—Census of this date shows 3,953,700 Negroes in the United States, all in the southern states.

1861-65—Civil War to save the Union and free the slaves. Estimated by various authorities that there were close to 3,000,000 slaves imported into the United States between 1808 and 1861.

1863—Holland freed her slaves.

1888—Brazil abolished slavery.

1930—Liberia freed all her slaves.

1931—Abyssinian Emperor liberated 2,000,000 slaves in Abyssinia.

For a study of Negro-English dialect, it is interesting to note that Charleston, (45) South Carolina, was the most important southern center for slave trading and buying in the United States.

A very significant fact is that all available records show the greatest number of Negroes to have come to the United

States came by way of the islands and Brazil. This must be taken into consideration when seeking a common origin for all of the Negroes in the Americas.

It may be interesting to note that the last two major countries to free the Negro from slavery by governmental edict are Liberia and Abyssinia. Slavery truly has been an institution in Africa for many centuries and the Negro often accepted this as an inevitable situation. This fact must not be entirely ignored if an understanding of many groups of southern Negroes is to be obtained.

Table II shows the distribution of the Negro in the United States, census of 1930 (46 and 47). It is a pertinent population observation that the Negro has increased 108 percent in the state of New York in ten years (1920-1930) and 51.5 percent increase in Pennsylvania. Mississippi is the only state in the Union with more Negroes than whites. Georgia showed a decrease of Negro population by 11.2 percent and North Carolina decreased 3.2 percent. The interchange of peoples from North to South and migrations of the Negroes to the North, and a general movement from the farm to the city, have already affected Negro folk-lore and sociological conditions. A detailed analysis of this migration for the state of Louisiana has been shown by Smith (48), who is responsible for Figures III and IV in this section. In Figure III we learn that the white and Negro population of 1880 exactly balanced each other. The white population in Louisiana since that date has shown a gradual ascendancy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New England States</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>Period 1920-1930 percent of increase or decrease in Negro pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>795,183</td>
<td>1,096</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>464,350</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>385,965</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>4,192,926</td>
<td>52,365</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>667,016</td>
<td>9,913</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>1,576,673</td>
<td>29,354</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>12,150,293</td>
<td>412,814</td>
<td>108.8 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>9,192,602</td>
<td>441,257</td>
<td>51.5 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>3,879,209</td>
<td>208,828</td>
<td>78.3 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>205,674</td>
<td>32,602</td>
<td>7.5 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern States</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>1,354,170</td>
<td>276,379</td>
<td>13 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>1,770,405</td>
<td>650,165</td>
<td>5.8 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Virginia</td>
<td>1,613,934</td>
<td>114,893</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>2,388,364</td>
<td>266,040</td>
<td>4.2 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>2,234,948</td>
<td>918,543</td>
<td>20.3 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>944,040</td>
<td>798,681</td>
<td>8.2 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>2,138,619</td>
<td>447,646</td>
<td>5.4 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>1,836,974</td>
<td>1,071,125</td>
<td>11.2 D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>1,700,775</td>
<td>944,834</td>
<td>4.9 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>1,035,205</td>
<td>431,828</td>
<td>31.1 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>996,856</td>
<td>1,009,718</td>
<td>8 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>1,318,160</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>1,374,906</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>2,123,424</td>
<td>172,198 (?)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>4,283,491</td>
<td>854,964</td>
<td>15.3 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>3,398,881</td>
<td>223,840</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>Period 1920-1930 percent in increase or decrease in Negro pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mid Western</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>7,331,136</td>
<td>309,304</td>
<td>66.1 Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>3,116,138</td>
<td>3,982</td>
<td>39.6 Inc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>4,650,171</td>
<td>13,336</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>2,913,859</td>
<td>10,739</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>7,266,361</td>
<td>328,972</td>
<td>80.5 Inc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>2,448,382</td>
<td>17,380</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>2,559,973</td>
<td>9,445</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>671,243</td>
<td>377</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>669,453</td>
<td>646</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>1,353,702</td>
<td>13,752</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>1,792,847</td>
<td>66,344</td>
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<tr>
<td>Western States</td>
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<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>517,327</td>
<td>1,256</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>214,067</td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>961,117</td>
<td>11,828</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>331,775</td>
<td>2,850 (6)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>264,378</td>
<td>10,749</td>
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<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>495,955</td>
<td>1,108</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>81,425</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>437,562</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>1,521,099</td>
<td>6,840</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>937,029</td>
<td>2,234</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>5,040,247</td>
<td>81,048</td>
<td>---</td>
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</table>

Legend: --- Negligible amount for the population influence.
Figure 9.—Growth of Population in Louisiana 1810 to 1930.

Courtesy Dr. T. Lynn Smith

Figure III.
Figure 10.—Growth of White and Negro Populations in the Urban and Rural Portions of the State, 1890 to 1930.

Courtesy Dr. T. Lynn Smith
The Old South is fast showing the effects of modern civilization, and the Negro-English dialect as presented in this study some day will be but a memory. Gilmor Brown of Pasadena, in a speech before western teachers of drama during April, 1936, said, "When the Federal Theatre Project was staging a play in Portland, Oregon, and Negroes were cast in Negro parts, we had to send for a white director to teach the Negroes the Negro dialect. Those Negroes didn't know how to speak the Negro dialect." In the progress of time the dialect that exists so richly today may be all but gone.

How Much Has Residence in the United States Affected the Social Habits, Folk-lore and Speech of the Negro?

Dialects exist because people live in segregated groups, but a language becomes standardized so far as a common norm is established for all interchanging groups. Any dominant situation which is introduced into one group and withheld from other groups will affect only the one group, and over a period of years a language change will become evident. When that change is evident to any comparing observer, the group observed speaks a dialect—it differs from other groups.

The original language differences possessed by the Negroes when they first became slaves and the manner of their being shipped together across the waters, the separation of their families, the constant change of overseers and the resultant diversity of dominant speech, their being sold repeatedly in early slaving days in the Americas; all these facts tended to reduce the Negroes' speech to a minimum of
native words and obliged them to seek new methods of communi-
cation. In this strange environment, with new associates,
exacting work and varying types of overseers and owners,
being thrown suddenly with the redman and with peculiar-
sounding whites, (Scotch, English, Spanish, French, and Yankee),
the baffled black learned a minimum of words for a long period
of time and sought a closer association with people of his
own color. For years the Negro worked silently at his task
during the day, only to revive the religious beliefs common
to all Africa in the night. Story-telling to his liking
early became a part of the evening get-together. The owners
and overseers gradually realized that the Negro made a better
worker if left alone at night, and in many instances encouraged
these gatherings, until they became close duplicates of African
tribal life. The bonfire, the feast, the dance, the exhortation
of the priest (an easy transition to the Christian pastor),
the communion of the spirits (soon the exultation of the baptis-
mal ceremony), the playing of his guitar with slowly evolving
modifications, adapting foreign tunes to his own peculiar
rhythms and known melodies—in these terms, in brief, the
African Negro accepted his lot as slave, found a philosophy to
help him in his new conditions, and transplanted much of his
native land to America. And as long as the Negro was permitted
to congregate in groups, he relived a portion of his African
life. He kept alive African tradition, thinking, and mores,
and he told the same stories and modified his newly acquired
language to fit his native method of speech.
The important position of the Negro mother has been a further means of keeping alive much of the African manners in her American life. She held the family together, told stories, taught traditions, and transmitted in imperfect form such English as her husband could learn from the overseer and teach to her.

A study of Africa and its people convinces us that the American Negro, when kept away from our modern civilization as far as possible, has kept his aboriginal habits to a very marked degree and only the inroads of an industrial age and a new economic freedom with its resultant responsibilities, have changed those African habits to American manners.

In the isolated districts of the post-bellum South, there still exists a great group of care-free Negroes who reflect the heritage of their African ancestry conditioned by the teachings of their early overseers and masters. It is essentially their dialect we have in mind when we say the Negro-English dialect.
The pictures on this and the following three pages show a family of Negroes who live on the Ware plantation near Columbia, La. The oldest, Aunt Florence, was born in slavery. The youngest have never yet been off the plantation.
SECTION III

DIALECT WRITINGS IN ORTHOGRAPHIES

FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS, ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY
III
Orthographic Dialect

The Negro in Drama and Fiction

The Negro-English-speaking Negro in literature may be considered exclusively American. There have been almost no British writers who have cared to, or succeeded in, representing the Negro with a speech which we recognize as Negro-English. When the British have used the Negro characters, which is quite infrequently, invariably they have put into their mouths every-day or normal English. If there be any British writers who have used Negro-English, we do not have record of same in the United States.

Ben Jonson wrote the *Masque of Blackness* for Queen Anne, which was produced with the aid of Inigo Jones in 1605. "Queen Anne had seen their work and knew that her men could provide a splendid masque, with Jewels and Gowns and strange devices aplenty.....She wanted to appear with her ladies as blackamoors. Jonson, enriching the whim with his learning, suggested that they be daughters of the Niger." (1) But the speeches given to the Blackamoors were in normal English, not dialect.

The British thought of most dark people as Moors, whether they were really Moors or not, but they gave them uniformly

(1) Gordon Craig, "Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones", *The Mask* Vol. XII, bis Jan., 1927
accurate speech. Shakespeare gave his *Othello* (2), a Moor of Venice, the most beautiful of English speech and poetry.

The imaginative Aphra Behn (3) presented her dulcet-voiced lady, Oronooka, with all the grace and charm of an English lady, using the best of current English speech. The story deals with slavery in Dutch Guinea, and uses, as a result, actual Negroes instead of Moors.

Mark Lemon and Tom Taylor (4) produced *Slave Life* for a London audience in 1852, with good English for the colored subject.

James Radwell (5) gave a London audience his *Queen Cora* in 1856, as a protest against slavery.

John Drinkwater (6) attempted modest dialect for his old colored character, Custis, in his *Abraham Lincoln*, and George Bernard Shaw (7) included a flighty view of a Negro personage in his *Back to Methuselah* in 1921. John Galsworthy (8) had his only Negro appear in *The Forest* in 1924.

The use of the Negro in British fiction is as infrequent as in British drama, and the attempts at dialect

(7) G. Bernard Shaw, *Back To Methuselah*, N. Y., Brentano, 1921
(8) John Galsworthy, *The Forest*, N. Y., Scribner's, 1924
writing are as naive. Daniel Defoe (9) introduced a quasi-
Negro character to his public as the faithful Friday, with
simple but good diction. Again we meet another faithful
fellow in Defoe's Colonel Jack. (10)

William Makepeace Thackeray depicts Rhoda Swartz,
an island mulatto, with perfect English, and gives her a
social triumph in London society as we follow her through
Vanity Fair (11); and in The Virginians (12) Gumbo generally
speaks with nearly impeccable English, both in America and
in London, only occasionally lapsing to "hab" for "have" and
"ser" for "sir".

Joseph Conrad is not concerned with dialect in
The Nigger of the Narcissus (13).

The early American dramatist first introduced us
to the Negro for comedy. Many of the first plays have been
lost or were never printed, and only from diaries and
occasional notes do we learn that Negro parts were used in
these plays. In this chapter, we present an excerpt from
John Leacock (14), who used a Negro character in his play
in 1776. We have record of one Lewis Hallam, an English

(9) Daniel Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, London, G. Bell, 1856.
(11) William Makepeace Thackeray, Vanity Fair, N. Y., Lovell,
(12) William Makepeace Thackeray, The Virginians, N. Y.,
(13) Joseph Conrad, The Nigger of the Narcissus, N. Y.,
Doubleday Page, 1935.
(14) John Leacock, The Fall of the British Tyranny, Boston,
1776, Phila., Styner and Cist.
actor in America, staging a play, Barbados, (15) with several Negro characters. This was produced in the John Street Theatre. John Murdock (16, 17) presented two plays of record with Negro characters, The Triumph of Love, and The Politicians, both in 1793. America's first dramatic authority, William Dunlap, (18), is credited with a play bearing directly on the Negro in America, in his The Africans.

Plays were produced with Negro characters up to the Civil War, when the subject became too delicate to approach, even for comedy, except in some enthusiastic propaganda. Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin was early dramatized and shown throughout the North. "Topsies" literally sprang up all about the stage. Elizabeth F. Elliott (19) produced the play, The Slave Actress, in 1856. Many "octofoon" plays were hastily written, and they would make a personable study in themselves; some possessed a certain dramatic merit, of which Dion Boucicault's The Octofoon, or Life in Louisiana, (20) is a typical example. When the Civil War ended, the South remained eloquently silent on the Negro subject for some time and no plays of major

(15) Lewis Hallam, Barbados, N. Y., no name, 1768.
(18) William Dunlap, The Africans, Phila., J. F. Parker, 1811
(19) Elizabeth F. Elliott, The Slave Actress, N.Y., no name, 1856.
(20) Dion Boucicault, The Octofoon, N. Y., Happy Hours, 1861.
importance came to American drama until people began to think
impassionately of the freed Negro in their midst. Edward
Sheldon (21) produced his gripping drama, *The Nigger*, in 1910,
and from that time, the Negro has been permanently on the
American stage. And the best work has come from those who
have lived in the South, or have intimately observed the
post-war Negro as he adapted himself to the promise of American
freedom, which he so little understood.

From 1902 to 1905, two inimitable colored comedians,
William and Walker, starred in an all-Negro cast with the
musico-comedy *In Dahomey* (22). This New York run established
something of a record for the time. The Negro poet, Paul
Laurence Dunbar, furnished the lyrics for the rollicking
piece. But it remained for Eugene O'Neill (23) to unlock
the door for the expansive theme of the American Negro on
the stage. *All God's Chillun Got Wings* came
with a dominant Negro character cast in a metropolitan
setting. This was in 1924. His *The Dreamy Kid* (24), a one-
act play of 1910, showed definite promise, and his classic
*Emperor Jones* (25) fulfilled it. Paul Green (26) having

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(22) Williams and Walker, *In Dahomey*, not published, N. Y.,
1902-05.
(23) Eugene O'Neill, *All God's Chillun's Got Wings*, N. Y.,
Boni Liveright, 1924.
(24) Eugene O'Neill, *The Dreamy Kid*, Boni Liveright, N. Y.,
1902-05.
lived his boyhood days in the environs of Negro life, won a Pulitzer prize with an all-Negro drama, *In Abraham's Bosom*, in 1927. And in the same year Dubose Heyward (27) staged his all-Negro play *Porgy*, the story of which served later for a grand opera liberetto. Edna Ferber's *Show Boat* (28), 1927 also; the memorable *Green Pastures* of Mark Connelly (29), based on Roark Bradford's *Old Man Adam and His Chillun*, in 1930; Peters and Sklar's *Stevedore* (30) and John Wexley's *They Shall Not Die* (31), these latter two in 1934, are indicative of the broad use of Negro dialect and Negro character in present day drama.

As good as some of the present American drama may be, a fuller richness of Negro dialect, its worth and study, is to be found in American fiction, the novel and the short story.

No serious and sincere attempt properly to portray the Negro character and his dialects was made until after the Civil War.

Henry Brackenridge published *Modern Chivalry* (32)

in 1792, with a Negro servant, genial and obedient; James Fenimore Cooper (33, 34) in the early 1820's, and Edgar Allan Poe (35, 36) in the 1840's, gave us their Negro characters with little effort to capitalize in any way the dialect, though each had direct contact with Negroes in household associations. Herman Melville (37), with such great power of delineation, was content to use the Negro as a subordinate ship-hand with an indifferent dialect.

But with the approach of the Civil War, a keener interest was manifested in the character which the South took for granted and upon which the North looked askance. Harriet Beecher Stowe (38) published her book of propaganda and presented two types of Negroes for contrast, those who spoke good or fair English and those who represented our usual concept of Negro-English dialect; Uncle Tom being of the former type and Topsy the latter. Mrs. Stowe was more concerned with message than with speech. Mary Howard Schoolcraft (39) depicted South Carolina Negroes in the popular The Black Gauntlet, and Mrs. May Braddon (40) wrote

(37) Herman Melville, White Jacket, N.Y., 1850, Burt, 1924.
(38) Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, Boston, 1853, Houghton Mifflin, 1924.
much discussed novel *The Octofoon*. Mary J. Holmes (41),
though a Northerner, wrote many popular novels immediately
after the war and used the Negro in the generally established
manner, of which *Tempest and Sunshine* is a good example.

Mrs. Sherwood Bonner McDowell (42, 43), publishing
under the name of Bonner, was the first person to give the
Negro dialect stories to the reading public, a sincere effort
resulting from careful study and keen observation. Record
bears out that she was not only the first Southern woman to
deal adequately with the Negro dialect, but she was the first
person to produce a consistent Negro-English dialect. It
had been pointed out by Rollins (44) that she was the first
author to write of the Negro segregated from the white man,
and as such, is an important personage in the study of the
Negro-English dialect.

There are four outstanding authors who the majority
of critics agree have contributed the most to the real develop-
ment of the American Negro character and his associated English
dialect. Named in chronological order, they are Paul Laurence
Dunbar (1872-1906), Joel Chandler Harris (1848-1908), Ruth

(41) Mrs. Mary J. Holmes, *Tempest and Sunshine*, N. Y., Burt
n. d., 1854.
(42) Sherwood Bonner, *Dialect Tales*, N. Y., 1883, Roberts
Bros., Boston, 1883.
(43) Sherwood Bonner, *Suwannee River Tales*, N. Y., 1884,
Roberts Bros., Boston, 1884.
(44) Hyden E. Rollins, "The Negro in the Southern Short
McKenny Stuart (1849-1917), and Thomas Nelson Page (1853-1922). Their works are freely consulted in this study and are quite adequately represented. Any student of Negro-English dialect should be familiar with the works of these four writers. The first was a son of Negro parents and gave his dialect poems to the public in the 1890's and the early 1900's. His residence was Ohio for the great part of his life. Joel Chandler Harris was born in Georgia, of a mother who eloped with a young Irishman and was deserted before the child was born. Harris' companions of earliest recollections were Negroes. Except for the short time Harris worked in New Orleans, his residence was in his native Georgia. Dunbar took no special character nor one localized group, but presented the rural Negro with simple honesty. Harris gave the world the inimitable Uncle Remus and preserved some of America's richest folk-lore.

Mrs. Stuart was born in Marksville, Louisiana, and later lived on a plantation in Arkansas. She was the first to describe the post-bellum plantation Negro in his own immediate environment, publishing more than twenty volumes of Negro stories.

Thomas Nelson Page was born in Virginia and chose the courteous and mischievous Negro of the elite plantations for his Negro character delineations, and no one has surpassed his post-war slave. These four writers wrote carefully
and lovingly of the dark neighbor whom they understood. They wrote of a Negro who is fast disappearing from our American life.

The South has awakened to this evolution and many writers are trying to catch what remnant of this linguistic heritage is left within their borders. They sense the meaning of the increase in the movements of the Negroes leaving the farms and concentrating within the cities. Octavus Roy Cohen, (45, 46) in the delightful whimsicalities of Assorted Chocolates, Bigger and Blacker and the like, depicts the Birmingham colored society with all its flamboyant verbosity, and Roark Bradford (47) gives the religious lives of his colored friends their fullest expression in his Bible tales, of which the one herein later is typical. There is a sincere effort on the part of most Southern white writers of to-day more accurately to depict the Negro-English dialect. In general, the Negro writers of the present avoid writing in dialect, but perhaps no one has given a better expression of it than Zora Hurston (48), herself a Negress and an educated woman.

From more than a thousand orthographic Negro-English dialect selections examined for this study, some two hundred are presented as being sufficient to give record of development and merit of present trends. Each year reveals an increasing number using the Negro-English dialect in some

(45) Octavus Roy Cohen, Assorted Chocolates, N.Y. Dodd Mead, 1922.
(46) Octavus Roy Cohen, Bigger and Blacker, N.Y. Little Brown, 192
(47) Roark Bradford, Ol' Man Adam and His Chillun, N.Y., Harpers, 1928.
form of expression—poetry, story, novel or drama. New authors are venturing into the field of dialect. Gertrude Johnson (49) has given a very helpful comment on the relative merits of Negro-English dialect writers: "Here is one sad fact concerning Negro Dialect, though it may be found among the others, but in this more especially, and that is, that many pseudo-authors who have no real appreciation of the wealth of beauty and rich humor back of the Dialect use the Dialect as an end for some poor mock-situation, putting uncouth and untrue expressions into the characters mouth. For the instructor or pupil a word to the wise is sufficient: 'Know your authors'."

Paul Laurence Dunbar once wrote to his friend: "I've got to write dialect poetry; it's the only way I can get them (his publishers and public) to listen to me." Dunbar wrote good English poetry, but he will be remembered for his Negro-English dialect. Why is it that most of our best English-Negro dialect of to-day is written by American whites? James Weldon Johnson, a Negro poet and author, accredited in the ranks of living poets, gives his version of this question in the preface to his poetic God's Trombones (50). It presents more than an answer to the one question and tells us the concept of an educated Negro in regard to Negro-English dialect. Johnson is speaking specifically of Negro preachers of the

(49) Gertrude Johnson, Dialects for Oral Interpretation, N.Y., Century, 1922, p. 15.
"At first thought, Negro dialect would appear to be the precise medium for those old-time sermons, however, as the reader will see, the poems are not written in dialect. My reason for not using the dialect is double. First, although the dialect is the exact instrument for voicing certain traditional phases of Negro life, it is, and perhaps by that very exactness, a quite limited instrument. Indeed it is an instrument with but two complete stops, pathos and humor. This limitation is not due to any defect of the dialect as dialect, but to the mould of convention in which Negro dialect in the United States has been set, to the fixing effects of its long association with the Negro only as a happy-go-lucky or a forlorn figure."

The classification "happy-go-lucky or forlorn" must be accepted, as the writings of Harris and Dunbar were followed by hundreds of imitators. The rise and spread of the popular minstrel show further furnished a mould for the conventional hard-luck fellow or the happy, care-free non-descript. (51, 52) The Negro writers of to-day have just about given up writing in dialect because, for them, the usual theme of the dialect has been exhausted and has served its purpose. They are expanding their themes as their lives expand. They are fighting for a place in the intellectual sun and the lowly theme is not serviceable for that purpose. To quote Weldon Johnson further: (50, P. 8)

"In fact, practically no poetry is being written in dialect by the colored poets of to-day. Those poets have thrown aside dialect and discarded most of the material and subject matter that went into dialect poetry. The passing of the dialect as a medium for Negro poetry will be an actual loss, for in it many beautiful things can be done, and done best; however, in my opinion, traditional Negro

Negro dialect as a form for Aramerican poets is absolutely
dead.....He needs a form that is freer and larger than
dialect, but which will still hold racial flavor.

"To place in the mouths of the talented old-time
Negro preachers a language that is a literary imitation of
Mississippi cotton-field dialect is sheer burlesque.

"Gross exaggeration of the use of big words by
these preachers, in fact, by Negroes in general, has been
commonly made; the laugh being at the exhibition of ignorance involved. What is the basis for this fondness of big
words? Is the predilection due, as is supposed, to ignorance desiring to parade itself as knowledge? Not at all.
The old-time Negro loved the sonorous, mouth-filling, ear-filling phrase because it gratified a highly developed
sense of sound and rhythm in himself and his hearers."

The selections which follow do not attempt to
present all of the dialect authors. Those given are
accepted as representative of their respective times and
give a chronological development of the subject. Even a
casual study of these excerpts, or better still, a study of
the complete works of the authors selected, will prove the
necessity of a thorough phonetic knowledge. An examination
of the frequency of the more important words for an accurate
phonetic study has been made from these excerpts and their
authors and the vocabulary is phonetically developed in a
subsequent chapter.

A study of the current magazine and novel output
will convince the reader that there has been a gradual in­
crease in the number of people interested in Negro-English
dialect, that the general average is towards accuracy of
dialectal representation, and that the theme of Negro life
has greatly expanded since the World War.
ORTHOGRAPHICAL EXCERPTS OF NEGRO-ENGLISH DIALECTS

CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

1776  John Leacock, *The Fall of British Tyranny*
1792  Henry Brackenridge, *Modern Chivalry*
1821  James Fenimore Cooper, *The Spy*
1824  James Fenimore Cooper, *The Pioneers*
1824  Washington Irving, *Tales of a Traveller*
1824  Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Sam, the Black Fisherman*
1832  John Pendleton Kennedy, *Swallow Barn*
1843  Edgar Allen Poe, *The Gold Bug*
1853  Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*
1854  Caroline Lee Hentz, *The Planter's Northern Bride*
1848  Wm. Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*
1859  Wm. Makepeace Thackeray, *The Virginians*
1861  Mrs. Henry B. Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*
1863  Edmunds Kirke, *My Southern Friends*
1863  J.T. Trowbridge, *Cudjo's Cave*
1866  Irwin Russell, *Christmas Night in the Quarters*
1866  Irwin Russell, *Half Way Doin's*
1870  Irwin Russell, *Nebuchadnezzar*
1870  Irwin Russell, *Blessing the Dance*
1870  Irwin Russell, *The Dance*
1872  J.T. Trowbridge, *Coupon Bonds and Other Stories*
1876  Irwin Russell, *The Kingdom Gate*
1879  George Washington Cable, *Ole Creole Days*
1879  Samuel Clemens, *Tom Sawyer Abroad*
1880  Joel Chandler Harris* (See note below)  
      *Brother Rabbit Takes Exercise*
1880  Joel Chandler Harris, *How Mr. Rabbit Was Too Sharp For Mr. Fox*
1880  Joel Chandler Harris, *The Wonderful Tar Baby*
1887  Joel Chandler Harris, *Free Joe and Other Georgian Sketches*
1889  Joel Chandler Harris, *Daddy Jake, The Runaway*
1891  Joel Chandler Harris, *Balaam and His Master*
1895  Joel Chandler Harris, *Mr. Rabbit and Mr. Bear*
1899  Joel Chandler Harris, *The Chronicles of Aunt Minerva Ann*
1899  Joel Chandler Harris, *Plantation Proverbs*
1903  Joel Chandler Harris, *Brother Rabbit and the Chickens*
1903  Joel Chandler Harris, *How Old Craney-Crow Lost His Head*
1904  Joel Chandler Harris, *Mr. Tarrapin Shows His Strength*
1885  Thomas Nelson Page, *Ole 'Stracted*
1885  Thomas Nelson Page, *How Jinny Eased Her Mind*
1887  Thomas Nelson Page, *Meh Lady*

* The works of Joel Chandler Harris, Thomas Nelson Page, and Paul Laurence Dunbar have been presented in a separate group each, irrespective of other excerpts coming within their periods. This is done for comparative purposes. Some of the dates are ascertained from earliest editions available in this vicinity.
1887  Thomas Nelson Page, *In Ole Virginia*
1888  Thomas Nelson Page, *Ash Cake*
1888  Thomas Nelson Page, *Marse Phil*
1888  Thomas Nelson Page, *Uncle Cabe's White Folks*
1888  Thomas Nelson Page, *Little Jack*
1888  Thomas Nelson Page, *Two Little Confederates*
1888  Thomas Nelson Page, *Red Rock*
1882  Mrs. L.C. Pyrnelle, *Diddle Dumps and Tot*
1882  Mrs. Mary J. Holmes, *Tempest and Sunshine*
1883  Thomas Dunn English, *Momma Phoebe*
1884  Sherwood Bonner, *Suwanee River Tales*
1884  George W. Cable, *Mingo and Other Sketches*
1887  George W. Cable, *Bonaventure*
1888  Charles C. Jones, Jr., *Buh Pattridge and Buh Rabbit*
1889  Opie P. Read, *A Kentuckey Colonel*
1890  Clifford Lanier, *The Power of Affection*
1891  F. Hopkinson Smith, *The One Legged Goose*
1891  James Lane Allen, *Flute and Violin and Other Kentucky Tales*
1893  Ruth McKenry Stuart, *A Golden Wedding*
1894  George W. Cable, *John Marsh, Southerner*
1894  Kate Chopin, *Bayou Folk*
1894  Ruth McKenry Stuart, *Caralotte's Intended and Other Stories*
1894  Samuel Clemens, *Puddin'head Wilson*
1895  Mary Greenway McClelland, *Mammy Mystic*
1896  Jeannette Downes Coltharp, *Burrill Coleman, colored*
Mary Evelyn M. Davis, *Elephant Track and Other Stories*

Mrs. Jeanette H. Walworth, *Uncle Scipio*

Ruth McEnery Stuart, *Solomon Crown's Christmas Pockets*

Wm. Sanders Scarborough, *Negro Folk Lore and Dialect*

Virginia Frazer Boyle, *Brokenburne*

John Trotwood Moore, *Gray Gamma*

Ruth McEnery Stuart, *The Second Wooing of Salina Sue*

Ruth McEnery Stuart, *Holly and Pizen*

Ruth McEnery Stuart, *Aunt Amity's Silver Wedding*

William Gillette, *Held By The Enemy*

Haldene Macfall, *The House of the Sorcerer*

M.E.M. Davis, *The Wire Cutters*

H. S. Edwards, *The Runaways*

E.N. Baldwin, *The Watermelon Season*

Paul Laurence Dunbar*, (See note below) *Folks From Dixie*

Paul Laurence Dunbar, *Accountability*

Paul Laurence Dunbar, *Discovered*

Paul Laurence Dunbar, *A Coquette Conquered*

Paul Laurence Dunbar, *Little Brown Baby*

Paul Laurence Dunbar, *Angelina*

* From the days of Phyllis Wheatley when she presented her first poems in 1773, Paul Laurence Dunbar has proved the most popular of Negro poets. The works represented here cover the period from 1895 to 1905, and were taken from "The Complete Poems" published by Dodd Mead Co, N.Y. 1917.
Paul Laurence Dunbar, *Breaking the Charm*
Paul Laurence Dunbar, *How Lucy Backslid*
Paul Laurence Dunbar, *The Turning of the Babies in Bed*
Paul Laurence Dunbar, *Encouragement*
Paul Laurence Dunbar, *The Boogah Man*
Paul Laurence Dunbar, *In the Morning*
Paul Laurence Dunbar, *Speakin' at de Cou'thouse*
Paul Laurence Dunbar, *Reluctance*
Paul Laurence Dunbar, *Opportunity*
Paul Laurence Dunbar, *Dreamin' Town*

1900 Clyde Fitch, *Barbara Frietchie*
1900 Virginia Frazer Boyle, *Devil Tales*
1900 Frank L. Stanton, *Songs From Dixie Land*
1900 Will N. Harben, *Northern Georgia Sketches*
1901 Ruth McNerney Stuart, *Napoleon Jackson*
1903 Ann Robson, *In Old Alabama*
1903 Ruth McNerney Stuart, *George Washington Jones*
1904 Ruth McNerney Stuart, *The River Children*
1905 Thomas Dixon, Jr., *The Clansman*
1905 Thomas Dixon, Jr., *The Leopard's Spots*
1907 Armistead Churchill Gordon, *Envion and Other Tales of Old and New Virginia*
1909 William Vaughn Moody, *The Faith Healer*
1912 Annie Fellows Johnston, *Ole Mammy's Torment*
1914 Booth Tarkington, *Penrod*
1917 Booth Tarkington, *Coloured Troops in Action*
1919  John Drinkwater, *Abraham Lincoln*
1920  Stella C. S. Perry, *Palmetto*
1921  Octavius Roy Cohen, *Chocolate Grudge*
1921  Paul Green, *Granny Boling*
1922  Irving S. Cobb, *J. Poindexter, Colored*
1922  Booth Tarkington, *The Fascinating Stranger*
1923  Paul Green, *Sam Tucker*
1924  Paul Green, *The Hot Iron*
1923  Irving S. Cobb, *The Chocolate Hyena*
1923  Irving S. Cobb, *The Treacherous Warehouse*
1923  Irving S. Cobb, *The Fate of the Saloon*
1925  Arthur Huff Fauset, *T'appin*
1925  Paul Green, *The Prayer Meeting*
1925  Walter Ben Hare, *Aunt Paradise and the Freshman*
1925  Octavius Roy Cohen, *Measure For Pleasure*
1925  Lee Wilson Dodd, *Pals First*
1925  Rudolph Fisher, *The City of Refuge*
1925  Eugene O'Neill, *All God's Chillun Got Wings*
1926  Octavius Roy Cohen, *The Battle of Sedan*
1927  Paul Green, *In Abraham's Bosom*--a biography of a Negro, this play was awarded the Pulitzer prize for 1927.
1928  Eugene O'Neill, *Emperor Jones*
1928  Julia Peterkin, *Scarlet Sister Mary*
1928  Roark Bradford, *Ol' Man Adam and His Chillun*
1928  Roark Bradford, R. Emmet Kennedy, *Red Bean Row*
1929  Octavius Roy Cohen, *Fast and Curious*
1929  Du Bose Heyward, *Mamba's Daughters*
1930  Sam'l. G. Stoney and Gertrude Shelby, *Black Genesis*
1930  Marc Connelly and Roark Bradford, *Green Pastures*
1930  Roark Bradford, *Ol' King David and the Philistine Boy*
1931  Blanche Oliver, *Crown Pone and Pot Likker*
1931  Blanche Oliver, *It's De Truth*
1931  David Thibault, *What Every Man Knows*
1931  Paul Green, *Potter's Field*
1931  Roark Bradford, *John Henry*
1932  Betty Reynolds Cobb, *Little Boy Black and Other Sketches*
1932  T. S. Stribling, *The Store*
1933  E. A. McIlhenny, *Beef! De War Spirituals*
1934  Roark Bradford, *A Prayer*
1934  Alan Lomax, *Sinful Songs of the Southern Negro*
1934  Allena Joyce Webb, *Lure of the Land*
1934  John A. Lomax and Alan Lomax, *American Ballads and Folk Songs*
1934  Stark Young, *So Red The Rose*
1934  Paul Peters and George Sklar, *Stevedore*
1934  Mrs. L. M. Alexander, *Candy*
1935  Robert Rylee, *Deep Dark River*
1935  Turner, *Living Conditions on Edisto Island*
1935  Zora N. Hurston, *Mules and Men*, one of the most valuable collections of Negro Folk lore of this day, rich in idiomatic expression.
1935  Langston Hughes, *Big Meeting*
1935  Julia Peterkin and Doris Ulmann, Roll, Jordan, Roll
1936  Margaret Mitchell, Gone With The Wind
1936  Curlin Reed, She Lied Like A Lady
1936  Roark Bradford, Do Like de Man Say
1936  Clifford Dowdy, Bugles Blow Retreat
1936  Margaret Bell Houston, Window In Heaven
1936  Roark Bradford, The Hoodoo Bonus
Lordkidnapper is enlisting Negroes for British services, converses with Cudjo:

Kidnapper: Well, my brave black, are you come to list?  
Cudjo: Es, Massa Lord, you preasee. (please)  
Kid: How many are there of you?  
Cudjo: Twenty two, Massa.  
Kid: Very well, did you all run away from your masters?  
Cudjo: Es, Massa Lord, eb'ry one, me too.  
Kid: That's clever....What part did you come from?  
Cudjo: Disse brack man, disse one, disse one, came from Hampton, disse one, disse one, come from Nawfok, me come from Nawfok too.  
Kid: Very well, what was your master's name?  
Cudjo: Me massa name Cunney Tomsee.  
Kid: Colonel Thompson, elgh?  
Cudjo: Es, massa, Cunney Tomsee.  
Kid: Well then, I'll make you a major--and what's your name?  
Cudjo: Me massa cowra me Cudjo....etc....

Brackenridge, Henry, *Modern Chivalry* (Part 1) 1792

Cuff, a Negro from Guinea, delivers the annual oration to the American Philosophical Society (from the text of 1815).

This is the first known attempt of introducing Negro dialect into American fiction:

Cuff: Massa shentiman; I be cash crab in de Wye river; found ting in de mud: tone, big a man's foot: holes like to he; fetch Massa: Massa say, it be de Indian Moccason...O! fat de call it: all tone. He say, you be a filasafa, Cuff. I say, 0 no, Massa, you be de filasafa. Wel: two tree monts ahta, Massa call me, and say, You be a filasafa, Cuff, fo' fo' sartin: Getta ready and go dis city, and make grate peech for shentiman filasafa. I say, fat say, Massa? Massa say, somebody say, dat de first man was de fite man: but you say, dat de first man was de black a-man. Wel I say out; cam along: Massa gi me pass. Some say, where you go, Cuff? I say, dis city, be a filasafa. Oh no Cuff, you be no filasafa: call me a fool, gi me kick i' the backside: fell down, get up again, and come to dis city.
Cooper, James Fenimore, The Spy, 1821 (revised 1831)
N.Y. Macmillan, 1912.

Character of Caesar, old negro from Guinea, pp. 244.

Caesar: "P'r'aps massa doctor will say him over ag'in,
I t'ink I get him by heart dis time.....
"Try um on he finger? t'ink a Miss Sally's ring go on old Caesar finger?
"I don't t'ink he know what dat be, dough massa dat sent me
gib me many more tings to carry, dat he little understand...
"Well, it war he doctor, heself, so he come up on a gallop,
as he alway do on a doctor's errand.....
"I wish Harvey stop, if he ride down a road, I should like
he company; I don't t'ink Johnny Birch hurt he own son....
"I see a Johnny Birch come out of he grave--Johnny walk
afore he buried.
"No, no, no, Massa Harry," cried the negro...."I been to
see--Massa Harper on the knee--pray to God--gemman who
pray to God tell of good son, come to see old fader--Skinner
do dat--no Christian!
"I don't t'ink he look a bit like me," said Caesar.."He
worse than ebber now," cried the discontented African. "A
t'ink colored man like a sheep! I neber see sich a lip,
Harvey; he most as big as a sausage!
"Best nebber tempt a Satan," said Caesar,...I berry like
heself to lose an ear for carrying a little bit of a letter;
dere much mischief come of curiosity. If dere had neber
been a man curious to see Africa, dere would be no colored
people out of dere own country; but I wish Harvey get back."

(Excerpts from Caesar's speech, dispersed throughout
the book, with no long speeches ever coming from him.)

Cooper, James Fenimore, The Pioneers, The Sources of the

Brom, a Guinea Negro speaks (p. 180):

Gib a nigger fair play. Ebery body know dat snap as good
as fire. Leab it to Massa Jone--leab it to lady."

The Sherriff calls to Agememnon, a Guinea black (p. 323):

"What the devil are you doing here, you black rascal, is
it not hot enough for your Guinea blood in the house, this
warm night, but you must drive out the poor dog and sleep
in his straw?"

"O, Masser Richard, Masser Richard! Such a ting! such a
ting! I neber tink a could happe'n; neber tink he die!
O, lor-a gor, ain't bury--keep 'em till Masser Richard
get back--got a grabe dug--".............
Everybody knows Mud Sam, the old negro fisherman who has fished about the Sound for the last twenty or thirty years.

P. 246: But curiosity was all powerful with poor Sam. He hesitated and lingered and listened. By and bye he heard the strokes of spades.
"They are digging the grave," said he to himself; the cold sweat started upon his forehead.
"The murderers!" exclaimed Sam involuntarily.

P. 273: "Shall I dig?" said Sam, grasping the spade.

P. 264: "Tis a ghost," said Sam.

This is a picture of country life in Virginia. It is more concerned with modes of life of the people.

It is a series of short sketches.

Scipio, an old free negro and Old Carey:

P. 403: "Never mind," replied Carey, "that 'possum down here in some of these bushes watching us. Bless you, if the dogs had treed him you would hear them almost crazy with howling. The 'possums never stay to take a chase, because they are the sorriest things in life to get along on level ground;— they sort of hobble; and that's the reason they always take off, as soon as they see a body—to their own homes. You trust big Ben; he knows what he's about."
"Pahaw, master Harvey!" exclaimed the old negro, "don't you know better than that?"
(1907 ed.)

