

**A Study of African American Vernacular English in  
Three Novels and Colloquial Finnish in their  
Translations – *The Dark Tower II: The Drawing of the  
Three, A Time to Kill* and *Push***

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## TURUN YLIOPISTO

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Tiivistelmä: Pro gradu -tutkielma käsittelee afroamerikkalaisen puhekielen (African American Vernacular English, AAVE) käyttöä kolmen englanninkielisen romaanin dialogissa ja suomen yleispuhekielen käyttöä romaanien käännöksissä. Tutkimus on pääasiassa kvantitatiivinen ja deskriptiivinen. Romaanit ovat Stephen Kingin *The Dark Tower II: The Drawing of the Three* (1987) (*Musta torni 2, Kolme korttia pakasta* 2005, suom. Kari Salminen), John Grishamin *A Time to Kill* (1989) (*On aika tappaa* 1994, suom. Kimmo Linkama) ja Sapphiren *Push* (1996) (*Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina* 2010, suom. Kristiina Drews).

Alkukielisten romaanien osalta Grisham ja Sapphire suosivat lauseopillisia kielenpiirteitä, kun taas King on suosinut äänteellisiä. Sen sijaan käännöksissä piirteistä yleisimpiä ovat äänteelliset ja harvinaisimpia lauseopilliset. Vaikka käännöksissä sanastolliset piirteet ovat taajaan esiintyviä, äänteellisiä piirteitä esiintyy niitä enemmän. Poikkeuksena on *On aika tappaa*, jossa sanastollisia piirteitä esiintyy enemmän kuin äänteellisiä. Tulos eroaa Sampo Nevalaisen vuonna 2003 tekemästä tutkimuksesta, jossa hän sai selville, että käännöksissä käytetyt piirteet olivat enimmäkseen sanastollisia, kun taas alun perin suomeksi kirjoitetussa kaunokirjallisuudessa puhekielisyyden vaikutelma saatiin aikaan pääasiassa äänteellisin keinoin. Mahdollinen selitys tässä tutkimuksessa havaitulle erolle on se, että kahdessa romaanissa esiintyvä leimallinen AAVEn käyttö on saanut kääntäjät käyttämään samanlaisia strategioita kuin suomalaiset kirjailijat murretta kirjoittaessaan.

Asiasanat: afroamerikkalaiset, englannin kieli, englanninkielinen kirjallisuus, fantasiakirjallisuus, fiktio, jännityskirjallisuus, kirjallisuuden kieli, kääntäminen, murteet, puhekieli, slang, sosiolingvistiikka, suomen kieli, suomenkielinen kirjallisuus, variaatio, viihdekirjallisuus, Yhdysvallat

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# 1 Introduction

The purpose of this master's thesis is to describe the use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) in three novels and the use of colloquial Finnish in the translations of the novels. The three novels analysed are *The Dark Tower II: The Drawing of the Three* (1987) by Stephen King (*Musta torni 2: Kolme korttia pakasta*, 2005, translated by Kari Salminen), *A Time to Kill* (1989) by John Grisham (*On aika tappaa* 1994, translated by Kimmo Linkama) and *Push* (1996) by Sapphire (*Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina* 2010, translated by Kristiina Drews). Of primary interest is to determine which features the authors use to represent AAVE and which features of colloquial Finnish the translators employ to convey the speech of African American characters. Three novels written by different authors and translated by different translators are analysed because definitive conclusions cannot be drawn from examining a single novel.

Although there is certainly much to study about the use of spoken language in literature, some topics, while interesting in their own right, are irrelevant to the main focus of this thesis. For example, the topic of gender-specific differences found in the use of the two varieties is excluded from the present study, as are aspects of conversation analysis, such as the concept of sequential organization, which is present in natural spoken language and real life conversations. The reason for these exclusions is that dialogue in fiction does not attempt to present realistic representations of actual speech events (Kalliokoski 1998, 187–188, 193; Juva 1998, 53; Siikarla 1983, 63; Nevalainen 2003, 4–5).

Questions such as how AAVE has been used in other literary works, and how the variety has been translated into Finnish throughout history are beyond the focus of this thesis. Although the use of colloquial Finnish in novels originally written in Finnish is largely irrelevant to the present study, Section 3.2.3 includes some quantitative comparative observations about differences in the use of colloquial Finnish between literary translations and

novels originally written in Finnish that are based on a study conducted by Sampo Nevalainen in 2003.

This thesis consists of two distinct parts. The first part (consisting of Sections 2 and 3) attempts to paint a picture of the linguistic qualities of the two varieties whose use in the three novels is analysed in the latter part of the thesis. This second part shifts the focus to the present analysis itself, which is based on the descriptions presented in the first part. In the linguistic descriptions in the first half and in the linguistic analyses in the second half, the current author builds on the foundation of linguistic expertise attained from his studies of English Translation and Interpreting as a major subject and Finnish as a minor subject.

Next, let us examine the structure of the thesis more closely. Section 2 provides the linguistic framework needed to understand how the two varieties discussed here relate to language variation in general. Although the varieties are examined here mainly through “core” linguistics, the domain of sociolinguistics is always in the background when discussing non-standard varieties of language. In fact, Section 2 presents an overview of key sociolinguistic concepts that pertain to the study of the two varieties analysed here. Further, in Section 2.4, the relation of colloquial Finnish to other forms of Finnish is discussed.

Section 3 describes the two varieties of language whose use in the three novels is analysed in this thesis. The current study does not pretend to offer an exhaustive account of all the intricacies of these two language systems. Therefore, the features introduced in Section 3 are the ones most frequently cited in the literature. A differentiation is made here between features of AAVE and colloquial Finnish (those features introduced at the beginning of the thesis in Sections 3.1.3 to 3.1.5 and 3.2.2) and “other non-standard features” (features that were unexpected on the basis of previous studies concerning the most common features of the two varieties but which were nonetheless used in the texts to represent those varieties). These features are included for the sake of comparability of results across studies and because, as will be seen, some scholars consider them to be *bona fide*

features of the varieties (in the case of AAVE, some of its features are shared in Southern American English, which may make defining a 'true' feature of AAVE difficult). Mufwene (2001a, 294) defines a feature as "any phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, or pragmatic characteristic that distinguishes one language variety from another." Semantic and pragmatic features are not the principal focus here, and morphological features are more extensively examined for colloquial Finnish than AAVE, mainly because of the former variety's rich use (or, occasionally, lack of use) of morphological variants.

In order to describe how AAVE has been translated into Finnish in literature, it is necessary to describe what AAVE and colloquial Finnish are like in their real world forms. Section 3.1 aims to offer a comprehensive, almost textbook-like, overview of AAVE as a language variety in as concise a form as possible. In this study, AAVE is described more extensively and in more detail than colloquial Finnish because the former is more specific as a language variety. This is because colloquial Finnish here refers to the standard spoken variety of Finnish, which is familiar to most Finnish speakers and used by them daily. Thus, this variety is familiar to translators, and they can duplicate its features with ease. In contrast, AAVE is strongly associated with the African American population; that is, one particular group of speakers within the larger speech community. Another reason to present a thorough look at the linguistic features of AAVE is to provide a starting point for other researchers who are about to study the use of the variety in some medium and need to familiarise themselves with it. Additionally, the history and origins of AAVE are explained because they are important in defining what AAVE is, and defining the objects of study is a fundamental requirement of any research paper. Two of the authors whose novels are discussed in this thesis are white. Consequently, AAVE is not the native spoken variety of the authors in the same way as colloquial Finnish is for the translators. It follows, then, that these authors may have used features of AAVE incorrectly. This adds an additional dimension to the study; to wit, an assessment of the verisimilitude of the use of the variety.

As a result, in Section 3.2, the features of colloquial Finnish are explained less extensively than those of AAVE. The basics of Finnish grammar are not covered in this thesis, and hence it is assumed that the reader has a good command of Finnish (although the ways in which colloquial Finnish deviates from standard written Finnish are, of course, explicitly explained in grammatical or other linguistic terms). In this thesis, *colloquial Finnish* is used to describe the variety that in Finnish research literature has sometimes been termed *yleispuhekieli*. Problems relating to the definition of *yleispuhekieli* will be explored in Section 3.2.1. Section 3.2.3 reviews the results of Nevalainen's 2003 study on the use of colloquial Finnish in translated fiction. Later, in Section 5, these results are compared to the results attained in this study. Again, the present author hopes that Section 3 with its linguistic descriptions and background on the two varieties may be useful to other scholars about to embark on similar research and who need a compact survey of the literature and some of the important scholars in the field.

Section 4 introduces the material and the methodology used. First, brief biographies are presented for each of the three authors in Sections 4.2.1 (Stephen King), 4.2.2 (John Grisham) and 4.2.3 (Sapphire). Next, synopses of all the novels are provided in Sections 4.3.1 (*The Dark Tower II: The Drawing of the Three*), 4.3.2 (*A Time to Kill*) and 4.3.3 (*Push*). The synopses include evaluations of how the authors have used AAVE as part of the characterisation of the fictional African Americans in their novels (an issue that is returned to in Section 5.6). The biographies and synopses also review some of the criticism leveled at the authors and their works. From these sections, one can understand why the authors and their novels are worth scholarly attention.

Section 5 analyses the use of AAVE in the original novels and colloquial Finnish in the translations. The section begins with some general observations about the analysis itself and about the differences in the overall number of different features between the texts. The section continues with micro-level accounts examining how the varieties are used in each text (Sections 5.2 to 5.5). The study is mainly quantitative and descriptive. The

section mostly consists of quantitative comparisons of the frequencies of occurrence of features of the two varieties in the novels and the translations. This section seeks to answer what non-standard features the authors use to represent AAVE (and what features are absent), and what features of colloquial Finnish the translators use to create the illusion of such a specific variety of language as AAVE. Any errors in the analysis or misinterpretations of the data are the author's own and not those of the researchers cited. The purpose of this thesis is to describe which features are used in the data and how frequent those features are, not to analyse how specific features of AAVE have been systematically translated into Finnish (i.e. the approach is different from that of, for example, Wu and Chang (2008) and Wekker and Wekker (1991) who examine how certain linguistic features of AAVE have been translated in literature (and how they could have been translated) and assess the appropriateness of the translators' choices).<sup>1</sup>

Section 5.6 draws conclusions about the differences found in the frequencies of the non-standard features in the novels, as well as the membership of those features to certain linguistic categories (i.e. lexical, syntactic, phonological and morphological), differences in how each linguistic category is represented in the texts, and the significance of the differences in the frequencies for characterisation. The results of this thesis are also compared to those of Nevalainen (2003). In addition, this section identifies those features of AAVE that are absent from the current data.

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<sup>1</sup> Such an approach would have been unworkable here since English and Finnish are structurally different languages, and therefore any specific non-standard linguistic features directly coinciding in the source and target texts would have been unlikely. By contrast, Wu and Chang (2008) studied the translation of AAVE into Chinese and Wekker and Wekker (1991) studied the translation of the variety into Surinamese Dutch. Considering that Chinese is an analytic language (a classification that can be applied to English as well (Kastovsky 2006, 56)) and that Dutch and English belong to the same language family, the Indo-European, or more specifically, the Germanic language family (Whaley 1997, xix), the aforementioned scholars may have been able to detect the way certain linguistic features have been translated because in both studies the two languages involved are typologically similar (or at least closer to the analytic type than the agglutinative type). Nevertheless, Wu and Chang (2008) acknowledge that some syntactic features of AAVE are impossible to convey as such in Chinese because, as they observe, Chinese belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family and lacks the inflectional morphology that in English is used to convey tense and aspect. According to Wu and Chang (*ibid.*), features of AAVE that indicate these two categories, such as the future verb form *gonna/gon* and habitual *be* (see Section 3.1.4), were expressed with "idiomatic expressions and adverbial phrases" by the three Chinese translators whose target texts they studied.

Finally, Section 6 examines how the research goals of the current study were met and whether the research procedure was effective in achieving those goals. Additionally, this section discusses the usefulness of the results for the entire research field. Lastly, fruitful avenues for future research are explored, as there remains much to discover in this field of translation studies beyond the results presented in this thesis.

## **2 Language Variation**

A particular language is never an entirely homogeneous entity. A language consists of many varieties which are different but mutually intelligible. Speakers of the same language may use different words, syntactic structures and pronunciations, and individual speakers' speech may vary from time to time. In addition, we are aware of variation in one another's speech, often unconsciously. We have the capacity to understand the different varieties of our native language and also to understand the social significance they carry. For indeed, variation in language is linked with a speaker's regional background, social class, race, age and gender (Wardhaugh 1993, 130). Thus, society and language are intertwined.

The following sections define key concepts that pertain to language variation and sociolinguistics, and are relevant to describing the two varieties analysed. The first two terms, *dialect* and *eye dialect*, are relevant for both AAVE and colloquial Finnish. In Section 2.3, terms strictly related to understanding AAVE are explained. In Section 2.4, terms pertinent to sociolinguistic study in Finland are covered. Of course, concepts such as dialect, vernacular, colloquial language and slang are defined differently by different researchers. Other scholars may disagree about the sense and scope of these terms as defined in this thesis. The following sections explain how these concepts are understood in the present work.

### ***2.1 Dialect***

Dillard (1972, x) defines *dialect* as "the collective linguistic patterns of a subgroup of the speakers of a language". A dialect is a variety that differs from

all other varieties grammatically, phonologically and lexically, and is “associated with a particular geographical area, social class or status group” (Trudgill 1992, 23).

In the case of AAVE, the dialect is used by an ethnic group and especially those members of the group who belong to the lower classes. In Finnish research, the term *dialect* is used to describe a variety used by a population that has settled in a particular geographical area in Finland (Lehikoinen 1994, 91). Colloquial Finnish is not entirely discrete from Finnish dialects. Mielikäinen (1982) remarks that “most of the diverging features of phonology and morphology in colloquial Finnish have actually originated from old local dialects. Therefore, they have not developed independently in the modern age, nor have they originated from the spoken language used in Helsinki [...]” (my translation).

Thus, there exist both social dialects and regional dialects, the former of which are associated with a particular social class or group. As a matter of fact, sociolinguistic research today is more concerned with the study of social dialects, or sociolects,<sup>2</sup> than of regional dialects (Wardhaugh 2006, 135). The main interest in the investigation of social dialects is discovering how differences in speech relate to social differences.

Dialects may sometimes be treated as being in some way inferior to the standard variety or varieties (McArthur 1998a). This is because the standard is the variety originally used by a prestige group that has come to be seen as the “correct” variety of the language. For example, Standard English and standard Finnish are just dialects of their superordinate languages, albeit ones that have high prestige. It is only natural, then, that non-standard varieties have been belittled because of their incongruities with the grammatical rules of the standard varieties.

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<sup>2</sup> The *lect* in “sociolect” is simply a different label for “variety”, that is, “kind of language”, which includes both (geographical) dialects and sociolects (Trudgill 1992, 48). In the case of AAVE, one may also use the term “ethnolect” (Anhava 2000).

## **2.2 Eye Dialect**

Eye dialect is a literary device<sup>3</sup> used by authors to give the impression of non-standard speech. This is accomplished by using alternative spellings of words that still conform to the usual pronunciations of the words. Some examples of eye dialect include *uv* ('of'), *cuz* ('because') and *askedche* ('asked you') (Edwards 1992, 368, cited in O'Connell & Kowal 2009, 242–243). Eye dialect may be defined as the use of visually distinctive misspellings and diacritic marks such as apostrophes to show that the words spoken deviate from standard written language (*ibid.*). Representing a non-standard variety in this manner may also implicitly imply that said variety is somehow subordinate to the standard (Peterson 2004, 432). By using eye dialect, an author attempts to emulate phonology in particular (Sanger 1998, 51). In fact, O'Connell and Kowal (2009, 242) call eye dialect a “pseudo-phonetic transcription”. Since eye dialect is a general technique for evoking spoken language, it is excluded from the current analysis. Nevertheless, eye dialect is used frequently in the novels to express non-standard speech, and it occurs in some of the examples from the data presented in this study.

Eye dialect can also be used in Finnish fiction. Examples mentioned by Ekholm-Tiainen (2003, 78, cited in Hietasaari 2006, 20) are *tulempas* for *tulenpas*, *tuleppa* for *tulepa* and *reijän* for *reiän*. These eye dialect forms represent the way these words are actually pronounced by most native speakers of Finnish. By this definition, in the current data, the spelling *ampulanssi* in *Kolme korttia pakasta* may be considered eye dialect: *Onks tää ampulanssi?* (258).

## **2.3 Terms related to AAVE**

### **2.3.1 Vernacular**

What does the “vernacular” in “African American Vernacular English” mean? According to Green (2004a, 77), the use of “vernacular” in this label of the variety emphasizes that AAVE is a spoken variety of language with socially

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<sup>3</sup> Eye dialect originated in fiction (O'Connell & Kowal 2009, 243).



stigmatized features. When viewed through the neutral lens of linguistics in general and sociolinguistics in particular, however, the vernacular can be defined as “that speech that is most natural [...] and that emerges when the speaker is not monitoring their speech” (Rickford & Eckert 2002, 3) or as “that relaxed, spoken style in which the least conscious attention is being paid to speech” (Wardhaugh 2006, 19). Furthermore, Trudgill (1992, 78) emphasizes that the vernacular is that variety which is least connected to the standard or official variety or varieties.

### **2.3.2 Pidgin and Creole**

The terms “pidgin” and “creole” are relevant to discussions about AAVE in that they relate to hypotheses concerning its historical background (see Section 3.2). Pidgins are languages that come into being as a result of multilingual contact situations, usually involving voluntary or involuntary migration (as would have been the case with AAVE) or trade (Wardhaugh 2006, 59). These situations seem to involve at least three languages, one of which is superordinate to the others. Pidginization involves the simplification of the structure of the dominant language (the pidgin usually lacks those linguistic features that are absent from the mother tongues of its speakers) and the inclusion of local lexical items. Since pidgins are only intended to temporarily facilitate communication between people who speak mutually unintelligible languages, they lack native speakers.