P. 186: "Eh?—what?—ah yes! Upon the whole I think you had better not be too severe with the poor fellow. Has anything unpleasant happened since I saw you?

"No, Massa, dey aint bin noffin on unpleasant since den— it 'twas fore den I'm feared—'t was de berry day you was dare."

"How? what do you mean?"

"Hy, massa, I mean de bug— dare now."

"The what?"

"De bug—I'm berry sartin dat Massa Will bin bit some-where bout de head by dat goole-bug."

"And what cause have you, Juniper, for such a supposition?"

"Claws snuff, massa, and mouff too. I neber did see sikh a d---d bug—he kick and he bite ebery ting what cum near him. Massa Will cotch him fuss, but had for to let him go gin mighty quick, I tell you—den was de time he must ha got de bite. I didn't like de look ob de bug mouff, myself, no how, so I wouldn't take hold ob him wid my finger, but I cotch him wid a piece ob paper dat I found. I rap him up in de paper and stuff piece of it in he mouff—dat was de way."

"I don't tink noffin about it—I nose it. What makes him dream bout de goole so much, if taint cause he bit by de boole bug? Ise heerd bout dem.


P. 377: "Missis, I can see that, somehow, you're quite 'bove me in everything; but here's one thing missis might learn from poor Tom. Ye said the Lord took sides against us, because he lets us be 'bused and knocked reoun; but ye see what come on his own Son—the blessed Lord of Glory—wan't he adays poor? And have we, any on us, yet come so low as he come? The Lord hain't forgot us—I'm sartin' o' that ar'. If we suffer with him, we shall also reign, Scripture says: but, if we deny Him, he also will deny us. Didn't they all suffer?—the Lord and all his? It tells how they was stoned and sawn asunder, and wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins and was destitute, afflicted, tormented. Sufferin's aint no reason to make us think the Lord's turned agin us."
"Now tell me (Topsy) if you took anything, and I shan't whip you."

"Laws, Missis! I took Miss Eva's red thing she wares on her neck....I took Rosa's yer-rings--them red ones...Laws, Missis! I can't--they burnt up!"

"What did you burn them up for?" said Miss Ophelia.

"Cause I'se wicked, I is. I's mighty wicked, any how. I can't help it."

"Why, Missis said I must 'fess; and I couldn't think of nothin' else to 'fess," said Topsy, puffing her eyes.

"What did you burn them up for?" said Miss Ophelia.

"'Cause I'se wicked, I is. I's mighty wicked, any how. I can't help it."

"Why, Missis said I must 'fess; and I couldn't think of nothin' else to 'fess," said Topsy, puffing her eyes.

"Why laws me, Missis," said Chloe, laughing again, "other folks hires out der niggers and makes money on 'em. Don't keep sich a tribe eatin' 'em out of house and home."

"Laws, I ain't a proposin' nothin': only Sam, he said der was one of dese yer perfectioners, dey calls 'em, in Louisville, said he wanted a good hand at cake and pastry; and said he'd give four dollars a week to one, he did."

"Master, master, Mars Russell! Where are you? Why don't you speak, and tell 'em they're all lies? Why don't you tell 'em it's Vulcan, that tried to kill you, and Master Brunard, that tried to make everybody kill you? You may kill me if you wan't to! I don't care if you do! I'll call you a story-teller and a rogue. I'd a heep rather be killed than stand still and hear the best master that ever lived made out a monster and a brute!"

"Speak Vulcan!" cried Moreland, "speak! And in the presence of an all-hearing God, say if this man utters the truth, or I."

"You, massa, you!" burst spontaneously from the lips of the negro; and it seemed as if a portion of blackness rolls away from his face, with the relieving consciousness of having borne testimony to the truth.
Character of Rhoda Swartz, a young mulatto--her father a slave owner.

P. 191: "Shall I sing Blue-Eyed Mary, or the air from the cabinet?" Miss Swartz asked. "I can sing Flory du Tajy, I had the words."

"Oh, Fleure du Tage," Miss Martha cried, "we have the song," and went off to fetch the book in which it was.

P. 197: "Lou!" cried Miss Swartz, spinning swiftly round on the music stool, "Is it my Amelia? Amelia that was at Miss P's at Hammersmith's? I know it is. It's her, and--tell me about her--where is she?"

Gumbo is the Negro servant who speaks throughout the book. Mr. Thackeray would spend most of his time in describing the action of Gumbo. The few selections given here are the type and kind used by most of the authors of this period when they resorted to dialect.

P. 102: "A look of terror and doubt seemed to fall upon every face. Affrighted negroes wistfully eyed their masters and retired, and hummed and whispered with one another. The fiddles ceased in the quarters; the song and laugh of those cheery black folk were hushed. Right and left everybody's servants were on the gallop for news....Ah, what a scream poor Mrs. Mountain gave when Gumbo brought this news from across the James River and little Fanny sprang crying to her mother's arms!....

P. 308: "Ah, why ain't we there, Gumbo?" cried out Harry.

"Why ain't we dar?" shouted Gumbo.

"Why am I here, dangling at women's trains?" continued the Virginian.

"Think dangling at women's trains very pleasant, Master Harry?" says the materialistic Gumbo.

P. 338: "Ask him, Gumbo, whether he would like anymore?" said Mr. Warington in a stern humour.

"Massa Harry say, Wool you like any maw?" asked the obedient Gumbo, roaring over the prostrate gentleman.

P. 160: "Yes, Mausser Jeems, I 'member; but den I gone forgit, 'till wun hasby gust bin dar cummin' up; and him bin so suddant, dat de win' blow de house rite down, and swash up ebery one ob you boat...."

"Mausser, I cry all night, when de boat-house fall down, but seberral gentleman roun' de plantation, heb got boat fur to sell, and I beg you to buy dat big one at Mr. Glubber's name. Never Land!............"

"Mausser! One ob you oxen dead, sir; turrer one dead too, sir; as 'fraid to tell you bote at a time, nomisay you couldan't bore it?"


Joe, the "black boss" speaking:

P. 113: "Here'em what I owes you. Now pack off ter onst, and don't neber show your face on dis plantation no more....."

"I reckon dis am my 'fair, an' I shan't leff you git drunk, and burn up no more white rosin yere; so take yerself off. Ef you doan't, I'll make you blacker now I is......."

P. 116: "Ole massa know'd Cale was habin' a bad 'fect on de oder darkies, an' he lowed 'twould be cheap leffin' him gwo, ef he didn't get a picayune fur him. Well, Cale, he took ter dat ter onst, an' so he put off ter Newbern. Ebery ting gwo on right smart till de ole gemman die. Cale, he wuck hard, pay Massa ebery year, an' sabe up quite a heap."

P. 80: "Bress you, sari! You forgets nobody ain't to know whar you be! Mass' Villers he say so, You jes' lef' de clo'es alone, yit awhile. Wouldn't hab dat ar Widder Sprowl find out you'se in dis yer house, not if you'd gib me...."

"It's de bery ol' hag herself! Speak de debil's name and he's allus at de door....."

P. 81: "Yes, sari! An' I wish she was furder, sari! She's a 'quirin' fur you--says she knows you'se in de house and it's bery 'portant she must see ye. But, tank de Lord, Massa, Carl's forgot his English and don't know muffin what she wants! he! he!.....An' so dey's hebin, fust one, den tudder, while Mass' Jenny she hear's 'em, and comes for to let us know. But how de ol' kritter eber found you out, dat am one of de mysteries."


Go 'way, fiddle! folks is tired o' hearin' you a-squawkin'. Keep silence fur yo' betters!--don't you heah de banjo talkin'? About de possum's tail she's gwine to leeter--ladies, listen! About de ba'r what isn't dar, an' why de ba'r is missin':

"Dar's gwine to be a oberflow," said Noah, lookin solemn--Fur Noah tuk the "Herald", an' he read de ribber column--An' so he sat his hands to wuk, a-cl'arin' timer-patches, An' 'lowed he's gwine to build a boat to beat the steamah Natchez.

Now, Ham, de only nigrer whut wuz runnin' on de packet, Got lonesome in de barber-shop, an' c'udn't stan' de racket; An' so, fur to amuse he'se'f, he steamed some wood an' bent it,

An' soon he had a banjo made, de fust dat wuz invented.
Belunded fellow-travelers, in holdin' forth to-day
I doesn't quote no special verses for what I has to say;
De sermon will be berry short, an' dis here am de tex';
Dat half-way doin's ain't no 'count in dis worl' nor de nex'.
Dis worl' day we's a-llibbin' in is like a cotton row,
Where ebery cullud gentleman has got to line his hoe;
An' ebery time a lazy nigger stops to take a nap,
De grass keeps on a-growin' for to smudder up de crap.

When Moses led de Jews acrost de waters of de sea,
Day had to keep a-goin' jus' as fas' as fas' could be;
Do you suppose day could eber hab succeeded in dere wish,
And reached de promised land at last, if day had stopped to fish?
My frien's, dere was a garden once, where Adam libbed wid Eve,
Wid no one roun' to bodder dem, no nabors for to thieve;
An' ebery day was Christmas, and day had dere rations free,
An' eberything belonged to dem except an apple tree.

You, Nebuchadnezzah, whoa, sah!
What is you tryin' to go, sah?
I'd hab you fur to know, sah,
'I's a-holdin' ob de lines.
You better stop dat prancin';
You's pow'ful fond ob dancin',
But I'll bet my yeah's advancin'
Dat I'll cure you ob yo' shines.

Look heah, mule! Better min' out;
Fus' t'ing you know you'll fin' out
How quick I'll wear dis line out
On your ugly stubborn back.
You needn't try to steal up
An' lif' dat precious heel up;
You's got to plow dis field up.
You has, sah, fur a fac'.

Dar, dat's de way to do it!
He's comin' right down to it;
Jes watch him plowin' troo it!
Dis nigger ain't no fool.
Some folks say would a' beat him;
Now, dat would only beat him—
I know jes how to treat him;
You mus' reason wid a mule.
O mahr! let dis gath'rin fin' a blessin' in yo' sight!
Don't jedge us hard fur what we does—yo' know it's
Christmas-night;
An' all de balunce ob de yeah we does as right's we kin.
Ef dancin's wrong, O Mahr! leg do time excuse de sin!

We labors in de vin'yard, wukin' hard an' wukin' true;
Now, short'ly yo' won't notus, ef we eats a grape or two,
An' takes a leetle holiday,--a leetle restin'-spell,--
Bekase, nex' week, we'll start in fresh, an' labor twicet
as well.

Remember, Mahr.--min' dis now,—de sinfulness ob sin
Is 'pendin' 'pon de sperrit what we goes an does it in;
An' in a righehs fram ob min' we's gwine to dance an' sing,
A-feelin' like King David, when he cut de pagan-wing.

Git yo' pardner, fust kwattilion!
Stomp yo' feet an' raise 'em high:
Tune is: "Oh! dat water-million
Gwine to git to home bime-bye."
'S'lute yo' pardners!—scrape nerlity--
Don't be bumpin' ginde res'--
Balance all!—now, step out rightly:
Alluz dance yo' lebel bes'.
Fo'wa'd foah!—whoop up, niggers!
Back ag'in!—don't be so slow!--
Swing cornahs!—min' de figgers!
When I hollers, den yo' go.
Top ladies cross ober!
Hol' on, till I takes a dram--
Gemmen solo!—yes, I's sober--
Cain't say how de fiddle am.
Hands around!—hol' up yo' places!
Dat's de way—dat's hard to beat.
Sides for'w'd! --when you's ready--
Make a bow as low's you kin!
Swing acrost wid opp'site lady--
Now we'll let you swap ag'in:
Ladies change!—shet up dat talkin';
Do yo' talkin' arter while!
Right and lef'!—don't want no walkin'--
Make yo' steps, an' show yo' style!
"A'n't no use lett'n' sich holes as these 'ere go, if 't is Sunday? replied the old woman. "Hope I neber sh'll ketch you a doin' muffin' was! A'n't we told to help our neighbor's sheep out o' the ditch on the Lord's day? An' which is mos' consequence, I'd like to know, the neighbor's sheep, or the neighbor hisself?"

"But his clothes a'n't him," said Creehy.

"S'pose I do'n'o' that? But what's a sheep for, if 't a'n't for it's wool to make the clo'es? Then, to look arter the sheep that makes the clo'es, and look arter the clo's arter they're made, that's mis'ble notion!"

"But you can mend the clothes any day."

"Could I mend 'em yie'day, when I didn't have 'em to mend? or le' night, when they was wringin' wet? Le' me alone, now, with your nonsense!"

"But you can mend them to-morrow," said the mischievous girl, delighted to puzzle her grandmother.

"And let that poor lorn chile go in rags over Sunday, freezin' cold weather like this? Guess I a'n't so on-feelin',--an' you a'n't muther, for all you like to tease your ole granny so! Bless the boy, seems to me he's jest go'n' to bring us good luck. I feel as though the Angel of the Lord did r'a'ly come into the house with him las' night! Wish I had somesin' r'al good for him for his breakfast now! He'll be dreffle hungry, that's sartin. Make a rousin' good big Johnnycake, mammy; and Creehy, you stop botherin', and slice up them 'ere taters for fryin'.

Russell, Irwin, "The Kingdom Gate", first written in Scribners, 1876, in "Uncle Cap Interviewed", now in Collected Poems P. 164.

Nebbah knocked on de Kingdom Gate befoah, Yet dey comes fu to let me in-- Come, from yo' trops on de gall'ry floah, Ef dey doen't hold no sin! It ain't bery fur to de Kingdom Gate, An' de doah, it's right inside; But e'zamine yo' ba'gidge--for dey'll make you wait, Ef it's sin what you's try'n fur to hide.
The negro begged; the master wrathfully insisted,  
"Colossus, will you do ez I tell you, or shell I hev' to strike you, saw?" 
"O Maha Jimmy, J--I's gwine; but"--he ventured nearer-- 
"don't on no account drink nothin', Maha Jimmy." 
"Thar, now! Why, Collossee, you most of been dosed 
with sumthin'; yo' plum crazy.--Humph, come on, Jools, let's 
eat! Humph! to tell me that when I never take a drop, 
exceptin' for chills, in my life--which he knows so as well 
as me!" 
"The two masters begun to ascend a stair. 
"Malls, he is a sassy; I would sell him, me." said the 
young Creole. 
"No, I wouldn't do that," replied the parson;  
"Though there is people in Bethesdy who says he is a rascal." 
"For whilst," said he, "Maha Jimmy has eddication, you 
know--whilst he has eddication, I has 'scrition. He has 
eddication and I has 'scrition, an' so we gits along." 
"As a p'inciple I discr'edits de imbimin' of awjus liquors.  
De imbimin' of awjus liquors, de wioletion of de Sabbaf, de 
playin' of de fiddle, and de usin' of by-words, dey is de 
fo'sins of de conscience, de debble done sharp his fork 
fo' dat man.--Ain't dat so, boss?"
Harris, Joel Chandler, "Brother Rabbit Takes Exercise", *Nights With Uncle Remus*, Boston, H. Mifflin Co. 1881.

Harris in his Introduction, P. xxxiii, says:

"Gullah dialect recognizes no gender, scorns the use of plural number, except accidentally. "E" stands for "he" "she" or "it." "Dem may allude to one thing, or a thousand."

None of the stories given in the present volume are "cooked." They are given in the simple, but picturesque language of the negroes, just as the negroes told them.

P. 109: "Hit come 'bout dat soon one mawnin' todes de fall ob de year, Brer Rabbit was stirrin' roun' in de woods after some bergawot fer ter make im some h-ar-grease. De win' blow so col' dat it make im feel right frisky, en every time he year de bushes rattle he make lak he skeerd. He 'uz gwine on des a-way, hopity-skippity, w'en bimeby he year Mr. Man cuttin' on a tree way off in de woods. He foch up, Brer Rabbit did, en listen fus' wid one year en den wid de yuther."

Harris, Joel Chandler, "How Mr. Rabbit was Too Sharp for Mr. Fox", *Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings*, New York, Appleton-Century, 1930, copyright 1880.

P. 16: "W'at I tell you w'en I fus' begin? I tole you Brer Rabbit wuz a monstous soon creatur; leas'ways dat's w'at I laid out fer ter tell you. Well, honey, don't you go an' make no udder calkalashuns, kaze in dem days Brer Rabbit en his fambly wuz at de head er de gang w'en enny racket wuz on hen', en dar dey stayed. 'Fo' you begins fer ter wipe yo' eyes 'bout Brer Rabbit, you wait en see whar'-boutes Brer Rabbit gwine ter fetch up at. But dat's needer yer ner der.

"W'em Brer F ox fine Brer Rabbit mixt up wid de Tar-Baby, he feel mighty good, en he roll on de groun' en laff. Bimeby he up'n say, sezee:

"Well, I 'speck I got you dis time, Brer Rabbit, sezee, 'maybe I ain't but I speck I is. You been runnin' roun' here sassin' atter me a mighty long time, but I speck you done come ter de een' er de row. "

P. 7: "He come mighty nigh it, honey, sho's you born---Brer Fox did. One day after Brer Rabbit fool 'im wid dat calamus root, Brer Fox went ter wuk en got 'im some tar, en mix it wid some turkentine, en fix up a contropshun wat he call a Tar-Baby, en he tuk dish yer Tar-Baby en he set 'er in de big road, en den he lay off in de bushes fer ter see wat de news wuz gwinter be. En he didn't hatter wait long, nudder, kaze bimeby here come Brer Rabbit pacin' down de road--lippy, lippy--

Harris, Joel Chandler, Free Joe and Other Georgian Sketches New York, C. Scribner's & Sons, 1887
Lucinda talking in "Free Joe":

P. 10: "I 'uz settin' down front er der fireplace, cookin' me some meat, w'en all of a sudden I year sumpin at de do'--scratch, scratch. I tuck'en tu'n de meat over, en make it aint year it. Bimeby it come dar 'gen--scratch, scratch. I up en open de do', I did, en, bless de Lord! dar wuz little Dan, en it look like ter me dat his rib done grow tergeer. I gin 'im some bread, en den, w'en he start out, I tuck'en follower 'im, caze, I say ter myse'f, maybe my nigger man mought be somer'e 'roan'. Dat ar little dog got sense, mon.

Free Joe, P. 13: "Miss Becky, I wish you please, ma'am, take en run yo' kyards en see sumpin', ne'r 'bout Lucindy; kaze if she sick, I'm gwine dar. Dey ken take en take me up en gimme a stroppin', but I'm gwine dar."

Harris, Joel Chandler, Daddy Jake, The Runaway, New York, Century Co. 1889.

P. 48: "Sam, did you see whar de chillun landed w'en we come 'long des a' ter sunup dis mornin'?"
"Dat I didn't, an' ef I had I'd hollered out ter Marster." "Dat w'at I wuz feered un," said Sandy Bill. "Feared er what?" asked Big Sam. "Feared you'd holler at Marster ef you seed whar dey landed. Dat how come I ter run fore er yo' boat." "Look yer, nigger man, you aint done gone 'stracted, is you?"
"Shoo, chile! Don't talk ter me 'bout gwine 'stracted. I got ez much sense ez Ole Zip Coon." "Den why'n you tell Marster? Ain't you done see how he troubled in he min'?"
"I done see dat, en it makes me feel bad: but t'er folks got trouble, too, lots wuss'n Marster."

P. 23: "Well, suh, de man look at me an' laugh so funny dat it make my ve'y limbs ache. Yes, suh. My heart hit up g'inst my ribs des like a fluttermill; an' I wuz so skeered it make my tongue run slicker dan sin. He ax me mo' questions dan I could answer now, but I made answer den des like snappin' my fingeirs. W'at make me de mo' skeered was de way dat ar white man done. He'd look at me an' laugh, an' de plumper I gin 'im de answer, de mo' he'd laugh. I say ter mysef, I did: "Balaam, you'r a goner, dat w'at you is. De man know you, an' de fust calaboose he come ter he gwine slap you in dar. I had a mighty good notion ter jump out er dat buggy an' make a break fer de woods, but stidder dat I sot right whar I wuz, kaze I knowed in reason dat ef de man want me right bad an' I wuz ter break an' run he'd fetch me down wid a pistol."

Harris, Joel Chandler, "Mr. Rabbit and Mr. Bear" in Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings?, New York, Appleton, 1935, Copyright 1895.

P. 111: "Sho' nuff, w'en de goobers 'gun ter ripen up, eve'y time Brer Fox go down ter his patch, he fine whar somebody bin grabbin' 'mongst de vines, en he git mighty mad. He sorter speck who de somebody is, but ole Brer Rabbit he cover his tracks so cute dat Brer Fox dummy how ter ketch 'im. Bimeby, one day Brer Fox take a walk all roun' de ground pea patch, en 'twan't long 'fo' he fine a crack in de fence whar de rail done bin rub right smoove, en right dar he sot 'im a trap. He tuck'n ben' down a hick'ry saplin', growin' in de fence-cornder, en tie one een' un a plow-line on de top, en in de udder een' he fix a loop-knot.........

Nex mawnin' w'en ole Brer Rabbit come slippin' 'long en crope thoo de crack, de loop-knot ketch 'im behime de fo' legs.........
P. 88: "Do sump'n? What he gwine do? Fo' de big turmoil he done some lawin' an' a heap er farmin'. Leas' ways my ol' Mistiss done de farmin', an' Marse Tumlin, he done de lawin'. He had 'im a office here in town, an' on set days he'd come in an' look arter de cases what he had. But how anybody gwine ter do any lawin' dat-a way? Marse Tumlin ain't keerin' whedder he git one case er none. He ain't bleedze ter do no lawin'. An' den' pop top er dat he went off whar dey battlin', an' dar he stayed, an' when he come back, look like de kinder lawin' he use ter do done outer fahion. Ef he hadn't er been holp out, suh, I dunner what'd 'a' come un 'im. An' twa'nt only Marse Tumlin. Dey wuz a whole passel un um, too young ter die an' too ol' ter win money in dem kinder times. Ef you ain't ol' 'nuffter 'member dem times, suh, you kin thank de Lord, kase dey sho' did look like tetotal ruination."

P. 89: "...he kep' groanin' an' growlin' 'bout it twel I got stirred up."

Big 'possum clime little tree,
Dem w'at eats kin say grace.
Ole man know-all died las' year.
Better de gravy dan no grease 'tall.
Dram ain't goo twel you git it.
Lazy fokes' stumbucks don't git tired.
Rheumatiz don't he'p at de log-rollin'.
Mole don't see w'at his neber doin'.
Save de pacin' mar' fer Sunday.
Don't rain eve'y time de pig squeal.
Crow en corn can't grow in de same fiel'.
Rails split 'fo' bre'kfus' 'll season de dinner.
Dem w'at knows too much sleeps under de ash-hopper.
Ef you wanter see yo' own sins, clean up a new groun'.
Harris, Joel Chandler, "Brother Rabbit and the Chickens"  
*Told by Uncle Remus*, Grosset & Dunlap, 1903-5.

P. 77: "Well, dish yer Mr. Man what I'm a-tellin' you 'bout, he had a truck patch, an' a roas'in year patch, an' a goober patch. He grow'd wheat an' barley, an' likewise rye, an' kiss de gals an' make um cry. An' on top er dat, he had a whole yard full er chickens, an' dar's whar de trouble come in. In dem times, all er creeturz wuz meat-eaters, an' twuz in about ez much ez dey kin do, an' sometimes a little mo', fer ter git 'long so dey won't go ter bed hungry....."

Harris, Joel Chandler, "Hor Old Craney-Crow Lost His Bead" in  
*Told By Uncle Remus*, New York.,  
Grosset and Dunlap, n.d. Copyright 1903-04-05, P. F. Collier.

P. 129: "But 'twant long fo' he 'gun ter feel all right, an' he look roun' fer ter see whar he at. He look an' he look, but he ain't fin' out, kaze he wuz a mighty fur ways fum home. Yit he feel de water half-way up his legs, an' ef-ol' Craney-Crow is in a place whar he kin do a little wadin', he kinder has de home-feelin', you know how dat is yo'self. Well, dar he wuz, a mighty fur ways fum home, an' yit up to his knees in water, an' he des stood dar, he did, an' tuck his ease, hopin' fer better times bimby. Now de place whar he wuz blow'd ter wuz Long Cane Swamp an' I wish I had time ter take you over dar an' show you right whar he wuz at when he lit, an' I wish I had time fer ter take you all throo de Swamp an' let you see fer yo'self what kinder Thing it is.

Harris, Joel Chandler,  "Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings"  

P. 128: "Brer B'ar he wrop de bed-cord roun' his han', en wink at de gals, an' wid dat he gin a big juk, but Brer Tarrypin ain't budge. Den he take bofe han's en gin a big pull, but, all de same, Brer Tarrypin ain't budge. Den de tu'm roun', he did, en put de rope cros' his shoulders en try ter walk off wid Brer Tarrypin, but Brer Tarrypin look like he don' feel like walkin'. Den Brer Wolf he put in en hope Brer B'ar pull, but des like he didn't en dem dey all hope 'im, en, bless grashus! W'les dey wuz all a pullin', Brer Tarrypin, he holler, en ax um w'y dey don't take up de slack."
"If Ephum jes had a mule, or even somebody to help him, but he ain' got nuttin'. De chil'n ain' big 'nough to do nuttin', but eat; he ain' got no brurr's, an' he daddy took 'way and sold down South de same time my ole marster whar dead buy him; dat's what I al'ays heah 'em say, an' I know he's dead long befo' dis, 'cause I heah 'em say dese Virginia niggers can' stan' it long deah, hit so hot, hit frizzle 'em up, an' I reckon he die befo' he ole marster, whar I heah say die of a broked heart torectly after de teck de niggers an' sell em befo' he face. I heah Aunt Dinah say dat, an' dat he might'ly not on he ole servants, apressaly on Ephum daddy, whar named little Ephum, an' whar used to wait on him. Dis mus' a' been a great place dem days, 'cordin' to what 'ee say." She went on: "Dee say he sutny live strong, wuz jee rich as cream, an' weahed he blue coat an' brass buttons, an' lived in dat ole whar war w was up whar de pines is now.

Just then Ben stood up too, and making his way over to her said: "Jedge; ken I say a wud?"

"Why-ah-yes," said the Judge, doubtfully. "It is very unusual, but go on."

"Well, gent'mens," began Ben. "I jes wants to say--I jes wants to say dat I don't think you ought to do Jinny dat a-way. Y'all 'ain' got nuttin' 't all 'ginst Jinny. She ain' do nuttin' to you all--nuttin' 't all. She's my wife, an' what she done she done to me. Ef I kin stan' it, y'all ought to be able to, dat's ho'. Now hit's dis a-way. Y'all is married gent'mens, an' yo' knows jes how 'tis. Yo' knows sometimes a woman gits de debil in her. 'Tain't her fault; 'tis de debil's. Hit jes like wolf in cows. Sometimes dee gits in deskin and mecks 'em kick up an' run an' mean. Dat's de way 'tis wid wimmens. I done know how mean she is. I had pleny o' urr gals I could 'a' marry, but I ain' want dem. I want Jinny, an' I pester her tell she had me. Well, she meaner eben 'n I think she is; but dat ain' nuttin'; I satisfied wid her an' dat's 'nough. Y'all don' know how mean she is. She mean as a harrer-faced mule. She kick an' she fight an' she quoil tell sometimes I hardly ken stay in muh house; but dat ain' nuttin'. I stay dyah, an' when she git thoo I right dyah jes same as befo', an' I know den I gwine have a good supper, an' I ain' got to pester my mine 'bout nuttin'. Y'all done been all 'long dyah, 'cuz y'all is married gent'mens. Well, dat's de way 'twuz turr night.
Page, Thomas Nelson, "Meh Lady", in In Ole Virginia, New York Scribners. (Vol. 9, Library of Southern Literature).

P. 3854: "Tell 'long in de spring Meh Lady she done broke down, what wid teachin' school, an' settin' up, an' bein' so po', stintin' for Mistis, an' her face gettin' real white stid o' pink like peach-blossom, as it used to be, on'y her eyes dee bigger an' prettier 'n ever, 'sep dee look tired when she come out o' Mistis Chahamber an' lean 'g'inst de do, lookin' out down de lonesome road; an' de doctor whar came from Richmon' to see Mistis, 'cause de ain' no doctor in de neighborhood sense de war, tell Hannah when he went 'way de larst time 'tain no hope for Mistis, she mos' gone, an' she better look mighty good after Meh Lady too; he saya she mos' sick as Mistis, an' fust thing she know she'll be gone too. Dot sturb Hannah might'ly....I had done plant meh corn; an' it had done come up right good.

Page, Thomas Nelson, In Ole Virginia, New York, Scribners, 1887.

P. 148: "So she'd go to school of a mornin', an' me or Hannah one'd go to meet her of a evenin' to tote her books, 'cause she hardly able to tote herself den; an' she do right well at school (de chil'un all love her): twuz when she got home she so sufferin'; den her mind sort o' wrastlin' wid itself, an' she jes' set down an' think an' study an' look so grieved. Hit sut'n'yu did hut me an' Hannah to see her settin' dyah at de winder o' Mistis chahamber, leanin' her head on her han' an' jes' lookin' out, lookin' out all de evenin' so lonesome, and she look beautiful too. Hannah say she grievin' herself to death.

"Well, dat went on for mo'n six weeks, an' de chile jes' settin' dyah ev'y night all by herself wid de moon-light shinin' all over her, meckin' her look pale......

"But Hannah got argument to all dem wuds;
He owned mo' niggers 'n arr' a man
About dyar, black an' bright;
He owned so many, b'fo' de Lord,
He didn’t know all by sight!

Well, suh, one evenin', long to'ds dusk,
I seen de Marster stan'!
An' watch a yaller boy pass de gate
Wid a ashcok in his han'.

He never had no mammy at all—
Leastways, she was dead by dat—
An' de cook an' de hands about on de place
Used ter see dat de boy kep' fat.

Well, he trotted along down de perf dat night,
An de Marster he seen him go,
An' hollered, "Say, boy—say what's yer name?"
"A—ashcok, suh," says Joe.

It 'peared ter tickle de Marster much,
An' he called him up to de do'.
"Well, dat is a curious name," says he;
"But I guess it suits you, sho!"

When I wuz born, yo' gran'pa gi'me to young Marse Phil,
To be his body-servant—like, you know;
An' we growed up together like two stalks in a hill—
Bofe tarslin' an' den shootin' in de row.

Marse Phil wuz born in hures', an' I dat Christmas come;
My mammy nussed bofe og we de same time;
No matter what one got, suh, de oder gwine git some—
We wuz two fibre-cennt pieces in one dime.

We cotch ole hyahs together, an' possums, him an' me;
We fished dat mill-pon' over, night an' day;
Rid horses to de water; treed coons up de same tree;
An' when you see one, turr warn' fur away.

When Marse Phil want to College, 't wuz, "Sam--Sam's got to go."
Ole Marster said, "Dat boy's a fool 'bout Sam."
Ole Mistis jes' said, "Dear, Phil wants him, an'; you know--
Dat 'Dear'--hit used to soothe him like a lamb.

So we all went to College—'way down to Williamsburg—
Gut 't warn' much l'arnin out o' books we got;
Dem urrs warn' no mo' to him 'n a ole warmy lug;
Yes, suh, we wuz de ve'y top-de-pot.
"Tell you 'bout 'em?" You mus' a hearn
'Bout my ole white folks, sho'!
I tell you, suh, dey was gre't an' stern;
D'isdn't have muttin' at all to learn;
D' knowed all dar was to know;
An' sev' dey head an' oder dey feet;
Gal' over dey head an' oder dey feet;
An' silber! dey sowed 't like folks sows wheat.

"Use ter be rich?" Dat warn' de wud!
D' jes' wallowed an' roll' in wealf.
Why, none o' my white folks ever stir'd
Ter lif' an han' for d' self;
De niggers use ter be stan'in' roun'.

Jes d' same ez leaves when dey fus' fall down;
De stable-stalls up heah at home
Looked like teef in a fine-toof comb;
De cattle was p'digious—I mus' tell de fac'!
And de hogs meeked de hill-sides look lite black;
An' de flocks o' sheep was so gre't an' white
Dey 'peered like clouds on a moonshine night.

Well, when, as I was sayin',
Dat night I come on down,
I see he bench was layin',
Flat-sided on de groun';
An' I kiner hurried to'ds de do'--
Quick-like, you know.

Inside I see him layin'
Back, quiet, on de bed;
An' I heashd him dep on sayin';
"Dat's what ole Marster said;
An' Marster warn' gwine tell me lie,
He'll come by-m'by."

I axed how he was gettin'.
"Nigh ter de furrow's een'!
He said; "dis ebenin', settin'
Outside de do', I seen
De thirteen curlews come in line,
An' knowed de sign.
Page, Thomas Nelson, Two Little Confederates, New York, Scribners, 1868.

P. 59: "Hi, Mistis, whar is I got to go? I wuz born on dis place an' I spec' to die here, an' be buried right yonder......Dat I does, y'all sticks by us, and we'll stick by you....."

"I know I ain' gwine nowhar wid no Yankees, or nuthin'..

P. 117: "Oh, yes, sir; I gwine ketch em fur you,—dat is, ef they ain' gone. I mighty 'feared they gone. I seen 'em goin' out the back way about a little while befo' you all come—but I thought they might 'a' come back, Mister, ken y'all teck me 'long with you when you go? They ain't heah, but I know whar dey is.


P. 446: "Well, you see, it's disaway. Jerry, he gits his whiskey at Mr. Spicket's--some of it—an' he say Mr. Spicket she'll write hit down on de book dat way, an.... "Nor, suh, dat ain't it. I don' mine he havin' de whiskey—I don' mine he gittin' all he want—cuz I know he gwine drink it. But I don' want him to have it put dat way in de book. I is a member o' de chutch, and I don' want whiskey writ all over my book—dat's hit!.... "An I done tell Jerry so; an' I done tell Mr. Spicket so, an' ax him not to do it........I wants him to put it down 'merchandise', dat's all; an' I come to ax you, can't you meck Jerry do it dat away."...........

"An I want to ax you ef he ken lef' me jes cuz I want him to mark it merchandise?"
Pyrnelle, Mrs. L. C., Diddle Dumpe and Tot, New York, Harpers 1882.

P. 11: "I know de reason dey so late, Miss Diddie," said Riar, "Dey got dat new mule Sam in de lead in one de wagins, and Unker Bill say he know he gwine out up, f'um de look in he's eyes."
"I do b'lieve we've been out hyear er hunder-d hours...."

P. 25: "Yes, sar! By rights dat nigger gal oughter be beat most ter deff, she clean boddle de life out'n me, an' Marster, he jes' oughter kill dat nigger. I dunno wut makes me kyar so much er bout'n her no way; dar's plenty er liklier gals 'n her, an' I jes' b'lieve dat's er trick nigger; anyhow she's tricked me, she's yer born; an' eff'n I didn't b'long ter nobody, I'd jump right inter dis creek an' drown myse'f."

Holmes, Mrs. Mary J., "Tempest and Sunshine," Life in Kentucky, New York, G. W. Dillingham, 1882

P. 14: "Jim, is this animal ugly?"
"Ugly! Lor' bless you, marster, is you blind? As handsome a creature as thar is in the country?"
"I do not mean to ask if the horse is ill-looking, but is it skitish?"
"If Marster means by that, will he throw him off, I don't think he will, as long as I'm on him, but sometimes he is a leetle contrary like. Reckon marster ain't much to ridin'...."
"No sar, Marster's done gone away, but Miss Nancy, she's at home. Jist walk right in that, whar you see the pile of saddles in the entry."........
"I didn't go to do it, sartin, Miss July, Lor' knows I didn't."
"Lor' bless Miss Fanny's sweet face, that I do like Dido," said Aunt Judy.

P. 46: "Lordy messy, how can I tell, when I dun know mo-thin whar 'tis," said Luss......."Oh, oh, oh—Miss Fanny, don't go for to whip me, case I hain't nothin' to tell; if I had I'd tell it right off. I hain't need your hankercher 'tall. Mebby you done drap 't somewhar."...
"Oh, Miss Julia, Miss Fanny done lost her fine hankercher, and she say how I stole it, but I haint."

If my hah is de color ob silbah,  
I ain't mo' d'n fifty yea' ole;  
It tuck all dat whiteness f'om mo' nin',  
An' weepin', an' tawtah o' soul.  
Far I los' bofe my dahlin' men-child'en—  
Dey two have done gone to deh res'--  
My Jim, an' my Miste'ess M ahs William,  
De pah dat hev nussed at my bress'.

Miss' Lucy she mawied in Ap'11,  
An' I done got mawied in May;  
An' bofe o' our beautiful child'en,  
Wah bo'n de same time to a day.  
But while I got bettah' an' strongah,  
Miss Lucy got weakah an' wuss;  
Den she died, an' dey guv me de baby,  
De leetle Mahs' William, to nuss.

*Bonner, Sherwood, *Suwnee River Tales,* Boston, Roberts Bros., 1884. (Lib. of Southern Literature, Vol. 1).*

*Gra'mammy talking:*

"I'll go, Mis' Sarah, in one little minute. Love Mars' Allen? Why, wuzn't my arms de fust ter hol' him--a little soft, helpless moment--even before you held him yc' own mother's heart? An' from that very minute I loved him. I kin see him now, a little white-headed boy, always runnin' ter his ole gran'mammy fur turn-overs an' ginger-cakes. Haven't I watched him all through de years, growin' as straight an' tall as a young poplar, full of his jokes, but with never a mean streak in him, bless de Lord! An' den, Mis' Sarah, don't you mind how he looked in his gray uniform, wid de gold lace on his sleeves; an' how his eyes would kindle an' his voice ring out when he talked of de country he loved next to God?"

"Oh, my po' sweet mistis, I wants to mend yo' heart, not break it........."
P. 33; "I riz up, I did, en shuck de stiffness out'n my bones, en I look, 'way cross de river ter de top er de hill whar de road lead. I look en I say, sez I..."Maybe you leads ter freedom, but, bless God, I gwine back." Des 'bout dat time I see fe'ymun come down ter de flat en onloose de chain, en make ez he wuz comin' 'cross arter me. Wid dat I raise up my hat en tip 'im a bow, en dat's de las' I seed un 'im."

P. 268: "Sim like you done fo'got me. Don't you 'member how I use' live at Belle Alliance? Yes, seh. I's de one what show Bonaventure de road to Gran' Point'. Yes, seh. But I done let' d'h since Mistoo 'allas sole de place. Yes, seh. An' when I meet up wid you papa you nevva see a nigger so glad like I was. No, seh. An' likewise you papa. Yes, seh. An' he ass me is I want to wuck fo' him, an' I see he needin' he'p, an' so I tu'n in an' he'p him. Oh, yes, seh! Dass mo'n 'n a week, now, since I been wuckin' fo' you papa."

"Pow'ful stron current on udder side. Mistoo Claude, I see a gen'leman dis day noon what I ain't see befo' since 'bout six year an' mo'. I disremember his name,... Yes, seh. Dass it. Tah-bawx. (Tar box). Sim like any man ought to member dat name. Him an' you papa done gone down de canal. Yes, seh, in a pirogue. He come in a big hurry an' say how day got a big crevasse up de river on dat side, an' he want make you papa see one man what livin' on Lac Catacouche. Yes, seh. An' you papa say you fine you supper in de pot....."
Jones, Chas. C. Jr., "Buh Patridge an Buh Rabbit", in *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1888.

Buh Patridge and Buh Rabbit jine company fuh kill cow. W'en dey done kill um, dey share de meat equal. Buh Patridge tek one half; Buh Rabbit, him tek tarruh half. Buh Patridge tole him share home, an cook some, an gen un to chilluns. Buh Rabbit, him tay buhine an watch him share. Wen Buh Patridge an him chillun done eat dem belly full, Buh Patridge gave back to de place way de cow bin kill. Eh meet Buh Rabbit duh siddown day duh wait fuh hire somebody fuh cahr him meat ter him house. Buh Patridge, him want no meat. Eh up and tell Buh Rabbit. "Dat cow meat no good. Me cook some an gen to me chillun, an eh kill two er um." Buh Rabbit say: "Eh yent." Buh Patridge say: "Me tell you eh ylz. Me bin eat some too, an eh mek me fell berry bad. Rattle-snake must a bin trike dot cow an rizen um." Etc.....


Isom talking:

P. 296-7: "Dat's de way ter talk, dat's de way fer ter gib out de psalm fur ter be sung. I likes er boss dat turns on de screws. I doan' wanter see no trifles'ness 'bout me, I ken tell you dat. When I fust made up my mine dat you wuz gwine marry Miss Luzelle I says ter Aunt Seloy, I did: "Seloy,' s' I, 'dat white man gwine make things walk de chalk line sho' you bawn.' Dat's what I 'lowed, dem ver' words. I ain't gwine ter ax fur no mo' wages, but I's gwine ter work like a white-head, an' I 'low dat fo' lang you gwine call me. You gwine say: 'Isom!' 'Yas, seh,' s' I. 'I'se noticed fur some time dat you'ee been doin' yo' work powerful well.' 'Yas, seh,' s' I. 'You does mo' work den any two men on de place, an' yere, jes hol' my hat till I raise yo' wages right now on de book.'"

What dat you say? Hayah? vote for you? ain't nuvver seed you buffores;
I don't know what to call you by; my name? hit's uncle Sim.
Don' tell me muffin' 'bout votin', Boss, I'se fur ole Marster shore;
He nuvver went back on dis black chile: I ain't gwine back on him.

Would you exert de fren' dat fed you, howsumduvver poor
He's got his se'f, an' gin' you work, when work was
mons'cus slim?
Don' tel me muffin' 'bout votin', Boss, I'se fur ole Marster shore;
He nuvver went back on dis black chile: I'se gwine to stay 'bout him.

Smith, P. Hopkinson, "The One-Legged Goose," in *Handbook of Best Readings* by S. H. Clark,
New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.

P. 242-45: "Wid dat she grubs a carvin' knife from
de table, opens de do' ob de big oven, cuts off a leg ob
de goose, an' dis'pears round de kitchen corner wid de
leg in her mouf.

"Fo' I knowed whar I was Marsa John come to de kitchen
do' an' says, 'Gittin' late, Chad; bring in de dinner.'
You major, dey ain't no up an' down stairs in de big house,
like it is yer; kitchen an' dinin' room all on de same
flo'.

"Well, sah, I was scared to def, but I tuk dat goose
an' laid him wid de cut side down on de bottom of de pan
'fo' de cook got back, put some dressin' an' stuffin' ober
him, an' shet de stove do'. Den I tuk de sweet potatoes
an' he hominy an' put 'em on de table, an' den I went
back in de kitchen to get de baked ham. I put on de ham.
I put on de ham an' some mo' dishes, an' Marsa says, lookin'
up:

Peter talking:

"Hit all happe'n dis way, Marse Rom. We wuz gwine have pra'r meetin', en I 'lowed to walk home wid Phillis en ax 'er on de road. I been 'lowin' to ax 'er heap o' times befo', but I ain't jes nuver done so. So I says to myse'f, says I, 'I jes' mek my sermon tonight konder lead up to what I gwine to tell Phillis on de road home.' So I tuk my tex' from de lef' tail o' my coat: 'De greatest o' dese is charity;' caze I knewed charity wuz some ez love. En all de time I was preachin' an' glorifyin' charita'ty en identifyin' charity, wid love, I couldn' he'p thinkin' 'bout what I gwine say to Phyllis on de road home. Dat mek me feel better; en de better I feel, de better I preach, so hit boun' to mek my hea'ehs feel better likewise--Phillis 'mong um. So Phillis she jes' sot dah listenin' en listenin' en lookin' like we wuz a'ready on de road home...."
Cable, George W., John March, Southerner, New York, Scribners, 1894.

P. 32: "Why, Mahse John Wesley, I ain't done nothin' to Jedge Mahch (March): No, sah, neither defensive nor ifit offensive. An' yit mo', I ain't dreamin' o' causin' you sich uprisin' he'plessness. Me and Jedge Mahch has had a strick'ly private dis-peritude on the subjec' o' extra wages, accountin' o' his disinterpretations o' my plans an' his ign'ance o' de law... You see, my deah seh--yess. You see, Major, sense dis waugh done put us all on a sawt of equality.... Ow! leggo me! I ain't gwine to 'low no daym rebel...

"Oh, don't grabble my whole bres' up dat a-way, sah! Please, sah, Oh, don't. You ain't got no mo' right! Oh, Lawd! You hen' bites like a dawg!"

Chopin, Kate, "From Marse Chonchante", in Bayou Folk, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1894.

P. 222: "Marse Chonchante, I was gwine 'long de big road, pas' Marse Gras-Le'on's, an' I seed Sprinky tied dah wid de mail. Dar warn't a minute--I 'clar, Marse Chonchante, dar warn't a minute--to fetch you. W'at makes my head tu'n 'roan' dat away?"......

"Dar warn't a minute, so I gets top o' Spanky--I neva seed nuttin' cl'ar de road like dat. I come 'long side--de train--an' I fling de sack. I seed 'im ketch it, and I don' knaw nuttin' mo' 'cep' mis'ry, tell I see you--a-comin' frough de do'...."

Delphi talking:

P. 231: "Look lak I can't see my way straight dis mornin', mistus. Won't you please, ma'am, gimme a little drep o' somethin' nother ter raise my cour'ge tell I talks ter yer?"

"What I wants wid water, mistus? You knows yo'self, ef you po's water in anything hit tweakens it down. I's weakened down too much now. My cour'ge needs strengthenin', Mistus, an' you knows de ain't no cour'ge in water."

"You knows jescis an' 'ligion, ole miss', an' I wants ter insult you 'bout how I gwine ac' in dis heah trouble what's come ter me. How far down do a step-mammy's juties corndesend?"

"I ain't heered tell o' Pash sence 'fo' de wah..."


P. 171: "He sole me down de river—he can't feel for a body long: dis'll pass en go.

"Dey was a little sickly nigger wench 'bout tew year ole, dat 'uz good to me, en hadn't no mammy, po' thing, en I loved her en she loved me: en she come out what I 'uz workin', en she had a roasted tater, en tried to slip it to me--robbin' herself, you see, 'ca'se she knewed de overseer didn't gimme enough to eat,—en he ketched her at it, en give her a lick acrost de back wid his stick, which 'uz thick as a broom-handle, an she drop' screamin' on de groun', an squirmin', en wallerin' aroun'."
P. 349: "You better heish makin' dat fuss. Folks comin' 'long behin' hear you an' ketch we-all." 
"So they will," acquiesced Eugenie, disbelieving. "I forgot.
"Do you reckon there'll be many folks at the clearing, Chancie?"
"Dunno."
"What do you think?"
"Oh, Lawdy! oh, Lawdy!" Chance leapt nimbly and began to run with all her might. Eugenie, frightened out of her wits, raced after, but the little negro was going at full speed.
"What is it?"
"A snake! I trod plumb on his back. He wiggled both sides of my foot, an' his ole tail hit 'gin my leg. Oh, Lawdy! I'se so skèered!....I tol' you to keep out'n dis pisen snaky ole place. I tol' you!"
"Let's go home."
"I ses so too. But how we-all gwine git by dat snake? He done quirf up by now an' he mout strike we-all passin'. He quirled soon as I hopped off'n him."

P. 10: "Look here, Elviry, put your ironin' down; I wants my supper, specially if I got to go see Perry 'fore we starts to church. Ef we goin' we got to git there early on account of its bein' my night to 'zort."
"Well, I reckon you won't go till I gets your shirt iron'ned, will you? Ef you wants your supper, help yourself; the meet's in the skillet on that side of the hearth, and the bread's in the oven over there. I spo't you knows where the molasses is."

P. 11: "He never got off; he's a regular rouster now. Say he likes runnin' on the river mighty well."
Old Hagar speaking:

P. 1280-1: "I ain't shore dat I kin conjur to suit you, Mara Floyd. It 'pends on what you wants."
   "What is you honin' after, little Mars? You sho'ly ain't 'shamed to tell yo' black mammy, honey." she said, caressingly.
   "I missed you fum de day you was bawn."
   "Is it de love-spell you wants, or de hate-spell, honey?"
   "I'm goin' to fetch you de love-spell, little Mars," she said softly.

P. 1285: "Lawd! How de i'on do skim over dat shirt! Don't fool erway yo' mistiss's time. An' min' you be a good gal, honey!"


Scipio speaking:

P. 111: "I disremember egzackly whe'r I was ploughin' my co'n in de long south fiel' dat dey, er a throwin' dirt on't my cott'n, but I knows I had my critter wid me doin' somethin', w'en Miss Nannie she come lopin' down from a big house in her black pony, wid her face es w'ite es a tablecloth. Now, I come t' think ur it, it was hoein' co'n I wuz at; for I recollect how dat awdashus little pony er hern chawed off de blades er co'n, wid me not keerin', nor notisin', I wuz dat full er w'at she had to say. A soldier had come 'long, gwine home on p'role, ben a prisoner, en had t' git cross de river de bes' w'ay he could. He brought news that Mars Spence was sick er hu't--one, he warn' quite clar' which--en wuz layin' in hospertal over yonder 'bout Shrevespo't. 
P. 34: "Dis heah's a fus'-class thing ter work off bad tempers wid. Now ef one o' dese mule tempers ever take a-holt of yer in de foot, dat foot'll be mighty ap' ter do some kickin'; an' ef it seizes a-holt o' yo' han', dat little fis'll be purty sho ter strike out an' do some damage; an' ef it jump outer yo' tongue, hit'll mighty soon twis' it into sayin' bad language. But ef you'll teck hol' dis ole banjo des as quick as you feel de badness rise up in you, an' play, you'll scare de evil temper away so bad it daresn't come back. Ef it done settled too strong in yo' tongue, run it off wid a song; an' ef yo' feet's git a kickin' spell on 'em, dance it off; an' ef you feel it in yo' han', des run fur de banjo an' play de sweetes' chune you know, an' fus' thing you know all yo' madness'll be gone.

"Yeas, hags is folks sho' nuff. I done seen 'em wid dese two eyes. One ole hag dun rid dis chile twell I se crackney dat yoh could er seed de bones. I tried eb'ryting. I done put cork in de bottles in de middle ob de floh, den I done put down co'n and peppah, but dere wan' no res'. Den someting done tol' me to tek de Bible an' put it undah my held an' tek my shoes off an' tu'n de toes f'um de bed an' dat old hog she can't jump ober it. Sho' nuff dat night it comes jes' lak befo' an' it couldn' jump, an' it stood dar twell day crep slam outer it, so I could er seed it; an' honey, it wan' nobody but Sis Jimson, she dat libes jinin' me. Oh, yaas, ole hags' people des lak we is."

P. 479: "Tain't no use ter say no mo', fur de Lord done make His sign, an' dey all done hit; he, 'donten her tellin' un him, an' she know hit too.
Dat one word--hit were de "good-bye" er de yeth, an' de "howdy!" un eternity!
She lay him back wid de smile er God on de parted mouf, an' go out--out inter de night dat comin', out inter de snow--an' I hain't no call ter faller un her.

Hit wan't my Baby dat kim back--hit wan't my chile! hit were de leetle Char'ty S ister!


"I ain't nurver tole you 'bout dat hoss race down to Ashwood, when Marse Bill Young bet me ergin two thousan' dollars ob er Alabamian gemman's money, has I?" asked old Wash the other night...

"Wel', sah, I've seed many er race, but dat wuz de mos' interestin' one, frum my p'lit ob view, dat I ebber seed. 'Kase I wuz de principalist stakes, an' dey stood me on er stump, an' nuthin' but dat filly's grit saved me from bein' a dead nigger in Alabama ter-day, 'stead of a eminently 'spectable cullered gem'man frum de race-hoss state of Tennessee.

"I had a mighty good marster--wuz Marse Bill Young--an' he wuz de fust man ter bring thurrerbreds to de country. Ain't I neber tole you 'bout dat bay cdt Fire-fly, by Dan Rice, out of Margerite, by 'Merican Clipse? Heish! Long ez I ben wid you, I ain't neber tole you 'bout dat cole? For de Lawd's sake!"
P. 90: "I wonder huccome Polly looks so puny an' peaked tonight? De chile ain't 'erse'f, noways."
"Maybe you picked up de wrong chile."
"Wrong nothin'. I know my sewin'. Dis slip was lef' over f'om my sittin'-sun patch-work, all to de sleeves. I see you got Luce Power's baby up."
"I picked up whichever one was squawlin' de loudes', but huccome you know Luce's baby?"
"I know Luce's buttin'-sewin'. Luce allus would sew 'er buttons on over de aidges. Lordy, but ain't her baby gittin' big. Las' time I seen 'er she was as big-eyed an' slim-necked as a half-hatched turkey.... I wonder would Sally Ann hurt a chile? I don't trus' no foolishes."

P. 22: "Howdy, lady! Howdy, ma'am. I hope I fin' you sanitary an' salubrious."
"No, sah, I ain't to say neither sanitary nur salubrious, an' dat's what fetched me heah. I'se sufferin' mighty wid my eyesight, an' I come to pray you to lay de hand o' healin' on me."
"Yas, ma'am; I see you in half darkness--I see you pickin' yo' way along de road an' feelin' fer de do'-latch befo' you find it--ain't dat so?"
"Yas, so dat's so. An' I got consider'ble in'ard misery, too."
"Yas, yas; I fuels yo' affliction an' I see it, too. You got consider'ble billions bile on yo' stom-ick, an'--an' you got a floatin' liver same as a boat widout a rudder, an' yo' lights is all extinguished. De wonder to me is dat you kin see at all."

P. 19: "But heah I'm gwine on an' forgettin' all about de bridal veil! Is you got any ole lace left-overs, Missy, dat I mought wear for a veil? I'll do it up keerful an' fetch it back"...

"What became of your first husband? Where is he?"

"Dat's a easy one, leastaways, half of it's easy. 'What become of Solon?' A triflin' yaller gal stole 'im f'om me. Dat's what b'come of 'im; an' I don't begrudge 'im to her. But as to whar he is, Gord knows, honey. Livin' or dead, he's all one to me now. Last time I heard tell of 'im, he was waitin' on Frank's sister, down in Freetown. He mought be my brother-in-law by now, for all I know. But you'll gi'e me de bridal veil, won't you, Mistus?"...


Dialect Memo:

"The Southern 'dialect' is only roughly indicated. It should not, in most cases, be carried as far as written. For instance "I" is not pronounced "Ah"—but only slightly toward it. This refers to characters of Sarah, Susan, Hayne, and sometimes Eunice, and should be copied in at the beginning of these parts.

P. 12: Rufus: Is ya dere, seh?
Fielding: Of course I am!
Rufus: Yes, suh. Well, Miss Eunice is very sorry, suh, but she muss baig ter be uncursed.
Rufus: Yes, seh. I did tell her, suh--an' dat was wat she tole me ter say.

P. 13: Rufus: Dere ain't no use o' my goin' up again', suh. She wish me to say dat she baig ter be uncursed."

P. 30: Rufus: Ole George is har yet. Mebbe he could git word to Massa Gordon about dose Sentrymen. He's right out yer by de quartahs!

P. 35: Rufus: Miss Sally, Miss Eunice, Dere's two sojers standin' befo' de kitchin do'! Dey was ordered to stan' dere by some officer!"

P. 21: "But it war ole man Scannels dat done take'd de trick, sah, it war ole man Scannels, he settled de business...Dis evenin' I done beein wid de ole girl to a civilian tea-party round at Scannels, just outside de gates, sah. Yes, sah, I reckon it war ole man Scannels dat done it...Arter de vittles was took'd offen of de table, Scannels he says, says he, 'Mrs. Boaz Bryan,' says he, 'may I have de pleasure o' de honor of a game of Napoleon wid yo'?" says he. 'Wid de greatest o' pleasure', says she. And Scannels he giv'd she he's arm, and led she out quiet and calm like she was a mule on a halter; and she done tak'd a hand sheself wid de cards dis evenin', cap'n...and day done settled down to dese here sinful games o' chance. Yo' unnerstand, sah; she are winnin' most of de time--winnin' like she was de Lord's annotated..."


P. 53: "Lawd, ain't he a sugar-man! An' de very spit o' you, Marse Roy.".....

Jerry talking:

P. 303: An' wher' is Marse Roy, hisse'f? Hucoome he ain't come? Hucoome you ain't fotch him?.........Daid! Marse Roy daid! Den, Jerry, it's time you was gwine too! "Where'--wher' did I know Marse Roy? God-a-mighty! On dis yer plantation, of co'se. Hucoome you don't know Marse Roy lived at Kan'wood fo' de wah? He was de bes' marster! Lord, Marse Roy has laid de lash on my back mo' times dan I kin count! Yah! Yah!"........

"I'm free now, but I jes' stays on."

"Neenter tell me...Dey ain't but one Marse Roy, an' dat's him. Dat's his looks, an' dis is his ways."

P. 214: "You black rascal! Why don' you come--down out of that--bush and help--me?"

"Don' say dat, Mass' Craffud, don'! you mustn't let de sun go down on yo' wraf! Oh Lord! don' you mine nuthin' he es er sayin' now, cos he ain' 'spons'bl. Ef de bes' aingil you got wuz down dere in his fix, dey ain' no tell'n' w'at ud happ'n, er w'at sorter langwidge he'd let los'. Wo' deer' wo' deer'. Stick ter 'im, Mass Craffud, stick ter 'im. Steddy, Deer'. Steddy, Mass' Craffud!"

"Well, lemme tel you, honey, ere ain' nuthin', you got er kin git w'at'll tem' dis nigger ter git down dere. W'y," and his voice assumed a most earnest and argumentative tone, "deed'n hit ud be 'sultin' de Lord."


P. 114:

Go wa' wid 'possum
W'en de mellin blossoms;
Go wa' wid 'coon,
Mornin', nite or noon;
Go wa' wid tripe
When watermellin's ripe!

Go wa' wid 'backer,
Take wa' de cracker,
Go wa' wid apple,
Take wa' de scrapple.
Watermellin' hush--
Yer make de mellin blush!

When de darkness settle,
An' de skeeter nettle,
Marster gone to bed,
An' de pigs is fed,
Slip down in de patch,
Gib de fruit a snatch.

P. 142: "Endurin' de las' year dat de young Mastah was to be erway, his pappy seemed lak he was jes' too happy an' restless fu' anything. He was dat proud of his son, he didn't know what to do. He was allus tellin' visitors dat come to de house erbout him, how he was a 'markable boy an' was a-gwine to be a honour to his name. An' when 'long to'ds de ve'y end of de term, a letter come sayin' dat Mas' Tho'nton had done tuk some big honour at de college, I jes' thought sho' Mas' Jack 'u'd plum bus' hisse'f, he was so proud an' tickled. I hyeahd him talkin' to his old friend Cunnel Maudry an' makin' great plans 'bout what he gwine to do when his son come home. He gwine tek him travelin' fus' in Eur'p, so's to finish him lak a Venable ought to be finished by seein' somep'n' of de worl'..


Folks ain't got no right to censuah othah folks about dey habits;
Him dat giv' de squir'ls de bushtails made de bobtails fu' de rabbits.
Him dat built de great big mountains hollered out de little balleys,
Him dat made de streets an' driveways wasn't shamed to make de alleys.

We is all consturctured diff'ent, d'ain't no two of us de same;
We cain't he'p ouah likes an' dislikes, ef we're bad we ain't to blame.
Ef we're good, we needn't show off, case you bet it ain't ouah doin'.
We gits into suttain channels dat we jes' cain't he'p pu'suin'.

But we all fits into places dat no tohah ones could fill,
An' we does de things we has to, big or little, good or ill.
John cain't tek de place o' Henry, Susan' Sally ain't alike;
Bass ain' nuthin' like a suckah, chub ain't nuthin' like a pike.

When you come to think about it, how it's all planned out it's splendid.
Nuthin's done er evah happens, 'bout Hit's somefin dat's intendid;
Don't keer what you does, you has to, an' it sholy beats de dickens.--
Viney, go put on de kittle, I got one o' mastah's chickens.

P. 61:

Seen you down at church las' night,
Nevah min', Miss Lucy.
What I mean? Oh, dat's all right,
Nevah min', Miss Lucy.
You was sma't ez sma't could be,
But you couldn't hide f'om me,
Ain't I got two eyes to see?
Nevah min', Miss Lucy.

Guess you thought you's awful keen;
Nevah min', Miss Lucy.
Ev'ething you done, I seen;
Nevah min', Miss Lucy,
Seen him tek yo' ahm yes' so,
When he got outside de do'--
Oh, I know dat man's yo' beau!
Nevah min', Miss Lucy.


P. 62:

Yes, my ha't's ez ha'd ez stone--
Go 'way, Sam, an' lemme, 'lone.
No; I wan't gwine change my min';
Aint gwine ma'y you moffin' de kin'.

Phiny loves you true an' deah?
Go ma'y Phiny; what I keer?
Oh, you needn't mou'n an' cry--
I don't keer how soon you die.

Got a present! What you got?
Somer'n fu' de pan er pot!
Huh! Yo' sass de sholy beat--
'hink I don't git 'nough to eat?

Whut's dat un'naef yo' coat?
Looks des lak a little shoot.
'Tain't no possum? Bless de Lamb!
Yes, it is, you rascal Sam!

P. 134:

Little brown baby wif spa'klin' eyes,
Come to yo' pappy an' set on his knee.
What you been doin', ush--makin' san' pies?
Look at dat bib--you's ez du'ty ez me.
Look at dat mouf--dat's merlasses, I bet;
Come hyeah, Maria, an' wipe off his han's
Bees gwine to ketch you an' eat you up yet,
Bein' so sticky and sweet-goodness lan's!

Little Brown baby wif spa'klin' eyes,
Who's papy's darlin' and who's papy's chile?
Who is it all de day nevah once trias
Fu' to be cross, er once loses dat smile?
Whah did you git dem teef? My, you's a scamp!
Whah did dat dimple come f'om in yo' chin?
Papy do' know yo'--I b'lieves you's a tramp;
Mammy, dis hyeah's some ol' straggler got in!


P. 138:

When de fiddle gits to singin' out a old Vehginny reel,
An' you 'mence to feel a tiklin' in yo' toe an' in yo' heel!
Ef you tink you got u'ligion an' you wants to help it, too,
You jes' bettah tek a hint an' git yo' self clean out o' view.
Case de time is mighty temptin', when de chune is in de swing,
Fu' a darky, saint or sinner man, to cut de region-wing
And you couldn't hel' f'om dancin' ef yo' feet was boun' wif twine.

When Angelina Johnson comes a-swingin' down de line.

Don't you know Miss Angelina? She's de da'lin' of de place,
W'y, de ain't no high-toned lady wif sich mannaha an' sich grace,
She kin move across de cabin wif its planks all rough an' wo',
Jes' de same's ef she was dancin' on ol' Mistus' ball-room flo'.
Fact is, you do' see no cabin,--evaht'ing you see look grand,
An' dat one ol' squeaky fiddle soun' to you jes' lak a ban';
Cotton britches looks lak broad-clof an' a linsey dress look fine.

When Angelina Johnson comes a-swingin' down de line.

P. 149:
Caught Susanne whistlin'; well,
It's most nigh too good to tell.
'Twould 'a' been too good to see
Ef it hadn't been fur me,
Comin' up so soft an' sly
That she didn' hear me nigh.
I was pokin' 'round that day,
An' I come down the way,
First her whistle strikes my ears,--
Then her gingham dress appears;
So with soft step up I slips,
Oh, them dewy, rosy lips
Ripe ez cherries, red an' round,
Pucker up to make the sound.
She was lookin' in the spring,
Whistlin' to beat anything,--
"Kitty Dale" or "In the Sweet."
I was jest so mortal beat
That I can't quite recollect
What the toon was, but I 'speck
'Twas some hymn er other, fur
Hymnly things is jest like her.


P. 158:
De times is mighty stirrin' 'mong de people up ouah way,
Dey 'sputin' an' dey arguin' an' fussin', night an' day;
An' all dis monstrous trouble dat hit make me tiahed to tell
Is 'bout dat Lucy Jackson dat was sich a mighty belle.

She was de preeshah's favoured, an' he tol' de chu'ch one night
Dat she travelled thoo de cloud o' sin a-bearin' of a light;
But, now I 'low he 'tinkin' dat she mus' a los' huh lamp,
Case Lucy done backslided an' day trouble in de camp.

Huh daddy wants to beat huh, but huh mammy daiks him to,
Fu' she lookin' at de question f'om a coaman's pint o' view;
An' she say dat now she wouldn't have it diff'ent ef she could;
Dat huh darter only acted jes' lak any othah would.

Case you know w'en women argy, dey is mighty easy led
By de heat's an' don't go foolin' 'bout de reasons of de haid,
So huh mammy laid de law down (She ain' reckernizin' wrong,)
But you got mek erlowance fu' de cause dat go along.

P. 170:
Woman's sho' a cur'ous critter, an' dey ain't no doubtin' dat,
She's a mess o' funny capahs'om huh slippahs to huh hat.
Ef yo' tries to un'erstan' huh, an' yo' fails, des' up an' say;
"D' ain't a bit o' use to try to un'erstan' a woman' way."

I don't mean to be complainin', but I'se jes' a-settin' down
Some o' my own observations, w'en I cuss my eye aroun'.
Ef yo' ax me fu' to prove it, I ken do it mighty fine,
Fu' dey ain't no bettah 'sample dan dis ve'y wife o' mine.

In de ve'y hea't o' midnight, w'en I'se sleepin' good an' soun',
I kin hyeah a so't o' rustlin' an' somebody movin' 'round,
An' I say, "Like, what yo' doin'?" But she frown an shek huh haid
"Hush yo' mouf, I'se only tu'min' of de chillun in de bed.


P. 184:
Who dat knockin' at de do'?
Why, Ike Johnson--yes, fu' sho'!
Come in, Ike. I'se mighty glad
You come down, I tought you's mad
At me 'bout de othah night,
An' was stayin' 'way fu' spite.
Say, now, was you mad fu' true
W'en I kin' o' laughed at you?
Speak up, Ike, an' 'spress yo'se'f.

'Tain't no use a-lookin' sad,
An' a-mekin' out you's mad;
Ef you's gwine to be so glum,
W on dah why you evah come.
I don't lak nobody 'round,
Dat jes' shet dey mouf an' frown,--
On, now, men, don't act a dunce!
Cain't you talk? I tol' you once,
Speak up, Ike, an' 'spress yo'se'f.

Wha'd you come hyeah fu' tonight?
Body'd t'ink yo' haid ain't right.
I's done alI dat I kin do--
Dressed particler, jes' fu' you;
Reckon I'd 'a' bettah wo'
My ol' ragged calico.
Aftah all de pains I's took,
 Ain't you tell me how I look?
Speak up, Ike, an' 'spress yo'se'f.

P. 185: W'en de evenin' shadders
Come a-glidin' down,
Fallin' black an' heavy
Ovah hill an' town,
Ef you listen keerful,
So's you boun' to notice
Des a droppin' pin;
Den you'li hye ah a funny
Soun' erecross de lan';
Lay low; dat's de callin'
Of de Boogah Man!
Woo-oo, woo-oo!
Hyeah him
He go erlong de way;
Woo-oo, woo-oo!
Don't you wish de night 'ud turn to day?
Woo-oo, woo-oo!
Hide yo' little pEEPERS 'hind yo' han';
Woo-oo, woo-oo!
Callin' of de Boogah Man.

Dunbar, Paul Laurence, "In The Morning," from Lyrics of Love and Laughter, from The Complete Poems New York, Dodd Mead Co., 1917.

P. 190: 'Lias. 'Lias. Bless de Lawd!
Don' you know de day's erbroad?
Ef you don' git up, you scamp,
Dey'll be trouble in dis camp.
T'ink I gwine to let you sleep,
While I meks yo' boa'd an' keep?
Dat's a putty howdy-do--
Don' you hye ah me, 'Lias, you?
Bet if I come crosst dis flo',
You won' fin' no time to sno'.
Daylight all a-shinin' in
While you sleep--w'y hit's a sin!
Ain't de can'le-light enough
To bu'n out widout a snuff,
But you go de mo'nin' thoo
Bu'nin' up de daylight too?

'Lias, don' you hye ah me call?
No use tu'nin' to'ds de wall;
I kin hye ah dat ma'tus squeak,
Don' you hye ah me w'en I speak?
Dis hye ah clock done struck off six--
Ca'line, bring me dem ah sticks.'
Oh, you down, suh; huh, you down--
Look hye ah, don' you dah to frown.
P. 200:  Dey been speakin' at de cou't-house,
An' laws-a-massy me,
'Twas de beatness kin' o' doin's
Dat evah I did see.
Of cose I had to be dah
In de middle o' de crowd,
An' I hallahed wid de othahs,
W'en de speakah riz and bowed.

I was kind o' disapp'inted
At de smallness of de man,
Case I'd allus plicated great folks
On a mo' expansive plan;
But I 'ught I could respect him
An' tek in de wo'ds he said,
Fu' dey was somp'n knowin'
In de bald spot on his haid.

But hit did seem so't o' funny
Aftah waitin' fu' a week
Dat de people kep' on shoutin'
So de man des couldn't speak;
De ho'ns dey blared a little,
Den dey let loose on de drums,
Some one tel' me dey was playin'
"See de conkerin' here comes."

P. 203: Will have some mo' dat pie?
No, ma'am, thank-es, dat is--I--
Bettah quit daizin' me.
Dat ah pie look sunny good;
How'd you feel now ef I would?
I don't reckon dat I should;
Bettah quit daizin' me.

Look hyeah, I gwine tell de truf,
Mine is sholy one sweet toof;
Bettah quit daizin' me.
Yass'm, yass'm, dat's all right,
I's done tried to be perlite;
But dat pie's a lakly sight,
Wha's de use o' daizin' me?
Granny’s gone a visitin’,
Seen huh git huh shawl
W’en I was a hidin’ down
Hine de gahden wall,
Seen huh put huh bonnet on,
Seen huh tie de strings,
An’ I’se gone to dreamin’ now
‘bout dem cakes an’ t’ings.

On de shef behin’ de de—
Mussy, what a feas’!
Soon as she gits out o’ sight,
I kin eat in peace.
I bin watchin’ fu’ a week
Dey fu’ dis hyeah chance.
Mussy, w’en I gets in daik,
I’ll des aholy dance.

Lemon pie an’ gingsh-cake,
Let me set an’ t’ink—
Vinegah an’ sugah, too,
Dat’l mek a drink;
Ef dey’s one t’ing dat I loves
Mos’ pu’ticably,
It’s eatin’ sweet t’ings an’
A-drinkin’ Sangaree.

P. 254:

Come away to dreamin' town,
Mandy Lou, Mandy Lou,
Wha' de skies don' nevah frown,
Mandy Lou.

Wha' de streets is paved with gol',
An' no sheep strays f'om de fol'
Mandy Lou.

Ain't you tiahed of every day,
Mandy Lou, Mandy Lou,
Tek my han' an' come away
Mandy Lou.

To the Place wha' de dreams is King,
An' my soul can allus sing,
Mandy Lou.

Come away to dream wid me,
Mandy Lou, Mandy Lou,
Wha' de hands an' hearts are free,
Mandy Lou;

Wha' de sands is shinin' white,
Wha' de rivahs glistens bright,
Mandy Lou.
Mammy Lou speaking:

P. 46: "Is you free? Bless de Lawd! Is you done giv' up fin'in' any pore Southern sojers hyah? Ain't you gwine to look inside the roses a-growling on de bushes, you devils? And didn't you forget to look under the stat carpet? And dere's the kitchen closet; you oughter look in the flour barrel and inside the chicken's eggs, too! The hens hyah hide little Rebs in dem, sure!"

"Don' you call me no names, you low-down white trash you! You devils!—I'm a 'spectable culled lady, I is! I ain't taking no back talk from no ornry sojers! No, siree!"

P. 129: Why, I done been tol', Missy, as how all dese low-down, ornry niggers of Masse Friedtchie's haz elahed out with de Yankees, and I jes' felt in my bones as I could do something in the house fo' you.

Boyle, Virginia Fraser, "Devil Tales" in *A Kingdom for Messiah*, New York, Harper and Bro., 1900.

P. 50: "Dat what I taken Marse Harry Stone's tuckeys fur. I ain't want dem tuckeys, Ole Marse—dey done tied out dar in de fiel' now—but I wants ter get shet er dis heah freedom! I hain't nuffin but dem er po' fool nigger, Ole Marse. I hain't gwine ter ax fur nuffin ebber no mo'-nuffin but swampen ter eat, an' mighty little er dat! Yo' knows what's the bestes' fur me, Ole Marse, an' yo' knows I hain't fitten ter breave de bref er life! Kill me, Ole Marse, kill me; but 'fore yo' does hit take de cuss er freedom offen my soul!"
Stanton, Frank L., "Cremation of Jenks," from *Songs From Dixie Land*, Indianapolis, Bobbs Merrill, 1900

P. 84:
Jinks favored of cremation, an' give directions plain,
That when he left this vale o' tears, to jine the
heavenly train—
When they heard the angels call him acrost ol' Jordan's
foam,
They'd burn his body to a crisp and take the ashes home.

His good wife up an' tol' him thar' warn't no wood
to spare
An' that ef he'd jest wait awhile they'd burn him
over thar'!
But he left his plain instructions; an' so, the day
he died
We burnt his body 'fore he reached the blazin' other
side.

An' ever' day his wife would set, with teardrops on
her lashes,
An' moan, an' groan, an' sigh, an' fret--beholdin' of
his ashes,
Till she took another comforter—as most o' widders do,
An' had six cooks a-makin' o' the weddin' barbecue.

Harben, Will N., *Northern Georgia Sketches*, Chicago, Mc Clurg
Co., 1900.

P. 112: "I reckon I got my heerin'. Look a-heer,
Rastus, who seh you might git up? You know you gwine het er
wuss achin' dan ever in yo' othes' ef you lie dar over dem
crocks des arter you got out'n dat warm bed."
"Lemme 'lone, you reckon I ain't gwine be at yo' 'possum
supper, en mebby it de las' night on dis yer plantation, huh?"

P. 113: "I don't grudge you mine, Aunt Milly, my good-
ness, you is hat ernough trouble, wid yo' marster bein' so
po' en Unc' Rastus so sickly en y'all gwine be put upon de
auction-block ter-morrer en no idee whar you gwine nex'.
How much y' reckon' you gwine ter fetch, Aunt Milly?"
"She's wuff all she'll bring, I boun' yer."
P. 57: "She was wuss 'n high-temp'rate, Jane was. She was col'-bled'd devilish, dat what. I ricollect once 't she got tired hoein' an' follerin' de plow, an' she worked a spell on her marster, so's he'd see her all swiveled up an' puny, an' eve'y time de overseer'd put her in de fiel', she'd msk some excuse to pass befo' her marster, an' he'd give orders to have dat sick nigger take'n out'n de fiel', an' he'd sen' good liquor down to her cabin an' special rations. Well, she kep' dat up th'ough two crops, den, bless goodness, her ole marster failed, an' de overseer he bought 'im out, an' I tell you he got even wid ole Sis Shirker."


P. 45: "I had done git some wuck fer myse'f, en wuz gittin' om mighty prosperous. De white folkes 'roun' bout hyar wuz mighty good en kine to me whin I fus come. "Lзав he'p dy sarvan! Dey am all dait en buried lang ergo, en dem whut wuz babies den is ole fokes 'roun' hyar now, wid one foot in de grave. I 'spec's 'bout goin' on two hunnerd years ole. Now bless my soul! Jis' lissen at me tellin' my age, so promiscous. Who knows, but what some gint'muns is a standin' 'roun' lissenin' to me. En ev'body knows hit ain't nebber becomin' in a lady to tell 'er age fo' gint'muns. But Lawd! Miss Marse feels jis' ez pyeart en sassy ez she did when she wuz a sixteen year-ole gal, en a mighty good-lookin' one too, do she want no bigger'n a rat...."
P. 99: "Case I ain't no beggar, dat's why. An' I ain't no orphaned, mother. I got a mammy an' a deddy, no matter whar day is. Grandaddy, he tol' me dat a grave was a honor'ble thing to live by, but I wants live kin-folks, an' somebody who knows manners and behavior. Ef I was to hire out in dat deef ole lady's house, wid no colored kin to rub off a pain for me, I'd seem like one o' doze conterbrand niggers we hear tell about. Gran'daddy, lookin' down at me, why he'd be 'shamed to name my name in heaven."
"All dat's jes' what I was startin' to say...I say it's hard to b'lieve dat yo' thin little legs only introduced me to you 'istiddy, an' i'm so tuck up wid you dat I ain't gwine let you take de place in de lion's gate tell I goes up myself an' talks to de lady."

P. 43: "Don't say dat, ol' 'oman! Use yo' fo'sight an' 'stid o' you seein' ships you'll see kindlin' wood.
Dat what day is. Day'll lead yo' heart upward dat-a-way. Heap o' folks don't see nothin' but money in de river--money an' mud; an' dey don't know it's a mirror sometimes, full o' stars an' glory. I done read Gord's rainbow promises en de place o' dat muddy river more'n once-t, when I lifted out my swimp-nets on a still mornin' whilst de sun am' de mist consulted together to show a mericle to a ol' dim-eyed nigger.
"You sho' does help me when you 'splains it all out dat-a-way, Israel. Pray like a gordly man, ol' pardner, an' yo' ol' woman she gwine talk faith strong as she kin--widout turnin' hypocrite."
"Praise de Lawd! De messengers is come.' I'se waited long, but I sees 'em now wid my own eyes."
"You can bet your life on that, old pard," said the spokesman of the pair.
"Hear dat now!"
"Just like I tell you."
"En will de Lawd's messengers come wid me right now to de creek whar I done pick out my forty acres?"
"Is dat de deed?"
"It will be if I write your name on it and describe the land."
"En what's de fee fer dat?"
"Only twelve dollars; you can take it now or wait until we come again. There's no particular hurry 'bout this."
"I takes de deed right now, gemmen," said Aleck, eagerly counting out the twelve dollars. "Fix 'im up for me."
"Miss Ma'tian, I axed you to stop callin' me 'uncle'; my name is Mr. Alexander Lenoir--"
"Until Aunt Cindy gets after you," laughed the girl.
"Yass'm, dat's what fetch me here now. I comes ter tell yer Mater tell dat 'oman Cindy ter take her chillun off my farm. I gwine 'low no mo' rent-payin' ter nobody off'n my lan'!"
"Your land, Uncle Aleck? When did you get it?" asked Marion, placing her cheek against the settler.
"De gubment glm it ter to-day," he replied, fumbling in his pocket and pulling out the document. "You kin read it all dar yo'sef."


"What de matter wid you, nigger?"
"Nuttin' tall. Des dropped in lak ter pass de time er day, en ax how's you en yer son stanin' dis hot wedder!"
Nelse smiled and bowed.
"What ail you, you big black baboon?"
"Nuttin' tall, Ma'am, des callin' 'roun ter see my fren's."
"You wants me ter whale you ober de head wid dat poker?"
"Not dis even', Ma'am."
"Den what ail you?"
"De Buro des inform me, dat ez I'se er young han'some man en you'se er gittin' kinder ole en fat, dat we ain't married no-how! En dey gimme er paper fur er dollar dat allow me ter marry de young lady er my choice! Dat sho' is a great Buro!"
"We ain't married?"
"Nob-um."
P. 1903: "Reg'lar ole time F. F. V's day was--fust
famblies, ye know--wid dey hansum kerridges an' fat black
niggers a settin' up on de boxes an' a grinnin' forebear, 'case
dey got so much ter eat. I told ye! An' de way ole Cunnel
Toliver'd move 'roun' 'mengst de company, a-bowin' here an'
a-scrapin' dar, an' a sayin' ter all on em': "I'm mos'
happy ter have ya here on dis mos' specious occasion!"