If a pidgin replaces the original subordinate languages, becomes the only language spoken in a speech community and acquires native speakers, it is called a creole. Creoles exhibit a more extensive vocabulary and more complex grammar. When speakers of the creole come into contact with the language that gave rise to the original pidgin, the creole may gradually come to resemble the superordinate language. This process is called decreolization. As shown in Section 3.2, some researchers maintain that AAVE is the result of just such a process.

## ***2.4 Terms Related to Language Variation in Finland***

This thesis examines the use of colloquial Finnish in translated fiction. Colloquial Finnish and the problems involved in defining the term itself will be discussed later in Section 3.2.1. Here, it suffices to say that colloquial Finnish differs from other forms of spoken Finnish, which is why it needs its own designation in the first place. In this section, these other forms are defined according to the descriptions usually provided in the Finnish research tradition.

Section 2.1 already discussed the relation of colloquial Finnish to Finnish dialects. In addition to dialect, another term used by Finnish researchers to explain the sociolinguistic variation of Finnish is *aluepuhekieli* (which may be translated as "local spoken language"). The term refers to a leveled dialect that still roughly indicates the regional identity of the speaker; that is, whether the speaker originates from eastern or southern Finland, for example (Mielikäinen 1986; Lehikoinen 1994, 91).

Whereas colloquial Finnish has developed from old local dialects, *slang* is usually understood in Finnish research literature as a form of spoken language that originates from cities (Mielikäinen 1980, 30). Defining Finnish slang is made more complicated by the additional use of the term *slang* in Finnish studies to describe the speech of any group whose members are bound by occupation, recreation or age; and, in addition, *slang* can be used to refer to everyday speech (*ibid.* 30–31). Finnish slang differs from standard Finnish and local dialects mainly in terms of its vocabulary, which is why it defies categorisation as either a regional or social dialect (*ibid.* 31). One function of slang is to help maintain the conformity of the group that uses it (Koivusalo 1979, 16). Slang is rarely the only variety used by its speakers (Lehikoinen 1994, 91).

The variety of Finnish used for literary and official purposes, *kirjakieli*, may be defined as normative written language (Koivusalo 1979: 15). Laypeople may also use *kirjakieli* as a synonym for standard language (*yleiskieli*) (Lehikoinen 1994: 90). *Yleiskieli*, however, is a broader concept than *kirjakieli*

(*ibid.*). The former is the normative variety of Finnish shared by all members of the language community that encompasses written standard language and formal spoken language used in public contexts (*ibid.*, 91).

### **3 The Two Varieties**

After defining basic sociolinguistic concepts that relate to language variation and showing their significance to the study of the two varieties, the research now focuses on each of the two in turn. Section 3.1 examines AAVE by briefly considering some of the labels that have been used to refer to it, then discussing its historical background, and finally examining the linguistic system itself. Section 3.2 examines colloquial Finnish by first describing the lack of consensus regarding the labelling of the variety and then presenting an overview of its linguistic features, and lastly summarising Nevalainen's (2003) study of colloquialisms in translated Finnish fiction.

#### ***3.1 African American Vernacular English***

##### **3.1.1 Definition**

The non-standard variety of English spoken by many African Americans in the United States is remarkably consistent throughout the country. As a matter of fact, it shows little variation in such cities as Boston, New York, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles, and seems to better resist change over time than the English spoken by the corresponding white populations in these areas (Labov 2001, 506–508, cited in Wardhaugh 2006, 345). Wardhaugh (2006, 342) remarks that the reasons for this uniformity are twofold: the first is the relatively recent migration of African Americans from the south, and the second is the persistence of racial segregation. Not all African Americans speak the variety, however. In fact, many speak standard American English and may be incapable of speaking AAVE (Hurd 2006, 71). Furthermore, the variety is mostly used by African Americans at the low end of the socioeconomic spectrum and by young and uneducated speakers (*ibid.*).

## The Name of the Variety

There exists a plethora of names for this variety in the literature, including “Negro dialect”, “American Negro speech”, “Black communications”, “Black dialect”, “Black street speech”, “Black English”, “Black Vernacular English”, “African American English” and the name used in the present work, “African American Vernacular English”.<sup>4</sup> The term is used, as it is the one most commonly used in current research (Hurd 2006, 71). As Green (2002a, 5) notes, the same label that is used for the speakers of a particular variety at any given time will also serve as the label for the variety itself.<sup>5</sup> The word *English* is included in many of the terms, which implies that AAVE shares characteristics with other varieties of English (Green *ibid.*, 6). When *English* is missing from the name (e.g. *Negro dialect* and *African American Language*), the emphasis is on the African and creole background of the variety (*ibid.*). This background, as will be seen next, remains the subject of an ongoing debate.

## Views on the Origins of AAVE

In their views on the origins of AAVE, researchers remain divided. As a matter of fact, there are two main approaches to the discussion. The first view postulates a creole origin, while the other position sees the variety as a mainly English dialect. Let us examine these possible explanations in turn.

The view that prevailed in the 1950s was that AAVE had its basis in dialects of British origin spoken in American colonies and was identical to

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<sup>4</sup> Another well-known term is *Ebonics*, made famous by the 1996-1997 Oakland school board controversy (see Baugh 2000a, and for a brief overview see Wardhaugh 2006, 349) where the Oakland School Board in California acknowledged Ebonics as a genetically based, separate language from English that was to be used in the education of black children with the intention of gradually introducing them to Standard English. Eventually, the school board abandoned this proposal. Although the media frenzy surrounding the controversy has led many to associate the term “Ebonics” with AAVE, the term was originally invented to “refer specifically to the language of people of African descent that had its roots in West African languages, and not as a reference to any dialect of English” (Green 2004a, 77).

<sup>5</sup> Until 1967, speakers of AAVE were identified as “negroes” and subsequently as “blacks” until 1989, and finally, in the era of politically correct discourse, they have come to be designated as “African Americans” (Patrick, 2007). For more information on changes in the labelling of this ethnic group and for an explanation of the years mentioned here, see Smitherman (1994, 11–16).

Southern vernaculars (Wolfram and Thomas 2002, 12–13). This hypothesis is known as the Anglicist hypothesis of origin.<sup>6</sup> This view holds that although slaves brought with them African languages and pidgins and creoles spoken in the African diaspora,<sup>7</sup> features from these varieties were mostly lost as subsequent generations adopted English as their primary language (*ibid.*, 13).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Anglicist hypothesis began to be replaced by the creolist hypothesis, which holds that AAVE originated as a creole such as Jamaican Creole and Gullah<sup>8</sup> and emerged independently from Standard English (*ibid.*, Wardhaugh 2006, 344). The creolist argument is that slave traders picked slaves who spoke mutually unintelligible languages in order to prevent revolt, which meant that the slaves had to find a means of communicating, a *lingua franca*, which in most parts of the United States was a pidgin variety of English (in Louisiana, slaves spoke French Pidgin) (Dillard 1972, 22). As the first generation to speak the pidgin as a mother tongue emerged, the pidgin became a creole, referred to by proponents of this hypothesis as Plantation Creole (*ibid.*). The creolist hypothesis entails that the creole has decreolized to such an extent that the original creole features have disappeared, thus bringing AAVE closer to English (Fasold 1986, 448).<sup>9</sup>

More recently, some scholars have examined data from ex-slave recordings and diaspora varieties, and have come to a conclusion akin to the Anglicist hypothesis; namely, that “postcolonial African American speech was quite similar to the early British dialects brought to North America” (Wolfram and Thomas 2002, 14). This so called neo-Anglicist hypothesis suggests that

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<sup>6</sup> Proponents of this hypothesis include Krapp (1924, 1925), Kurath (1928), McDavid and McDavid (1951), McDavid (1965), Davis (1969, 1970), Schneider (1982, 1983, 1989, 1993), Poplack and Sankoff (1987), Poplack and Tagliamonte (1989, 1991, 1994), Tagliamonte and Poplack (1988, 1993) and others (Rickford 1998, 154–155).

<sup>7</sup> The word *diaspora* as used here is “a generic reference to the various geographical areas outside of Africa where Africans were enslaved, principally North, South, and Central America and the Caribbean, i.e., the so-called “New World” (Smitherman 1994, 92).

<sup>8</sup> Gullah is spoken in the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia.

<sup>9</sup> According to Rickford (1998, 154), the first researchers to support the creolist view were Schuchardt (1914), Bloomfield (1933, 474), Wise (1933) and Pardoe (1937). Thereafter, the creolist argument was strongly supported by Stewart (1967, 1968, 1969) and Dillard (1972, 1992), and subsequently adopted by Baugh (1979, 1983), Rickford (1974, 1977), Fasold (1976, 1986), Smitherman (1977) and Winford (1992a, 1992b, 1997), among others (*ibid.*).

the African slaves maintained certain features from their original languages while conforming to the varieties of English found in their new environment (Wardhaugh 2006, 344).<sup>10</sup>

As Rickford (1998, 155) notes, views on the origins of AAVE are not as neatly divided as they are here, and intermediate and overlapping positions also exist. In the light of the multiplicity of existing hypotheses, Wolfram and Thomas (2002, 14) advise caution against making definitive statements about the origin of the variety. Nonetheless, as Fasold (1986, 447) mentions, on one aspect linguists can agree: AAVE is not a result of its speakers' linguistic or cognitive deficiencies. This is evidenced by its systematic linguistic structure, to which the discussion now turns.