"An' den de supper, an' de dance',. 'Twarn't none o'
yer ten o'clock in de mornin' go-way on de half pas' ten
train sort o' weddin's dat my young marster got married at.
Big supper, dance all night, an' de whole crowd stayin' dar
several days. Table f'arly loaded down wid ev'rything ye
could think of--Ole Ferginger ham, ole Ferginger turkey,
ole Ferginger cured venison, ole Oloroter Plat oysters, an'
ole Ferginger Mountain-dew f'om beyant de Blue Ridge; an'
wine an' eggnogg 'twel you sudden 'chole yer bref..."

1909.

P. 50: Beeler: Hello, Uncle Abe.
Uncle Abe: Good mawnin', Mista Beeler.
Beeler: Thought you'd gone to Salt River.
U. Abe: Ain' never goin' up no Salt River; yo' Uncle
Abe ain't.............Fawg don' matte' nothin' to me, honey.
Don' mean nothin' 'tell. Yo' ol' Uncle keeps on tellin' 'em
dis kyah fawg an' darkness don' mean nothin' 'tell!
Beeler: How's the ginseng crop this year?
U. Abe: They ain' no mo' ginsing!.....De good Lawd, he
ain' goin' fool.roun' no mo' wif no ginsing!
Beeler: Why, I thought your ginseng bitters was his
main holt.
U. Abe: Use to be, Mars' Beeler. It shore use to be--
Yus, sah. Bless de Lawd!----He sartinly did set sto' by them
thse bitters.
P. 69: "No, but oldah people than I have seen 'em. All night long there's great white grandahs flappin' 'round through dat thicket 'bout any heads on. You know they's an awful wicked man buried down there in the woods, an' the sperrits of them he's injured has its thicket every night. There isn't anybody, that I know of, that 'ud go down there aftah dark for anything on this livin' yeart."  

"Then who sees 'em?"

"Who sees 'em? Who sees 'em? They've been seen by generations of them as is dead and gone. Who is you, I'd like to know, standin' up there a-mockin' at me so impident and a-askin', 'Who sees 'em?"


P. 141: "I mum mep," said Verman, with egregious pride. "He done 'at," interpreted Herman, chuckling. Yessu; done chop 'er spang off, long 'go. He's a playin' wif an ax an' I lay my finger om de do'-sill an' I say, 'Verman, chop 'er off!' So Verman he chop 'er right spang off up to de roots! Yessuh."  

"What fore?"

"Jes' for nothin',"  

"He hoe me hoo," remarked Verman.  

"Yessuh, I teile him to," said Herman. "An' he chop 'er off, an' ey ain't airy oth' ene evuh grow on wherea de ole one use to grow. No suh!"

"Nothin'. I jes' said it at way—an' he jes' chop 'er off!"

Tarkington, Booth, Coloured Troops In Action, New York, Scribners, 1917.

P. 256: Herman to Verman: "Nev' did see boy run so fas'. I bet he home in bed by viss time".....  

"Sho! I guess I uz dass talkin' wens I said 'at. Reckon he thought I meant it, f'um de way he tuck an' run. Hiyi. Reckon he thought ole Herman bad man. No, suh, I uz dass talkin', cause I nev' would cut nobody. I ain' tryin' git in no jail, no suh."

"Come on, Verman, we ain' got stove-wood f' supper yit."

P. 64: The negro (he talks slowly and very quietly):
It is all right.
Susan: And who in the name of night might you be?
The negro: Mista William Custis. Mista Lincoln tell me
to come here. Nobody stop me, so I come to look for him.
Custis: Yes... Mista Lincoln live here. You his servant?
A very fine thing for young girl to be servant to Mista
Lincoln.
Susan: Well, we get on very well together.
Custis: A very bad thing to be slave in South.
Susan: Look here, you Mr. Custis, don't you go mixing
me up with slaves.
Custis: No, you not slaves. You servant, but you free
body. That very mighty thing. A poor servant, born free.
Susan: Yes, but look here, are you pitying me, with
your poor servant?
Custis: Pity, no. I think you very mighty.

P. 67: Custis: Cold water. Much walk. Believe in
Lord Jesus Christ. Have always little herbs learnt when a


Negro talking:

P. 3: "Dis-hyars Mars' Thompson's mule, Miss Pal. Dis-
hyar's ole Buzzard—b'longs up yonder teh Thompson's whar ma
ma 'n paw wuks. Dey doan nobody Ah got 'im. Ah jess borryed
him.....
"Gain't Ah go wif you, Miss Pal, honey? Ef Ah got teh
go back wifout dis-hyar mule ma Mammy'll kill me fo' sho'!
She'll beat de black off'n ma back."......

P. 5: "A'right. De's a'right. 'Souse me, please, Missy.
'Souse me. Ah doan know nothin' 'bout hit. Don' go gettin'
mad at po' li'l Nero. Ah cain't he'p who he is, honey. Ah
recken likely he ain't no kin teh you a-tall."
"Oh, Lordy! Doan scare me to deff!--No'mi--Gain't be
dem. Ah done disremembered. Mars' an Mis' Thompson's done
gone down teh No'leans. Dey won't be back twell termorrer."
"Ah dunno. Less'n maybe it's de Peleros comin' back f'um
de no'th. Dey done tole me down teh de store in Lafayette
dat dem Peleros was comin' down heah."

P. 18: "I saht of looked over the papers on his desk, him not bein' in the office when I got there. Tha's how come I to fin' the letter. An' he used these words as per fellows: 'I don' see why my lot cain't bring th'ee thousan' dollars.' Now it's like I tol' you fellers—Semore wants that lot. An' he's done offered this heah Gie Tric Jackson two thousan' fe' it. We knows Semore, an' Mistuh Jackson don't. An' we knows that if'm Semore offered two thousan' right off like that he'd sho'ly be willin' to pay easy a thousan' dollars mo'. So if'n us fawms a comp'ny an' meets this feller when he comes in sum Chattanooga before he gits to the Cozy Home Hotel, where he is gwine to stop at, we c'n buy that lot an' then sell it to Semore at a profit."


P. 389: Ila: Yess, you looks all right, and you gits around powerful spry. But if you as tired as I was, you'd quit that messin'. 'Reney, I ain't much tuck with this here prayer-meetin'. She ain't goin' to like it when she comes.

P. 393: Granny: Don't leave me, Ily. Mah po' chilluns! I needs Angie, whah is he? Um--um--um Ily. I's done driv out from Mr. Arduis'. You heah me gal? And I's a gittin' old. Marse John done daid long age. Um--um--um.
Granny: Boy, I's loved you and prayed for you since you was a baby and ye' mammy and pappy died, and hit's all come to this. You's done mu'der, boy, and nothin' can't save you. I's prayed for you, and I'd die for you, Angie, but de Lawd done sent 'is sign and you got to suffer.

P. 198: "Well, next, I don't want you to go downtown a-tall tomorrow. I want for you to stay right whar you now is. In the mawnin' keep 'way from the telephone. Ef I ain't yere to answer it jes' you an' Koga let it ring its haid off an' don't pay it no mind. In the afternoon you may have a 'portant visitor answerin' to the entitlements of Mr. H. C. Raynor, Esquire. Befo' he fits you two, purvided the perlimary rangements, ez conducted by me, has wukked out all right. But I ain't aimin' to tell you the full plans yit--too much is got to happen in the meantime. Tomorrow is plenty time....

P. 199: "Mr. Dallas, you ain't ownin' no pistol, is you?"

"I ain't worryin' 'bout 'at, I ain't figgerin' on you shootin' yo'self, neither I ain't figgerin' on yore havin' to shoot nobody else. Never'less, though, an' to the contrary notwithstanding, sense you ain't got no pistol, you's goin' to have one befo' you is many hours older--a great big shiny fretful-lookin' one."

"I got a haidache now, clear down to the quick, jes' frum answerin' my own questions."


Bojus talking:

"You get me, Cap'n. I doe' know what you aimin' to say't all. What do all them taxicab do?"

"You interest you'self in livvy-stables, Miss Tuttle?"

"Yes, suh, Hoss smell re' pleasan' smell...."

"No, suh, I guess so. Man go look fer good hoss he fine mighty fewness of 'em. I guess automobile put hoss out o' business--an' hoss man, too, Miss Tuttle...."

"No, mighty nice to ride roun' in, though. I doe' know where evabody git all the money. Money ain't come knockin' on Bojus do' beggin' 'Lemme in, honey.' No, suh, the way money act with me, it act like it think I ain' goin' use it right. Money act like I ain't its lovin' frien'..."

P. 22: Muh Tuck: Thank God you's finished yo' speech and'll soon be outen my sight and I kin git a liddle sleep.

Sam (a negro school teacher): That crowd's going to listen to me tonight.

Muh Tuck: (his mother) Mebbe dey will, but you's talked yo' life away, and it hain't come to nothing.

Sam: I've done my best this time. All I got from books and experience is there, and the truth's in it.

Muh Tuck: Hit won't ef you treats dey chil'en lak you treats yo' one. (And Sam gives a fiery speech in excellent English, mispronouncing only the word "character"). Lawd Jesus! You's enough to wake de deid. And you bring on yo' cough agin.

Sam: (fiercely) I tell you it's going through. I believe the people here are with me this time.

Muh Tuck: Sounds lak de seme ole tale. You's made dem dere speeches from Gawgy to Alabam to I don' know where. It's foolishnesses, and you know it.


P. 5: Tilsy: De po' thing's hungry ag'in. But dey's a piece o' bread at de back o' de cook-table. Bring her dat. I don' reckon de-fies has worked it to de'f. Lawd he'p me, I'll never finish, dis erain' today. An' Mis' Johnson's des boun' to have it tomorrow.

Sina: Cain't I—cain't I he'p you do somethin', Muh?

Charlie: Muh, I's gwine take de olo'ee up dere right now.

Sina: Whut makes her cry?

Charlie: I dunno, 'less it's her teef.

Sina: Muh, you want me to wrop up a arn an' put to yo' ha'id?

P. 53: Will: Is? Dat's fine. Better'n I is. De's de same you don' look like you's flourishin' much. Huh, don' you lak no milliena's pantry in heah eiver. Whah's yo stove you had in dere las' yeah?

Tilsy: I--I gut rid of it.

Will: I reckin I sees dat you has.

P. 150: "Well, ez you come bustin' in yere, I wuz right at the place where they been blim-blamin' an' cross-firin' back an' fo' th' bout fust one thing an' then 'muther, an' the subjeck' of marriage is been led up to; an' Mingle, w'ich he is the low comedy part, he says to Purdue, w'ich plays straight an' does the feedin'--he says to him: 'What wuz yore wife's name befo' you married her?' An' Purdue, he says: 'Helen French.' An' Mingle comes right back at him an' says: 'What wuz it in English?' jest lak that. An' then he says to him: 'Is yo got any chillen?' An' Purdue says it's a kinder funny thing, him askin' him that, 'cause only this mawnin' w'en he got home the clock struck three jest ez he comes in at the do' an' there wuz three little tripplers layin' in the crib. An' Mingle says: 'It's a good thing you didn't git home at twelve o'clock.'"


P. 32: "So he loads a whole raft of us on board de steam cyars an' he totes us plun' to Noo Yawk city. An' w'en we gits thar we wuks jest one mawnin', down by de water. W'en de time come to knock off for dinner de w'ite man gets up on a box an' meks a speech. 'Boys,' he says, 'I wuz wrong 'bout you--w'y, they ain't a eight dollar nigger in the lot. Come on wid me to de warehouse an' sign up for ten!'"

"Natchelly I led de parade. Right behind me comes de w'ite man yellin': 'Dis way to de warehouse!' an' right behind him comes all de rest of dem Waycross Niggers, jest runnin'."

"So he takes us th'ough a kind of a long shed. An' he scoots us 'crost a lil' narrow plank. An' he leads us th'ough a kind of a lil' round iron do."
P. 79: "Well, suh, at daylight this mawnin' we fell into one of these yere lil' towns up yere just 'bout the time dem Bush Germans wuz fallin' out of it. But even ef we did have de secoundrels on de run, day didn't fergit to shoot at us as day went away. Dem big shells wuz whistlin' past over my haid, talkin' to demselves, an' ever' now and then one of 'em would come by w'ish, it seemed lak, t'wuz speakin' to me pussionally. I could hear it say jest ez plain: 'You ain't never gwinesee-e-e-e-e-e-e-e yore home in Ala-Bam!'

'So I sez to myse'f, I sez: 'Seasin' ez dese Germans is all daid an' scattered an' ever'thing, 'twon't be any real harm ef I gets under cover myse'f!' 'So I looks 'round fur a place to git at. 'Co'se, most of de houses la dat town hew done been shot down flat. But I sees one still standin', wid de roof on it, too--a lil' place called a Tavern'. Dat's what a Frenchman say, nboos, w'en he means saloon.'


P. 245: "It was famine time an' T'appin has six chillun. Eagle hide behin' cloud an' he went crossed de ocean an' go gittin' de pal oil; got de seed to feed his chillun wid it. T'appin see it, say 'Pol' on, it her' time Where you git all dat to feed your tree chillun? I got six chillun, can't you show me whar' you git all dat food?' Eagle say, 'No, I had to fly 'cross de ocean to git dat.' T'appin say, 'Well, gimme some o' you wings an' I'll go wid you.' Eagle say, 'A'right. When shall we go?' T'appin say, 'Morrow morning by de firs' cork crow.' So 'morrow came but T'appin didn' wait till Mornin'....."

(Told by Cugo Lewis, Plateau, Alabama. Brought to America from West Coast Africa, 1895. It is a part of a story collected by Mr. Fauset in South, August, 1925.)

This is an Eastern North Carolina one-act play.

P. 245: Uncle Jed: How 'bout dat, Bruvver Day?
Brother Day: Dat had de glory in it, sho's you bawn.
Uncle Jed: Now, folkes, we wants to bear r'at down on dis heah next song. Pete, you an' Arth open up dem dere bottom stops. Le's heah de bass notes growlin' down under yo' belly-ban'. An', Sister Ila, I wants to heah yo' alto soundin' out to de lam' o' God. You didn't put no heart in dat song. Whut ails you?
Ila: Never you mind, I'll sing all right.
Uncle Jed: Bully dem! Everybody spit on dey han's an' git ready to go to it. Whut's de next piece? Who speaks?
Lorina: How 'bout the dyin' song?
Ila: No, no, le's don' sing that.
Maisie: Come on, Ila, don't you like to have the shivers?
Yeh, sing it, Uncle Jed, sing it.
Lorina: Ila don't like mournful music, and she's slam scared to death when a owl hoots even.


P. 133: "Busted right through his borax and his brain? A crowbar? Umm dat sure must a been right terrible. But dat ain't muffin' to whut happened to a deaf-an'-dumb man back home in Alabam! He was on the track, the railroad track, and the depot was behind him, and the train was comin' 'long at a full speed, the brakeman blowed the whistle and the engineer her rung the bell, the fireman hollered "Murder" and the baggageman fainted plumb away. Eberybody yelled and hollered till it sounded like a Judgment Day, but dis here man he deaf an' dumb an' he ain't hearin' a sound.

"Right on the track and the train...s comin' faster and faster! Deaf an' dumb, man never hear a word. All of a sudden, Blooey, and the air brakes come a loose, the smoke stack comes off, and the cow catcher done caought dat man and smashed him all to pieces. Cut off bofe legs and run over his spark-plug. It cut off both the ears dat he was deaf an' dumb in, knocked out his borax altogether, dislocated his solar plexus, threwed one arm clean over the depot and the strangest thing of all is---"

P. 353: "Anyway, they is jes' one hope fo' me. John Shuford is crazy bouten that fool wife of his, an' he went down to see Lawyer Chew. He tol' lawyer Chew he aimed not to let his wife git no divorc'ce, an' Lawyer Chew splained to him that she couldn't git her none unles he was to furnish groun's for her to git one with. But Lawyer Chew kinder talked to me frien'ly an' confidential an' he says that John Shuford don't think there has been nothin' wrong between I an' Rosabella—that if'n he ever did think so he would carve me up until you could serve me fo' hash. So far he jes' thinks his wife is foolish. Did he think anythin' wuss he'd see that I wasn't."

Dodd, Lee Wilson, Pals First, New York, Samuel French, 1925.

P. 28: Aunt Caroline: Look-a-hear, nigger, why can't you tell de truff? Mister Dick he done gone hisself an' tell de Jedge you heah; ain't I tol' him 'tis'lar not ter do it. Didn't I told you Mister Dick'd--

Dominie: One of Dick's neighbors?
Aunt Caroline: Jedge Logan? Didn't Mister Dick never tol' you 'bout Jedge Logan--Miss Jean's uncle. Might' fine lawyer, Jedge Logan, Bea' frien' dis fam'ly ever had.

Dominie: He lives--
Aunt Caroline: 'Bout two miles up de pike. Yes, suh--Miss Jean makes her home dar, sence her folks died.

Dominie: He'll look in during the evening?
Aunt Caroline: No, such--don't 'speck he'll do nuffin' like dat--not de first night Mister Dick bring a guest home, 'cause he know better!"

P. 59: "Done died an' woke up in Heaven," thought King Solomon (in New York). "Cullud policemen!! Even got cullud policeman's--
"Where y' want to go, big boy?"
"Wha' dis hyeh at, please, suh?"
"See that second corner? Turn to the left when you get there. Number forty-five's about halfway the block."
"Thank y', suh."
"You from--Massachusetts?"
"No, suh. Nawth Ca'лина."
"Is 'at so? You look like a Northerner. Be with us long?"
"Till I die," grinned the flattered King Solomon.
"Stoppin' there?"
"Heckon I is. Man in Washington 'lowed I'd find lodgin' at dis ad-dress."

O'neill, Eugene, All God's Chillun Got WIngz, New York, N. Liveright, 1925.

P. 122: Black Girl: (to a black boy) Come on, you Joe. We gwine get frailed too, you don't hurry.

P. 123-4: Colored Girl: Can't you find nuthin' better'n him, Ella? Look at de big feet he got."
Jim: Shut yo' moufs! I kin lick de hull of you! (They all run away, as Jim goes, back to Ella.) Don't bawl no more. I done chased 'em.
Ella: (a blond girl) T'anks.
Jim: It was a cinch. I kin' wipe up de street wid any one of dem. Feel dat muscle!
Ella: My!
Jim: You musn't never be scared when I'm hanging round, Painty Face.
Jim: You know what, Ella? Since I been tuckin' yo' books to school and back, I been drinkin' lots o' chalk 'n' water tree times a day. Dat Tom, de barber, he tole me dat make me white, if I drink enough. (Pleadingly) Does I look white?

P. 51: "You don't know how lucky you is not to be maried n'r neither no father. The reason I ast was because was you maried you'd understand how much I craves that my wife don't never know nothin' 'bout me losin' this honey chile. I asts you now; is you willin' to keep that fifty dollars fo' yo'self an' never say nothin' to nobody 'bout what has happened t'night? Did my wife know, what I would catch is hell. Does you promise to keep yo' mouf shut or shall I beat you up until you is willin'?'"

"I'd give a other fifty dollars cash money to know the name of the feller which was drivin' that car. Was I to meet up with him there wouldn't be nobody around in two minutes but I am a corpse. Yassuh--I'd give fifty dollars to know his name."


The biography of a Negro in seven scenes.

P. 56-7: Muh Mack: You blasphemining, da's whut you doing. No wonder Gahd take yo' babies 'way, no wonder he make yo' mule die, blast down yo' plans and send de crows and cold weather and root lice to destroy yo' crops. You gut to change yo' ways. Someday he gwine re'ch down from de clouds and grab you by de scruff o' de neck and break you cross he knees. H e gi' you fine baby chile, you don't thank him. You gut to fall down, pray, get low, get humble. You dere, Jesus, heh my prayer. Dis heah sinner, he weeked, he blasphem. Save him and save dis po' liddle baby.

P. 107: Muh Mack: You ax dat and you fixing to bring me' trouble on us wid yo' schooling and mess. And wid Mr. Lonnie down on you 'bout de crop ag'in. Lawd! Lawd! And who dat went let his po'boy put foot in de home? Keep 'im driv' off lak a homeless dawg.

P. 18-19: Jones: Look-a-heah, white man! Does you think I's a natural bo'n fool? Give me credit fo' havin' some sense, fo' I awd's sake! Don't you s'pose I'se looked ahead and made sho' of all de chances? I'se gone out in dat big forest, pretendin' to hunt, so many times dat I knows it high an' low like a book. I could go through on dem trails wid my eyes shut. Think dese ign' rent bush niggers dat ain't got brains enuff to know deir own names even can catch Brutus Jones? Huh, I 'speets not! Not on yo' life! Why, man, de white men went after me wid bloodhounds where I come from an' I jes' laughs at 'em. It's a shame to fool dese black trash around heah, dey're so easy. You watch me, man! I'll make dem look sick, I will.


P. 258: "When I get tired seein' pleasure. A lot of mighty fine men 'round here ain' so awful satisfied wid dey wife. I might try one more round befo' I stop fo' good."

"Shut you mout', May-e. You can' talk such brazen talk in de house o' Gawd. You must be forgot, enty?" Doll's tubby body, her husky, breathy voice, her little sharp eyes, all made Mary feel suddenly cross.

"When did Gawd appint you to run His house, Doll?" she snapped out before she knew.

"What you got to say 'bout dem poor nameless chillen you got?"

"Do for Gawd's sake, Doll, don' talk so fool. My chillen come into dis world by de same road as you own. You know dat good as me. You own don' travel a bit easier road 'n my own either. Not a bit."

"Well, I can say dis much. Si May-e, July done right when 'e left you. You is pure slippery as okra."

"Hi, Doll," Mary said scornfully, "you's a fool." She sucked her teeth and all the women straightened up.
P. 19: "Who dar?" say a man in de house.

"No mind who yar," say de Lawd. "You jest unlash dis door."

"You got a search warrant?" say de man. "'Cause ef' n you ain't you might jes' as well go on about yo' business. 'Cause you can't git in dis house onless you got a search warrant."

"Well," say de Lawd, "jast tell Miz Rucker to come to de door whilst I tell s her on her good-for-nothin' boy which is shootin' craps on Sunday."

"Miss Rucker ain't yar no more," say de man. "She runned off wid a railroad man, yistiddy."

P. 20: So de Lawd wawked on down de road, tawkin' to hisself and studyin' 'bout what he gonter do wid de sin.

So he wawked along, studyin' and a-tawkin'. "Mankind," he say, "is jest right for my yearth, ef' n he wan't so dad-blame sinful. But I'm sick an' tired of his sin. I'd druther have my yearth peopled wid a bunch of channel catfish den mankind and his sin. I jest can't stand sin."


P. 93: "Well, Jacob was a man which had a heap of chilluns. And hit seem like from Jacob on de habit kind of runned in de family. 'Cause all of Jacob's chilluns had a heap of chilluns and they chilluns had a heap more, and hit wan't long after they got in Egypt to hit was as many of Jacob's chilluns and grandchilluns as they was regular people in Egypt.

So when old King Pharoh died hit was a new King Pharoh which knowed not Joseph. So one day he sent for de sherriff.

"Sherriff," he say, "how'd de election go yistiddy?"

"Humph!" say de sherriff. "How you reckon hit went, King Pharoh?"

"How," say Pharoh.

"Hebrew, mighty nigh solid," say de Sherriff, "wid some country districts not yeard from yit too."

P. 57: "I mean Lucy ain' playin' straight like a lawful married woman oughta do to'ads a good husband' like you is; dat's wat I mean."

"Who say Lucy ain' straight? Some dese damn jealous-hearted niggers tryin' to put bad mouf on Lucy jus' because she know how to hol' her head high an' don' bow down to um like dey want? Lucy ain' got to mix wid dese niggers if she feel like she wan' stay to herself. Long as me an' Lucy satafied wid each-another, she kin keep 'way from um much as she please."

P. 41: "Set down on dat chair, Nebo, an' take yo' time. How you expec' to find out anything tonight to convince you wat Veania tellin' you is true? Tomorrow is Chuseday. De day dat man come to collect yo' insho-ince money."


.....But before she could put anything into words, she struck the initial blow.
"Good-by, Useless!"
"S-s-says which?"
"I says good-by."
"How come?"
"I is goin' away."
"Wh-where to?"
"Nowhere. I'sa gwine stay right heah in Bummah--but not with you. Fum now on hencefor'rd I'sa gwine to be Missis Mocha Williams on'y so long as it requires Lawyer Evans Chew to git me a divorce."
"You is kind of crazy 'bout Canary, ain't you, Frantic?"
"Oh, man, she is the fondest gal I is of."
"Where at did you git them swell pin you gave her?"
"I--I boughten it--"
"Liar what you is. You found that pin in the gutter on 17th street."

A novel of Charleston.

P. 37: "What yo' say dat lady name?"
"Atkinson."

"Now ain't dat funny. Dat my berry own name. Ain't yo' know my pa use' t'uh b'long tuh de Atkinsons? Yes, suh! My ma raised wid de Wentworth, ain't yo' 'membuh? But my pa raise wid ole Major Atkinson who use tuh own fife t'ousan' head ob nigger, an' de bigges' plantation on de--Cooper Ribbuh."

P. 76: Maum Vina: "Yo' hadn't ought to laugh at ole Ned like dat. Dat can't de no good. What if Gilly Blutem is run after Dolly, he don' de same by plenty odder gal round here. When a man know dat snudder man is runnin' after he 'oman, dat one t'ing. But when he know dat odder people know, dem he goin' fight. Yo' mus' want to hab killin' in dis camp, enty?"


Gullah negroes of Carolina low country.

Dore de ol' lady is in de middle o' de corn patch. Wid her mou' full, an' a sweet 'tater in her hand an' de gal tryin' to git it away from her. De ol' lady is twirt de gal an' de house, an' trying to run she off de place. An' de gal wouldn't gone. An' she ma schold she, an' cuss she, an' de nex' thing dey is tearin' wool out'n one annudder an' makin' a fine mess o' dat corn patch at de same time.


P. 107: God: Dat's good. Sit down an' make yo'elves com'f' table. "en, I'm goin' to talk about a little scheme I got. It's one dat's goin' to affect yo' fam'lies an' dat's why I 'cided I'd talk it over wid you, 'fo' it goes into ef'fect. I don' know whether you boys know it or not, but you is about de three best men of one fam'ly dat's come up yere since I made little apples. Now I tell you what I'm gonter do. Seein' dat you human bein's can't 'preciate anythin' lessan you fust wukk to git it and den keep strugglin' to hold it, why I'm gonter turn over a very valuable piece o' property to yo' fam'ly, and den see what kin day do with it. De rest of de worl' kin go jump in de river fo' all I keer.
"David," say de Lawd, "you's young now and filled up wid wild oats. But I'm kind er skeered dat when you gits old and start in thrashin' dese wild oats you's sowin', well, I'm skeered you goner have to do yo' thrashin' mighty close to home."

"When I gits too old to sow 'em, Lawd," say David, "well, den I'll commence worryin' about thrashin' 'em."

"Dat's de p'int," say de Lawd. "When you git too old, well, you be done got de habit, and you won't never know you's too old, to fust thing you know you goner think you's out sowin' oats, when all de time you's a thrashin' 'em."

"I ain't goner git dat bad, Lawd," say David. "I knows when te quit."

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If de Lawd had give ten thousand tongues
To dis poor tool o' his--
Wid each one I would shout an' cry,
I'se a Baptis'! Yes I is.

I couldn' join no other church,
*Cause dis one sho is right--
Ain't Scripture in de words it's writ
Done proved it in plain sight?

Don't talk to me 'bout sprinklin',
To wash our sins away,
De book says Jesus sho' was dipped,
An' come up out straightway.
Oliver, Blanche G., "It's De Truth," from Cawn Pone and Pot Likker, Monroe, La., 1951.

Sis Mary Barber done de oudest prayin' in de town,
An' had de innocentest face in all de country 'roun',
But, bless de Lawd! One night dey raided Tony's
gamblin' place,
An' found de shoutin' Mary had done fallen down from
grace.

It's de truth—
You can't tell how far a toad can hop,
By lookin' at 'im.

Of thirteen head o' chillen dat Miss Jennie Jackson got,
De last one is de wealiest lookin' chile of all de lot,
But when it come to actin' nice, and bein' peart an' smart,
He leave de others way behind, befo' dey gits a start.

It's de truth—
You can't tell how far a toad can hop,
By lookin' at 'im.

Thibault, David, "What Every Man Knows", Collier's, Nov. 18, 1931.

P. 22: "Dis is Thanksgivin'. Everybody done et, an' et twill every dish an' knife an' fork but dem in dat bucket is dirty. We done fed fawty white folks at de mess tent. An' ain't nobody to wash up after 'em but me. When I looked at all dem dishes it looked like to me ain't nothin' movin' on de face of de earth but dirty dishes. Den I sees some knifes here an' forks yonder, what ain't nobody et with. That kinda make me feel better, 'cause I won't hafter wash dem. I put 'em in dat bucket, an' I started over to de cook tent wid 'em. Den a no-count triflin' boy dat was passin' asked me what is I doin' wid all dem knives and forks. An' I tole 'im, den he make like he gwinta tip up de bucket an' spill 'em on de groun', so's I'd hafter wash 'em any how. Den I started to run--"
Green, Paul, Potter's Field, New York, Samuel French, 1931.

P. 187: Farrow: Now pull in yo' mouth.
Old Quivieves: It ain't fitten for women-folks to hear, Lavin.
Farrow: Yah, yah, sour face. Hot damn, a leaner!
Farr: Now, what you got. Harr-p, won't let well enough alone.
Farrow: Yea, old Alabam, I hear about such folks but never
see 'em. Wake up, gimme room, son o' man.
Bad Eye: 'Souse me. Son? Better be son' man.
Farrow: Preachers! Once I was broke in New Bern. Got me old
e Clawhammer coat and ehd service--preaching on the children
starving in the wilderness--third book of Ham, eleventh to
twelveeth verse. Well 'bout collection time somebody stood
up in the congregation and said he knowed me--hah--hah--hah--
Rode out with a window frame round my shoulders. Talk about
rainbows--Good Lord.


P. 44: "I ain't no gamblin'-man," said John Henry, "but
I kin' mock de man which is."
"Money ain't no good to me, so I'm goan' give dis money
away...Hyar, Sam, you kin have dis four dollars 'cause I
don't need no money. I don't need no money, 'cause when a
man is dressed up he don't need no money, and I'm fixin' to
git dressed up, so's I kin git around dis town in style.
"So take dis four dollars, Sam, and go buy me a four
dollar Stetson hat, and I don't want no change back. And
you go buy me a bright new suit er clothes wid a box coat
and pay-top pants, wid pearl buttons on de pockets and
braid around de collar...."

Cobb, Betty Reynolds, "Little Boy Black and Other Sketches,"

Nam, goes to the barn for the mare.
"Come heah, Dixie, come heah, kase me en you is gwine
atter de doctor fer Li'l Missy. Hit's er long dark ride, ol' gal,
but It's got dat rabbit foot whut Uncle Josh done gib me.
"Cos"I's skeered, but hit ain't like Li'l Missy didn't
need us. I'd go ter ride wid de haidless hossman effen hit
was fer Li'l Missy.
"Hit's erbout time we wus comin' ter dat bridge en dat
will be ha'f way. I sho'ly wud hate ter meet dat haidless
hossman whut Dan's allus mouthin' erbout. But den ef he
sho'nuf haidless he mought never see me en you, Dixie."
"Be 'shamed of yo 'se'f!" she admonished. "Whut if Bro- 
thah Lump Mowbray knowed you was a-carryin' on like dat? He'd 
say, 'Shame on you, Pammy Lee!' Wouldn't he, Miss Gracie?"
"Yes, he would," agreed Gracie.
"An' what would de Lawd say?" went on Miss Tony appealing 
to a still higher authority. "He'd say, 'Be 'shamed of yo'- 
se'f, you stinkin' little niggah gal, breakin' my commandments!'" 
The mother reached out to give Pammy Lee another thump.
"Now, ap' as not, you'll be havin' a baby, an' wha' in 
de worl' is I gwi' put hit, I don' know."
"Hit kin sleep wid me, Mammy," piped a very small voice 
from the common bed of the children.
"Shet yo' mouth, Hezekiah. Dat baby wouldn' sleep wid 
a great big ol' stinkin' niggah boy lak you is. Dat baby 
would be a pa'tick'lah baby. Hit would be a fine baby..... 
Same on you, Pammy Lee...."
"Why?" asked the daughter in surprise.
"Cause you's a woman now. You's wuth mo'n any fifty 
cents a week. I'm gwi' sta't out in de mawnin', lookin' fuh 
a place wid me' pay fuh you. I' se gwi' send Jinny Lou up to 
Miss Dru's im yo' place."

McIlhenny, E. A., Befo' De War Spirituals, Boston, Christopher 
Publishing Co., 1933.

P. 55: Don't you pay no min' to women 
She's a temptin' t'ing. 
She rigs hers'e'f in a 'cer'vin way 
To trick de hearts of man, 
But ma good Lord dun been here 
Bless ma soul an' gone away. 

W'en I gets up to hebben 
I'm gwim to stan' on de sea ob glass 
Gwin' t' holler to you sinners down below 
Dun got ma home at las'. 
An' ma good Lord dun been here 
Bless ma soul an' gone away.

P. 103: "Jee-hovah, dat lawyer man is a mighty kind gem'man. So please pleasure him good when Gabriel toots his trumpet. He de onliest man, white or black, which had a happy word for me when de Law got my little Henry dat time he kilt Brown Chawlie. So pleasure him heavy, Lawd; he was pyore good to my Henry.

"And Henry? Well, Lawd, you know, Henry, he was kind er reckless. And travelled wid de wrong kind, too, drinkin' and totin' a pistol. Gamblin' wid spot cyards and dice, and pleasurin' hisse'f wid a strumpet. But Great-I-Am, I ain't hyar to lowrate my flesh and blood. Dat boy is good in he's heart; he jest got wild and reckless...."


P. 111:

Hey, black ga, yo' face shine like de sun,
Rouge, lipstick, and powder, ain' gonna help you none.

A dollar's round, gone from han' to han',
Jes' de way dese wimmen goes from man to man.

Better stop yo' woman fum smilin' in my face,
Ef she don' stop smilin', I'll be rollin' in you place.

Shake, shake, mama, I'll buy you a diamond ring
Ef you don' shake to suit me, won' give you a doggone thing.
Cephus talking:

P. 50: "Baccy, gal, baccy is what ah wants and what
ah means ter git. Come along there, white man, (talking to
a little white dog). Git back heah by me or you'll be
runned over—yo' is jus' lak a white man—always got ter
be out in front ob ebery-ting."

P. 67: "Yes, sah," holding the cock up for inspection.
"He am a winner, too, Marse Girrea. He has been fed on
de blood of his comb so much dat he jes' natchelly loves
blood and goes right after hit when you put him in de pit.
He sho' am a vihshus bird. Kain't you all ride down to de
pit fo' de finish? We'se gwine ter win dis time. Dis
bird don't go in tell de victor is presented.
"We jes' collects our good luck omens and prays de
Good Lawd t'he'p 'em.

Lomax, John A., and Lomax, Alan, "Bad Man Ballad," from
American Ballad and Folk
Songs, New York, Macmillan
Co., 1934.

The words and music of a tongue tied negro convict
at Parchman, Mississippi.

P. 89:

Late las' night I was a-makin' my rounds,
Met my woman an' I blowed her down
Went on home an' I went to bed,
Put my hand cannon right under my head.

Early nex' mornin' 'bout de risin' o' de sun
I gets up-a for to make-a my run.
I made a good run but I made it too slow
Got overtaken in Mexico.

Early nex' mornin' 'bout half pes' nine,
I spied ol' jedge drappin' down de line,
I heered ol' jailer when he cleared his th'out,
"Nigger, git ready for de deestrees' cote."
Yeung, Stark, So Rad the Rose, New York, 1934.

P. 322: "I' se gwine obey mah orders. I' se gwine to search dis here house....
"Have Miss Valette been give you one o' dem tongue lashin's? Lak she give we all? Miss Valette can sho' raise de blisters....
"Dar you is still, who ast you to be talkin' like a neger?"
"De truth, too, y'all can' be talkin' lak a passel o' white trash."
"Nah, su, she gone. One mornin' she wrapped de baby in a blanket and threwed him behin' de fire and come out and shut de doh. Wash Jackson was de one smelled de smell. I don' know whah she gone."


P. 26: Rag Williams: Dey beat you up, Lonnie?
Joe Crump: What dey do to dem other' boys?
Lonnie: Dey let 'em go.
Blacksnake: Dey gwine make some po' black devil suffer fo' it. You wait.
Rag Williams: You see dat white woman, Lonnie? What she look like?
Binnie: Leave him alone, can't you?
Bobo Valentine: Boy, you come back just in time to work all night.
Binnie: You gwine work tonight?
Rag Williams: Ain't doing nothin' else but. 
Binnie: You listen to me, Blacksnake Johnson. All week you hang around hyar with nothing to do. Den on Saturday night, when I want to step out, got to work tonight, work tonight.
Angrum: Ma. Us got to horse dat cotton and mobile dem sacks all de livelong night.
Alexander, Mrs. L. M., *Candy* (the $10,000 prize novel) New York, Dodd Mead Co., 1934.

A story of negro life on the Savannah River in South Carolina.

P. 67: "Dick ain' do nothin' but try an' make us stan' up for ourse'fs," William challenged. "Dick say we ain' have nothin' an' we ain' be nothin', an' it's all our own fault."

"An' Dick ain' have nothin' but a mean min' an' 'e ain' be nothin' but a liar," Candy flung back at him. "We has what we needs. Dick ain' never know what 'e talkin' 'bout."

"Dick sho' 'nough talk bad 'bout 'Mose Hill," Jake put in.

"When Jim tell Dick to g'long an' leave us alone, Dick say ef we den' git uncontented we don' git anywhah. He says we ain' change a bit since 'e lef' here, an' we so lazy we ain' wan' to change. He say dis plantation look awful run down."


Mary talking:

P. 9: "Yes'm, I sees how you means. Only I thot maybe you could git more off yo'se'f. Then you could git me mah cow too. Mister Ca'well ain't got no notion botherin' much bout Mose. Mose done studied hit out hisse'f, lak I tole you.