### **3.1.2 Features of AAVE**

In discussing AAVE, some researchers provide a list of its relevant non-standard features.<sup>11</sup> By contrast, Lisa Green, a native speaker and one of the most recent scholars to add to our understanding of the variety, prefers to examine AAVE as a system that is equivalent to Standard English and shares many features with it, but also has unique features of its own.<sup>12</sup> The structure of this section follows that presented in Green (2002a), which has been described by Smitherman and Baugh (2002, 20) as a "complete grammar" of AAVE.

Of course, as Labov (1972a, 189, cited in Rickford 1999, 12) has observed, "a speaker might alternate between vernacular and mainstream variants many times in the course of even a brief conversation, and we have to recognize that AAVE, like most language varieties, includes a certain amount of inherent variability". Additionally, as Fasold (1969, 763) observes,

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<sup>10</sup> The neo-Anglicist view has been mainly supported by Poplack (e.g. 2000).

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, the lists provided in Hall and Freedle (1975, 33–35), Hurd (2006, 76–77) and Rickford (1999, 4–9).

<sup>12</sup> Green includes both shared and divergent features as part of the overall linguistic system and thus treats it as no different from standard varieties. This approach is most clearly evident in Green (2002a), which Smitherman and Baugh (2002, 20) see as a "fundamental departure" from previous studies.

it is unlikely that there exists a speaker who uses all the distinguishing features at all times.

### Previous Research<sup>13</sup>

In their summary of the history of research on AAVE, Smitherman and Baugh (2002, 6–7)<sup>14</sup> note that from the early 1900s until the 1940s, the variety was seen as “baby talk” (Harrison, 1884) and a result of cognitive deficiencies or laziness (e.g. Krapp 1924, Mencken 1936). During the 1960s and 1970s, a new wave of researchers – among them Labov, Cohen, Robbins, and Lewis (1968), Wolfram (1969), Labov (1972b), and Fasold (1972) – argued against earlier racist claims about the variety and indicated that it was systematic and rule-governed (*ibid.*, 8). With his paper entitled “The Logic of Nonstandard English”, Labov (1969) helped expunge racist thinking that saw AAVE as an illogical and ungrammatical variety (*ibid.*). Of studies conducted in the 1970s and 1980s, Rickford (1999, 3) sees as significant Fasold and Wolfram’s 1970 article *Some linguistic features of Negro dialect* (originally published in Fasold and Shuy 1970, 41–86; in this thesis, reference is made to the reprint in De Stefano (1973)), Dillard (1972), Burling (1973), Smitherman (1977) and Baugh (1983). Smitherman and Baugh (2002, 13) note that whereas many studies in the 1960s and 1970s described the AAVE spoken in ritualized African American speech events and the AAVE spoken by young people, Baugh (1983) reported the speech of adult informants in conversational settings. Of studies done in the 1990s, Rickford (1999, 3) cites Dandy (1991), Martin (1992), Wolfram (1993), Wolfram (1994a), Wolfram and Adger (1993), Dayton (1996), Bailey and Thomas (1998), Martin and Wolfram (1998) and Mufwene (1998). Of more recent work, Smitherman and Baugh (2002, 20)

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<sup>13</sup> At the beginning of his book-length collection of articles, Rickford (1999, 3), a leading authority with 40 years of experience in AAVE research, notes that literature on the grammar and phonology of the variety is relatively sparse and that some standard works, although still important contributions to the field, are outdated in some respects.

<sup>14</sup> Geneva Smitherman, a native speaker of AAVE, has published books and articles on the variety aimed at the general public (see, e.g. Smitherman 1977, 1994, 2000). In her work, she has promoted the recognition of AAVE as a legitimate variety alongside Standard English, and she supports the view that the distinctive features of AAVE have their origins in African languages. John Baugh, also a native speaker, has collected his data from extensive field work conducted since the 1980s. He has investigated linguistic profiling, that is, whether listeners are able to identify speakers’ ethnicity on the basis of their speech alone (see Baugh 1996, 1999, 135–147, 2000b).

see Rickford and Rickford (2000) as an accessible account of the “structure, history, rhetorical practices, semantics and styles of speaking” of AAVE, and Green (1998a, 2001), Fasold (1999), and Palacas (2001) as notable descriptions of the structural features of the variety.

### 3.1.3 Vocabulary<sup>15</sup>

The vocabulary of AAVE is too broad a subject to discuss in its entirety (whole dictionaries exist, including Major (1971), Major (1994), Smitherman (1994) and Smitherman (1998)). Therefore, only a few example words are provided here. According to Green (2002a, 14), descriptions of the lexicon have been approached in three different ways. The first approach is to simply list the lexical items, which is used in Major (1994) and Smitherman (1994) (*ibid.*). The second approach involves categorising words thematically (such as words relating to drugs or relations between men and women) as in Folb’s (1980) lexicon (*ibid.*, 17). The third approach attempts to differentiate between lexical items that actually appertain to the linguistic system and lexical items that belong to certain social domains (mostly those associated with criminal activities such as pimping and drug trafficking) (*ibid.*). Dillard (1977, cited in Green 2002a, 18) prefers this type of description. Descriptions of the lexicon that are different from the types explained above may include words from all dialects of American English rather than solely from AAVE (*ibid.*).

Green (2004a, 79–81) divides the lexicon into two categories: general words and phrases used by speakers of all age groups, and slang, which is used by adolescent speakers. Included in the general vocabulary<sup>16</sup> are words that are shared with general American English and words that look similar but differ in their semantics (e.g. *kitchen* means the hair at the nape of the neck,

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<sup>15</sup> Two notable scholarly works on AAVE vocabulary are Major (1994) and Smitherman (1994). Major (1994) contains lexical items from the seventeenth century onwards, while Smitherman (1994) is a dictionary of current AAVE. In addition, shorter phrase books include Anderson (1994) and Stavsky *et al.* (1995) (Rickford 1999, 3). Rickford (*ibid.*, 12) notes that most phrasebooks focus almost entirely on slang expressions and thus may give the wrong impression that AAVE is nothing more than slang used only by adolescents.

<sup>16</sup> As Smitherman (1998, 221) remarks, the general vocabulary allows members of this ethnic group, who may belong to different social classes, to maintain a collective identity and to participate in the community.



and *mannish* and *womanish* refer to young people who act like adults) (Green 2002a, 19–20). Other words and phrases included in the general lexicon are *ashy* (an adjective describing dry skin, e.g. *That lotion is good for ashy skin*), *call\_self* (a verb that signifies that the speaker believes someone’s behaviour to be inconsistent with the image they want to impart to other people, e.g. *He call hisself cooking*) and *get over* (a phrase that means taking advantage of someone or something or succeeding by using one’s wit, e.g. *The students tried to get over on the teacher*) among many others (the examples here are from Green (2004a, 79–80), which includes more examples and information about the linguistic environments in which these words can occur). Martin and Wolfram (1998, 17) note that the uniqueness of AAVE is not always a result of individual features but rather a result of these features occurring in a wider range of environments than in other language varieties. For example, the construction *call\_self* in AAVE differs from other English varieties in that it allows a wider variety of complements (see Wolfram 1994b).

The general vocabulary of AAVE also includes verbal markers, which modify the meaning expressed by the verb (the aspectual markers *be*, *BIN* and *dən*, which are kinds of verbal markers, are discussed in the next section). The verbal marker *come* is used only to express speaker indignation,<sup>17</sup> as in *He come walking in here like he owned the damn place* (Spears 1982, 850, 852). The verbal marker *stay*<sup>18</sup> can be used either as a verb (as in *I stay on New Orleans Street*, which means that the person either lives on or frequents New Orleans Street) or as a verbal marker (*She stay in that bathroom*; *She stay running*). In these last two examples, *stay* indicates a habitual meaning (‘She is often in that bathroom’, ‘She is often running’) (Green 2002a, 23). The verbal marker *finna*<sup>19</sup> indicates that an event is about to happen in the immediate future (*ibid.*, 70, 71). *Finna* precedes non-finite

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<sup>17</sup> The verbal marker *come* is distinct from the motion verb *come* and, therefore, can be used with the verb *go* without contradiction (e.g. *She come going in my room – didn’t knock or nothing*) (Mufwene 2001a, 305).

<sup>18</sup> The marker *stay* was first formally described by Spears (2000) (Smitherman and Baugh 2002, 13).

<sup>19</sup> The full form of this marker is *fixing to*; other contractions include *fixina*, *fixna*, *fitna*, *fi’na* (pronounced with a glottal stop) and *finta* (Mufwene 2001a, 305, Green 2002a, 70).

verbs in their base forms (i.e. unmarked for tense or agreement), as in *I don't know about you, but I'm finna leave* (“...but I'm getting ready/about to leave”) (*ibid.*, 70). The verbal marker *steady* is used to convey that the action happens “non-stop or consistently” (Green 2004a, 84). An example is *Her mouth is steady runnin'*, and as the example shows, *steady* precedes verbs in the progressive form (Baugh 1984, 3, 4). Labov (1998, 143) notes that *steady* is “the most adverbial” of the verbal markers, a quality which he attributes to the marker's etymology: the grammaticalization of the lexical word *steadily*.<sup>20</sup> The verbal markers *steady* and *come*<sup>21</sup> have been discussed less extensively in the literature than the verbal (or, more specifically, aspectual) markers *be*, *BIN* and *dən* (Green 2002a, 70).