"Yes'm, but he's a mind to drap Mister Caldwell. He ain't got no claim on Mose. I done tole you bout its not bein' able to raise no money. But we'd try to pay you a little in de fall if you'd help Mose. He goin' to hang effn somebody don't help him. An' Mose ain't nobody to help hisse'f none. Mose been done a good preacher an a good worker, but he can't do nothin' fer hisse'f, he done been all de time tied up........Yes'm, we sholy does, if you'll do hit. Mose done say he know he do the best fer him."
(You pick) a basket uh beans fuh five an' one cent.
Two basket—w'at (what) it come to? I wouldn't go dere today; not me; I'll eat de beans, but I ain't gine (going)
go pick none dere. W'en dem people come 'long dere, dey (they) gimme uh handful, but me ain' gwine (going) dere.
I yadda (hear) say Harrison Daddy--Harrison plant dere,
you know. Say he (his) pa come dere, run de people off de place, kick de people, cuss up de people; de people ma
gone back; dey been dere fuh help finish pick. He mean
tid( to do) dat. He say he ha' {have} no use fuh nigguh.
Yeh (yes), he care for men. Ain't got no use fuh nigguh.
He cuss up de people. Dem gals (girls) come home; dey talk
how he cuss dem. Dey ain't gone back. Dem men go fetch
de ol' people home fuh dem pick dem bean; cuss de people
up in de fiel'; say--de people say dat man is de meanes' man wuh (was). Me ne gwine dere. Dey ha' no buc-----.
If you cuss me, minnuh ( me and) you fight. Yeh, I--I ain' no
fuh cuss, you know. I rudduh (rather) you know me. May's
well tell de trut'. See, I can't pass no bad words, w'en
(when) I been comin' down de line an' git een de church
(church), man, I wussuh (worse.) W'en I had.....my husban'
been uh my leaduh (leader); an wussuh, I had to stick, but
dats my leaduh. Yes mam. Me de gwine gone, fuh minnuh
(me and) dat buckra (white man) fight. I lick dem head. I
tell dem plain yes--I say, 'If I fuh go off to William's
(William Seabrook) fuh de flour, William gwine lock me
up; an dat young man haf fuh lock me up. See, I gwine
cuss em, you know. I gwine tell em--tell em 'bout de
country. I gwine tell em. 'You red debil! Youse uh red
debil.' I say, 'Cawd's gine pick you up,' an I say, 'You'll
nevuh fetch untill Mr. Mitchie Seabrook bring you on de
place fuh overseuh ( overseer); den you de brag, but "(I)
say, "Cawd gine (going) pick you up an' you----," I tell em
so. Me no gwine dere. Not me! Me ne gwine fuh no flour.
Dey (they) haf fuh set dat flour home. Do mail man tell me
today. (He) say w'en dem get dat flour een de automobile,
dey fuh go run' to all de ol' lady do (door) an' put en
dere. Yeh! Mr. Bailey tell me dat today.
Day, Price, "My Name is Trouble," from Saturday Evening Post
November 9, 1935.

P. 18: "Boy, you sho' lay dat pant'er down!"
"Lookit dem gret big fightin' fists!"
"Yeah, Lawd!"
"Ain't he somepin?"
"Niggers," said Eight Ball, his ingenuous face one-third
given over to a white grin, "git out f'um under my walkin'
feets." He was as pleased as a baby with a bacon rind.
"Hot dawg!"
An unescorted chippy spoke: "Man, man gimme yo' hand."
"You see dey last left hook?"
"Baby boy! I seed it!"
"Eight Ball, son, reckin you beat in yo' fight wid day
Killer Jones next comin' Monday?"
"She," said Eight Ball. "I makes clëkker outen 'em."
"Hyar day!"
"Sho you does!"
My father owned a fas' horse— I mean a fast horse. We was livin' in Ocala then. Mah mother took sick and mah father come and said, "Skeet,"—he use to call me Skeet— "You oughter wire yo' sister in St. Petersburg."

"I jus' wired her," I tol' him.

"What did you put in it?"

"I tol' him.

He says, "Dat ain't right. I'm goin' ketch it." He went out in de pasture and caught de horse and shod 'im and curried 'im and brushed 'im off good, put de saddle on 'im and got on 'im, and caught dat telegram and read it and took it on to mah sister.

Soon as he left de house, Mama said, "You chillun make a fire in de stove and fix somethin' for de ole man to eat."

Befo' she could git de word out her mouf, him and mah sister rode up to de do' and said "Whoa!"

By dat time a flea ast me for a shoe-shine so I left.

Armetta said: "Nigger, I didn't know you could lie like that."

"I ain't lyin', Armetta. We had dat horse. He had a cow too, and she was so sway-backed that she could use the bushy part of her tail for a umbrella over her head."

"Shut up, Nig!" 'Seaboard' Hamilton pretended to be outraged. "Ah knowed you could sing barytone but Ah wouldn't a b'lieved de lyin' was in you if Ah didn't hear you myself. Whut makes you bore wid such a great big augur?"

Little Julius Henry, who should have been home in bed spole up. "Mah Brother John had a horse 'way back dere in slavery time."

"Let de dollars hush whilst de nickel speak," Charlie Jones derided Julius' youth. "Julius, whut make you wants jump in a hoghead when a kag will hold yuh? You hear dese hard ole seems lyin' up a nation and you stick in yo' bill."

"If him mouf is cut cross-ways and he's two years old, he kin lie good as anybody else," John French defended.

"Blow it, Julius."

Julius spat out into de yard, trying to give de impression that he was sleetng tobacco juice like a man.

De rooster chew t'backer, de hen dip snuff
De biddy can't do it, but he struts his stuff.

Ole John, he was workin' for Masse and Masse had two hawses and he lakted John, so he give John one of his hawses.

"Oh Lawd, we come befo' you dis evenin' wid fear an' tremblin'—unworthy as we is to enter yo' house an' speak yo' name. We comes befo' you, Lawd, 'cause we knows you is mighty an' powerful in all de lands, an' great above de stars, an' bright above de moon. Oh, Lawd, you is bigger den de world. You holds de sun in yo' right hand an' de mornin' star in yo' left, an' we po' sinners ain't nothin', not even so much as a grain o' sand beneath yo' feet." His words were meek with humbleness. "Yet we calls on you this evenin' to hear us, Lawd, an' to send down yo' sweet Son Jesus to walk wid us in our sorrows, an' to comfort us on our weary road cause sometimes we don't know which away to turn! An' we pray you dis evenin', Lawd, to look down at our wanderin' chillens what's gone from home. Look down in St. Louis, down in Chicago at our long-gone chillens tonight! An' if they's usin' Thy name in vain dis evenin', Lawd; if they's gamblin' tonight, Lawd; if they's doin' anyways wrong—reach down an' pull 'em up, Lawd, an' say, "Come wid me, cause I am de Vine an' de Husbandman, an' de Gate dat leads to Glory!"


P. 47: "All 'bout nothin', too."

"Dat is de way wid omen. You couldn't reason wid em nohow after dey set dey head."

"I ain' never mistreat Hester in my life. Ev'y year Gawd sends when de crop is done gather. I let em go to de store an buy hisel shoe an hat an cloth an t'ing. I don' be noways hard on em no time, I perwide for em, I encourage em all I kin, an' now e gone an do me so."

"Hester ain' never could un' erstand how a man an a oman is two diffunt t'ing. I tell Hester Gawd made em diffunt from de start. Gawd ain' made a man for set down home all de time, for patch an quilt an say prays like e made omen for do."
Mitchell, Margaret, Gone With The Wind, New York, Macmillan, 1936.

P. 59: "Young misses whu frowns an' pushes out dey shins an' says 'Ah will an' Ah woan' mos' generally doan ketch husbands," prophesied Mammy gloomily. "Young misses should cas' down dey eyes an' say, 'Well, suh, Ah mout' an' 'Jes' as you say, suh."

P. 65: "Miss Ellen, you gwine eat some supper befo' you does any prayin'"......"Ah gwine fix yo' supper mahseff an' you eats it....Poke! Tell Cookie stir up de fish. Miss Ellen home....Ah said time an' agin, it doan do no good foin' nuthin' fer w'ite trash. Dey is shiflesses, mos' ungrateful passel of no-counts livin'. An' Miss Ellen got no buzness washin' herself out waitin' on folks dat did dey be wuth shootin' dey'd have niggers ter wait on dem. An' Ah has said—"Her voice trailed off as she went down the long open passageway.

P. 77: "'Whut gempmuns says an' whut dey thinks is two diffunt things. An' Ah ain' noticed Mist' Ashley axing fer ter maby you"......"Well'm, awright. Ah wuz tellin' Cookie w'ile she wuz a-fixin' dis tray, 'You kin she tell a lady by whut she doan eat,' an' Ah say ter Cookie, 'Ah ain' never seed no w'ite lady who at less'n Miss Melly Hamilton did las' time she wuz visitin' Mist' Ashley'--Ah means, visitin' Miss India."

Reed, Curlin, "She Lied Like A Lady," American Magazine, August 1936, P. 28-29, 75-78.

P. 76: "Yassum. And I clomb up on the steps, and the Colonel seen me and sayed sorta low, 'George Andrew, you black ape, what you doing up here?' Then he sayed, 'Mister President, this is George Andrew and Mister President shuck hands with me and sayed, 'George Andrew, I'm mighty proud to know you' or sumpun like that."

George Andrew said, "The Colonel sayed, 'Here, George Andrew, run tell somebody to send Mister President a piece of cake--a piece of fruitcake."

"And you brought the cake?"

"Yassum....On this plate right here."
Bradford, Roark, "Do Like De Man Say," from *Collier's*, October 10th, 1936.

P. 15: "And what I'm tawkin' 'bout, when de man tell you to plow hit up, you better plow hit. 'Cause dat's de natchal guvmer! And when a man don't do like de guvmer say, dey'll put you in jail and wawk off an' forgot all about you!"

"Gittin' messed up wid de guvmer ain't like gittin' messed up wid de high sheriff. When de high sheriff git you, all you got to do is git word to Mister Dave, and Mister Dave will send de high sheriff word... 'Dat's my nigger.' Mister Dave will tell de high sheriff, 'and he can't lay in jail and make no crop, too. And efen he don't make no crop he can't pay me die fall. You turn dat nigger a-lease.' And de high sheriff will do it, 'cause Mister Dave is a big man."


Then Kirby heard the sergeant behind him curse. 'You can't pass heah 'thout shovln' us off'n the road. Wait till the wagons git out'n these-heah woods.'

"I've got to see Gen. Imboden. I'm the quarter-master colonel of the supply wagons."

"I don't keer if you're Ginral Lee himself, you can't pass heah now."

"What wounded have you got in those wagons?"

"Gin'ral Pender 'n' Stales, 'n' some other officers. That's why we are traipsin' beside these wagons 'stid of bein' in the advance gawd."

"Ain't thae 'mph somebody kin jest stop this wagon fer a minute and let us outa heah? Let us git out on the road and die?"

The quartermaster's voice was subdued now.

"Isn't there something we can do for these wounded men?"
Party spoke the only words on the subject that she could tolerate.

"Mister Larry sho' was a pretty. But, Lawd, honey, dey come and dey go, and dey all much alike as grasshoppers. Only inside dey's two kinds, de ones what's got ter be petted, and de ones that wants ter do de pettin' deyseftes. De one what does de pettin', dey stick fast, but de ones what's got ter be petted is wandrous. Dey's foot-loose and love-loose, and dey wanders."

"Oh, I ain't got time for ter pine and sigh, Caze I got ter meet my true love bye-and bye. I don't know where he's a-gwine ter wait, But I picks up my feet so I won't be late.


P. 18: "You, Play Mamma." Zurline yelled. "You stop dat singin' a reel in front er my house when I'm prayin'."

"'Scuse me," Play Mamma apologized. "I didn't know you ever done any prayin', Zurline."

"Hit ain't no good to sing reels, nohow, whether I'm doin' any prayin' or not."

"I wasn't singin' no reels, I was jest singin' cause I had a certain man on my mind."

"You always got some man on yo' mind."

"Not only on my mind, too," she giggled. "And dat ain't all. I'm fixin' to git me a sho'-nuff man, now. I jest been over to Miss Modom's house and got me a three-S'toby out'n de world! Lawd, did she put some stuff on dat toby."
SECTION IV

THE PHONETIC ALPHABET
# THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET

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(Secondary articulations are shown by symbols in brackets.)

OTHER SOUNDS.— Palatalized consonants: ⟨t, ć, etc.⟩ Velarized or pharyngalized consonants: ⟨k, č, š, etc.⟩ Ejective consonants (plosives with simultaneous glottal stop): ⟨pʰ, tʰ, etc.⟩ Implosive voiced consonants: ⟨b, d, ć, etc.⟩ Fricative trill. ⟨ʃ, ʒ⟩ (labialized ʒ, ʒ, or s, z). ⟨l⟩, ⟨r⟩ (labialized ʃ, ʒ). ⟨t, ć, ʃ, ʒ, etc.⟩ (clicks, Zulu c, q, x). ⟨l⟩ (a sound between r and l). ⟨m⟩ (voiceless w). ⟨ø⟩ (a vowel between ø and o).

Affricates are normally represented by groups of two consonants ⟨ts, tz, dz, etc.⟩, but, when necessary, ligatures are used ⟨ts, tz, dz, etc.⟩, or the marks ⟨ts or tz etc.⟩. ⟨c, j⟩ may occasionally be used in place of ⟨t, ć⟩. Aspirated plosives: ⟨ph, th, etc.⟩

LENGTH, STRESS, PITCH.— : (full length). *(half length). + (stress, placed at beginning of the stressed syllable). * (secondary stress). *(high level pitch); *(low level); *(high rising); *(low rising); *(high falling); *(low falling); *(rise-fall); *(fall-rise). See Ecriture Phoniétique Internationale, p. 9.

**Phonetic Symbols**

**Consonants**
- b - bite [baɪt]
- p - pie [pai]
- m - me [mi]
- w - we [wi]
- M(chw)-when [mɛn]
- v - veil [veɪl]
- f - fee [fai]
- th - them [θɛm]
- th - thin [θin]
- d - done [dʌn]
- t - toe [tou]
- n - now [naʊ]
- s(r) - very [vɛri]
- l - lean, pel, paul, [pɔl]
- z - zero [ˈziro]
- s - soon [sʌn]
- r - run [rʌn]
- z - pleasure [ˈplezə(r)]
- s - fish [fish]
- j - young [ˈjʌŋ]
- q - get [gɛt]
- t - geese [tiːs]
- k - cake [keɪk]
- n - sing [sɪŋ]
- ? -
- dz - judge [dʒʌdʒ]
- tʃ - chance [tʃænς]
- h - he [hi]

**Vowels**
- i - mean [min]
- ɪ - pin [pɪn]
- ɛ - placate [pleɪkət]
- ɛ - met [mɛt]
- ə - can [kæn]
- a - pine [paɪn]
- a - father [ˈfaθə(r)]
- a - not (as a Briton may say it) [nət]
- ɔ - caught [kɔt]
- o - obey [əbɛ]
- u - soon [sʌn]
- u - book [bʊk]
- ʌ - cup [kʌp]
- ɔ - bird (as a Southerner often pronounces it) [bɔd]
- θ - okra [oukrə]
- ʃ - permeate [pɜrˈmeɪt]

**Diphthongs**
- ər - pear [pɛər] (G.A.)
- ɔɪ - pain [paɪn]
- əʊ - now (N) [naʊə]
- ɔʊ - found [fɔnd]
- əʊ - found (S) [fəʊnd]
- eɪ - pain [piːn]
- ə - scared [skeəd]
- ɪ - rear [rɪə]
- ɛɪ - fear [fiə] [fiə]
- ɔɪ - bird (S) [bɔɪd]
- ɔɪ - bird (N) [bɔɪd]
- ɔu - note [nəut]
- ɔɪ - boil [boɪl]
- ɔʊ - walk (S) [wʊk]
The Making of the Vocabulary

This vocabulary has been selected from the best of the Negro-English dialect writers and verified by actual conversations with and observations of Negroes living within a radius of fifty miles of Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

It is a most noticeable fact that Negroes on the same plantation or coming from the same immediate group of cabins, have different pronunciations for the very high frequency words.

The longer the Negroes associate with the whites in the urban centers, the more nearly they assume the norm of the speech of the whites. Many Negroes in Baton Rouge speak excellent English. We can hear in any rural cabin in this district, some of the variations which we recognize as dialect.

The effect of the speech of the early English, Irish and Scottish overseers and the frequent exchanging or selling of many Negroes, from one plantation to another, and even from one state to another, cannot be over-emphasized for a proper understanding of these variations.

The vocabulary has been made sufficiently large to include all words necessary for a study of the structure of Negro-English dialect which is found in a subsequent chapter.

The word given first in the phonetic column usually is the one which is found most prevalent in the general use of Negro-English, whenever it is possible to determine such prevalence. Native whites of Louisiana, who have studied phonetics and who still reside in the state have been most helpful in checking this list.

Any of the words found in the writings of Dunbar, Harris, Stuart, or Page, which have not been found to be current in this research, have been omitted from the vocabulary.
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coffin  kəfən
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*Note: The text appears to be a list of words with corresponding homophonic or homophonic-like representations, possibly indicating alternative pronunciations or dialects.*
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I
- I -

I
en

I am
I'se

ahs

idea
idea

if
of

er

if it weren't
twarn
t\(\text{w}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{i}\)n, t\(\text{w}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{n}\)t, t\(\text{w}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{n}\)t
ignorant
I have
I have taken
imagine
immediately
improper
impudent
indeed
infantry
inner
inspection
installment
instance (for)
instead
instinct
interference
introduce
invisible
invitation
irish potato
ironing
I said
is giving
isn't any
it
itches
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**J**

| jab       | job       | dʒəb   |
| jar       | jah       | dʒa ː , dʒɔː  |
| jaunt     | ja'nt     | dʒənt  |
| jersey    | jarsey    | dʒəz ː l (reported) |
| jirking   | juckin'   | dʒəkɪn, dʒəkɪn |
| joice     | jice      | dʒəs, dʒəs |
| joking    | jokin'    | dʒəukin, dʒəʊkɪn |
| join      | j'ine     | dʒə:n, dʒə:n |
| joined    | j'ined    | dʒə:n d |
| jointed   | j'inted   | dʒən t  |
| judge     | judge     | dʒed ʒ |
| judgement | judgemen' | dʒɪdʒmən |
| judgement | judgement | dʒɪ dʒmənt |
| just      | des       | dʒəs   |
| jess'     | dʒəs  |
| jis       | dʒə's    |
| jus'      | dʒəs    |
| Word     | Vowel Pattern | Syllable Pattern | Example
|----------|---------------|------------------|---------
| keep     | -K-            | keeps            | kips    
| keep on going | *consumes on | kag, keg | *consumes on
| keg      | -K-            | keg              | keg     
| kept     | -K-            | kep'             | kep'    
| kerosene | -K-            | kerosene         | kerosen 
| kerplunk | *kerploogum    | kerplunk         | kerplunk
| kettle   | -K-            | kittle           | k[tl,  kidl 
| kick on the | kick 'i' de   | kick 'i' de      | kick 'i' de 
| kid one another | woof     | woof             | woof    
| killed   | -K-            | kilt             | kilt    
| killed him| kill 'em      | kill 'em         | kill 'em 
| killing  | killin' up people (usually with knife) | killin' up people (usually with knife) | killin' up people (usually with knife) 
<p>| kind     | -K-            | kine             | kain, kain |
| kind of  | -K-            | kinder           | kinder, kinder |
| kindling | -K-            | kindlin'         | kindlin, kindlin |
| knew     | -K-            | knowed           | knowed |
| kitchen  | -K-            | kitching         | kit[ʃiŋ |
| knocking | -K-            | knockin'         | knockin' |
| know     | -K-            | knows            | knows |
| lace     | -L-            | las'             | les, les, less |
| ladder   | -L-            | ladder           | ladder |
| ladder   | -L-            | ladder           | ladder |</p>
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<td>lan'</td>
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* *squinch is a word from Old English, meaning 'a full stop or a pause'.
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summer set
tam'\l set

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so\te

sound
soun'
soun'

sparkling
sparklin'
sparklin'

sparrow
sparrer
spar\r

specify
pressify
pressify

spilling
spillin'
spillen

spinal meningitis
spinal'gitis
spinal\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d\d

spirits
spirits
spirits

spit tobacco
skeeting'
ski\n\n
splatter
splattah
splat\t\e

spoiled
spiled
sp\l\l\t

sprouting
sproutin'
sproutin'

sputtering
sput'\n
sput'\n
squat
squot
skot

squeezed
squoze
skwouz

squinting
squintin'
swintin

squirt
squut
skwat, sk\d\l, skweit, skwot, skwut
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SECTION VI

PHONETIC STRUCTURE OF THE NEGRO DIALECT
THE PHONETIC STRUCTURE OF THE NEGRO DIALECT

The Selection of Louisiana as a Negro Dialect Center

The emphasis in this study is placed upon the Louisiana English-speaking Negro. Louisiana is especially rich with examples for dialect study, for the Negro population is a composite of the South. The great Mississippi River was the main source of communication for over two centuries. When slaves were sold it "was down the river" and the river transportation lead through the state, past the great portions of fertile land which lies on either side. When Negroes ran away from Texas or Arkansas on the west, from Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama and Mississippi on the north, or from Georgia and the Carolinas, the Virginias and Florida, it was in the general direction of the Big River, and Louisiana was the common rendezvous. When the Civil War ended, river traffic was still the main method of distribution, and thousands of Negroes drifted from their former plantations to the central South. It is probably safe to say that the outlying districts of Baton Rouge contain a composite of all that once represented the African West Coast, and that reveals a general distribution from the Southern States.

The Dialect

The previous chapter has suggested the important differences between the orthographic representation of dialect and phonetic transcription. We glean generalities from orthographies and learn facts from phonetics. The writer and the
scholar must be concerned with both. The writer will strive to be as accurate as possible, and, at the same time, to use his dialect for the convenience of his general reading public. By the very nature of their service, there must be a difference between the use of orthographies and the use of phonetics.

This study is not much concerned with etymology, but more with the pronunciation of words. Excellent etymological studies have been made of southern speech and some of Negro dialects in general, and a few of these will receive consideration in this chapter.

We have previously referred to Dunbar, Harris, Page, Stuart, Green and Bradford as excellent observers of Negro-English dialect. It is to be noted that these writers have been under direct influence of southern environment. They think as a southerner thinks and write with conventional southern speech adjustments in mind.

In trying to write for a general public, these more careful observers made many phonetic analyses which they were able to put adequately in orthographies. But there are marked differences between the general American speech and the Southern speech; these writers may have appreciated the facts of sound and pronunciation but they did not always reveal such knowledge in their dialect representations. An example may make this clear. A Southerner may say water (wɔtə) or car (kɑː) or (kɔː), but never thinks of spelling the words as he pronounced them himself. He writes water with an r but he pronounces it for himself as he knows it, (wɔtə), without the r. But when a
reader from the North sees water he pronounces it (wot\$r) or (wat\$r) and assumes that the southerner says it in the same way. If the northerner meant (wote) or (wat\$r), he would write it wat\$ah. Any dialect selection must be read, accordingly, with careful reference to the dialect spoken by the author, and to the way he therefore expected his writings to be pronounced.

It is evident that writers from neighboring states or from the same state have not used the same orthographic outline for the same word. If we select the word after and follow it through the various writers, we see; afa, afta, aftuh, arfter, attah, atter, efa, and efn. A southerner would pronounce the last syllable of afta, aftah, and arfter approximately the same, as he would attah and atter. A comment by Wise (1) is appropriate at this point; "A word is in order about dialect spelling, not merely of Negro dialect, but of all dialects. Authors cannot be expected to be phoneticians, and consequently their spellings are often inescapably imperfect. Moreover, writers must follow conventional spellings to a considerable degree, in order not to be annoying and unintelligible to the average reader. The spellings have to be interpreted by the reader or actor in the light of probable intention of the authors."

The matter of reducing the Negro-English dialect to a consistent orthographic basis has been a gradual and sequential process.

Mrs. Tabitha Tenny originated the first real consistency in the dialect in her once popular "Female Quixotism." The copy used in this study was published in 1808. In this, she made substitutions of b for v, as in Dabid, debil, eben, and ebery; d for th in dat, dere, dis, dose; the omission of the initial s in such words as stay for stay, seal for steal; the omission of final t in ghoe for ghost, muss for must and jus for just; the substitution of a for the sh, as in sall for shall, sirt for shirt, wass for wash; and the substitution of t for th, as in tanks for thanks, tink for think, and tree for three. It is not infrequent that Scipio, the old Negro servant of the story, puts an additional syllable to some of the words. He says gette for get, tanke for thank you. The l is displaced by an r, as we see in grad for glad, breve for believe, orose for clothes, and bressa for bless. The ar comes in for an expanded use with Scipio when he says arter for ought to, darter for daughter and forrad for forwards. And Scipio was the first Negro in dialect to start pose for suppose. Mrs. Tenny set a style for Negro-English dialect which was imitated, and often poorly, for many years.

We have mentioned James F. Cooper before. In an interesting study Tremaine McDowell (3) observes that Cooper, in The Spy, gave us the first full length portrait of a Negro in a novel.

(2) Mrs. Tabitha Tenny, Female Quixotism: Exhibited in the Romantic Opinions and Extravagant Adventures of Doroasina Sheldon, Boston, 1808, 2nd Ed.

Though writing somewhat later, Cooper was less consistent than Mrs. Tenny, but he was conscious of his orthographic imperfections, as a comparison of his 1821 and 1831 editions will show. He introduced the apostrophe to indicate omissions, one of the most helpful of devices in recording orthographic dialect. Caesar, the faithful servant, is recorded as saying p'r'aps and s'pess. In the first edition of The Spy, Caesar would, however, say gemman one time and gentlemen at another; or it might be berry for very, etc. McDowell believes (4) that "the chief contribution of Cooper was the use of inversion, now familiar in such a sentence as, 'Why you rebels don't fight?'"

With the work of Tenny and Cooper and the four pre-eminent writers, Dunbar, Harris, Page and Stuart, much of the variation of Negro-English dialect had been recorded orthographically. It remains for phonetic studies to enhance their meaning and elaborate their richness.

How Much Is African and How Much Is English in the Speech of the Southern Negro?

This question has interested many scholars of recent years. With the great collection of folk-lore, stories and language forms presented by the better dialect writers, an adequate source of material is easily at hand.

As early as 1836, Nathaniel Beverly Tucker (5) called attention to the fact that there were two kinds of dialect for

the Negroes, that of the house servant in close association with
the white people and that of the field worker, greatly isolated
from the white people of proper speech influence. This means
nothing more nor less than that the first field worker learned
the few necessary English words and adjusted them to his own
peculiar native speech habits and transferred the modified
product to his offspring, whereas the house servant learned a
larger vocabulary and pronounced with less and less of African
characteristics.

The speech of the early overseers varied as widely as
the districts from which they came.

One of the strikingly different dialects of the Negro-
English of today is the Gullah off the coasts of South Carolina.
In explaining this dialect, a pattern has been established for
the study of most Negro dialects in this country. The authors
of the book Black Genesis (6) write in the preface: "Gullah
is the most pronounced of the Negro-English jargons in America
. . . . It is the strongest linguistic connection between America
and the Antilles and Africa . . . In particular, it is an English
dialect of the 17th and 18th centuries which has been preserved
on the coastal plantations in an almost pristine impurity.
Some few words of African origin are at once in use today in
Carolina, in the West Indies, and in the older English possessions
of the West Coast of Africa."

And speaking of the admixture of populations in the Antilles
during the slave periods in the Americas, the authors above
write further, (7) "The Antilles were aflame with slave labor of

(6) Samuel G. Stoney & Gertrude M. Shelby, Black Genesis, N.Y.
Macmillan, 1930, pp. X-XXV.
all creed, race and color (Sic.). The Island of Barbados was adding more than a thousand a year to its permanent population." And writing of the white people, "Many were boot-legged into virtual slavery. Prisoners were shipped wholesale—Cromwell sent over boat loads of recalcitrant Irishmen, James II gave strings of West-County men caught after Monmouth's Rebellion .... Each Stuart uprising sent its quota of Scotchmen into West Indian bondage—all these, with the Negro, produced a common denominator, Gullah."

The manner of mixing slave groups and adjusting to overseer tutelage is commented upon by Stoney and Shelby in this: "The new Negroes, the Salt Waters of Barbadian parlance, were mixed afresh in the slave markets and in the plantation quarters (in the United States). Once there, they were taught English as soon as possible. White 'redemptioners', their fellow laborers, or overseers, drilled into them enough language to understand orders. English it was, but English reduced to the cracking-point, a lingo full of rigamarole and repetition, necessitated by limited forms and vocabulary. Encysted in it are characteristic words and usages from the many of the ancient peasant dialects of the British Isles, legacies of the first teachers of the jargon. In it neither European nor African took much aid of grammar or syntax. The countryman was probably impatient of the trammels that rules impose: the Negro was receiving, not giving, a speech. His contribution was phonetic, eliminating or adapting sounds that were hard to an African tongue, and taking short cuts with onerous forms.
Once the simple needs of a plantation-laborer were relatively satisfied, the arduous instruction was abandoned by mutual consent; the Negroes had been brought out to cultivate sugar cane, not flowers of the English tongue."

This is an excellent explanation of the many variations of English dialects in isolated American communities or groups. It also explains the occasional Scotch and Irish modifications. The whites desired to work in the states or colonies as bosses of Negroes, rather than remain in political bondage and slavery in the islands. The better-class prisoners of British exile, when once away from the islands, found opportunity for freedom in the English-speaking colonies, and the lower type of subjects were content to express authority over any group of peoples.

Many southern writers have commented upon the relationship of the overseer to the Negro. Mary McClelland (8) describes the overseer in this manner; "The overseer class of the South in ante-bellum days constituted as distinct a grade as can be found in any country were birth, not wealth, is the standard of respectability. From the higher class--their employers--they were removed by ignorance and poverty; from the lower--their charges--by race instinct."

George Philip Krapp has shown that many of the Negro-English variants were introduced from the British islands and were not Negro inventions, nor an indication of native ignorance, as was commonly held. In his magazine article,

(8) Mary Greenway McClelland, "A Reversal of Fortune", in A Self Made Man, Phila., Lippincott, 1887.
The English of the Negro (9), and a two-volume study, English Language in America (10), he takes many words and traces them to their probable British origin. In a chapter in the first volume he specifically treats the Negro dialect. Mr. Krapp has one major thesis; "...the characteristics of the American dialect speech, both Negro and white, are for the most part survivals of older and native English elements in the language," (11).

Kurath (12) is interested in the origin of southern dialect from the Scotch and Irish, as well as the English; Payne (13) gives a most valuable study of Alabama words; Read (14) is also convinced of the persistence of post-colonial British influence upon southern American dialects; and Brooks (15) has made a comprehensive study of early British influences of some two hundred words current in Alabama and Georgia. Brooks made a comparative study of Harris and Payne and elaborated the thesis of Krapp. Krapp writes concerning the English origin basis: (16) "The Negroes, indeed, in acquiring English have done their work so thoroughly that they have retained not a trace of any native African speech. Neither have they transferred anything of importance from their native tongues to the general language. A few words, such as voodoo, hoodoo, and buckra, may come into English from some original African dialect, but

most of the words commonly supposed to be of Negro origin, e.g.,
tote, jazz and mosey, are really derived from ancient English or
other European sources. The native African dialects have been
completely lost. That this should have happened is not surprising,
for it is a linguistic axiom that when two groups of people with
different languages come into contact, the one relatively high,
the other on a relatively low cultural level, the latter adopts
itself freely to the speech of the former, whereas the group on
the higher cultural plane borrows little or nothing from that
on the lower."

Krapp takes his case with great vigor to a further
conclusion in his article referred to in (9); "The construction
of I is and the use of the third person singular present for
all persons and both numbers of the present tense of to be
seems as characteristically Negro as anything in the language.
But it is not abnormal or unparalleled English. From the
Thirteenth Century, forms I is, you is, we, you, they is are on
record in the northern dialects of English, and Wright's Dialect
Dictionary contains numerous examples from remote localities in
Modern England. This usage seems practically to have disappeared
in American English except in Negro speech. But it is a common
observation that even illiterate speech in America is less
rustically dialectal than similar speech in England. Generali-
izations are always dangerous, but it is reasonably safe to say
that not a single detail of Negro pronunciation or of Negro
syntax can be proved to have any other than an English origin."
(Italics added).
Quoting once more from Krapp, from the same reference as above, "In other words, literary transcriptions of Negro speech are likely to approach more nearly to scientific exactness in the recording of the shadings of pronunciation than literary transcriptions of other forms of English ordinarily do....the phonetic spellings merely emphasize what ordinarily would pass unnoticed. Our ears are tuned differently for the hearing of white speech. If one started without any anticipatory expectation, Negro English would seem like any other English. It would have its variations, but practically all of them would have their correspondence in white speech. The Negro English is not a peculiar species of English; it is only English spoken by Negroes."

The opinion of so excellent a scholar as Krapp is most weighty, but more closely examined evidence disproves the theory that everything of Negro speech came from or through the British. How is it that one small group of Baton Rouge Negroes of today could have nearly all the variations of speech attributed to the whole British Isles transference?

A study of the African consonant and vowel systems previously recorded will suggest to any phonetically trained person that the Negro would find some of the English sounds strange and difficult, and that he would substitute such of his own sounds as seemed to him most appropriate. Obvious examples are (θ) and (ɔ), which do not occur in any West African tongue (with the occasional exception of the use of the (θ)), and which would
be, and still are, replaced by (t) and (d). Likewise, the pure (e) of the African tongues, as contrasted with the usual English (e), persists in the speech of many a Baton Rouge Negro. Indeed, the Sea Island phonograph recordings of Doctor Lorenzo D. Turner, of Fisk University, show that the insular Negroes, who have heard little white speech since the very days of the slave ships, use pure (e) and (o) practically altogether. (17).

It were better to conclude that the Negro had many language forms and some pronunciations from Great Britain, but that he adapted these forms to his own manner of thinking and his way of speaking. The Negro throughout the entire South has been remarkably consistent in his manner of speaking; any language he got from the English he adapted by his own phonetic principles.

In Section II, from a comparison of a few native verses (18), we learn that besides the non-use of (ɔ) and the infrequent use of (Ø) just referred to, none of the tribes of Western Africa used the wh (ʍ), and only one used the (z). But one tribe used the sh (ʃ) or the zh (ʒ). Some tribes used (f) and no (v), while others used the (v) and had no (f). And again, some did not know the (p), while other groups used no (g). Over half of the tribes had no (h), and only about half of the tribes produced an (r) in some of its variations; none ever used a final (ʔ). In fact, all of the tribes ended their

(18) See Table I.
words with a vowel or a weak syllabic consonant, and the latter method very infrequent. Many had never used the ng (y) in a final position, though the sound frequently appeared in an initial position. These are facts which must be taken into consideration in any study of Negro dialect. It should be noted that the consonants mentioned above are the identical sounds which the Negro generally slights or neglects, and that his tendency to eliminate final consonants was a part of his linguistic heritage.

That a British overseer may not have used an aspiration with (M) cannot account for its almost universal omission with the Negro. The fact that not one Negro tribe had a wh (M) in its language is an important factor in accounting for the pronunciation of such words as where, when, what, etc., with the (w) instead of the (M).

What is true of the wh (M) may be logically implied concerning any of the consonants mentioned above. It is very difficult for an intelligent German to come to America and eradicate his phonetic inclinations and training with such consonants as (w), (v), final (ç), (b) and (g), to mention no others. Unless he is especially ambitious and watchful, he never properly acquires these sounds. His th (ç) becomes a (d), his (w) becomes a (v) and he retains these sounds through life. And the th (ç) also bothers many Frenchmen throughout life. As Krapp has said, it is the very nature of language, once fixed in an individual, to hold tenaciously to its form. We must keep conscious of the fact that it was the adult male
and female workers who were taught the few words necessary in early Negro slavery, and that these workers adapted these working-words to their own phonetic heritage.

From the authorities quoted in Section II, from additional studies of such books as are available on the African languages concerned in this treatise (19), and from the testimony of an African guide, Bert Hadley, who has been many times on safari, we may reasonably become convinced that the speech of the Southern Negro has been greatly conditioned by native language forms, and that the Negro's social isolation has contributed to his preserving of the forms of speech which he first used in America.

With these facts in mind, we can more fully appreciate the rich heritage we have in the southern Negro-English dialects, not only as a repository of early English variants, but as a phonetic remnant of native Negro speech. The latter phase of this conclusion is being more fully studied by many scholars of African languages. It is a live subject in the linguistic world.

We have mentioned the Gullah as a significant Negro dialect, rich in lore and language interests. But probably no people are more interesting and profitable for students of Negro languages and customs than the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guinea. Herskovits (20) writes: "As might be expected, the extent to which Negro cultures of the New World manifest a peculiar African quality differs from region to region in accordance with the degree of freedom from interference that was enjoyed by the Negroes,

(19) One of the better and more simple books presenting this subject is D. Westermann and K. Ward, Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages, London, Oxford U., 1933.
and, because in Dutch Guinea the Bush Negroes were able to muster sufficient forces to revolt and thus attain complete freedom, their culture is the most African that exists in the Western Hemisphere. Indeed, it is more than this, for it has retained Africanisms of the period of the slave-trade, so that today in the South American forests an old African civilization is to be seen.... There are three tribes of Bush Negroes and their language is a mixture of African, Portuguese, Dutch and English words, pronounced in accordance with rules of West African phonetics and organized grammatically into the structures of their ancestral languages." (21) These four languages are all dominated by rules of West African phonetics: It is by no means unreasonable to believe that the Negro-English of the Southern States would be in some degree similarly affected. Of course, as we have seen, a comparative study of the phonetic structure of African tongues and of Negro-English substantiates this belief.

In presenting the variants of Negro-English dialects, we may safely conclude that they are the result of teachings from British overseers and American masters, who reflected the many types of speech divergencies of the slave-trading eras, combined with native African elements, phonetic and grammatical.

Some conclusions have been deduced which may help to clarify some of the material to follow. Wise (22) writes: "Negro enunciation tends to be lax and careless. Sometimes consonants seem actually to be omitted almost entirely. A certain negro bricklayer, in saying 'No Sir', uses no pure consonants whatever—only a vowel and some vowel-like nasal consonants."

In an article on "Southern Accent", Burton (23) states; "The articulation of the Negroes is predominantly labial as in Northern speech; whereas the native, Southern, Protestant, white man's method of articulation is predominantly lingual." The Wise observation is factual and has value in a general application; the Burton statement is true of some Negroes and is woefully lacking in application to others. The main subject of this study, Albert Jenkins, often says the word woman without moving the lips at all until he comes to m, and then, the lips scarcely touch. Many Southern Negroes are decidedly lingual rather than labial. Stepin Fetchit, current in Talking Pictures, is a Negro who capitalizes his comic effects by imitating the lazy fellow of little or no labial activity, and only through lingual energy occasionally forms a leading word.

It is not often advisable to accept a general statement to apply to any subject or study so varied in nature as Negro-English dialect. One may venture however, to say that Negro-English dialect diminishes in variants from white speech in proportion as the Negro becomes educated, and that the rate of variant diminution increases as we go from South to North or from South to West.

Negro-English Sounds and Sound-Substitutions.

A normal Negro has no physical handicaps which would hinder him in forming any sound of the English language. He

is the subject or victim of environment, just like any other person confronted with a language. He but reflects his teachings and his associations.

The significance of the Civil War as a social meridian in the Negro life is met in the terms Ante-Bellum and Post-Bellum, frequently used in this section. These terms always refer to the Civil War in the states, and to no other struggle.

The speech variants and their phonetic symbols are presented in the order established in Section IV.

The phonetic values are put in brackets as a means of easy identification.

The words discussed in the subsequent citations do not always exhaust the possibilities of a particular phonetic value, and the last example cited, when followed by etc., designates a group which may have many more words than are presented in the submitted list.

1. (b)

Throughout the state of Louisiana, the b is heard initially, medially and finally in the speech of the Negroes.

One of the facts a General American speaker would notice, is that the (b) is often substituted for other sounds, such as (p) and (v), usually in the direction of less effort and greater facility of articulation. The lips hardly touch, so slight is the utterance of so many of the parish Negroes. As the rate of speech is increased, the more clear and definite are the labials.

Many cases have been observed of Negroes with large teeth, who use the labio-dental (lower lip with upper teeth)
instead of a bilabial.

Such words as *babe* are universally pronounced as *(b) as,* the variation, if any, being in the vowel.

2. *(b)* for *(p)*

This substitution is very common in a few words, where the phonetic relations encourage such changes.

- **baptise** *(bæptiːz)*
- **September** *(september)*
- **trample** *(træmbl)*
- **triple** *(trɛbl)*

3. *(b)* for *(v)*

This is more frequent than *(b)* for *(p)*, but is not as frequent as we are led to believe from a study of orthographic dialect.