Finally, slang is that transient part of the lexicon that is used by a particular age group and varies geographically. Green (2004a, 79) notes that although for some Americans AAVE elicits notions of bad English and slang, slang is merely a small part of the variety and is mostly used by pre-adolescents and young adults.<sup>22</sup> It is impossible to provide a comprehensive description of AAVE slang terms in this thesis as slang is constantly changing, and words that are currently in use will soon become obsolete. Certain tendencies can be observed, however. Firstly, slang items can be divided into categories, and secondly, new items can be produced through productive processes of word-formation (*ibid.*). Some of the largest categories of slang terms are terms referring to people, money and actions (Green 2002a, 27–30). As an example of productive word-formation, Green (*ibid.*, 30–31) mentions the structure “*get* – possessive pronoun – noun – *on*” which originated from the phrase *to get your groove on* but which is now used in the general sense of becoming engaged in some activity (*ibid.*, 30).

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<sup>20</sup> Smitherman and Baugh (2002, 13) see the similarity between *steady* and the Standard English form *steadily* as the reason why the specific meaning of this marker remained unnoticed by linguists until Baugh's (1983) study.

<sup>21</sup> *Steady* and *come* (along with aspectual *be*, to be discussed in Section 3.1.4) are what Spears (1982) calls “camouflaged” forms; that is, forms that are “phonologically similar or identical to forms in the base language (the source of most of the lexical items), but which are used with different semantic values” (850).

<sup>22</sup> In this respect, AAVE is similar to most other varieties.

### 3.1.4 Syntax

AAVE has essentially the same basic sentence structure as other varieties of English. The characteristic syntactic structures may, however, be identified by speakers of mainstream English as evidence of illogical structure. The purpose of this section is to show that those features behave systematically. Understanding the systematic syntax of AAVE is vital for recognising these patterns in the three novels analysed in this thesis.

#### Verbs and Auxiliaries<sup>23</sup>

In AAVE, singular and plural verb forms may be identical (e.g. *he/they eat*) (Green 1998b, 40, 42).<sup>24</sup> Lack of agreement between subject and verb also holds for past tense forms (e.g. *I was, they was*) (Green 2002a, 38). In addition, stressed emphatic affirmation forms *DO*, *WAS* and *HAVE* are invariant with singular and plural subjects (e.g. *He DO eat, They DO eat*) (*ibid.*).<sup>25</sup> Labov (1998, 146) notes that subject-verb agreement is “marginal”, although frequently present with *is* and *am* occurring with third person singular and with first person singular subjects. There are two other features that are sometimes grouped together with the lack of subject-verb agreement marking because of the lack of word final -s, although the two relate to nouns rather than verbs. The first feature is the lack of a possessive marker in such constructions as *Nate book* and *his daddy name* (whose Standard English equivalents are *Nate’s book* and *his daddy’s name*) (Mufwene 2001a, 298). The other feature is the lack of a plural marker (as in *two dog*) (*ibid.*).

The auxiliary/copula *be* (hereafter referred to as the copula) is optional in some environments. In fact, copula absence is one of the most well-known

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<sup>23</sup> Most of the information presented in this section relies on Green’s (2002a) extensive verbal paradigms. Winford (2000, 410) has described Green’s (1993) dissertation concerning the AAVE verb system as one of the few studies that have attempted to “apply current models of syntax to the formal description of AAVE.”

<sup>24</sup> According to Butters (1973, 37), speakers rarely use the verb ending -s in inter-group interactions, but they use it more frequently in formal settings. Labov (1998, 146) observes that when verbal -s is used, it is most often present in third singular contexts. Verbal -s can also be used to mark present tense in narrative contexts and to denote habitual meaning (see Green 2002a, 99–102).

<sup>25</sup> The amount of stress placed on the auxiliary varies; the auxiliary may be lightly or heavily stressed (Green 1998, 40).

and most researched topics in AAVE studies. The copula does occur with the first person singular pronoun (e.g. *I'm eating*<sup>26</sup>), the third person singular neuter pronoun (e.g. *it's eating*), in the past tense (e.g. *you was eating*) and in emphatic contexts (e.g. *I AM eating*) (Green 1995, 71–72). The copula is optional with the first person plural (e.g. *we eating*) and second and third person singular and plural (e.g. *you/she/they eating*) (Green 2002a, 38–39). According to Labov (1972b, 73), the following rule applies for copula deletion: “wherever [Standard English] can contract, [AAVE] can delete *is* and *are*, and vice versa; wherever [Standard English] cannot contract, [AAVE] cannot delete *is* and *are*, and vice versa” (e.g. *\*How beautiful you're!* is ungrammatical in Standard English, and *\*How beautiful you!* is ungrammatical in AAVE).<sup>27</sup>

The simple past form of the main verb is used in present perfect and past perfect contexts, resulting in constructions such as *he ate* (either simple past or present perfect) and *he had ate* (past perfect) (Green 1998b, 43). In present perfect contexts, the auxiliary *have* usually only surfaces in emphatic (e.g. *he HAVE ate*) and negative sentences (e.g. *he haven't ate*<sup>28</sup>) (*ibid.*, Green 2002a, 39). The past perfect auxiliary *had* has an additional meaning equivalent to the simple past (Labov 1998, 116). This use is called preterite *had* and is exemplified by the sentence *One time my mom and my dad had went somewhere* (“One time my mom and my dad went somewhere”) (Rickford and Th  berge-Rafal 1996, 236). Rickford and Th  berge-Rafal (*ibid.*, 227) found that this feature was mainly used by preadolescent speakers (“primarily sixth-graders”) in narrative contexts. Green’s (1998, 43) data suggest, however, that it is also used by young adults. An additional way of referring to past events is the use of the verb stem, so that, for example, structures such as *John come* and *Larry tease Tammy* correspond to the past or present perfect tenses of Standard English (the example

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<sup>26</sup> Absence of the copula in first-person singular contexts is ungrammatical in AAVE (e.g. *\*I running*) (Green 2004b, 213).

<sup>27</sup> For a look at the processes involved in copula deletion, see Labov (1972b, 65–129). For re-examinations of earlier copula research, see Holm (1984) and Baugh (1986). For an overview of the issues relating to the study of the copula, see Rickford *et al.* (1991, in Rickford 1999).

<sup>28</sup> The structure *he ain't ate* may also be used (Green 2002a, 37).

sentences can, therefore, be rendered into Standard English as *John came* and *Larry teased Tammy* (Mufwene 2001a, 301).

AAVE expresses future tense in much the same way as mainstream English does, although also using reduced forms (such as *I'ma/She'a eat*) and the verb form *gonna* or *gon* (Green 2002a, 40). Auxiliaries are optional in questions, and when the auxiliary is absent, intonation marks the sentence as a question (e.g. *Dee waiting for the bus?*) (Green 1995, 72–73).

### **Aspectual markers: *be*, *BIN*, *dən***

Four verbal markers have already been discussed (*come*, *stay*, *finna* and *steady*) in Section 3.1.3. This section focuses on the verbal markers (more specifically, aspectual markers) *be*, *BIN* and *dən*.<sup>29</sup> Labov (1998, 119) describes these markers as “invariant forms, which are placed before the main verb of the sentence in the position reserved for modals or aspectual markers in [other American dialects]”. Green (2004b, 219), in discussing Labov’s analysis, adds that in addition to preceding main verbs, *be* and *BIN* may also occur before non-verbal predicates.

The first marker to be discussed, aspectual *be*,<sup>30</sup> denotes habitual meaning,<sup>31</sup> “durative or iterative depending on the nature of the action” (Labov 1972b, 51).<sup>32</sup> An example sentence is *I never be looking for that* (“I usually never look for that”) (Green 2004a, 83). Aspectual *be* can precede verbs, adjectives, nouns, prepositions and adverbs (*ibid.*, 81). The marker is followed by verbs in the *-ing* form (Green 1998b, 49). Mufwene (2001a,

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<sup>29</sup> The markers *be*, *BIN* and *dən* can be combined to yield *be dən* and *BIN dən*, with *be dən* having multiple meanings depending on the context (see Green 2002a, 63–67).

<sup>30</sup> Aspectual *be* is also variously called invariant *be*, finite *be*, *be<sub>2</sub>*, and distributive *be* in the literature. According to Mufwene (2001a, 303), the earliest study of aspectual *be* is Fasold (1969). Other studies cited by Mufwene (*ibid.*) include Fasold (1972), Rickford (1986) and Myhill (1988, 1991).

<sup>31</sup> Labov (1998, 121) notes that the habitual meaning of aspectual *be* was identified early in AAVE studies in descriptions such as Stewart 1967; Labov *et al.* 1968, and Fasold 1972, and that there is “little disagreement” about the central meaning of the marker.

<sup>32</sup> Alim (2004a, 2004b) identifies a further meaning associated with invariant *be* that he calls *be<sub>3</sub>*. Alim (2004b, 398–399) describes *be<sub>3</sub>* as the equative copula, which occurs between two noun phrases (e.g. *I be the truth*). Alim (*ibid.*, 399) notes that although this usage is most prominent in hip hop lyrics and may have become more common only recently, it is also present in older data, as exemplified by the sentence *They be the real troublemakers* found in Baugh (1983, cited in *ibid.*).