- **seven come eleven** *(sɛˈbʌm kæm ˈɛlbəm)*, as commonly heard in dice games.
- **heaven** *(hɛbən)*
- **live** *(lɪv)*
- **love** *(lʌv)*
- **river** *(rɪvər)*
- **shovel** *(ʃʌbəl)*
- **seven come eleven** *(sɛˈbʌm kæm ˈɛlbəm)*, as commonly heard in dice games.

The word *dove* was heard only once in the course of this study as *(dəb)*.

4. The addition of *(b)*

This is purely a result of phonetic preparation—an assimilation to the antecedent *m*.

- **chimney** *(tʃəmblə)*
- **family** *(fæmli)*

5. *(p)*

This is easy in the Negro dialect of the South, and is almost normal in frequency. In comparison with Dewey's
Table of Frequencies (24) of occurrence of sounds in American speech, the Southern Negro (b) has a frequency of 2.06 and (p) a frequency of occurrence of 1.80, using the four standard authors previously referred to, Dunbar, Harris, Page and Stuart. These frequencies are approximately reversed in General American, where (p) is 2.04 and (b) is 1.81.

6. Omitting the final (p)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sound</th>
<th>pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clasp</td>
<td>(kl⁴s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wasp</td>
<td>(wos)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Southern Negro prefers to omit sounds of such phonetic difficulty as the (p) in (sp). Some Negroes in the rural districts had heard the word grasp (græsp) but had never used it, preferring such substitutions as git hol', take hol', glom on, fasten onto, git ma hau's on, etc.

Substitution for difficult sounds, even though the meaning may be clear, is common practice with most Negroes of the South.

7. Substituting (p) for (t)

dreamt  (dræmp)

8. Substituting (k) for (p)

turpentine (t³:kɛntən) and (t³:kɛntəm); not heard often, but sufficiently to say that it exists.

9. (m)

This study is concerned with the normal bi-labial (m), though the labio-dental (ŋ) is quite frequent and many (m)'s

are adjusted to prognathism (using the lower teeth and upper lip). The *m* is the most frequent of Negro bi-labials and sometimes approaches in sphincter activity an easy *w* (*w*).

The (*m*) very often introduces nasality to an antecedent or subsequent portion of the syllable, and frequently affects all sounds of a series of syllables, especially if other nasal sounds are interspersed.

Many Negroes use a modified glottal stop (?) before an initial (*m*).

10. (*m*) for the medial (*u*)

by an' by (*ba/mba*), the (*u*) being assimilated by the following (*b*).

behind me (*baha*m*i*), the evolution being from (*baha*m*) to (*baha*m*), by assimilation.

cranberry (*kr ae m b er*i*)

11. (*m*) for final (*u*)

Again the principle of assimilation operates.

- heaven (*hve*m*) or (*h*bm)
- eleven (*lve*m*) or (*le*bm)
- seven (*sve*m*) or (*s*bm)
- condemnation (*kandzme*nm*)
- tribulation (*tr*ba*el:ei*ym*); many tion words are heard (*ym*), when other bi-labials suggest the pattern.
- rosin (*rz*m*) (*roz*om*) and (*roz*m*)
- turpentine (*t3:ka*ta*ma*); this word heard very frequently in East Baton Rouge Parish.

12. (*w*)

This consonant presents no particular difficulty. It is sometimes made with the slightest possible movement of the lips, merely starting them towards each other and gliding from an (*u*) to the following vowel. Such words are:

- way (*woe:i*)
- we (*oee:i*)
- woman (*w*om*); the (*w*) is expressed by a complete substitution of vowels in a most subtle gliding process.
With several subjects, there was not the slightest visible movement of the lips when the (w) was followed by a front vowel. There was not a trace of sphincter activity.

It seems likely that this was the actual pronunciation of the word *oman as used by Harris; it could not be adequately shown in orthographies.

For the purpose of this study, the ordinary (w) will be used, allowing it to include the minor differences which exist with any English group.

13. (w) for (m)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>what</th>
<th>(wat)</th>
<th>(wət)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td>(wen)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td>(wəs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which</td>
<td>(wəts)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>why</td>
<td>(wər ), etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This substitution is most common, though many Negroes in the back-country may be heard to say hw in good articulation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>where</th>
<th>(mə:)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>why</td>
<td>(mə ) ; both these words are heard in general distribution throughout the South.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Loss of the medial (w)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>always</th>
<th>(ələs) ; this word is very generally distributed throughout Louisiana.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awkward</td>
<td>(əkəd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>backwards</td>
<td>(bəkər:d'z)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forward</td>
<td>(fə:d ) (for:r:d) ; this word is met but infrequently and is very unstable.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. The hw (m)

A reference to Table I shows that the hw (m) sound was entirely unknown to West African speech.

The h, initially or finally, was known by some of the tribes and was not used by many others.
The (v) was completely a foreign sound to all the Negroes first brought to America, and words beginning with hw (spelled in modern orthographies with wh, as in where, were pronounced as (w)). It needed no dialectal English teaching for the Negro to substitute the (w) for the (v); the (w) was already a vital part of African speech and remains so with the Southern Negro of today.

When the hw is currently heard in Negro conversation, we know it is a sound combination usually of recent acquisition.

16. (v)

This sound ordinarily presents but little difficulty.

We have commented that many words show a (b) where the orthographic (v) is called for, as in shovel (ʃʌbl) and loving (ʌbɪn), (ʌbɪp). In general, no dialect writer of repute has used a variant of v other than the b. Occasionally, a very lazy Negro will come very close to a w, but that is the exception. One such a word is:

boulevard (bʌˈlaʊd) (bʊˈlɔːd)

In some words and combinations, the v has been omitted;

never mind (nəˈmɛnd); this dialect form is sufficiently common to justify recording.
give me (gɪˈmi); this and other such variants are not merely Negro dialect; they represent a universal American slang.

17. (ʃ)

The initial ʃ gives no difficulty to the southern Negro, is its usual variation by way of omission. The word after offers several types, including (v) substitutions.
after (\(z\alpha t\)) (\(z\alpha r\)) (\(z\nu\)) (\(z\nu\alpha\)), etc.; this word is more fully developed in the Vocabulary.

18. (\(f\)) for (\(v\)); (\(v\)) for (\(f\))

have to (h\(\alpha z\)\(\alpha t\))
Half way (h\(\alpha y\)\(\alpha w\))
His wife is very sick (h\(\alpha z\) w\(a\)w\(\nu\)\(\epsilon\) s\(k\))

These forms are the natural associations of unvoiced and voiced groupings, \(f\) and \(t\), and the \(v\) and \(w\). The Negro still uses this type of interchange very freely.

19. (\(\theta\)) and (\(\theta\))

The unvoiced \(\text{th} (\theta)\) was rarely heard by a native African.
The voiced \(\text{th} (\theta)\) was not used at all by any of the tribes we show in Table One in Section II. Both of these sounds were strange experiences to the transplanted African in America and it has taken a long period of time to make them a part of Negro phonetic consciousness.

For the very common words, (\(\gamma\)) becomes (\(d\)) and the (\(\theta\)) becomes (\(t\)). There are so many exceptions, that it is not wise to formulate any rule or law to predict their occurrence. The following, however, is presented as an observation: when the Negro has an unusual word with a (\(\gamma\)) or a (\(\theta\)) he will endeavor to say the word with correct phonetic values, but when the word is a commonly used one, (\(d\)) and (\(t\)) are substituted respectively for (\(\gamma\)) and (\(\theta\)).

20. (\(d\)) for initial (\(t\))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>((d\alpha t))</th>
<th>((d\nu))</th>
<th>((d\nu\alpha))</th>
<th>((d\nu\alpha))</th>
<th>((d\nu\alpha))</th>
<th>((d\nu\alpha))</th>
<th>((d\nu\alpha))</th>
<th>((d\nu\alpha))</th>
<th>((d\nu\alpha))</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>these</td>
<td>((diz))</td>
<td>((de))</td>
<td>((dowz))</td>
<td>((dowa))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>((de))</td>
<td>((dowz))</td>
<td>((dowa))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>those</td>
<td>((dowz))</td>
<td>((dowa))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>though</td>
<td>((dowa))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
<td>((dow))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
21. (d) for medial (s)

- bother: (b³də) other: (ədə)
- brother: (br³də) rather: (rædə), (rædər)
- father: (fædə) smother: (smædə)
- feather: (f³də) wither: (wɪdə), (wɪvə)
- mother: (mædə) (mædə) withdraw: (wɪdərə), etc.

22. (d) and (v) for final (ʃ)

- with: (wɪd) (wɪv); these forms are interchangeable with some Negroes, depending upon the association with adjacent syllables.

23. (v) for a final (ʃ)

- breathe: (brɪv)
- smooth: (smaʊv)
- soothe: (sʌv)
- teethe: (tɪv)
- tithes: (taɪz)

A single example of (ʃ) changing to (f) is found in teething: (tuːf).

24. Omission of the (ʃ)

- clothes: (kləz)
- either: (iːə)
- whether: (wə) (mə) (wə)

25. (f) for the final (θ)

- bath: (bæθ) mouth: (mæθ) (mʌθ)
- beneath: (bənθ) moth: (məθ)
- both: (boːθ) mouth: (məθ)
- breath: (breθ) smith: (smiθ)
- cloth: (kləθ) tooth: (tuθ)
- death: (dæθ) truth: (truθ), etc.

26. (t) for (θ)

- forth: (fɔːt)
- mouth: (maʊθ)
- hearth: (hɛəθ)
- pith: (pɪθ); words of this kind are very scarce; (f) is the more favored substitution.
27. (d)

This consonant varies considerably within a very small radius of territory. Some of the Negroes who had contact with the French showed decided use of the dental $\dd$, and $\tt$, and clear $\tt$. The Negroes east and north of Baton Rouge most often place the tongue well back of the upper teeth. The relationship with the preceding and following sounds seems to determine what kind of $\dd$, $\tt$, and $\tt$ we may hear. Such a word as dip brings the $\dd$ decidedly forward as compared to the $\dd$ of dog, which is usually well back.

In general, the $\dd$ and the $\tt$ are formed by the tip of the tongue back of the upper teeth.

The initial $\dd$ offers no difficulty to the average Negro.

28. Omission of (d) preceding (l)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bundle</td>
<td>(bænl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>candle light</td>
<td>(kænl:ə't)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwindle</td>
<td>(dw:nl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handle</td>
<td>(hænl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these words, candle light was the most common. Many of the Negroes depend upon candles for their only source of night light. Kerosene is becoming more popular as its use is understood. Candle light was not a difficult word to hear in most districts of the rural South. Dwindle was heard but once in the course of this study, and that from an old Negro on the Louisiana campus. Bundle is fairly common, as many of the women still carry bundles of clothes on their heads. "Ah kin ca'ly a bun'le of cloze on mah haid as big as a bahn" (ək, n kæ: bænl ə kļez ən ma hɛd æz bɪgz æ bʌn).
29. Dropping of final (d) after (n)

blind (blind) kind (kain)
bound (boun) riind (ra/n)
find (fa/n) stand (stan)
friend (fren) tend (ten)
grand (gran) wind (win)
grind (grain) world (w3:1) (w1:)
hand (hun) wound (wun), etc.
hound (hun)

The n may nasalize the entire word, although the Negroes are, as a whole, less nasal than white people.

An interesting language development is shown in the word behind:

behind (beha/n) to (beha/m)

30. Dropping of final (d) after (l)

This omission is found where a back vowel is followed by a dark l.

bald (bol) (bal)
cold (ko:l) (ko):
fold (fo:l) (fo:1)
gold (go:l) (go:1)
hold (ho:l) (ho:1)
sold (so:l) (so:1)
told (to:l) (to:1)
world (w3:1), (w1:), etc.

31. Use of the (d) for a (t)

bad battle (bad b3dI) (badl)
better days (b3der dei/) (b3der)
bottle (of beer) (b3dl = b3:/j)
bread and butter (br3m: b3de)
saturday (s3dei/)

The substitution of the d for the t is most generally due to phonetic contexts. The voiced b of bottle and beer calls for the shifting of (t) to the voiced (d). Intervocalic positions, of course, induce voicing.
32. (d) for (n)

isn't (idnt), (idn:)
wasn't (wadnt), (wadn:)

These are heard in combinations like:

isn't it (idn't)
isn't she (idnt;)
wasn't it (wadn't)
wasn't he (wadni), (wadpi)

33. (t)

The (t) is used as pointed out in citation 27. In most of the West African languages examined for this study, the d was used somewhat more frequently than the (t). The modern southern Negro tends to weaken his (t)'s until they resemble (d)'s. The aspiration of the (t) is usually very moderate in Negro speech.

The (t) suffers omission most when final or in difficult combinations. Alone, it offers no especial difficulty for the southern Negro.

34. Omission of (t) after (f)

daft (d#f)
draft (dr#f)
draught (dr#f)
left (l#f)
lift (l#f)
loft (l#f)

raft (r#f)
shaft (s#f)
theft (θ#f); this last word heard only once, as steal is the usual terminology.

35. Omission of (t) after (k)

act (zk)
cracked (krzk)

"It jes' crack wide opm" (t d#za krzk wad opm)

fact (fzk)
joked (dzo#k)

"He done joke' wid 'er" (hi dzn dzo#k wld)
talked \( (t^k) \)

"he talked four hours." \( (hi \, t^k \, fo^r\, a^w^z) \)

36. Omission of \((t)\) before \((l)\)

kettle \((k\varepsilon l), (k\varepsilon l)\)
little \((l:\varepsilon l:)\)
lot like \((l\varepsilon: \, l\varepsilon: \, l)\)

This omission is heard more among the older people, little being the word most commonly affected. \((k \, tl)\) for kettle is, of course, common also.

37. Omission of \((t)\) after \((s)\) or between \((s)\)'s

boast \((b^o; s)\)
coast \((k^o; s)\)
exists \((/g^z; s)\)
first \((f^s), (t^3; s)\)
fists \((f^s)\)

most \((m^o; s)\)
next \((n^s; k)\)
post \((p^o; s)\)
taste \((t^o; s)\)
waste \((w^e; s), \, \text{et} \, \text{c}.\)

Many examples exist for this variation.

38. \((n)\)

The \((n)\) is a very common sound in Negro-English. It offers no difficulty to the average Negro. In the speech of some native African tribes it is often combined with \(j\) and \(d\). In the Gullah of South Carolina, the word \textit{Nyankee} is still heard for \textit{Yankee}, as reported in the word-list of Stoney and Shelby (25). It gives way to \(m\) only in labial assimilation induced, e.g., by a neighboring \((b)\). (See citations 10 and 11.)

There are no consistent substitutions for the initial \((n)\).

This is the one tap \( \mathbf{r} \), and is used exclusively as a linking \( \mathbf{r} \), being very short in duration. It is found infrequently among Negroes in Baton Rouge and is more sharply audible southwest from Baton Rouge.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{she's right} & \quad (\text{ʃər't}) \\
\text{very} & \quad (\text{vər})
\end{align*}
\]

Its chief significance in this study is its existence, rather than its importance.

The (l) is heard with many modifications; from the clear front (l) to the very dark back (\( \mathbf{r} \)). The general Negro tendency is to use the ordinary medial (l) for most words, except those with the back vowels (ə), (ɔ), (o), (u) and (u). Very often, however, the middle vowels are accompanied by a dark (\( \mathbf{r} \)). Pronounced examples are shown in the Vocabulary in a previous part of this study.

Initial l presents no difficulty for the Negro.

41. Omission of (l) before voiceless fricatives and plosives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alfred</td>
<td>(æ:frɛd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Althea</td>
<td>(æ:θi:j)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>help</td>
<td>(hɛlp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>healthy</td>
<td>(hɛlθi:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self</td>
<td>(sɛlf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shelf</td>
<td>(ʃɛf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>(wʊlf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yolk</td>
<td>(jo:k)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
42. Omission of final (l1)

call  (kɔ: 0)
fall  (fɔ: 0)
fell  (fɛ:)
full  (fʊ:)
hall  (hɔ:)
pull  (pʊ:)
wall  (wɔ:), etc.

If full is followed by a vowel, as in of, it is never (fʊ:ʌv), but always (fʊlɔv), etc., the (l) linking the next word or syllable. The same is true of (pʊ:).

43. (o) for (l)

girl  (ɡɛ:ɔ)
help  (hɛlɔp)
milk  (mɪlɔk)
salt  (sɔlt), etc.

This substitution is more pronounced than at first anticipated.

44. (z)

(z) is practically unknown to the great number of West African tribes. Nor has it found favor with some of the old Negroes in the states. It presents little or no difficulty when effort is made to learn the sound. There are very few words in the Negro vocabulary with initial z. Zeke for Ezekial, and Zed for Zedadiah are names used in the early post-bellum days, but are not common in today's nomenclature.

zebra  (zibɔ), is quite well distributed, as is zero  (zɪrɔ); but nothing and aught (ɔt) are better known.
zipper  (zɪpə) has come to the back country, where it may be heard as (zibɔ).
(s) is of very frequent use. It seems to offer no real difficulty. It is, to be sure, sometimes heard as sh (ʃ), as in (ʃi) for see (si), but that is an individual rather than a group practice. The orthographic symbol of s has the sound of z wherever it would be so pronounced in ordinary English.

(t) for (s)

rins (rənts), (rentʃ), also (renʃ)

This word is heard in several variations. The t was omitted in the ordinary word (rənts) by prolonging the n, to get (renʃ).

(s) for (tʃ)

ranch (rənʃ), heard but a few times

(ʃ) for (s)

hearse (heʃ), heard often enough to record.
oyster (ɔʃtə); this is more common.

(r)

The southern whites and Negroes consistently use the initial r, alone or in combination, but drop post-vocalic r, i.e., r at the end of a word or syllable (alone or in combination), or substitute the sound (ɔ). The substitution of (ɔ) occurs particularly at the ends of syllables containing diphthongs, as in fire, (faɪə). When the r is dropped, it is usually compensated for by prolonging the preceding vowel, as in card, (kaːd). Medial (linking) r's are nearly always omitted.
The r varies but little with the southern Negro. He has a melodious r*. It is not strongly retroflex.

The uvular r (R) is purely individual, and is seldom heard.

In a previous paragraph in this Section, the value of the r in phonetics and in orthographies has been explained in detail. It has one other use of importance. As explained by Wise (26), "Dialect writers of southern nativity often spell this word (master) marster, using the supernumerary r as a lengthening sign, not realizing that the general American speakers will pronounce the word (marster) instead of the frequently pronounced (mar:stə)." We should keep in mind the lengthening process when we read southern writers of Negro dialect.

Summarily, the Negro will, if it is phonetically possible, usually eliminate the r.

50. Omission of medial (r)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>American</th>
<th>Arthur</th>
<th>bury</th>
<th>carriage</th>
<th>darky</th>
<th>fairy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fork</td>
<td>marry</td>
<td>Martha</td>
<td>park</td>
<td>pork</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51. Omission of final (r)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>car</th>
<th>door</th>
<th>four</th>
<th>ginger</th>
<th>hammer</th>
<th>jar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(bə:l)</td>
<td>(kɔ:)</td>
<td>(dɔ:)</td>
<td>(fɔ:)</td>
<td>(də:nɡə)</td>
<td>(hɛmə)</td>
<td>(də:a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawn mower</td>
<td>more</td>
<td>never</td>
<td>over</td>
<td>poor</td>
<td>roar</td>
<td>sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(lɔ:n mo:)</td>
<td>(mo:)</td>
<td>(nɛvə)</td>
<td>(ovə)</td>
<td>(po:)</td>
<td>(ro:)(roə)</td>
<td>(ʃu:), etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The words containing pure vowels usually show a complete omission of (r), while the words containing diphthongs, as mentioned previously, often have the second syllable ending in (ə). This latter phase is developed farther on in this treatise.

52. The effect of the (r)-omission on meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bark</td>
<td>(bɔ:k)</td>
<td>sounding like bark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>born</td>
<td>(bo:n)</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corn</td>
<td>(ko:n)</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark</td>
<td>(da:k)</td>
<td>dook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fork</td>
<td>(fo:k)</td>
<td>folk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>form</td>
<td>(fo:m)</td>
<td>foam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mark</td>
<td>(ma:k)</td>
<td>mock, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are but a few of the many homonyms of the South.

A young negress, just outside of Bayville, La., being asked where her family was born, replied, Oh, dey's bone all ovah, (o:, dei:z bo:n əl o:və).

A little Negro boy asked a busy clerk at the general store just outside of Alexandria, La., Is you got any cobn? (iz ju got ɛn kɔ:n?). The clerk replied, Yeh, whawt kin' yuh want? Vanilla 'r chawklit? (jɛ ˈɔt kɔ/ŋ jə wənt, vənɪˈlaɪtsˈɔklɪt). The little fellow explained that he wanted some cooking (kɔ:ŋ) for Missy, whawt jes' dawn bah de co'nah, (mɪs/maɪt dʒəs ˈdæn bədə kɔŋə). The clerk then realized that the boy wanted some fresh corn.

53. (sw) for (w)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shrimp</td>
<td>(swɪmp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shrink</td>
<td>(swɪŋk)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
54. (ʒ)

The zh (ʒ) is used as the average southern white person would use it, offering no particular difficulty. The (ʒ) is easily accommodated to the Negro's phonetic sense. The Negro vocabulary, in the sparsely populated districts, is quite limited in respect to this sound.

In the word measure, as heard in several districts, where the word was known, (ʒ) did not suffer change even when the vowels and the (r) did.

Many groups did not know the word pleasure, using instead, such words as fun, pahty, goo' time, etc.

sh (ʃ) was occasionally spoken as (ʒ); e.g., She is a good wisher. (ʃiː z ə ɡudwɪʃə). Such cases are individual.

55. (ʃ)

The sh (ʃ) is more frequent than the zh (ʒ). There are but few words with (ʃ) which change this sound for any other, either initially or finally. Dialect writers have recorded:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hearse</td>
<td>(hərз)</td>
<td>quite common in this territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>licorice</td>
<td>(ˈlɪkərɪs)</td>
<td>(ˈlɪkərɪs); the (ʃ) being the more common.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>policy</td>
<td>(ˈpəlɪs)</td>
<td>(ˈpəlɪs); It is surprising to know the number of Negroes of all types and stations who carry life and health insurance policies, and who participate in various protective health clubs and burial societies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

56. (j)

(j) is a familiar sound in Negro speech. It is often introduced in the palatalization of (d) and (t), as in the following:
dew (dju)
duty (djut)
tune (tjun)
Tuesday (tjusd)
tube (tjub), etc.

All of these words are heard from all classes of Negroes, though the more common forms, (du:) and (tun), dominate.

cucumber (kuk\mb£, heard almost entirely without the jod.
yoke (jo:k)
young (j^γ), etc.

A significant use of jod is in prolonging a word as a subsidiary associate of some vowel combination. It is one of the chief agencies used in the Southern "drawl". This subject is treated more completely in citation Number 125. Examples are given below:

make (me:jek)
take (te:jak)
candy (ka:j'ind), etc.

57. Omission of the (j)
yeast (i:st) is heard, but not as frequently as (ji:s)

58. The addition of (j)
garden (gja:dn), occasionally heard, but giving way to (ga:dn) or (go:dn)
felon (feljan)
Helen (heljan)
watermelon (wo:temeljan) (wo:t=em/1jan); both forms are heard; but (meljan) is more common than (m:ljən)

59. (g)

The (g) presents no difficulty in Negro speech. It has many variations, as in ordinary English, being formed forward
with the front vowels and farther back for the back vowels, as in *geese* (jìs) and *go* (gòv).

In words beginning with *(gr)* we often find the *(r)* divided from the *(g)* by a schwa:

*Green  (gàrin)*
*grow  (gàrov), etc.*

The glottal stop often precedes the *(g)*, but this may be more individual than general.

60. *(k)*

*(k)* is an easy phonetic value for most Negroes.

The addition of a *(k)* is not uncommon with words ending in *(ing)*; the most familiar are:

*stinking  (stìngkìng)*
*thinking  (òngkìng); *(fìngkìng)* is sometimes heard.*

61. *(ŋ)*

The eng *(ŋ)* is easily mastered by the Negro, yet *(ŋ)* is often substituted for it. Most words ending in *(ing)*(ŋ) will be heard to end in *(n)*, *(n)* or *(m)*.

*coming  (kàmìn)*
*going  (gògin), etc.*

*(ŋ)* sometimes is substituted for *(ŋg)* and vice versa:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English</th>
<th><em>(ŋg)</em></th>
<th>English</th>
<th><em>(ŋg)</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anger</td>
<td><em>(ŋg)</em></td>
<td><em>ăngg</em></td>
<td><em>ăngg</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td><em>(ŋg)</em></td>
<td><em>fìngg</em></td>
<td><em>fìngg</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunger</td>
<td><em>(ŋg)</em></td>
<td><em>hìngg</em></td>
<td><em>hìngg</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linger</td>
<td><em>(ŋg)</em></td>
<td><em>lìngg</em></td>
<td><em>lìngg</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reverse substitution occurs occasionally, as

*singer  English  *(sìngg)*  Negro  *(sìngg)*
The glottal stop is very consistently used among all Negro groups. Native African tribes have speech sounds known as "clicks," some of which are the glottal stop, and others lingual or other stops, often made on inspired breath.

The glottal stop we know is made by placing the vocal bands together, building up air pressure, and suddenly releasing them. There is also a pharyngeal stop made by pressing the tongue and velum back against the pharyngeal wall, building up air pressure, and releasing it suddenly. In making this stop, the native African produces many sounds peculiar to our ears; the Negro of the South carried some of these peculiarities from his native land and made use of them in his first efforts at English. Several Negro families near St. Francisville make the most peculiar throat sounds whenever they use an initial (g) in their speech. It may have been the influence of some dominant individual in their midst or a remnant of a distant past. The glottal stop is so peculiarly different among many of the old Negroes, that it seems a fruitful field of investigation for another study of Negro dialect.

We hear such a stop in the word something (somep'm) (sʌmp'm); the lips do not open after the first (m) has closed them, and it is the glottal stop (?) that gives the necessary syllabic division in order for us to recognize the word.

Many of the initial vowels in Negro rural speech have some degree of the glottal stop.
63. (dʒ) and (tʃ)

These offer no difficulty to the average Negro, in any way.

John  (dʒʌn)
Joe  (dʒoː)
jump  (dʒʌmp), etc.
chain  (tʃeːn)
chair  (tʃeər)
cheep  (tʃip), etc.

The (t) or the (s) sometimes is dropped or substituted for in words where the (tʃ) is final. Occasionally one may hear (rents) for (rentʃ). Or, one may hear (frɛnʃ) for (frɛntʃ).

64. (h)

The (h) offers no difficulty to the Negro, though it had to be learned by many of the negro tribes first coming to America.

65. Metathesis

The (r) furnishes the greatest number of examples in the Negro speech, as it does in the white English. The (sk) inversion is very generally Negro, though many white folk of the South make these changes.

The inversion of the (r) and vowel or consonant

Note: If Alfred, children, and the like, offer true examples of metathesis, we must suppose that the speaker thinks of the word as alferd, childern, etc., and then pronounces them with the customary omission of the (r).

Alfred  (ærfəd), (ælfəd)
children  (tʃɪldən) to (tʃɪldən)
creation  (kɛrəʃən), (kərɪʃən)
hundred  (hʌndərd)
perform  (pɜrˈfɔːm), (pɜrˈfɔːm)
perhaps  (pɜrˈeɪps)
permit  (pɜrˈmɪt)
perspire  (pɜrˈspɪrə), (pɜrˈspɪrə)
praline  (pɜˈlaɪn), (pɜˈlaɪn)
pretty  (pɹˈtiː), (pɹˈtiː)
The inversion of the (sk)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ask</td>
<td>(əks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>escape</td>
<td>(ekske:p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>installment</td>
<td>(isktolmənt); this word used by the group of people who used ekskape, the (k) being substituted for the (u).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

66. The addition of the schwa between (l) and (m) (Śvarabhakti)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>elm</td>
<td>(eləm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>film</td>
<td>(fəlm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>helm</td>
<td>(heləm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phlegm</td>
<td>(fləm) to (fəlm) to (fələm)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

67. The Vowels (27)

The Negro-English dialect is very rich in vowels, both pure and diphthongal, with the pure vowels still very pronounced. The languorous speech offers many opportunities for glides and pronounced tonal variations. The most dominant part of Negro speech is usually the vowel quality rather than the consonant quality.

It has been pointed out that the native West African words end with vowels, and the passing years have not wiped out this linguistic tendency. Westermann (28) reported his efforts to have a Western African pronounce such words as book, school, sugar, and match and got the response, (buku), (suku), (sukli) and (matisi). Such efforts to adjust were made, no doubt, by the early slaves of America. They made as many words end in vowels or vocalic consonants as possible, more by the process of elimination and substitution than by

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(28) D. Westermann, Grammatik der Ewe-Sprache, Berlin, D. Reimer, 1907.
enclitic adjustment (29).

Twenty-five years ago, according to old Baton Rouge inhabitants, it was a daily occurrence to hear the Negroes say (bəriv) for breathe, (bəlou) for blow, and (pəle`) for play, etc. And on the playground of a Negro grade school near Baton Rouge, boys recently were heard to say (fəri:kət) for free catch and (pəra/ə) for prize.

Some of the ante-bellum Negro dialect writers made their orthographies appear like modern Italian-English dialect, e.g., disse boy and bigga man. This was an accurate observation of the Negro dialect of their time, when excrescent vowels were a part of Negro speech. Work (30) calls attention to the presence of the enclitic, which he said was much more common in the past than it was in his day. (He was writing twenty-five years ago.)

Meinhof (31), one of the best of the Western African scholars, wrote of the vowel importance to the Negro; "A process which is very familiar to us and has largely modified the sounds of our own language, is the combination of consonants. But this is not of frequent occurrence in the language of the black races—I mean those belonging to the Bantu and the Sudanian families. These in general follow the rule that every consonant is followed by its vowel; a close syllable—that is, one ending in a consonant, is unknown, so that no combination of consonants can take place."

(29) Enclitic—to add a syllable to a word for speech purposes, as the Latins did; "arma virumque cano," the uε being so used. Dialect writers in the 1830's used such forms as Bless me and Disse way for Bless me and This way.
Commenting on this phase of the Bantu language, Graf (32) says: "The phonetic make-up of the Bantu idioms is characterized by its sonorousness. All finals are vowels, and loose syllabic contact is quite prevalent. Hence, consonantal clusters are rare, the only ones consisting of nasal and consonant or consonant and w or y. Of words are borrowed from foreign tongues, they have to submit to this custom, so that Christus becomes Kiristi."

Most African authorities point out that the Bantu or the Sudanese dialects had no, or but few, diphthongs. The Negro-English is well supplied in diphthongs, as this study shows. The evolution from no diphthongs to a plenitude of such combinations, may be due to the Negro's effort to supply something for the omissions he made with consonants. He might approximate a consonant with a minimum vowel effort.

The Negro-English Vowels

Very often this pure vowel is well forward and high in the front of the mouth, higher than the usual English (i).

There is no difficulty encountered with this sound. A Negro will say quite properly words containing the (i), as far as the vowel is concerned;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>(bi:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deep</td>
<td>(dip)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flea</td>
<td>(fli:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>(grin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>(hi), etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

69. (i) for (i)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cigar</td>
<td>(sigә:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divide</td>
<td>(diːvəd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiddle</td>
<td>(fidl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itch</td>
<td>(itʃ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>little</td>
<td>(litl), (lidl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such words as event, which is generally pronounced by white persons as (i'vent) is pronounced as (i'vənt) by many Negroes. This is also true of such words as cement, prevent, etc.

70. (i) for (e)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>deaf</td>
<td>(dif)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Negroes have taken but little privilege with the (i). The variations heard in this sound are usually individual.

71. (i) for (ə)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>drain</td>
<td>(drәn), a word that is found in speech &quot;islands.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

72. (i) for (ə)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiny</td>
<td>(tini)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obliged</td>
<td>(blidәd); this word is dying out.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

73. (i) for (i)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>greedy</td>
<td>(grәdә)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seated</td>
<td>(siːtәd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teat</td>
<td>(tәt)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

74. (i) for (e)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bedstead</td>
<td>(bәdәstәd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chest</td>
<td>(tʃәs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enter</td>
<td>(әntә)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entire</td>
<td>(iәntә:ә)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>everybody</td>
<td>(әbәdә)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get</td>
<td>(gәt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kettle</td>
<td>(ktәtl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many</td>
<td>(mәn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>(mәn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mention</td>
<td>(mәntәn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scared</td>
<td>(skәrdә)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steady</td>
<td>(stәdә)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>(jәsdә:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yet</td>
<td>(jәt), etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
75. (/) for (æ)

can  (k/n)
m an  (m/n)

The word can runs the gamut of front vowel possibilities; (kin), (k/n), (ken), (kæn), (kən), (kan). It is treated more fully in the Vocabulary.

76. (`) for (ʌ)

cover  (k:ˈvər)
mother  (ˈmʌθər); it is exceptional to hear this.

77. (e) for (ε)

(e) is still heard as a pure vowel, particularly in the back plantations and the well-removed farms. When the English would say gate (geːt), the Negro would say (geːt). He can sustain the pure vowel about the way the Frenchman or German can when he transfers his pure vowel sounds into the English. This purity of phonetic values in vowels is true of (o), but very pronounced with (e). The pure vowel is more pronounced with the older Negroes than it is with the younger people.

Both (e) and (ε) are very frequently diphthongized.

bed  (beːd)
dead  (deːd)
egg  (eːg)
edge  (eːdʒ)
head  (heːd)
leg  (leːg)
searse  (skɛːs); all of these words have many forms, as a reference to the Vocabulary will show.

78. (e) for (aː)

china  (tʃeːnə); this word found in conjunction with chinaware, and also the china berry tree, (tʃeːn ˈbɛər tɹiː).
A very common sound in Negro speech.

(ε) for (i)

if (ɛf)
hinder (hɛndə)
pith (pθ)
rinse (rɛnts), (rɛnts)
shrimp (swɛmp)
spirit (spɛr't)

(ε) for (æ)

can (kæn)
catch (kætʃ)
drank (dræŋk)
gather (gædər)
hatchet (hætʃɪt)
Harry (hɛrɪ)
have (hæv)
Larry (lærɪ)
marry (mærɪ)
ranch (ræntʃ)
rancid (rænsɪd)

(ε) for (ɪ)

bring (brɪŋ)
drink (drɪŋk)
milk (mɪlk)
think (θɪŋk); this group heard enough to record, though it is not very common.

(ε) for (o)

yolk (jʊlk)

(ε) for (ʌ)

brush (brʌʃ)
judge (dʒudʒ)
just (dʒʌst)
shirt (ʃɜt)
study (stʌdɪ)
such (sʌʃ)
touch (tʌʃ); many of these types of words have the (ε) raised to (ɪ), as in (dʒɪdʒ), etc.
84. (ɛ) for (e)

keg (kɛg)  
kerosene (kɛroʊsin)  
never a (nɛrə)  
terrapin (tɛrəpən)  
wrestle (rɛzl)  
yellow (jɛlə)  
yes sir (jɛsə)

85. (æ) for (a)

calm (kæm)  
crop (k्रæp)  
drop (d्रæp)  
hearth (hæθ)  
palm (pæm)  
psalm (sæm)  
parcel (pæzl)  
yonder (jændə); (hæθ) very rare.

86. (æ) for (ɔ)

girl (gæl)

87. (æ) for (ɔ)

aunt (ænt)  
haunt (hænt)  
jaunt (dʒænt)  
sauce (sæs)  
saucy (sæsə)

88. (a) for (a1)

A sound frequently heard in the South, especially among Negroes, who consistently avoid the diphthong. Most (a1) words undergo this adjustment. Often, this (a) becomes an (æ), and many dialect writers show it so. Negroes will make this sound as far back as (ɔ). For the words I and my we hear (æ:), (ɔ:) and (ɔː), as well as the diphthong (a1). In fact, (a) frequently occurs in many words like those listed below.
cry (kra:)  
fine (fa:n)  
fry (fra:)  
good-bye (gɔ ba:)  
hide (ha:d)  
lie (la:)  
my (ma:) (ma:)  
sigh (sa:)  
tie (tə:)

Some authorities believe that the dropping of the (a) from the diphthong takes place only where (ə) is final or followed by a voiced consonant. This theory should be investigated.

89. (a)

A sound highly favored by the Negroes, as it is well relaxed, full and usually sonorous and adapts itself easily in substitutions.

Harris and his immediate followers used the (a) in the Negro words master, after, etc. Brooks (33) gives a good discussion of (a) and draws from authorities to prove the British influence upon original Negro-English dialect. We occasionally hear (ask), (ə:ftə), and even (hansəm), though all are infrequent and usually occur in the speech of the older Negroes, as Krapp (34) suggested a decade ago.

The present tendency seems to be a rounding and raising of (a) when followed by (r).

90. (a) for (ɛ)

sent (sent)

91. (a) for (ɔ)

- harrow (hərɔ)
- jab (dəb)
- pamper (pampɔ), reported heard by Louisiana people.
- stab (stæb)
- stamp (stamp); used most frequently when referring to something being crushed under foot, though it is infrequently used when referring to a postage stamp. (stamp) is more frequently used than (stamp).

- strap (strap)

92. (a) for (ɛ) or (ɔ)

- bear (bæ:) (hor?)
- hair (ha:) (d*b)
- there (da:)
- where (wa:); these words not so commonly heard as they were two decades ago.

93. (a) for (ɔ) with r

- concern (kənsən)
- consternation? (tə:neʃən)
- earth (ja:θ)
- learn (lə:n)
- vermin (və:mən)

94. (ɔ)

In Negro speech, this sound is used for the endings er, or and ure, when they are pronounced over-prominently.

- butter (ba:tə)
- caller (kələ)
- dollar (dələ)
- follow (fələ)
- lecture (lɛktə) heard in a Negro university.
- manner (mənə)
- suffer (səfə)
- tailor (tələ)
- tallow (tələ)

95. (ɔ)

Negro speech, and southern speech in general, seems to have taken to this sound and substitutes it on every occasion possible in words where the spelling is ar not
preceded by phonetic (ο). Negroes readily say:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bought</td>
<td>(bot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brought</td>
<td>(brɔt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caught</td>
<td>(kɔt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>draw</td>
<td>(dɾɔ:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fought</td>
<td>(fɔt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gauze</td>
<td>(ɡɔz)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawk</td>
<td>(hɔk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaw</td>
<td>(dʒɔ:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law</td>
<td>(lɔ:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maude</td>
<td>(mɔd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naughty</td>
<td>(nɔtɪ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>(pɔl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raw</td>
<td>(rɔ:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>straw</td>
<td>(strɔ:)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

96. (ο) for (a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>charm</td>
<td>(tʃɔːm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farm</td>
<td>(fɔːm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harm</td>
<td>(hɔːm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honest</td>
<td>(ənˈsɛnt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lark</td>
<td>(lɔːk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>park</td>
<td>(pɔːk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar</td>
<td>(tɔː)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

97. (ο) for (u)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chew</td>
<td>(tʃɔ;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

98. (ο) for (ŋ)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hungry</td>
<td>(hɔŋɡər)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uneasy</td>
<td>(əˈnizə)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unfit</td>
<td>(əˈnɪt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undone</td>
<td>(əˈnʌnd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>until</td>
<td>(əˈnɪtəl); this variant is almost exclusively connected with ə, and is mostly used with the negative prefix.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

99. (ο)

This is spoken many times as a pure vowel, and is one of the distinctive features of the Negro dialect. This is especially true when the (ο) follows a stop. Examples of such words are:
boat (bo:t) (boot); the Negro may or may not hold
coat (kot) (kout) o pure.
court (ko:t) (kourt)
door (do:) (doo)
dope (dop) (doup)
fort (fot) (fou$t)
four (fo:) four
go (go:) (gou)
poem (po:m) (pou$m)
toe (to:) (tou)
woe (wo:) (woo), etc.