303–304) notes two properties of aspectual *be* that set it apart from the copula *be*: aspectual *be* is replaced by *do* in elliptical structures (e.g. *Malcolm be tellin lies, and you do too*) and requires *do*-support in emphatic contexts and in questions (e.g. *Do he be messin with my brother?*). Green (2004b, 219–220) agrees with Labov’s (1998, 122) finding that aspectual *be* occurs with adverbs that denote habituality, but adds that in some contexts, an iterative adverb may co-occur with aspectual *be*, as in *I be ringing the bell twice* (“I usually ring the bell twice”).<sup>33</sup> Fasold and Wolfram (1973, 135) note that aspectual *be* is only found in AAVE and that its meaning is “usually misunderstood by standard English speakers”. Speakers of other varieties of English may think that habitual *be* is a general variant of the forms *am*, *is*, or *are* (*ibid.*). In actuality, habitual *be* in these contexts is ungrammatical, and to indicate present time, speakers must either use these forms or no auxiliary at all (e.g. *She is running* or *She running*) (Green 2004a, 81). This is an important point to note considering studies of how AAVE is used in literature, since literary authors may also misunderstand the meaning of this marker. Mufwene (2001b, 36) mentions that “imitations” of AAVE rarely use other unique grammatical features besides aspectual *be*.

The second aspectual marker discussed in this section is *BIN*.<sup>34</sup> The notation adopted here indicates that the marker is pronounced with stress.<sup>35</sup> *BIN* “refers to the relatively distant past when an event took place or a current state began” (Mufwene 2001a, 301).<sup>36</sup> Thus, in *I BIN eating*, the eating started in the remote past and continues up to the moment of utterance, whereas in *I BIN ate* the eating ended in the remote past (Green 2002a, 54–55). As these two examples show, *BIN* is followed by verbs in the *-ing* and *-ed* forms. As Smitherman (1977, 23) indicates, *BIN* does not occur with

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<sup>33</sup> For a thorough look at the properties of aspectual *be*, see Green (2000).

<sup>34</sup> Remote past *BIN* has been described in Dillard (1972), Labov (1972b), Wolfram and Fasold (1974) and Green (1998a).

<sup>35</sup> Different scholars use different labels for this marker. For example, Fasold and Wolfram (1973) use the Standard English spelling *been*, Smitherman (1977) uses *BEEN*, Martin and Wolfram (1998) use *béen*, Green (1998a, 1998b, 2002a, 2002b, 2004a, 2004b) uses *BIN*, Rickford (1999) uses *BÍN*, and Mufwene (2001a) uses *bin*.

<sup>36</sup> The time period involved is relative in the sense that, depending on the context, the action may have started fifteen minutes ago or fifteen years ago (Green 1998a, 47).

qualifying time phrases, and therefore, for example, the sentence \**He BIN gone a long time* is ungrammatical.

The next aspectual marker is *dən*.<sup>37</sup> The schwa sound in *dən* indicates that the marker is pronounced without stress.<sup>38</sup> *Dən* indicates that an action has ended (e.g. *I told him you done changed* [“I told him that you have changed”]) (Green 2002a, 60).<sup>39</sup> *Dən* precedes a verb in the *-ed* form (e.g. *dən ate*) (Green 1998b, 49). *Dən* occurs with the adverbs *already* and *before* (e.g. *I dən already finished that*) (Green 2002a, 62). *Dən* may occur with iterative adverbs such as *twice* and *five times* (Labov 1998, 125).

## Negation

There are two phenomena related to negation in AAVE: multiple negation<sup>40</sup> (e.g. *He ain't got no car*) and negative inversion (e.g. *Didn't nobody ask me do I be late for class* (“Nobody asked me if I am usually late for class”). In multiple negation constructions, negation is marked on the auxiliary and an

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<sup>37</sup> *Dən* has been analysed in Labov (1972b), Dillard (1972), Baugh (1983), Mufwene (1983), Edwards (1991), Green (1993) and Dayton (1996).

<sup>38</sup> Some researchers use the Standard English spelling “done” when discussing this marker. The use of *dən* here follows that of Green (1995, 1998a, 2002a, 2002b, 2004a, 2004b) and Edwards (2001). The use of an alternative spelling for the aspectual markers *BIN* and *dən* has two useful functions: it designates the markers as different from the standard forms *been* and *done*, and indicates their stressed and unstressed pronunciations.

<sup>39</sup> Green (1998a, 47) comments that scholars differ somewhat in their views on the exact meaning expressed by this marker, which has been described as denoting perfective aspect (where the beginning, middle and end of the action are part of the meaning; e.g. *He sat down*) (Dillard 1972; Baugh 1983), perfect aspect (a past event is relevant to a later time; e.g. *He has walked*) (Mufwene 1992, 2001a) or as being a completive marker that expresses completion of the event; for this latter interpretation, see Fasold and Wolfram (1973); Toon (1984). Green (1998a, 47–48) herself sees *dən* as conveying perfective aspect and in some contexts completion, while being compatible with a perfect aspect meaning. On this latter point, however, Green (*ibid.*, 48–49) notes that the meaning of *dən* does not always occur in environments where present perfect occurs (e.g. if the marker occurs with a stative verb, as in \**His sister dən been an invalid all her life*, although this sentence may be acceptable in a special context; for example, *His sister dən been an invalid all her life, but now you want to try to help her*). Edwards (2001, 419) asked native speakers to evaluate the grammaticality of *dən been* sentences and concluded that in most cases such sentences were acceptable, and Green’s (1998a, 48) example was found to be “marginally acceptable”. In addition, Edwards (2001, 419), in his data gathered from Detroit informants, has discovered that in some instances, *dən* may be used when referring to situations that are not over. Furthermore, some scholars, such as Myhill (1988, 316), Labov (1998, 126) and Edwards (2001, 424), assert that in their data *dən* is often used in negative contexts and to express speaker indignation.

<sup>40</sup> Also called *negative concord* and *pleonastic negation* (Martin and Wolfram 1998, 17).

indefinite noun phrase<sup>41</sup> (Green 2002a, 77). More than two negative elements may occur, as evidenced by the following example from Labov (1972b, 177): *I ain't never had no trouble with none of 'em.*<sup>42</sup> In negative inversion, the sentence begins with a negative auxiliary and is followed by a negative indefinite noun phrase (Green 2004a, 81). As Mufwene (2001a, 306) observes, it is ungrammatical to use a definite noun phrase in such constructions (e.g. \**Didn John come* ("John didn't come").

### Existential *it* and *dey*

AAVE speakers use the words *it* and *dey* in place of *there is* to indicate that something exists, so for example, the sentences *Dey got a fly messing with me* and *It's a fly messing with me* both mean "There is a fly bothering me" (Green 2004a, 84).<sup>43</sup> The existential element in such sentences may be realised as the form *it's*<sup>44</sup> (e.g. *It's some coffee in the kitchen*), *it* followed by *got* or *have* (e.g. *It got/have some coffee in the kitchen*), *dey* followed by a noun phrase (e.g. *Dey some coffee in the kitchen*) and *dey* followed by *got* or *have* (e.g. *Dey got/have some coffee in the kitchen*) (Green 2002a, 80). An existential construction with aspectual *be* is also possible, as in *It be too many cars in that parking lot* ("There are usually/always too many cars in that parking lot") (*ibid.*).

### Questions

Akin to Standard English, AAVE has three types of questions: yes-no questions, *wh*-questions and indirect questions. According to Green (*ibid.*, 85), there are three ways to form a yes-no question: If there is an auxiliary in

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<sup>41</sup> "Indefinite" here means that the noun phrase lacks reference to any particular referent (Green 2002b, 686).

<sup>42</sup> As Smitherman (1977, 30) observes, double negation is present in other varieties of English, but the use of more than two negative elements is characteristic of AAVE. The so called "logical double negation" of Standard English, whereby two negatives make a positive, also exists in AAVE (Martin and Wolfram 1998, 18). The difference is marked by stress patterns: one negative word in the construction receives normal stress and the other negative is realised with "heavier stress" and often with a rising tone (e.g. *I didn't say **no**thing* (emphasis in the original) means that the speaker did say something (*ibid.*, 18–19).

<sup>43</sup> A classic example that is often cited in the literature comes from Labov's (1972b, 60) data: *Doesn't nobody really know that it's a God, you know.* Note the negative inversion in this sentence.

<sup>44</sup> Pronounced as [ɪs] (Green 2002a, 80).



the corresponding declarative, the auxiliary is moved to sentence-initial position, where it precedes the subject (e.g. *He DO be sleeping* → *Do he be sleeping?*). If, however, the declarative sentence lacks an auxiliary, there are two alternatives: the correct auxiliary may be inserted at the beginning of the question (e.g. *He be sleeping* → *Do he be sleeping?*) or the question may be formed with question intonation alone (e.g. *He be sleeping* → *He be sleeping?*) (*ibid.*).

Green (*ibid.*, 86–87) continues by asserting that *wh*-question formation follows three patterns whose occurrence depends on the position of the auxiliary in a corresponding declarative and whether or not an auxiliary is present. Green (*ibid.*, 86) maintains that AAVE *wh*-questions are formed on the basis of “fabricated declaratives” in which the *wh*-element is the object of the sentence. In the first type of *wh*-question, the auxiliary follows the *wh*-word and precedes the subject, as in *What did you eat?* (a structure shared in Standard English) (*ibid.*, 85, 87). Here the fabricated declarative is *You did eat what*, and the question is formed by placing the *wh*-word at the beginning and by moving the auxiliary to precede the subject (*ibid.*, 86). In the second type, the auxiliary follows the subject, as in *What they was doing?* (*ibid.*, 85–87). Here the declarative is *They was doing what*, and the question is formed by moving the *wh*-word to the beginning (*ibid.*, 86). In the third type, there is no overt auxiliary, as in *Who you be talking to like that?* (*ibid.*). The declarative is *You be talking to who like that*, and again, the *wh*-word is moved to the beginning, and since there is no auxiliary to relocate, this is the only change needed (*ibid.*, 86–87). According to Martin and Wolfram (1998, 29) non-inverted questions such as the ones presented here are absent from “other Anglo-American dialects.”

In AAVE indirect questions, subject–auxiliary inversion is possible (*ibid.*, 28). For example, in *Ask him can you do it?* (“Ask him if you can do it”) the auxiliary precedes the subject (Mufwene 2001a, 308).

## Relative clauses

Relative pronouns are optional in AAVE relative clauses when the noun phrase modified by a relative clause occurs in direct object or subject complement position, as in *We got one girl ø be here every night* (“There is one girl who is usually here every night”, the noun phrase *one girl* occurs in direct object position) and *You the one ø be telling me* (“You’re the one who usually/always tells me”, the noun phrase *the one* occurs in subject complement position) (Green 2002a, 90). Tottie and Harvie (2000, 199) note that little research has been done on AAVE relative clauses.<sup>45</sup>

### 3.1.5 Phonology

The concept of “sounding black” has received attention among scholars (e.g. Baugh 1999, 135–147). To be precise, this notion has to do with listeners perceiving the rhythmic and intonation patterns of AAVE in the speech of an African American. Intonation is excluded from the discussion of AAVE phonology in Section 3.1.5 because only those features of “sounding black” which can be depicted in writing are of interest for the purposes of this thesis. In other words, this section examines the segmental phonology of AAVE, that is, the way individual sounds are produced, rather than suprasegmental features such as stress and intonation. Bailey and Thomas (1998, 85) note that research on AAVE phonology has received less attention among

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<sup>45</sup> Even so, Tottie and Harvie (2000, 199–200) cite Smith (1969), McKay (1969), Light (1969), Dillard (1972), Labov and Cohen (1973) and Martin and Wolfram (1998) as relevant studies, although they take issue with some of the claims in these descriptions. They see these studies, with the exception of McKay (1969), as contradictory and lacking “accountable quantitative data” (*ibid.*, 199). For example, they cite Labov and Cohen (1973) as stating that the most common relative pronoun in AAVE is *which*, whereas the consensus among the other authors cited by Tottie and Harvey seems to be that the relative pronouns *who* and *which* are nearly non-existent in AAVE, but *that*, *what* and zero are frequent (*ibid.*, 199–200). In addition, according to Tottie and Harvie (*ibid.*, 199), Light (1969) claims that zero subject relative clauses (where the head of the relative clause, in the following example, *the man*, corresponds to a subject position in that clause: *He [the man [got all the old records]]*) are non-existent in AAVE, even though one of his examples includes such a construction. Tottie and Harvie (*ibid.*, 199–200) note that Smith (1969) does identify zero subjects but fails to describe the overall system of relativisation. Tottie and Harvie (*ibid.*, 200) also comment that although both Dillard (1972, 59) and Martin and Wolfram (1998, 38) mention the existence of object zeros (where the head of the relative clause, in the following example, *the woman*, relates to an object position in that clause, e.g. *Sheila [the woman [(that) Bill broke up with]]*), their remarks about the absence of zero subjects in other English varieties are inaccurate. The examples of subject zero and object zero relative clauses presented here are from Martin and Wolfram (1998, 31–32).

scholars than the syntax. Most of the research was done in the 1960s and 1970s<sup>46</sup> and focused on the realisation of word-final consonant clusters (e.g. *kind* → *kin*), the occurrence of *f* in environments where mainstream English uses *th* (e.g. *bath* → *baf*) and the vocalisation of *l* and *r* (e.g. *court* and *coat* are homonyms) (Green 2002a, 106). According to Bailey and Thomas (1998, 92), many of the phonological features are variable rather than categorical.

## Consonant Cluster Reduction

Certain combinations of consonant sounds are usually reduced to a single consonant, most often when they occur in word-final position (Green 2004a, 85).<sup>47</sup> The clusters *st*, *sk*, *sp*, *pt*, *kt*, *nd*, and *ld* are reduced in final position, so that, for example, the following forms result: *lis* for *list*, *des* for *desk*, *was* for *wasp*, *accep* for *accept*, *contac* for *contact*, *spen* (pronounced *spin*, see below) for *spend* and *buil* for *build* (Green 2002b, 679).<sup>48</sup> In contrast, the clusters *nt* and *nk* resist reduction (e.g. in *mint* and *think*, the cluster remains intact), although reduction does occur with auxiliaries ending in *nt*, such as *can't*, *won't* and *ain't* (Green 2004a, 85).<sup>49</sup> Green (*ibid.*) also notes that consonant clusters are reduced in the middle of words when the cluster precedes a suffix that begins with a consonant (e.g. *-ness* in *kindness*; yielding *kinness*, and *-ly* in *friendly* yielding *frienly*). When the cluster precedes a suffix that begins with a vowel, the cluster may be retained or omitted.

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<sup>46</sup> The studies were conducted in relation to investigations into the reading difficulties of African American children (Bailey and Thomas 1998, 85). These studies include Baratz and Shuy (1969), Wolfram (1969), Fasold and Wolfram (1973), Labov (1972b) and Luelsdorff (1975).

<sup>47</sup> This feature is variable: speakers may reduce clusters in certain environments and leave them intact in others, while some may only use reduced forms (Green 2002a, 109). In addition, as Smitherman and Baugh (2002, 8) comment, final consonant cluster reduction is common among all English speakers. Yet, as Bailey and Thomas (1998, 86) note, it is more frequent and occurs in more environments than in mainstream English.

<sup>48</sup> Moreover, reduction can occur in words with two morphemes, as in the past tense forms of verbs such as *missed* and *picked*, which in mainstream English are pronounced with the final consonant clusters [st] and [kt] (Green 2002a, 110). Mufwene (2001a, 296) observes that in the case of the alveolar stops /t/ and /d/, reduction occurs more frequently in monomorphemic words (e.g. *.past*) than in polymorphemic words (such as the past tense form *passed*) and also more commonly when the following word begins with a consonant (e.g. *past/passed me*) than when the preceding word begins with a vowel (e.g. *past/passed us*).

<sup>49</sup> Therefore, auxiliaries occur as *ain'*, *cain'* and *don'* (Green 2002a, 115). Additionally, the vowel sound of the auxiliary becomes nasalised (e.g. *don't* is pronounced [dõ]) (Green 2004a, 85). Bailey and Thomas (1998, 91) list final consonant cluster reduction to vowel nasality as one of the unique features of AAVE.

When the cluster occurs with the suffix *-able* (as in *acceptable*), the whole cluster is usually pronounced, but with other vowel-initial suffixes (such as *-ing* and *-er*), the cluster may either be present or absent (e.g. *spending/spenin*, *colder/coler*) (Green 2002a, 112).<sup>50</sup> As Fasold and Wolfram (1973, 118–119) describe, consonant cluster reduction follows a systematic rule: if both consonants in the cluster are either voiceless or voiced, as in *post* (both consonants are voiceless) and *cold* (both consonants are voiced), the cluster is reduced. If, however, one consonant is voiceless and the other one is voiced, as in *jump* or *count*, the cluster is retained (*ibid.*). Green (2002a, 2002b) uses the term voicing generalization for this principle.<sup>51</sup>

## Devoicing

Word-final voiced stops that follow a vowel are devoiced, so that, for example, *bad* is pronounced [bæʔ] and *pig* is pronounced [pɪk] (Rickford 1999, 4). The final devoiced consonant may be followed or replaced by a glottal stop (e.g. [bæʔʔ] or [bæʔ]) (*ibid.*).<sup>52</sup>

## th

The Standard English sound *th* is realised as *t/d* or *f/v* in AAVE (as in *dis* for *this* and *mouf* for *mouth*).<sup>53</sup> The choice of allophone depends on whether the *th* sound is voiceless ([θ]) or voiced ([ð]) and on the position of the sound within the word (Green 2002a, 117). Green (2004a, 86) presents the following generalization: the voiceless sounds *t* and *f* occur where [θ] occurs in other varieties of English (e.g. *bath* → *baf* [bæf]), and the voiced sounds *d* and *v* occur where [ð] occurs in other varieties (e.g. *smooth* → *smoov* [smuv]). As Smitherman (1977, 17) observes, when [θ] occurs word-initially (as in *think* and *thirty*), the *th* sound is pronounced as it is in mainstream English.