100. (o) for (u)

poor (po:)
sure (jo:)

101. (o) for (ɔ)

bygone (bago:n)
born (bo:n)
gone (go:n)
horn (ho:n)
on (o:n)
want (wont)

102. (u)

A conventional sound giving no difficulty to most Negroes.

One of the interesting items is that many Negroes use
the ju combination when numbers of the Caucasians of the same
district use only the u, in such words as:

duty (d$ut$) (d$ut$)
news (n$u$z)
stupid (stup$u$)
tube (t$u$)
Tuesday (t$u$zd$) (t$u$zd$)
tune (t$u$n) (t$u$u); this sound is very much alive with
Negroes throughout Louisiana, but
the young Negroes of the schools
are more likely to say (nuz),
(tuzd$), etc. Associated variants
are found, such as:

stool (st$u$)
103. (u)

The sounds of (u) and (v) are more constant than the (A) in Negro-English speech. The variations made are more individual than racial.

(u) for (u)

broom (brum)
room (rəm); these are the words most frequently heard.

104. (A)

As previously noted, the (A) is replaced by (ɛ), (ɛ), and (ɔ). And there is another peculiar substitution in (wɔʃ) for wish, the (A) being substituted for the (i). And less familiar than in earlier times is the word discover, pronounced as (dɪskɔvə) or (skɔvə). Rarely, we may hear the word wonder as (wondə).

The (A) and the (ɔ) are usually distinguished by their relationship to accent, (A) being in stressed syllables and (ɔ) in unstressed, as in the word
under (ʌndə), etc.

Occasionally we hear a word, wherein the accent has been reversed from the usual practice, as in the word:

pecan (pəˈkæn); said by the Negro, (ˈpəkən)
(ˈpɪkən)

The (A) of Negro dialect needs special observation by all readers, as this sound is "consistently inconsistent."

105. (A) for (i)

either (ədə), (ədə); in such a sentence, I didn't do it,
either, (aː dɪdː du ət ədə).
neither (nədə), (nədə)
106. (ʌ) for (ə)

chock full (*tʃɒk ʃʊl*)

107. (ʌ) for (ʊ)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full</th>
<th>Pull</th>
<th>Put</th>
<th>Shock</th>
<th>Soot</th>
<th>Took</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(fʌ:)</td>
<td>(pʌl)</td>
<td>(pʌt)</td>
<td>(ʃʌk)</td>
<td>(sʌt)</td>
<td>(tʌk); the final ʌ following (ʊ) may or may not be pronounced.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

108. (ʌ) for (ɜ)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bird</th>
<th>Burst</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Hurts</th>
<th>Mercy</th>
<th>Pearl</th>
<th>Purse</th>
<th>Shirt</th>
<th>Squirt</th>
<th>Worse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(bʌrd)</td>
<td>(bɜːs)</td>
<td>(tʃɜːtʃ)</td>
<td>(fɜːs)</td>
<td>(hɜːts)</td>
<td>(mɜːsɪ)</td>
<td>(pɜːrl)</td>
<td>(pɜːs)</td>
<td>(ʃɜːt)</td>
<td>(skɜːt)</td>
<td>(wɜːs ); between the sound of (ɜ) and (ʌ) there is a rich variation of subtle differences, too exacting for a study of this nature, and yet fine enough to make an undefinable distinction when spoken by the Negro. This is true of all of the middle and back vowels. Whether this is an echo of the distant phonetic past is difficult to say, but there is a more definite and stable norm of phonetic pattern for the southern whites than for the Negroes. It seems as if some English sounds were still foreign to the Negro ears, but a few generations removed from their African habitat.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

109. (ɜ)  

The (ɜ) is indigenous to the South and parts of the Eastern United States. It results when a cultured native says bird, (bɜːd). The (r), as such, is absent, though many listeners think they hear the sound of (r) in such words.
The (ɛ) is a mid-vowel and is like the General American (ə) without the retroflexion. It is one of the really distinctive sounds of the South which gives its cultured speech such a melodic richness.

bird  (bɛːd)
fem  (fɛ:n)
girl  (gɛ:l)
heard (hɛːd)
nerve (nɛ:v), etc., and such words as in citation 108.

110. (ɛ)

This sound is similar to (ɛ) and may be further back in the mouth, but not as far back as (ʌ). It is essentially (ɛ), rounded.

The list of citation 108 supplies examples for the (ɛ), most of these sounds being pronounced by the Negro rather than the Southern white.

bird  (bɛːd)
girl  (gɛːl), etc.

111. (ə) The schwa-vowel.

The usual neutral, unaccented sound.

above  (əbəv)
after (əftə)
baker (beikə)
carver (kærə), (kɔːvə)
daughter (dətə), etc.

The word event gives comparative interest:

General American  (ʃəvənt), (əvənt)
Southern  (ʃ′vənt), (ʃ′vənt), (əvənt)
Negro   (ʃ′vənt), (ʃ′vənt), (əvənt); accent on the first syllable of dissyllables and occasional trisyllables is very frequent in Negro speech.
In general, any vowel in an unaccented position may take the phonetic value of schwa. Below are miscellaneous examples:

actor (æktə)
Arthur (ɔθə)
compassion (kəmpəsʜən)
do it (doʊt ); when the it is unstressed.
for them (fɔrəm) " them is unstressed.
liar (laɪər), (ˈlaɪər)
poet (pəʊt), etc.

The final (r) usually goes to schwa, in either a monosyllable or a polysyllable as shown below. In some of the words of this list, less literate speakers omit the schwa.

bear (bɛə), (bəː)
care (kɛə)
compare (kəmpərɪ) dare (dɑrə)
fair (fɛə)
hair (hɛə), (həː)
more (mɔrə), (moː)
poor (pʊə), (pəː)
tear (tɛər), for "a tear in her eye".
(ˈtɛər), "to tear some paper".
wear (wɛər), etc.

112. (ə) for (o)

borrow (bɔrə)
fellow (fɛlə)
hollow (hɔlə)
narrow (nɔrə), (nərə)
tomorrow (təmərə)
window (ˈwɪndər), etc.

113. (ɔ) The familiar vowel of bird in G.A.

Negroes use this sound and it is found throughout the South, but it is primarily a product of the North and the West, the (ɔ) being the equivalent of the South. Some of the Negroes in the cities of the South use (r) in many final syllables.
Note: Several Negro boys were quarrelling in a game on the McKinley school grounds in Baton Rouge. One little fellow told his playmate, "You iz a liah" (ju iz əlaːjə). The reply was, "An' yo' iz a li-eh." (ən' yo iz ə laːjə). A larger fellow intervened with, "Yo' awl iz li-erz; nah git about yo' play." (joː əlz laːرز; naː git əbaːt jo plaː). The larger boy accented the last syllable of liars; he knew the G.A.(ə) sound, but he dropped back to (ə) in his following conversation and play.

The (ə), if used at all denotes an accented syllable.

114. (a̯) and (a/) 

Both these diphthongs are used throughout the South, with the Negroes tending to use the (a̯) for (a̯) and the (a/) for (a̯). All forms may be heard in any large group.

**fight**

(faːt), (faːt), (faːt), (faːt); variations of (faːt) seem to be most in use at the present.

(faːt), (faːt), (faːt), (faːt), (faːt), (faːt).

**fry**

(fraː); for further development of this, see citation 88.

115. (a̯) for (o:\)

**boil**

(baːl), (baːl), (baːl)

**hoist**

(haːst), (haːst), (haːst), (haːst), (haːst) (hast)

**join**

(dʒəːn), (dʒəːn), (dʒəːn)

**poison**

(pəːzn), (pəːzn), (pəːzn) etc.

116. (əo), (əu), (əəu), (əəu), (əəu), (əəu)

These variants are heard for the (əu) of G. A. and S. speech.

**found**

(faʊnd), (faʊnd), (faʊnd), (faʊnd), (faʊnd), (faʊnd)

Most Negroes would leave off the final (d).
The treatment as represented above would be consistent for most all of the ou and ow words, such as found, hound, sound, howl, etc.

The forms as listed below are not so pronounced but can be heard in nearly all large groups of Negroes:

bounty (bæounti), (bæ′unti), (bjæounti), (bjæ′unti)

117. (e)

The "long a" of conventional pronunciation, as pointed out in citation 77, tends to the pure vowel (e). This factor is more pronounced than one would expect it to be. Not all speakers use the pure (e), of course; many use (e:). But the less literate speakers, i.e., those whose speech is very little modified by the white man's educational system but instead has descended directly from the speech of the first comers, who used the pure (e) of the African as a matter of course, use the (e) almost consistently.

bait (be:t)
cake (ke:k)
date (de:t)
fate (fe:t)
gate (ge:t), etc.

118. (æ)

A diphthong resulting from the substitution of schwa for e.

care (kæə)
dare (dæə)
fiar (fæə)
hair (hæə)
mare (mæə), etc.

It must be borne in mind that (æə) is prevalent in these words too, e.g. (kæə), (kjæə), etc. (ha:) for hair is known also.
119. (\(mu\))

This diphthong and the \(ju\) are almost identical, depending upon the amount of palatalisation. A Negro will use \(ju\) in one relation and the \(mu\) in another with a seeming greater inconsistency than the whites. To hear \(djuti\) from a Negro seems unusual and affected to the average G.A. ear, just as \(djuti\) seems unusual and affected to the white northerner. There is no affectation in the Negro's speech in the rural districts. \(ju\) is discussed more fully in citation 102.

few \(f\:u\)
future \(f\:ut\:j\)
funeral \(f\:un\:l\), \(f\:un\:l\), \(f\:un\:l\)
fume \(f\:um\)
huge \(h\:ud\)

\(h\:ud\) is frequently heard as \(J\:ud\).  

human \(h\:um\:n\)

120. (\(\alpha\)) and (\(\alpha\))

Other variants of the \(r\)-substitutions.

drear \(dr\:r\)
dear \(d\:r\)
fear \(f\:r\)
queer \(kw\:r\)
rear \(r\:r\)
smear \(sm\:r\)
steer \(st\:r\)
tear \(t\:r\), etc.

121. (\(\beta\)) and (\(\beta\))

The variants of (\(\beta\)) and (\(\beta\)) have been discussed in citations 109 and 110. If there be a distinction between these diphthongs, it is that the whites more frequently use the (\(\beta\)) and the Negroes usually use the (\(\beta\)). Both forms are fairly frequent in most Negro groups.
bird (bɔːd), (bɔːd)
heard (hɔːd), (hɔːd)
Herman (hərˈmæn), (hərˈmæn)
hurt (hɜːt), (hɜːt)
shirt (ʃɜːt), (ʃɜːt), etc.

122. (ou)

Partially treated in citation 99. As has been said, the Negroes very often use the pure vowel (o). Within the same groups we hear both (o) and (ou). Any word with the long o may be said in either manner. Examples of the full diphthong are:

- beau (bou)
- go (gou)
- low (lou)
- snow (snou)
- so (sou)
- though (dou), (ʃou), etc.

123. (ɔː) and (ɔː)

The (ɔː) is sometimes heard with an excescent r, resulting in peculiar pronunciations; such a word as oil is a good example:

- oil (ɔːl), (ɔːl), (ɔːˈl); nor is the following uncommon:
  - (ɔːˈl), (ɔːl), (ɔːl), (ɔːl).

While all the above are heard in Negro speech, the (ɔː) is the general practice, as in:

- boy (bɔː); often heard as (boː), (boː).
- coil (kɔːl)
- foil (fɔːl)
- point (pɔːnt)
- Roy (rɔː)
- toy (tɔː)

(It will be remembered that some of these words are often pronounced with (ɔː): e.g., point (pənt).)
The (ɔ) diphthong quite readily displaces the pure vowel (ɔ), especially when preceding ( åk).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word</th>
<th>pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balk</td>
<td>(bɔk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chalk</td>
<td>(tʃɔk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stalk</td>
<td>(stɔk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talk</td>
<td>(tɔk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walk</td>
<td>(wɔk)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variant may be thought of as (o) displacing its near relative, a dark (1), as was discussed in citation 43.

124. The extraneous (w).

Up to the present, no discussion has been presented of the introduction of the extraneous (w). This sound is a part of the process of lengthening a word, a means of extending the leisurely manner of articulation. The jod and the w are the joints in the gliding activity of sound extension. When the w is used for the glide, it is a very weakly formed sphincter movement. An examination of a dozen or more persons will prove this to be true. There is a marked difference between an initial w and a glide w in the speech of nearly all people who use these sounds, even though the w be a lazy one compared to that in the average person's diction.

A further analysis or comparison of the (j) and the (w) will show that most (j)-glides are used with the front and medial-front vowels, and that the (w) is used with the back and medial-back vowels. Exceptions are purely individual.

Examples of the (w) glide are:
The southern drawl is something more than the prolonging of speech elements per se. The actual time element involved in saying the vowel of such a word as dog or man is approximately the same for the northerner as a southerner; any difference in duration is usually quite negligible.

Explaining the drawl as a result of the effect of heat and climate, is, of course, quite beside the point. Any northerner is affected by climatic changes quite as much as a southerner—in fact, a northerner in the South is more aware of heavy humidity than the average southerner may be. It is granted that fatigue conditions speech, and lassitude shows its effects.

The factor of climate is discussed here, not because of its extreme importance, but it had often been presented as a sufficient reason for the drawl. If heat were the cause, all southerners would be affected, and this is not born out by the facts. There are "islands" of speech where the drawl is seldom heard. The drawling process consists essentially in the use of glides and the introduction of diphthongization, triphthongization and the combination of these. (Many examples of the glide phenomenon have been presented in the Vocabulary and specific cases are developed in previous paragraphs of this section, see especially citations 67, 114, 115, 116, and 124.)
The substitution of a vowel or vowels for a consonant is reported in citation 12. The word _we_, as pronounced by Albert Jenkins (colored), involved no movement of the lips whatsoever. He substituted vowels for the (w), the words being made approximately in this manner: \(\gamma\overline{\varepsilon}i\), wherein the \(\gamma\overline{\varepsilon}i\)-sequence was made almost simultaneously. The effect was sharpened by preceding the glide with a glottal stop. Such a word as _woman_ seemed similarly produced, but a careful observation proved that there was a very slight movement of the lips, just enough to give the diphthong (\(\jmath\)) a (w) quality. This would indicate that the (w) sound is something akin to a glide from the back (\(\jmath\)) to another vowel, and can be substituted for in the manner described above. The (w) could not so easily be approximated in sound by glide-vowels, without motion of the lips, if the vowel following the (w) were a back vowel, as in _woman_. The closest substitution would then be \(\gamma\omega\).

A careful study of the Negro drawl will show that the chief characteristics are the glide, and the addition of vowel combinations, with the (\(\jmath\)) or the (w), and especially the (j). As previously mentioned, the sound of (j) is closely akin in physical formation to the vowel (\(\overline{i}\)), and many ears are not sufficiently attuned to detect any phonetic differences. The comparative frequency of (j) and (\(\overline{i}\)) are 2500 dv. and 2700 dv. per second, respectively (35). This pitch difference is indistinguishable to many ears and distinguishability has to be detected by other phonetic elements. The pronunciation of (djut! ) and (d\(\jmath\)ut!) will make this fact clear.

(35) Harvey Fletcher, _Speech and Hearing_, N.Y., Van Nostrand, 1929, p. 76.
The sphincter process in shaping the lips for the (w) tends to give any vowel an (j)-like characteristic before the actual vowel itself follows. Every voiced consonant has the fundamental of some pure vowel, else it could not be voiced. The vowel characteristic of (w) is approximately (j). This fact explains why most phonetic authorities classify (j) and (w) as semi-vowels.

These semi-vowels—these glides of vowel-like characteristics—as they accompany pure vowels and separate diphthongs, are the chief elements of the southern drawl. These additional sounds, introduced into English words, are, in the opinion of this investigator, eloquent evidences of how the native African, suddenly transferred to a strange country in a strange environment, adapted his own phonetic equipment to the building of a garbled language of heterogenous complexity. He had used an African language in which all syllables and all words ended in vowels; he did his noble best to adjust consonantal English to vowel African, and the result was a mixture of English forms and pronunciations with African characteristics. Where the Negroes have lived apart from White people, as in the Sea Islands, this process has been strongest and African heritage most evident.

Such Negro words as have been used by dialect writers so extensively, will bear analysis with this challenge.

A significant point of this presentation is to undertake to prove conclusively that the Negro used his own linguistic equipment in adapting a new tongue. In the excellent and scholarly works of Krapp, Brooks and others, there is nothing
to be found to show where the Negro got so many variations not in older British forms. If all the speech materials of the Negro dialect came from the British Isles, how shall we account for the many new phonetic elements which are introduced so generously and universally into Negro speech? How shall we account for the distinctively individual southern drawl? Where, but in the South, can we find such words as bounty pronounced (bəˈjau̇ntə), or can as (kəˈjən), etc.?

Has any British district made so many modifications of the (r) as the Negroes have done? Has any other English-speaking group been so consistent with leaving off final consonants? Or of making so many substitutions in the interest of phonetic simplicity?

Not only is the Negro-English dialect one of the main sources of study for revealing older English words and forms, but the Negro-English dialect is one of the main sources for revealing African speech elements.

A student of Negro dialect may ask, "If it be true that the Negro languages of the Western Coast of Africa, which supplied the greatest number of slaves for American trade, always ended their words with vowels and avoided the association of two or more consonants, why is it, then, that such words as melon, cushion, garden, and elm add to and complicate their consonantal combinations?"

This type of word is welcome in this discussion. The fact is, Negroes have many more words of the same kind than scholars have reported for the whole British Empire. Would not a phonetic practice be as likely to be consistent in a simple
race as in a superior race--using Krapp's designation? Is "association" a principle of such strength that it accounts for all of the Negro variants which were not taught directly by the overseer? And furthermore, could a phonetic principle, which caused a word to be a variant in a simple English village, not operate as consistently in a Negro group learning English in America?

To return to the "melon" class of words: it has been supposed that the word melon got its pronunciation from an associative connection with the word million (mil'ßen). This conclusion seems far-fetched in light of Negro Native speech habits.

When the word melon as (mil'ßen) was first introduced into Negro speech there is no record, but it was in use before Harris had Uncle Remus use it in the 1880's and 90's. The word million is a relatively recent word to be used in the common parlance of laborers in distant hills. The Negroes depicted by Dunbar and Harris could not read, had little to do with figures at all, to say nothing of large numbers like a million. Most ante-bellum Negroes had difficulty in counting to a hundred. Million could hardly have been the commonly spoken and the spoken word was only possible source by which a word could reach Negro consciousness. But the word melon (melən) was an every-day word among people who worked in the fields and lived on single foods. The love of the melon as a delicacy among Negroes has been proverbial. The point of this is that whatever change a Negro would make
in the word *melon*, he would make according to his own phonetic habits, and not by way of perpetrating a folk etymology through some fancied connection of the fruit with mathematics. As a matter of fact, when this investigator asked Negroes to name their favorite garden fruits, or to name the watermelon as it lay in front of a country store, more replied (*meljon*) than (*mljon*). (Some, of course, said simply (*watmelon*) or (*watmelon*).) (*meljon*) has no mathematical suggestion whatever; it is simply a word pronounced after a peculiar Negro practice—a practice which probably no one would ascribe to English sources.

Association may have accounted for some of the Negroes' using the word (*mljon*) for *melon*, but native, phonetic background is more potent and more likely to have produced both (*mljon*) and (*meljon*). During the search for the word *melon*, Helen was heard twice as (*heljon*) in different environs of Baton Rouge. And a mechanic's helper at New Iberia said he had a *felon* (*feljon*) on his finger.

*Cushion* as (*kufn*) or (*kufin*) are more common than (*kwijn*); *pillow* is the more common word for this article, pronounced as (*pilou*), (*pilo*), and (*pilo*). But an old woman called it a (*piljo*). The form (*kwijn*) is not frequent, though it was more in use a few decades ago; but it follows native African precedent if properly written in close transcription (*kwijn*) or (*kwijn*). The desire of ending each syllable with a vowel or a vocalic consonant is carried out. The word (*kwijn*) is an excellent word to illustrate the Negro's attempts to adjust his phonetic simplicity to English complexity.
Garden as (gjaːdən) or (gjaːdən): Closely transcribed, this word is ʃ ə[ə]dən). The jod acts as a mediating glide-agent between the consonant (g) and (ə). As said previously, every voiced consonant has some accompanying vowel sonance, or it could not be called voiced. Schwa (ə) is the convenient term vowel for many such voicings.

Elm as (cləm): Svarabhakti is evident in some dialects of most languages.

The southern drawl is a more distinctive difference in Negro speech than any other variation it may possess. This drawl is the result of the Negro native's endeavor to adjust the principles of his African speech to the teachings of indifferent English speaking overseers and masters. The transplanted Negro heard a jargon of Spanish in the Islands; he was hurried to a states plantation with a master saying (ask), sold within a few months where the "driver" said (əsk) and heard the overseer of the next plantation say (əsk). And he had just come from a native land where most of the Negro tribes attach different meanings to a word form every time the vowel was changed, or even when the tone of the vowel was changed. (See Section Three for examples of these two language phenomena.) For years, his West African ears had heard words end in vowels or syllabic consonants; he did not know the use of consecutive or clustered consonants. Nor did he know any writing with which he might compare oral speech that would help him to understand how words may be pronounced differently and have the same meaning. He was suddenly thrown
in with an admixture of various Englishes and his way of adjusting produced the southern drawl. It is the Negro's contribution to the record of a people in social and linguistic adjustments.

126. Voice Quality; Nasality

Much has been written about the Negro voice, especially its musical quality. Hetfessel (36) has written a book on the quality of the Negro singing voice and presents many diagrams of spirituals to prove its richness. He shows that it is rich in that quality of vibrato which makes for musical beauty.

Frances Gooch (37) presents an illuminative discussion of a purported transition of the quality of the Negro voice. From care-free ease on a protected plantation to an uncertain livelihood in a hostile city or indifferent country town, the post-bellum Negro went through great social transitions. Fear of the Ku Klux Klan in certain districts of the South, desperate economic struggles in cities of the North, inability, or even indifference, to an understanding of his new "freedom," made the Negro a greater "slave" to uncertainty than he had been when physically a slave in the days of plantation splendor.

Fear and uncertainty are indisputable factors in affecting voice (38). Gooch makes this summary in the article referred:

"Thus we see that in case of vowel changes from low, open, back vowels to high, close, fronted ones we realize quite a loss of openness and resonance of tone. This can best be tested, perhaps, by reading aloud any sentence of the foregoing passages (referring to Harris and Page) in the negro dialect with the characteristic open vowels.

lack of consonant articulation and peculiar arrangement of words, which, in many cases, seems to aid the elision of consonant elements, and then read it again translating it into English of the best modern usage and comparing the differences in the two readings.

"It seems quite evident then, that not only the picturesqueness of language is passing with the old type of Negro, but we are losing music and gaining noise with the passing. The Negroes have given up the same quality in their speech as they have in their music in exchanging the old time melody of the spiritual for modern jazz."

No adequate study has been made to show whether Negroes have dominantly nasal or non-nasal voices. From the subjects observed in this study, numbering more than two hundred, it appeared that the average Negro voice of the rural South is usually easy, free, and full, and that nasality seems to increase as we approach French settlements.

Compared with the whites of the southern rural districts, the Negroes appear to have the fewer nasal voices. This is subject to verification.

Nasality does not seem to be a distinct problem of the southern Negro voice.

An observation: Negro tenors in the rural South are very rare indeed. Most of the best tenors have mixed blood.

127. Verbs

In Section II, we discussed the nature of the verbs of the Mende tribe in regards to tonal construction.

The conjugation of the verb is as strikingly individual. A study of the manner of conjugation suggests that the first Negroes in America would have been strongly motivated to adapt English verbs to the forms of his own language. Some tenses of the Mende verb are presented herewith by Ajinsky.(39).

There are nine tenses in the indicative. These tenses are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Continuous</td>
<td>Past Continuous</td>
<td>Future Continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Perfect</td>
<td>Past Perfect</td>
<td>Future Perfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the positive these nine tenses are formed as follows:

The present tense is expressed by the stem of the verb.
The present continuous tense is expressed by the stem of the verb plus the suffix (m�). The tone varies with the class of verb.
The present perfect tense is expressed by the stem of the verb plus the suffix (m�).
The past tense is expressed by the stem of the verb plus the suffix (m�).
The past continuous tense is expressed by the stem of the verb plus the suffix (m�), followed by one of the following adverbs:

- (h��) earlier today
- (g��) some time in the recent past
- (w��) some time in the distant past

The past perfect tense is expressed either by the stem of the verb plus the suffix (m�), and preceded by the particle (y�), or by the stem of the verb plus the suffix (m�), and followed by one of the following adverbs:

- (h��) earlier today
- (w��) in the very recent past
- (g��) some time recently
- (w��) some time in the distant past

or by the past tense of (we��) finish, or (kpo��) end, followed by the preposition (�) with, followed by the verbal object.

The future of the tense is expressed by the stem of the verb plus the suffix (�).
The future continuous tense is expressed by the stem of the verb plus the suffix (m�) and preceded by (y��), or by the preposition (�) with, followed by the stem of the verb and preceded by (y��).
The future perfect tense is expressed by the future tense of (we��) finish, or (kpo��) end, followed by the preposition (�) with, and the verbal object.

The negative, conjugated similarly to the positive, changes the vowel in the prefix in some of the tenses and changes the last vowel in other tenses. The future tense is expressed by the verb stem only, as in the positive present.

The present tense for the verb (pe��) do was conjugated as follows:
Positive | Negative
---|---
Sg. 1. \( \gamma g_a_3 \) I do | \( \gamma g_e_3 \) I do not do
2. \( b_a_4 \) you do | \( b_e_4 \) you do not do
3. \( a_e_3 \) he does | \( e_3 \) he does not do
Pl. 1. \( ma_5 \) we do | \( mu_5 \) we do not do
2. \( wa_6 \) you do | \( wu_5 \) you do not do
3. \( ta_7 \) they do | \( tc_7 \) they do not do

It is to be observed that the root of the verb remains constant in this tense (when the tone is fixed) and the changes come in the prefix or the pronoun. How logical for the transplanted African to say:

Sg. 1. I do
2. You do
3. He do

Pl. 1. we do
2. you do
3. they do

or, when he had learned that a word could end with a consonant:

Sg. 1. I does
2. you does
3. he does

Pl. 1. we does
2. you does
3. they does

The Meide suffix \( \gamma g_a_3 \) meant either is or are, and such a suffix was common to most of the West African languages.

With the principle parts of be, do and have, the Negro was well equipped to manage any tense with any verb and has kept such simplicity alive to this day. Gross verb-form errors of mismanagement are slowly becoming more rare with the younger Negro people. Some of the old people in the less frequently visited districts still use these primitive tense expressions in a picturesque manner. We may yet hear:
1. Present (inf.) for the future; *I be in town nex' Sa'dy*.

Complicated forms for the future are not used by the simple Negroes.

2. Many combinations of the past were used and are still used in indiscriminate mixture, as:

   Ah did it, Ah done did it, Ah done done it, Ah did done it,
   Ah done did it, Ah has done it, Ah has did it, Ah has
   done did it, Ah did has done it, Ah bin done it, Ah bin did
   it, Ah done bin did it, Ah bin done do it, etc.

   The forms used in the past are almost limitless.

3. Making the past out of the infinitive or present was and is common:

   good, blowed, comed, dranked, falled, eated, sleeped,
   taked, weared, etc.

4. Adding *ed* to the past is not uncommon:

   blewed, camed, drieded, foughted, grounded, hided, losted,
   makeded, etc.

5. Using the past as a participle:

   he has sang, he has did, he has went, he has drank, he has swam,
   etc.

6. Using the past participle for the past:

   Ah seen it, Ah done it, Ah sung it, Ah rung it, etc.

7. Whatever verbs were first learned set the pattern for many analogous irregular verbs such as:

   sink, sank, sunk; and think, thank, thunk
   bite, bit, bitten; and fight, fit, fitten, etc.

8. And from such attempts to understand the unfamiliar English conjugations, (a process of thinking which puzzles many college
students of today) the African evolved or by analogy coined such words as:

driv, fit, friz, fotch, gin, gwine, clum, clammed, maught squinch, ruther, miseries, zooti, woof, etc.

9. Adding prepositions to the verbs:

He was killing up people.

An has no rel'tives; my aunts is all dead out.

She gibbed me a good cussin' out.

Dey was gittin' all set fo' a talk-out. (a good visit).

10. Making Verbs of nouns, adjectives, prepositions, etc.

Ah is jes' shakin' now. (Living in a tumble-down old shack).

He shanties down by de lebee. (He lives in a shanty on the river bank.)

He is all schooled out by now. (He doesn't go to school any more--usually meaning he can't go any more.)

Den dey fust eye-balled one annudder. (Looked glaringly at each other, usually before a fight or quarrel.)

Crack de do'. (Open the door a little to see through the crack.)

He was hillin' by de fores' lan'. (Making corn hills in the patch of land near the forest.)

She can snake-hip with any body. (The snake hip is a specially lively dance and the young lady was equal to the task.)

She jes' misried huhself' to de grabe. (Worried herself to the grave.)

Head it up fo' me. (Address a letter for him. Put a head to it.)

She caint hev no mo' chilyen; she all babied out. (She is too old to have any more children)

He was so little he jes' natchally littled out o' sight. (The premature seven-months baby lived but an hour.)
If Ah kin pay dis bill an' if Ah kin pay dat bill--de fus' t'ing you know, Ah is goin' to git iifed right out o' mah money.

Ah wants tuh go wid yuh, but--Ah likes tuh go wid yuh, but--Sho' ez Ah lib, you is buhini yo' se'f rawt out o' mah life.

Wha' s wrong wid mah haih (hair)? 'You got frizzy haih.
You got kwinky haih. Yo' haih don' look good. 'If you don't stop tellin' me about mah haih, yo' is sho' goin' to haih yo' se'f rawt out o' mah life (affectations).
(The young Negress who delivered this speech to her neighbor chum had gone through the grades. She had a TRUE STORY magazine in her lap. Her vocabulary was most delightful but very individual.)

Dis che'y pah is sho' fahn, but Ah'd ruther hev a chicken any tahm.
(The maker of this remark was a smilin' cook near Zentwood. The young fellow in the nearby cabin, with his feet hanging out the window, said: If yo' all gib me dat pah rawt now fo' de pahty toght, I gits yo' you ruthers ez soon ez it gits dawx.)

128. Nouns and their number.

Many of the African dialects changed the prefix to form the plural from the singular, as we saw in mantu, meaning man, and bantu, meaning men.

The Kende made the plural by suffixing (%ga,;) or (α:1,;), when the noun was singular indefinite, e.g.: (40)

(ndo, po,;) child (ndo, po, nga,;) or (ndo, po, α:1,;) children
(fo, lo,;) sun, day (fo, lo, nga,;) or (fo, lo, α:1,;) suns, days

The plural definite was formed in two ways:

1. By suffixing (si,α,) to singular definite, e.g.:
   (ndo, po, i,;) the child (ndo, po, i, si, a,;) the children
   (fo, lo, i,;) the sun, the day (fo, lo, i, si, a,;) the suns, the days

2. By suffixing (i) (definite) plus (si,α,) to the indefinite plural:
   (ndo, po, υγ,α,) children (ndo, po, υγ, a,; i, si, a,;) the children

With such a background for acquiring a plural from the singular, it is readily seen how the newcomer to the American shores adjusted the English nouns to his African heritage. The

(40) Aginsky, op. cit.
following examples were heard in present day Negro speech:

two ear of cawn  
(tu: ə  v kɔn)  
two head of cabbidge  
(tu heid ə v kabidʒ)  
two heads of cabbidges  
(tu heidz ə v kabidʒəz)  
Ah git you five mans  
(a: gits jə fa:n mənz)  
us mens is goin' wid yo'  
(əs mənz iz goan wid jə)  
two oxes an' fo' sheeps  
(tu aksiz ə fo: šips)  
de ho'ses en cowses bin heah  
(də ho:sis ez kawsiz bin hi:jə)  
them womans is all wukkin  
(əm wəmənz iz o:l wəken)  
it bin five week ago  
(it bin fav wik agoʊ)  
us mens kiu do it  
(əs mənz kiu du it)
SECTION VII

INTERLINEAR TRANSCRIPTIONS
Photographs of Albert Jankins
An Interview with Albert Jenkins

July 10th, 1935 to July 28th.
In various places near Baton Rouge, La.

Interviewer-- When were you born, Albert?

Albert-- (Without hesitation) I was born in de yeah of 1900.

Int.-- How old would that make you?

Albert-- Le's see. That would make me about thirty two.

Int.-- What was the month?

Albert-- Dat was in de coldest month.

Int.-- What month is that?

Albert-- That come January.

Int.-- Where were you born?

Albert-- Down at Sunny Bank--They calls it Conrad's now. Conrad's plantation. 'Bout ten mile down de river road.

Int.-- Were you the only child?

Albert-- No, suh. They was seven child'en. Theah names? Ned Fields, Edward Jenkins, Josephine and Victoria Jenkins, Poulu Jenkins, and Hissy Green and Phillip Green. I was the fo'th chile.

Int.-- How many times did your mother marry?

Albert-- She ma'y jes' de oncet. (He couldn't explain Ned

Fields, except, "He was jes' livin' with mammy when she done ma'ied." And when his 'pappy' died, "Green
lived with us but he didn't try out good").

Int. -- What was your father's name? When did he die?

Albert -- His name was Frank Jenkins. He died about 1910.

Int. -- What was your mother's name? When did she die?

Albert -- Her name was Elizabeth--Elizabeth Green. She died 1911. I was about sixteen or seventeen year old then.

Int.-- Tell me what you can about your grandfather.

Albert -- He was John Williams and he was a pension drawuh from de Cibul Wan. I don' know what side he fought on. I jes' know he carried a gun in de army. I nevah knowed maw gran'mama, neithah ones. Papa's mama nor mama's ma gran'mama, ni'em 'unlz. Papa's name no: Mama nor Mama neither. Gran'pa telled us he had to git in de trenches.

Int.-- When did you get married, Albert?

Albert -- I ma'ied when I was 'bout twenty two. I ma'ied Olivia Jones, from Wilson, Louizana. Dat am up ne'er a ways.
Albert-- Le's see, I meets huh, I meets her out at de show, at
Street Fair Show. Had a good job then. Ummum, a
good job then.

Int.-- Was you ever baptized, Albert?

Albert-- No, suh. I was nevah baptized. My mothah was a
Baptis'. She was a good chu'ch goer.

Int.-- Did you ever go to school?

Albert-- No, suh, I nevah went to no school. Had to wuk all
the time. Hahd wuk fo' mos' of it.

Int.-- What was the best time you ever had?

Albert-- Umm mmmm, dat am a hahd one. Le's see. The bes'
time I evah had. (He thought a long time for this
one) Evah had. Was when I got ma'ied. That was
some pahty. Las'ed all through de night. It was
tommorwer afore I gits my gal.

Int.-- What was the best job you ever had?

Albert-- (Without hesitation) General Lott'ry Avatizing Comp'ny.

Int.-- Where was that?

Albert-- Chicago. That's the main place o' bus'ness.

Int.-- Ever go to Chicago?

Albert-- Yes, suh. I was in Chicago. Me an' two oullud boys
wuk ou de highway pos'in bills.

Int.-- How long did you do this?

Albert-- I gits de job fo' three summers. Dat was de bes' pay.

Int.-- Why do you talk so well, Albert?

Albert-- Mama helped me to talk good. She said you-all have

a better chainece in Heaven.

Int.-- Could your daddy talk well?

Albert-- My dad was a Creole, but he could talk English.

Mothonb couldn' talk Creole. Some of de people called

it French but I called it Creole. We didn' see my
daddy ve'y much. He was away wukin' mos' de time.

He was a rice outtah, cane outtah, wood choppah,

hoe, pick cotton; could do any odd jobs; always

smilin'. He could ticka' de geetar lak goin' to towm.

Int.-- Did your father ever own any land?

Albert-- No, suh. None o' us ever owned no land. Allus wukked

with white people for de mos' of it. (Meant he worked

'for' white people.

Int.-- Where would you rather live?

Albert-- O', dis suits me all right.

Int.-- Do you read or write, Albert?
Albert— No, suh. I don' read nor writes. No, suh; can't
write my name. Look at de pictures in de book once
cat ma' nem. lukan' de pit'ars in de buk vast in
in a while, but not of-ten.

Int.-- Ever see a picture show,

Albert— No suh, I aint seen a picture show. (I afterwards
learned that he had seen several shows but was
hinting to be taken to one or to be given money for
that purpose).

Int.-- Ever been to a horse race?

Albert— No suh, I aint nevah seen a ho'se race, jes' two kids
in de yahd.

Int.-- Ever been to a prize fight?

Albert— Yes, suh; right down heah, between Kid Louis 'n
Panama Kid. Panama whupt in dat fight.

Int.-- Ever play the lottery?

Albert— No suh, I nevah played lott'ry. It a ni'thing (nice
ing a' neva' pleid lottri. It a na'thur
thing) to play if you wake up lucky.

Int.-- When you dance, what do you dance?

Albert— Wa'ses; two-step, snake-hip an' such. What am a
snake-hip? You jes' craw' ovah fas', trip out fas'... snake-hip? ju dhes kro ouv fas', tripaut fas'
if a fas' dance. You swing huh 'n she swungs you....
you grab huh by de waist' e 'n den you dance black
ju grab h' ba'de we:s 'n den ju dans bl'k
bottom, almos' same style....always did like dancin'... but it comes sem stall olweiz did lak d'ensin
all dem good jazz pieces--"Hog killin time an' a slop
of dem quddlez pisiz--hog killin taim ene slipp
bucket full o' fun". (He would often break out with such
biskit ful o fan
a saying to explain his real attitude, often better than
any other way of telling it).

Int.-- (Looking at his watch) 'Well.

Albert-- (Leaning over toward the watch) Whus she strikin' on
now? 'Marryin' is pleasure but pa'tin' is a pain'.
My muthah used to say dat when she come seven'. But
she gone now. 'De house is lonesome when de biscuit
rollah is gone'. Thas da truf.

Int.-- Where do you live, Albert?

Albert-- Down heah on Washington; been deah fo' three yeah now.

Int.-- How much rent do you pay?

Albert-- I pays six dollahs a monf.

Int.-- How much does it cost you and your wife to eat?

Albert-- Couldn' tell how much I eats now. Costs moh when I

...
ain't wukkin dan when i is wukkin. sh's always lookin' wukkin dan men aiz wukkin. az iwoz lucky roun' seem' what day is to eat. How big is de house? roun' sion met de, is tu'it hav big ju do haus? Dey is two rooms an' a kitchen. Livin' room, bad room de iz tu' runzere kitse. livin' room, bad room an' a kitchen. We baves in a tub; we cal's de wash. o kitse wi beint in tab; wi keer de wate.

Used to take two dollahs and fifty cents a week when u:z tu' tak tu dollz an fifti sentz a wiz men. I was steady. What does I eat? Plenty beans, snap a'unt sted. mnt diz a'it. plenti, bint snap beans, okri (okra), buttah beans, shrimps, fish. bint okri bint bint swimps fis. what kind o' fish? Choupic, grinnahs, mid-fish, ma ka'nd fi's? Supik quinez mid fis flat-haid, tu'cles...we cal's 'em 'cootahs'. I fish fit' he'd titiz wi koi, m kuttiz. a' fis on de bajou 'nu out to de lake. on de bajou 'nu out to de lake.

Lut.-- What do you wear when you sleep at night? you and Olivia.

Albert-- I weak a sleepin' suit 'u my wife we's a sleepin' gown.

a'wee'z sleepin' suit 'n ma want we'e z sleepin' gown.

Lut.-- Have you got any relatives?

Albert-- No, my aunts is all dead out.

no, ma' aunts iz all de'd out

Lut.-- Got any insurance?

Albert-- Yes, sub, i got insurance. Cos' me thity five cents dez. a'got insu'ans. kas mi thity, fa'n sentz a week in one 'n twenty a mouf in anothah. Barry me a mouf in u:z'n twen'ty man fis in anid't. bezi: mi when you de'd.

Lut.-- When were you the saddest in your life?
Albert-- De saddes' in muh life? Was de saddes' when I loose da scared in ma' lef? wiz da scared men a' luz ma' mother. Dat was a sad day. She be'ied down de ma'mose. dat wiz a scared. Si be:Id aun da country...I knows right wheah de spot is...I nevah kant ri: a' nooz rait nea da spat ju: a nooz fo'git dat spot. I useta go 'n decorate 'em 'n be roqit dat spat. a jusa go 'n dekred am 'n bi amongs' de daid.

2marhs de daid

Int.-- Did you ever go in a cemetery?

Albert-- Yes, suh. I slep' in one all night, right on a toom... j'es: n a slep in mwan cl nait, rait o m e twim. I runned away from my dad. I mo' sca'ed o' de livin' a: rind awei from a: de'd a no: ske:ed da livin' dan I am de daid....dey caunt do oit'iu', nevah sca'ed, den a:em de de'd...de kant do nath, neva ske:ed not none.

Int.-- Are you soared to die?

Albert-- No, suh. When my time comes, I is ready.

Int.-- Would you rather die poor or rich?

Albert-- Dat am a good one. Da's funny, ev'body in de wo'l' des gud win. des inn, ev'bodi in da wo:z i: craves fo' money. Aftah I put it out to woik I'd see Kreiz fo mani des a put ait aut: woik aid si if it double fo' th agin. I'd take ca'e of my wife so if it dabl fo: () agin. a'd te:K keiz ma: wait sou dey is no worries about nothiu'...I'd buy jes' some da: iz noo wriz abaut man, a'd ba' dyes: um clo'es, all kin' 'n colo's. I suah would git o' Klo: z ci kain: en klahz, a su: o' wud git o: qandiz gaudies for huh. She would done git some ga'ments...
money done bring on gladness 'n sadness...it is de
day big evil o' de worl'... I'd git me some real ga'men's,
dig ib/ a da worl' and git 'm iss riil gomen.
I'd git wool 'n silk... wo cotton clo'es... i could
and git with sign now kot't kliz a kod
come to be wealth'y, it could come so, yuh saint nevah
tell. I don' give up cause I'm po'; all Iakes is de
Lo'd to git and ren't in streuf... they tell me people
in de o'.day times useta baleys der money in pots 'n
pens... maybe dey was mo' what was buried dan what
new wo'l!...no mo' wo'l (worry)...climb from globe to
heaven just de stairs... dat is de beautiful city. Dat is a bran'
new wo'l!...no mo' wo'l (worry)...climb from globe to
globe. Dey say you be feastin' roun' de feastin'
table drinkin' sweet milk 'n honey. Ev'yday will
be Sabbath...Sabbath have no end...dat what de good
Book say. He'll be sittin' roun' de throne, de men

int.-- What is your idea of heaven?

Albert-- Dat is wheah ev'body is strivin' fo' to go...ev'body
is strivin' to make de beautiful city. Dat is de bran'
new wo'l!...no mo' wo'l (worry)...climb from globe to
heaven just de stairs... dat is de beautiful city. Dat is a bran'
new wo'l!...no mo' wo'l (worry)...climb from globe to

be Sabbath...Sabbath have no end...dat what de good
Book say. He'll be sittin' roun' de throne, de men
people will do the same as women, be feasting round the feastin' table... de lady folks will be angels flyin' round waitin' 'n lookin'... dey'll be feastin' at the feastin' table—no mo' wuk den, no mo' weep'n o'... dey be singin' 'n de saints go ma' mon... de bi singin' 'n de saints go ma' chin' in.'

Int.--What will you eat at the feasting table?

Albert—Dey tells me dey have sweet milk 'n honey. If he be a good spirit he comes back... I saw my mothah flyin' bi o' quid spirat hi kimz bck, al so ma mo' flamin' round but when I go to speak to huh, she disappeah... raun, but nea a go tu spik to hy, si disappeah she was lookin' round at de little ones but I ca'n' si war lukin' raun et de lil: woonz bit a: ker talk to 'er.

to ke to 3;

Int.--What was the best meal you remember?

Albert—De bes' meal I kin remembah? Dat'n gits me, kuz I do bes mi a! kin remembah? Dan' gits me, kiz a: had some pretty good ones. Das one to think about... he: gud sim p3:ti, gud wonz. das win tu sing abaut de bes' one. De bes' one was at de weddin' wid de do bes' won, do bes' won wid de wed wid: de saungeri... dat stavbe'ies 'n lemons wid sugah... bout de bes' I kin remembah... had chikin spaghetties, bes a: kin remembah, hax'd tsikn spagettiz, ice putatuh salad--spaghetties is made out 'o flouah, a's poteto salid... spagettiz iz meid aut 'o flauw
do', like spaghetti 'n macaroni...das my regulahs.
do: lâ'k spâq'ti 'n mâ'k rôvni -- dâ: mə rûgələz.

Int.--What is the best time in your own house?

Albert--When I aks people down wid laffin' 'n drinkin' 'n men a'ks pip! dau'oon wid laffin'n drinkin'n havin' lots o'fun...bi'fday pahties...dey give me hä'vin lôz fən -- bai'fdei potiz de: giv mi presents sometimes--socks, cups'n sauceahs, knives presents sometimes--socks, cups'n sauceahs, knives pre:zen'ts sâks kîp's, sôs's, mə:vin 'n fo'ks, tie, necktie, pocket hautshif...

Int.--What do you get your wife for Christmas?

Albert--Sometimes maybe a robe, 'co'ding to money I gits.

sântəimz məbī j roub kō'din tə mənī a'gits.
Sometimes a nice dress, nice shoes; I buy 'em mysel.
sântəimz ə nəs drësəs, nə'ʃuəz; aɪ bā'əm nə'seə.

Int.--You were going to tell me, did you ever get in a fight?

Albert--Yes, suh, I had one fight in my life. Dat was jəs; ə' hə'd wən fət'ən mə' lə f dət wəz 'bout ma'ble game...when I was small.

əbau' t mə bə qə'mən nə a' wəz əm ə.'smə.

Int.--What was the best joke you ever heard?

Albert--I been laffin' at so many things. All the time I'pə bən ləf tə sō meni ənəz. ə ə'əm a'əz hea'ən fənə yələs whət makə mə ləf I kənt reməbəh--hiːn fənə tələ hət mək mə əf a' rəməbə dəy sliːp mə rəməbə

dəl sliːp mə: rəməbə

Int.--(Talking of spirits and haunts, something Albert would not do after dark) Why can't you talk with the spirits, Albert?

Albert--I was bo'n wid co'ds ovah my eyes, else I could see ə' wəz bo'ən wid kə:də və ma'əl əls ə kud 'si' heints 'n spérits. whət is co'ds? De co'd is like heints 'n spérits. mu:təz kə:də ə kəd əz ə'kə

a net. (Without any apparent reason for the change ə hət
in conversation, he replied further.) Yuh nevah barrie
ja neva bari
(borrow) salt ouz dat belong to de dead...you put salt
\[
\text{on his brief o' ches...stops pargin' at de mouf...oul}
\]
\[
\text{dose what needs it...Asia Minah is way ovah in Europe}
\]
\[
\text{douz mat nidz if } e:\text{a maine iz we}_1^\text{o'vn} \text{ in ju:rp}
\]
\[
\text{country, aint it?}
\]
\[
\text{Kntiri, ein: it?}
\]
Int.--What made you think of that?

Albert--Oh, I was jes' thinkin' of heav'n 'n for'n lan's,
\[
\text{you talkin' dis way make me go all ovah in mah min'.}
\]
Int.--What are you doin' now, Albert?

Albert--You mean jes' as I is? jes' res' in and 'n talkin'.
\[
\text{ju } \text{min } dzss \text{ a} z. a\text{iz } dzss \text{ resin: 'n tokin'}.
\]
Int.--At night, just as you get on the bed, what do you do?
\[
\text{(An attempt to get him to indicate whether he would}
\]
\[
\text{say 'lay down' or 'lie down').}
\]
Albert--When I furs' gits on de bed? Furs' I say my prayahs.
\[
\text{men } a\text{ }\text{fars gits on do bed? fars a } s e\text{ } \text{ma' } \text{prejaz.}
\]
Int.--Albert, why don' t you belong to a church?

Albert--I got to git mah soul prepe' d...do a lot o' prayin'...
\[
\text{a: qot:u } \text{git ma' sou: pripis:Id.. du } e \text{ lat } a \text{ prejaz.}
\]
\[
\text{git my soul converted...have to have a made-up min'...}
\]
\[
\text{git ma' sou: } \text{kanvitid.. hette hren } \text{meid,ip ma'ien}
\]
\[
\text{I have to give up de wo'1 (world)...people ought to}
\]
\[
\text{a: hette ginap de w3'}
\]
\[
\text{be as one, livin' in de flock...go to de chu'ch. I}
\]
\[
\text{bi } \text{z } \text{wen livin in de flock...go } a\text{ } \text{de tsifs. a'}
\]
\[
\text{go to one to de udder, from one chu'ch to de uddah}
\]
\[
\text{gou tu wan } \text{te } \text{wacer, frm } \text{wen tsifs tu de la } 
\]
chu'oh...Was de Baptis' o' de Kaslick (Catholic) de
was de Baptis? 3: de Kaslick
as fu's' one, de fu's' chu'oh? (This question was said
in deadly earnest and he seemed very disappointed when
I told him the Catholic church was the first.)

Int.-- What is the most exciting time you ever had in your
life?

Albert--The mos' excitin' time is when de sto'm was on at
day mos' lik'stin' ta'm iz men de sto'm waz in ndight...It puda (put the) beeses on de fo'is on de
naut -- it puda
bizz in de fous on de
wondah. I didn' get los' but de win' pick me up 'n
wind. A' didn' get no bath win'; pik mi' rip';
blow me fad'n from heah dan to de lebbi...it blowed
blow mi fad'n frum hii a den tu de libi...it blou d
de to p off de house...de house belong to de fa'm... 
d' tap of de hausi...de haus bi loq tu de form
I was some sca'ed dat night. I figgud I'd be called
a' waz sum skj:2: di:1:nat - a figged ad bi kdy
in any minute dat night. Did I say my prayahs? Yes,
in sum minit...... did a: smal presz? jesu,
suh, but jes' sum time dat night I was suah talkin'
but diaes:ion ta'm de:nat a waz fu:' tokin
to de Boss...dat night. I suah did run but I knowed
tu_du kos... de:nat. a jody did run: but a noube de
dey was no hidin' place down heah...de Lo'd kin fin'
waz no ha'dn pleis down hii:2: de Lo'd kin fin
yo' any place.
jo:ti pleis.

Int.--If you could be what you wanted, what would you be?

Albert-- If it was lef' to me? les' see--what I wanted to be.
if it waz lef' to mi? les? i...mat a wontid tu'bi. 
If it was lef'up to me I'd wanta be a milinery
if it waz lef'up tami aq wonta bi e milineri
millionaire)...a man what has plenty money...I guess
he'd be worrit to def. He kin come rich but he kin
nevah come too rich but what hek'n come poah...you
have to pray to live.

If you had money what would you do with it?

Albert--I guess I'd go 'n vestikate it summea (somewhere)...-
I guess dat what dey usta did to double up...dey is
no hangin' on to what dey is got.

An Interview with Morris Courtney of the Woods near
Baton Rouge, La.
August, 1935

Interviewer--How old are you?
Morris--Bout twenty sem.
Int.--Where were you born?
Morris--Lon' a Miss'ipi 'n Luzana.
Int.--When?
Morris--Bo'n nineteen aught nine.
Int.--Do you have any brothers or sisters?
Morris--All sistahs dead; three brothas, Poka, Challie 'n Elick.
Int.—Are you married?

Morris—Ah gits along good by mysel', yah, suh, by mysel'.

Int.—Do you work?

Morris—Ah gits mo' on de street.

Int.—When did you start playing? (Morris took an empty coca-cola bottle and whistled a dolorous tune over the mouth of it, something like the effect of a wheezy calliope).

Morris—Dis playin' comes to me like a gif'. No, suh, Ah aint heahed nobody do what Ah's doin'.

Int.—Ever been to school?

Morris—Yah, suh; two days. Had to wuk...milk twenty-five cows by mysel'.

Int.—What is the most you ever made with your bottle?

Morris—Made eighteen dollah on my way o' deah. Come on, le's have some music and singin'. (He immediately pulled out his bottle and began his "barn-yard imitations.")

His hymn:

Help me to make it my home (my happy home)
In that city what shine so bright.

His hymn:

Help me to make it my home (my happy home)
In that city what shine so bright.
Church and Membership

I's still outside de fol'; (əːz stil aʊtsəd dəfɔul)
I am not a church member yet.

Ah ain't got as fah as de mounah's bench.
(a ˈleɪn ɡət əz fəz demounəz bɛntʃ).
I don't sit very close to the preacher if I can help it.

I still in de big chu'oh; (ə: stɪl ɪn dəbɪg tʃ(ə)tʃ)
I'm not a member of any church.

Ma'ah wife doan lak mah bein in de open fiel';
(maː waf dʊan lak ʍa ˈbɛn ɪn də ˈoʊpən fɪəl)
My wife doesn't like my not being a member of the church.

Dey tells me Ah done drink de cup o' damnation;
(dɛtəlz mi ə dən dɹɪŋk də kæp ˈdæmnəʃən)
They tell me I am doomed if I don't join the church.

I guess it bes' foh us all to be gathered in;
(a ɡɛs ɪt bes ɔːl ɪn də dʒɛrəd ɪn)
I guess it is best for us all to belong to a church.

Guess Ah gotta wahm de sinnah's seat tell Ah fin's out fo' mysel' which is de fuh', de Cas'lik o' de Mef'dis.
(gɛs əː gætə wɑːm ə ˈsɪnəz sɪt tɛlə əː fənəst ɔːt fə ˈmeɪsəl mət ɪz dəfəz ə ˈkæzəlik ə də mɛfˈdɪs)
Guess I'll join no church until I find out which was the first, the Catholic or the Methodist. (His wife was a devout Methodist and his best friend was an educated Catholic.)
Courtship and Love

He made a smash on huh. (hi mədə smaʃ on həː)
The fellow is very much in love.

She jes' bein' possum on me. (ʃi ʃi'z ən pəzəm ən mi)
She is only deceiving me.

She sho does beah on wid de glad rags. (ʃi sho dəz bə ən wid də gləd rægz). She surely wears showy clothes.

She's got hot pants. (ʃi'z gət hət pænts)
She is easily won in a love match.

Me ma'y him? Hm. He's live as a dish rag. (mi mə həm? hm; hiz ləv əz də dɪʃ ræg)

What, me marry him? He's as lifeless as a dishrag.

All he does id piddle 'roun. (ɔl hi dəz id ˈpɪdl ˈraʊn)
All he does is to waste his time and he does not know how to make love.

She bin puttin' on de dawg. (ʃi bən pətɪn ən də dɔːɡ)
She has been dressing more than her purse can afford.

Look out, you's goan have to kiss de cook. (luk əut juz goʊ n həv tək's di kʊk). Similar to "You'll be an old maid if you take the last piece of bread or cake on the plate."

You kin ast me fum Adam to Revelations an' Ah won' tell you 'yes'. (ju kən əst mi fəm ədəm tərəlvə ən e wən tɛl ju ˈjes). "You can talk from now to Doomsday and I won't tell you, yes."

When it come to lubbin', he is sho bunkum.

(wɛn it kəm tə laˈbɪn, hi əz ʃo bɔŋkəm)
When it comes to loving, he is excellent.

She is knowed fo' huh goins-on. (ʃi əz noʊd foː həː goʊˈɪŋz ən)
She is known to have a shady reputation.
That girl is no good; she already has an illegitimate child.

He's not at home; he has taken his girl to the dance. They'll dance until the early hours of the morning.

This retort is supposed to be a cutting insult, as the bite from a blue-gum Negro is supposed to be fatal.

Explaining, he said further, "Ah wahut goin' be fooled no longer by mah frien' what come'n borrah money f'om me 'n go an' cou't mah bes' gal wid mah hand come money."

We are both ready to get married.

She would make a good wife. Why, she is fat both on the hips and bosom. She is naturally very ample.

You all is got a moufful of teef.

She is my Cashmere Boquet (once-in-a-while girl) but you are my Madame Queen (very best girl and a "steady").
Entertainment and Games

We had a mighty fine fish fry. (wi heid ə maːtʃ fain ˈfraː)
A fish fry is any kind of river party, where fish is usually a part of the picnic.
Dey's high hat; dey is all at a ice cream an' cake party.
(deː is haː hat; deː iz ɔɪstə aːs krim ə keik pətə)
They are high-toned; they are at a very high class party.
We use 'o play pos' awfioe an' dem lib'ty games.
(we əz plei poʊs əf's ən dəm lɪb'ti ɡeɪms). We used to play post-office (a kissing game, where a fellow called a girl into a dark room and kissed her) and them liberty games. "We would take de lib'ty of kissin' de girl while de crowd outside counted out loud how long we could stay."
Ah allus lak to git de pulley bone kuz dat gibs goo' luck.
(ə ɔls lakz ə tə ɡ ə pɔl ə bən kəz dət ɡibz ɡuˈlʌk). I always like to get the wish bone at a chicken dinner because that is good luck.
We play cards, in jook, an' sometimes shoot craps, roəl de bones, an' like dat. (wi plei kɔdz n ˈdʒuk, n ˈsæmtæmz ət kræps roʊl də bʊrnəz n lak dət). We play cards, in jook, and sometimes shoot craps and roll the bones (both are the same thing, playing with dice). It seems that jook is a place where games are played.
Dat fellow kin woof wid de nex' one, howsomevah. (dət fɪlˈkaɪn wʌf wid dərˌsks wʌn, hauˌsəvər). That fellow can tell whopping stories with anybody, whosoever. "Woof" is a word that is growing in popularity; it means to tell lies of incredible magnitude.
Listen to the tin cup trying to outshine a hotel mirror.
(Us^n tu de tin cup trai\' in to outshine a hotel mirror).
(Usually said of someone younger trying to keep in the conversation with the elders. Many types of "call downs" are used in this manner.)

How dat onion tryin' to outstink a skunk. (houldst a\'jon trai\' in to outstrink \' sk\'unk). How that onion is trying to outstink a skunk. (An unwelcome nondescript kept interfering with the smooth running of the narrative, by adding irrelevant comments. The narrator of the story rebuked him with the words above.)

He stood me up fo' de las' time. (hi st\'d m' ap fo de las' taim). He stood me up for the last time. He made a date with me and didn't keep it but it is for the last time.

Is you all gibin' me a knockdown? (iz ju ?\(\)l gibm\(\)i\(\)n ak\(\)down). Are you going to give me an introduction?

De place was soon jumped up in spittin' ddah. (dze pleis waz sun \^ mpt\(\)Ap in spittn oude). The house was soon straightened up and put in splendid order.

Das a new kin' a mixtry to me. (dxs a nu kain a m\(\)kstr\(\)y mi) That is a new mixture to me, meaning, a new kind of a drink.

Dose folkses kin step ez fas' ez grease lightnin'. (douz foks\(\)e k\(\)in step cz fas' cz gris lightnin').

That couple can dance as fast as greased lightning. (There are many expressions of this type.)
Is you knoockin' off? Whaatt she strikiin' on now?

Are you going home? What time is it now?

She is a fat-haunck wall-flowah. (\{i is f\ast\thont\} w\ol f\l\ow\es\)

At the dance she is a 'wall-flowah', just decorates the side wall, and sits out all the dances.

Dat is de perties' shake-baby i evah has seen.

That is the prettiest tight-fitting skirt I have ever seen.

He done git his walkin' papers fo' sho'.

He has been dismissed by the young lady in no undertain terms.

Farm Work and Farm Life.

How much you grabble today? (haw mat\} ju grabl tadei)

How many rows of wet dirt did you make holes in with your fingers, so as to plant the corn?

Dat am a back breakah. (dat\}m\ba:k\brei\ka)

That is a back breaker, that is, most difficult and heavy work.

Dat row look lak a buzzzer done it. (dat\rou l\uk l\ak\ez\dan\et)

That row is anything but straight--it looks as if a buzzard had done it.

Come on wid me whilste Ah slop de hogs. (kwa\nu w\id mi\ma:\la\a: slop \a hogs). Come on wi' me while I give the pigs their swill.

Is yo' got yo' all-ovahs? (iz jo gat jo \cl\ov\\ez)

Have you got on your overalls?

Dat cow look like a stewed witch swiin'chin' her tail.

(dat ka\u l\uk \a\ stud Witt\swi\n\ten\ h\i tei\el) That cow is certainly uneasy, swishing her tail all around (bellowing for her calf).
PHONOGRAPHIC RECORDS, WITH TRANSCRIPTIONS

SECTION VIII
Phonograph Records.

Phonograph recordings have been made of Negro voices and music and they are an integral part of this thesis.

The recordings, listed below, have been deposited with the Department of Speech of the Louisiana State University. Many records were made which did not merit laboratory filing.

The free association interview was used in each instance as the surest method of obtaining the best results. The questioner was the writer of this thesis.

All the records are double-faced and the recordings on the two sides are designated as A and B.

The records are:

**Albert Jenkins**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Record</th>
<th>Side</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1L</td>
<td>1A</td>
<td>Opinions and comment concerning the church and heaven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1B</td>
<td></td>
<td>Albert tells of his ideas of heaven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2A</td>
<td></td>
<td>Interview telling of amusement and drinking. (This record was the one used for the phoneloscopic analysis and additional copies have been deposited for use of the Speech Department Laboratory.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2B</td>
<td></td>
<td>The naming of furniture and rooms in a house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3A</td>
<td></td>
<td>Albert desires a trip to foreign countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3B</td>
<td></td>
<td>The worth of money and clothes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4A</td>
<td></td>
<td>Naming of the days of the month and the week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4B</td>
<td></td>
<td>The months in the year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5A</td>
<td></td>
<td>Telling of the cities visited and the work done.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5B</td>
<td></td>
<td>How to call animals; the names of fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6A</td>
<td></td>
<td>Streets and places of Baton Rouge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6B</td>
<td></td>
<td>How Albert met his wife.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Morris Courtney

1L 7A Playing on a Coca-Cola bottle: Rooster call; "Wooing Mah Lady," a tune made up and played by Courtney by blowing and singing over the top of a Coca-Cola bottle partly filled with water.

Harold Voss

8A Interview with a young school boy, eleven years of age. (He was very conscious of the microphone).

8B Telling a story and counting.

Jenkins and Courtney

9A Dialogue between Jenkins and Courtney; Courtney was a very aggressive type of Negro and had dreams of a fortune with his musical talent.

9B Singing by Courtney and Jenkins. (This record has an interesting by-play which the Negroes call 'woofing,' a type of joking each other until one is embarrassed by the extreme exaggeration or imagination of the other.)
Section IX

Instrumental Analysis for Frequency,

Pitch Pattern and Rate.
The analysis of speech from phonographic recordings has developed sufficient accuracy to merit its place in the study of speech and voice.

There are two techniques in use today for the obtaining of pitch or melody curve, the strobophotographic and the phonelescopic. This study has been achieved by the latter technique, since the ordinary stroboscope is best only when the speech levels do not extend over one octave. Tiffin (1) and Lewis and Tiffin (2) have adequately described the technique and proved its efficiency.

The records for this study were made in the Speech Laboratory of the Louisiana State University and submitted to Dr. Joseph Tiffin of the University of Iowa, who supervised the making of the phonelescopic graphs. These graphs are contained in the latter portion of this study and are similar to those made by Pardoe (3) in a study comparing the effect of anger upon speech and factual speech.

Tiffin describes the technique, briefly, in this manner:

"After the record is cut, the sound waves on it are transcribed to a graphic record by the phonelescope. The phonograph record is mounted on the turntable in the center of a large drum. With the room darkened, a strip of sensitized paper four inches in width is wrapped around

the drum. The wave on the phonograph record is picked up by means of an acoustic sound box and transmitted through the hollow tone arm to a photoelectric, an optical lever similar to the Miller phonodeik. The beam of light from the photoelectric is focused on the film, and, inasmuch as the phonograph record and drum are on the same shaft and move synchronously, it makes no difference at what speed the drum is revolved. If the record was originally recorded at what speed the drum is revolved. If the record was originally recorded at 78 r.p.m., 1.3 revolutions represent one second of time and accordingly the frequency or pitch of a given voice wave is determined by dividing the wave-length as measured on the film by 1.3 times the length of the film as wrapped around the drum. The wave is spiraled around the film so that about 20 revolutions of the record may be photographed on strips of the paper. While several other steps are used in the practice, such as reading the waves in groups and plotting the wave-lengths on semi-logarithmic paper to convert the measurements into semi-tones, the above description gives the essential features of this apparatus. Repeated tests indicate that the combined errors involved in making phonograph records, photographing the sound wave, and plotting the results is approximately 0.05 percent." (4)

This study is concerned with frequency, pitch patterns, and rate. It is in this field of investigation that we easily attain the most accurate results from the more simple devices of analysis.

Albert Jenkins, an uneducated negro of healthy body and alert mind, is used as the major subject in these voice studies. He is approximately thirty-seven years old. His grandparents were slaves who were shipped to America and who worked on Louisiana plantations. Albert has lived with negroes all his life and has had no schooling. He represents the good-natured, care-free negro of the South. His voice, empirically evaluated, represents a good norm for southern

Negro males. He is not an extremist in any manner, either in his actions or in his talk.

The recordings analyzed were of situations wherein the subject, Jenkins, was completely at ease and the presence of the microphone had become a matter of minor importance.

The graphs used to record the voice-wave patterns are charted in measurements of tenths of seconds, the second-interval being represented by a heavy perpendicular line. Each graph represents five seconds of time. Duration is represented on the abscissas (the horizontal divisions of the chart) and pitch intervals of frequency is represented on the ordinates (the vertical divisions of the chart). The interview recorded lasted for 75 seconds. Each tone recording is accompanied by the appropriate word which produced that tone.

Tiffin (5) reports a similar study made on six white male voices and tabulates his findings as submitted below. Beneath them for comparative purposes is the record of Albert.

(5) Ibid., p. 230.
Pitch characteristics of six voices arranged in order of merit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voices in order of judged merit</th>
<th>Median pitch</th>
<th>Highest pitch reached</th>
<th>Lowest pitch reached</th>
<th>Pitch range in musical steps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>6.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Albert 118 256* 72 10.0

TABLE III

A study by Murray and Tiffin (6) states that the trained voices have an average pitch range in musical steps of 6.3 and that the good voices had 4.5. Albert's voice easily went within one full octave and his running conversation levels, as the graphs (Table III) show, were between F and E, which is better than the "good" voices and equals the trained voices of the Murray-Tiffin study.

The table for a study of Albert's time elements is given in Table IV, Duration of Phonation.

Referring to the Murray-Tiffin report above (7), we learn that the trained voices had a duration average

* A tone, which was the result of laughter, was recorded at an interval a little over E', approximately 330 d.v.

(7) Ibid., p. 78.
The ordinate shows percentage of occurrence.
The abscissa = length of phonation in terms of inches. 1/8 of inch = 0.034 second.
Median phonation = .25 second.
(i.e., average length of unbroken sounds) of .15 seconds, while the poor voices had only .11 seconds. The duration average of Albert's phonation was .25 on all factual matter, similar to the material used in the Tiffin and in the Murray-Tiffin reports.

Excellent studies of frequency and duration have been made by Merry (8), Weaver (9), and Lynch (10), but the material of the first two reports was too emotional in nature to warrant comparison with factual speech, and the Lynch study is more concerned with comparative values of the experienced and inexperienced voices, with factual and emotional readings.

There has been very little actual study of the factual, non-emotional speaking voice. From the studies available, such as made by Tiffin (11), there is an interesting difference between the pitch characteristics of the white subjects and Albert's voice.

The utterances which end in rising inflections in factual, declarative speech occur in the report of Tiffin as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>No. of Rising Inflections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F, in eight seconds</td>
<td>6 in 19 phonations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C, &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>6 &quot; 21 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B, &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>7 &quot; 23 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D, &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>6 &quot; 20 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E, &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>6 &quot; 24 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>4 &quot; 18 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Albert, average " " 9 " 21

Compared with the best voice, F, the ratio of rising inflections in declarative statements is 6 in 19 phonations, against 9 in 21 for Albert. The poorest voice, A, registered four rising inflections to 18 phonations. It is to be noted that the better voices in Tiffin's study had very close to the same ratio of rising inflections to the number of individual phonations. And the poor voices had the fewer rising inflections compared to the number of phonations. Albert's ratio exceeded that of the best voices.

The ratio of the rising inflection, added to the findings of the duration table, wherein the ratio of duration of the average trained voice for the whites was .15 seconds (the poor voices only .11 seconds average of phonation duration) compared to Albert's average of .25 seconds, is most significant. It is this investigator's opinion that the native African language characteristics (the phonemic tone-level systems) are asserting themselves in no uncertain manner. As a representative voice of the uneducated Negro of the South, Albert's reveals that it is an effort for him to maintain the English pitch levels; indeed, he does not maintain them nearly so well as Tiffin's white subjects; for very few of his phonations are abrupt and broken, as they are in the speech of the whites; his rising inflections tend to give the effect of the tonal West African speech rather than the drop-inflection quality of English speech. The length of the phonation is even more indicative; there is a prolongation of vowels—as if the English were modified by a substratum remnant of a language where pitch levels held greater importance than they do in English.
It will take many comparative studies of whites and southern Negroes, using the same or similar speech selections in genuinely similar situations before we can positively conclude what the actual differences may be. But it appears that this study indicates the trend and method to be taken to find the answer to the query: What are the characteristics of the voice of the isolated southern Negro, and wherein does this voice differ from that of the average white person who has not been in the environment of the Negro?

From a study of Section VI we noted the presence of vowel-glides and semi-vowel additions in Negro speech. This factor, together with length of phonation is an element of the same phenomenon, and the rising inflections are part of the gliding processes. Combined, these three elements, the vowel-glide with semi-vowel joinings, the rising inflections at the beginning as well as within the word, and the length of the phonations, produce what we know as the southern drawl, that distinctive quality of Negro speech, and as far as it is assimilated, of white speech in the South.

There are no comparable studies made of speech in an interview situation, wherein the pauses between spoken words have been analyzed. Albert paused as long as 1.7 seconds as his longest pause and his shortest was .05 of a second.

No attempt was made to analyze vibrato in Albert's voice.

From a study of Albert's speech, representative of the average Negro's voice in the South, we make the following conclusions:
1. He had a recorded range of nearly two octaves; his range of most frequent usage was between F and E or 6 musical intervals; his range of less frequent usage was one octave, from E' to E''. His voice equalled the best speaking voice recorded by Tiffin, in regards to range.

2. The inflections or recorded phonations were more abrupt in nature, but were smoothly modulated.

3. The pitch change on each phonation was more attenuated than that of any white with which we are able to compare.

4. The average length of phonation, or duration, was .25 of a second, which was longer by .10 of a second than the average found by Tiffin in his comparative study of whites.

5. The pauses between words varied from $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1.7 seconds. The average pause was longer than the average of any pause made in a study of whites, but we have no interview studies made of whites for proper comparative study, wherein the person has to think out his own answer to an unrehearsed question.

6. The above mentioned characteristics of the Negro voice, together with the effort to end words and syllables in vowels, and with the introduction of semi-vowels within words, as discussed in Section VI, combine, as has been said, to produce what is known as the southern drawl.

7. An answer to the often heard question, "Does the Negro speech affect white speech?"

From the analysis of the studies presented in this thesis, the following answer may be proposed. Since the South is the
only English area of record possessing the peculiar speech quality known as the "southern drawl"; and since the Negro's native African speech possesses such elements as would produce the drawl; and furthermore, since the present-day Negro of the South still possesses these African elements within his speech, it is reasonable to conclude that the Negro introduced these elements originally and that the whites have assimilated them over a period of years in the usual associations of daily southern life. The manner of assimilation is a matter of study for sociologists. The relation throughout the South of the Negro nurse to the white baby; the considerable amount of playing together (mainly in the rural sections) of children of both races in earliest childhood; the fact that there were relatively few whites thrown with the large numbers of Negroes on the early plantations and later in the outlying cotton districts; all these conditions need to be studied to discover how they contribute to speech assimilation on the part of the whites. The fact that the association between the white and the Negro is lessened after adulthood bears on the situation; however, it is well known that language habits best are learned in childhood. It is an observation that the drawl is heard more frequently in the isolated districts than in the populated centers.
Interview with Albert Jenkins

Summer 1935 - Record used for analysis.

Interviewer-- Uh, what do you do for amusement, Albert?

Albert-- 'Musement? Oh, I goes out 'n have fun with de' boys--

Interviewer-- Ever drink?

Albert-- Yas suh, I drink.

Interviewer-- Much?

Albert-- No suh, not to extreme. I just drink a little now an' than.

Interviewer-- Ever get drunk?

Albert-- No suh. Been drunk twice in muh life.

Interviewer-- Make you sick?

Albert-- Uuoooh! Sick as a dog. (Laughs). Sick as I could be.

Interviewer-- How did you get sick? Why?

Albert-- Oh, just drinkin' two, three differnt drinks. Make me, made me so sick--uh--coughin'--wine...homebrew--

Interviewer-- You have a-a wine in your own home?

Albert-- Yas suh.---I keeps wine sometimes.
Interviewer: Make it?

Albert: Make it? Yas suh, I make wine—cherry wine, berry wine—
meek it? ʃək ʃək wain. ʃək ʃək wain... ʃək ʃək wain like that.

Interviewer: And what have you got in your house? What furniture?

Albert: Chifferoo — davenport set —
ʃəfərnəm ʃənt.
WHAT DO YOU DO FOR AMUSEMENT?

ALBERT MUSEMENT
GOES OUT'N.

N'HAVE FUN WITH THE BOYS, BE ROUND!

WE GO
DOWN

HOUSES

HAVE
GOOD
CARD
PARTIES

GOOD CARD PARTIES!

HAVE GOOD CARD PARTIES!
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MON</th>
<th>TUE</th>
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</table>
AND
THEN
EVER GET DRUNK
NO
SUH
BEEN DRUNK
TWICE IN MY LIFE

NO SUN BEEN DRUNK TWICE IN MY LIFE
MAKE YOU SICK

OH

SICK AS A DOG

(LAUGH)

SICK AS I COULD

BE
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<th>WINE</th>
<th>CAUGHIN</th>
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<th>ME</th>
<th>MADE</th>
<th>DRINKS</th>
<th>DIFFERENT</th>
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HOME

BREW

ANYZECK

GIN

AND WHISKEY
ALL THEM

MIXTURES

DON'T WORK
YOU HAVE WINE IN YOUR OWN HOME!
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</table>
CHERRY
WINE

BERRY
WINE
LIKE THAT

AND
ER

WHAT
HAVE YOU GOT IN YOUR HOUSE

WHAT
Actual Record of Phonation Patterns Superimposed on each other
SECTION X

CONCLUSION
This study has set out to present the Negro-English dialect in orthographic and phonetic form, and to make such deductions from the study as the facts seem to warrant.

Brief historical backgrounds of the Negro in America show that the Negro slave came from a relatively confined area in West Africa, where slavery was an accepted institution, and where certain language characteristics prevailed. Pertinent facts concerning the languages of West Africa at the time slaves were exported to America are: for the most part, there were no written languages; though most of the many tribes could not understand each other, the phonetic systems varied relatively little among the major language groups; the great majority of syllables and words ended in vowels or syllabic consonants, and there were no diphthongs; the languages generally were tone languages, using pitch levels to indicate change of meaning; plurals were commonly achieved with vowel changes rather than by consonantal endings. In America the newly arrived Negroes often did not understand each other's native tongues. They were taught a minimum English vocabulary by overseers of varying dialects and uncertain education. The Negroes presently developed two strata in their own social life; the house servant and city worker class, and the field servant class. The latter group has been the chief object of this study, the people of this class having experienced a longer period of isolation from white influence, and having consequently preserved more traditional African habits and rites.
Government statistics show that the southern Negro is gradually migrating from the South and quitting the farming districts. Social changes are affecting language habits and the original Negro dialect gradually is being supplanted by reason of the advance of educational improvements.

The writing of the Negro-English dialects is a distinctly American practice, which attracted attention as early as the 1770's. There has been an increasing interest in orthographic attempts to delineate the Negro character in drama and literature, and a tendency for greater accuracy in phonetic concept. The use of the Negro in plot and characterization has increased in the more recent decades.

In order to make the attempts of the Negro to master the English language a matter of record, and to preserve those factors of dialect that have been a charm of literature for so many years, phonetic transcriptions have been made of an extensive vocabulary and of actual conversations. Negroes in out-of-the-way places have been sought in order to procure examples of speech as free as possible from modern white influence.

From the vocabulary and the transcriptions, a structural study of the Negro dialect has been deduced. African language backgrounds have been drawn upon to explain Negro-English expressions, and such deductions as are possible have been made.

It appears logical to conclude from these studies that the Negro-English dialect is a combination of British dialect
forms and constructions affected to some degree by African phonetic principles. The application of the native African language principles to the English vocabulary and pronunciation has introduced, among other factors, a distinctive element in the speech of the South, which we know as the "southern drawl."

Phonographic recordings in this work of representative southern Negroes have made possible an analysis of Negro factual speech. The analysis bears further evidence that there are remnants of African language characteristics (phonetic characteristics—not, to any important degree, vocabulary) in present day Negro-English speech, and aids in postulating that some of the intonation and pronunciation characteristics of the isolated Negroes of the South are resultants from the attempts of the first Negroes in America to apply their own phonetic principles to the language of the New World. Evidences for the postulation are found in the first orthographic attempts to portray Negro speech, wherein the Negro character is represented as having added vowel endings to his newly acquired language; he ended all words with vowels wherever possible, even at the expense of dropping final consonants or making phonetic substitutions; he added medial semi-vowels such as (j) and (w) to aid in making his newly-acquired words conform to his known language practice. The average present-day Negro continues to use these aids and to keep pure vowels in preference to diphthongs; his phonations, shown in phoneloscopic analysis, average considerably longer than those of any recorded and analyzed white speech; his modulations in pitch
are less abrupt than the general English speech; his present-
day speech has voice characteristics peculiar to West African
languages. Some of these peculiarities are believed to have
been moderately assimilated by some southern whites, under
conditions of having Negro nurses, or of long established
residence in situations where the numerical preponderance of
Negro population is great.

A study of a dialect should present all the important
facts of record and deduce any new conclusions made possible
in such a study. Such a study should also establish a method
of approach to that dialect, so that the facts presented may
enable the student, writer or speaker, to master the dialect
for his personal use. A thesis study should also present new
facts where findings seem to warrant or merit the conclusions.
This study is concluded with a modest conviction that it has,
in a certain degree, accomplished its original intent.
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Name of Candidate: T. Earl Pardoe

Major Field: Speech

Title of Thesis: A Historical and Phonetic Study of Negro Dialect

Approved:

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

Examinining Committee:

Date: Jan. 20, 1938