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<sup>50</sup> According to Rickford (1999, 11), cluster reduction in an environment preceding a vowel is rare in other varieties of American English.

<sup>51</sup> For further discussion of this rule, see Labov *et al.* (1968, 123–157) and Wolfram and Fasold (1974).

<sup>52</sup> According to Fasold (1981, 170), devoiced final stops are common in all varieties of English, but the use of a glottal stop is unique to AAVE.

<sup>53</sup> Bailey and Thomas (1998, 87) indicate that this feature is common in other non-standard varieties but seems to be especially frequent in AAVE.

The sounds *t*, *d*, *f*, *v* appear in the following environments: *t* occurs at the end of words (e.g. *wit* for *with*),<sup>54</sup> *d* occurs at the beginning of words (e.g. *dese*), *f* occurs in the middle and at the end of words (e.g. *birfday*, *baf*), and *v* occurs at the end of words (e.g. *smoov*) and in the middle when *th* occurs between two vowels (e.g. *muv* for *mother* and *bruv* for *brother*) (Green 2004a, 86).

### **Vocalisation of *r* and *l***

When following a vowel, the liquids *r* and *l* may be vocalised (i.e. pronounced as a schwa, e.g. *pill* becomes [pɪə]) or left unpronounced (e.g. *tore* is pronounced [to]) (Green 2002a, 120). If the liquid is not pronounced as an unstressed vowel, then a vowel that would otherwise precede the liquid may become longer (e.g. *cold* is pronounced [ko:]) (*ibid.*, 120–121). According to Rickford (1999, 5), *r* is most frequently vocalised when it occurs at the end of a word and is followed by a word beginning with a consonant (as in *four apples*). Vocalisation of *r* may also occur when a vowel follows within the same word (as in the pronunciation of the name *Carol* as [kæə]) (*ibid.*)<sup>55</sup>

### **Vowel sounds<sup>56</sup>**

AAVE and Southern dialects share the merger of the vowels /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ before nasals, so that for example the words *pen* and *pin* both sound like the latter (Bailey and Thomas 1998, 102).<sup>57</sup> Another feature of vowel sounds is the lowering of [ɛ] in words such as *prepare*, *care* and *hair* (so that, for example, the second syllable in *prepare* is pronounced *par*) (Green 2002a, 123).<sup>58</sup> The

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<sup>54</sup> In Bailey and Thomas's (1998, 87) data from Texas, pronunciation of *with* varied considerably: it was pronounced as [wɪt], [wɪd], [wɪf], and [wɪv]. Generally, speakers used a final voiced sound when the first sound of the following word was voiced, a voiceless sound when the following word began with a voiceless sound or when *with* was phrase-final (as in *the boy she came with*) (*ibid.*).

<sup>55</sup> On liquid vocalisation, see also Fasold and Wolfram (1973, 123–124) and Labov *et al.* (1968, 99–119).

<sup>56</sup> Bailey and Thomas (1998) and Thomas and Bailey (1998) concentrate on the vowel system of AAVE. According to Bailey and Thomas (1998, 105), studies such as Haley (1990) and Bailey and Maynor (1989) seem to indicate that listeners are able to discern differences in vowel use and use this information to identify speakers as African Americans.

<sup>57</sup> As noted before, another example of this feature is the pronunciation of *spending* as *spinning* (note that the word is also affected by consonant cluster reduction) (Green 2002a, 113).

<sup>58</sup> This pronunciation is used by speakers from all age groups in central and northern Texas (Green 2002a, 123).

Standard English endings *-ing* and *-ink* in some words are realised as *-ang* and *-ank* (e.g. *thang* for *thing*, *rang* for *ring* and *drank* for *drink*) (Smitherman 1977, 18; 1994, 7).<sup>59</sup> Although the monophthongisation of /ai/ (as in *tied* → /ta:d/; *nice* → /na:s/) has been described as a typical feature of Southern white speech, it is also present in AAVE (Fridland 2003, 282).<sup>60</sup> It is worth observing, considering the study of the use of AAVE in literature, that according to Hurd (2006, 83), written representations of the variety that do not utilize phonetic transcription usually only use monophthongisation with easily recognizable words such as *I* and *my* (written as *ah* and *mah*) to avoid making the text incomprehensible.

### 3.1.6 Discussion

As has been demonstrated in Section 3.1, the lexical, syntactic and phonological features of AAVE are rule-governed and relate systematically to corresponding constructions in Standard English. Although some of the grammatical rules are more complex than presented here, and although there exist features left undiscussed here, this section of the thesis has provided a sufficiently comprehensive look at the most prominent characteristics of the variety. Future studies may provide descriptions of usages that have gone unnoticed in past and current research. Having defined AAVE as a language variety, the focus now turns to the other variety under scrutiny, colloquial Finnish.

## 3.2 Colloquial Finnish

### 3.2.1 Definition

Colloquial Finnish, the standard spoken variety of Finnish, is the focus of this section. The reason for this is that the entire spectrum of spoken Finnish, including all the dialects and slang, is too broad a topic for the purposes of

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<sup>59</sup> See also Dandy (1991, 46).

<sup>60</sup> The frequency of this feature and the environments in which it can occur seem to vary geographically. Fridland (2003, 281–282) reports that most studies (e.g. Bailey and Thomas 1998, 104; Bailey, Wike, Tillery and Sand 1996; Thomas 2001; Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998) indicate that monophthongisation before a voiced obstruent (that is, a stop, fricative or affricate) is rare among Southern African Americans, although Anderson (2002) found in her data monophthongisation in pre-voiceless environments among speakers in Detroit.

the thesis. Further, the present author presumes that the use of colloquial Finnish is currently the most common strategy for translating spoken language because linguistic features that are strongly associated with a certain geographical area might distract the reader from the content of what is said.<sup>61</sup>

The term *colloquial Finnish* here refers to a variety that differs from the norms of standard Finnish in its phonology and morphology, and lacks marked regional characteristics. The corresponding Finnish term is *yleispuhekieli*. The variety described here is known by many other names as well, and some researchers may disagree about the terms *colloquial Finnish* and *yleispuhekieli* being applied to exactly the kind of variety specified here.

As Laila Lehtikoinen (1994, 90) remarks, there is a lack of clear, well-established appellations for the various varieties of Finnish, and different researchers may define the same terms differently. For instance, Sampo Nevalainen (2003, 3) uses *yleispuhekieli* to describe a spoken form of standard Finnish. By contrast, Nevalainen (*ibid.*, 4) writes about the variety referred to in this thesis as *yleispuhekieli* with the name *arkipuhekieli* ('everyday spoken Finnish'). He admits, however, that the terminology is not exact and that, for example, Jaakko Anhava (2000) uses the term *yleispuhekieli* to describe a variety that Nevalainen himself calls *arkipuhekieli*. Yet, both authors use their terms to identify a type of everyday spoken

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<sup>61</sup> For example, Pennanen (1983, 69) warns against excessive use of the Finnish spoken in Helsinki because it may irritate readers. In the history of translated Finnish fiction, one especially notorious translation has been Pentti Saarikoski's 1961 translation of J.D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*. Saarikoski used Helsinki slang in his translation even though in the 1960s and 1970s, standard language was the norm for Finnish literary expression (Mielikäinen 2001; see also Tiittula & Nuolijärvi 2007, 392–393). Strong reactions may also be elicited by distinctive regional dialects, which have also been used in translated Finnish fiction. An example is Jarkko Laine's translation of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the first edition of which was published in 1972. Laine has used the Turku dialect in translating the AAVE used by Huckleberry Finn's friend Jim (Leppihalme 2000, 97). Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2007, 387) note that any changes in the literary norms of the target culture also affect the translations in that culture. For example, the use of spoken Finnish in original Finnish literature increased greatly by the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a development also reflected in translations (the 1972 Finnish translation of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has more colloquialisms than the previous 1927 translation) (*ibid.*, 394).

language without any linguistic features that reveal the speaker's regional background.<sup>62</sup>

Aila Mielikäinen (1986) disregards a view of colloquial Finnish as a single variety, but rather sees it as a group of varieties that fits somewhere in the middle on the continuum between the standard variety and regional varieties and that has gradually encroached upon other forms of spoken Finnish. The linguistic features of colloquial Finnish no longer serve as indicators of a speaker's regional background. Instead, they have become characteristics of informal speech. Mielikäinen (*ibid.*) explains the multiplicity of terms for the variety as a result of the mixed dialects caused by continuing migration within Finland. Another reason is the difficulty of fully defining a variety of spoken Finnish whose features do not reveal a speaker's geographical background (Mielikäinen 1980, 32). Mielikäinen (1986) feels that the various labels given to the forms of spoken Finnish are imprecise, and she reminds researchers that scientific terms should be consistent.

### 3.2.2 Linguistic Features of Colloquial Finnish

Although *kirjakieli* (the normative written variety of Finnish) and *yleiskieli* (the term for the general standard form of Finnish that encompasses both spoken and written formal Finnish) are described as normative and regular, as shown in the preceding description of AAVE, all varieties of spoken language also follow their own linguistic rules.

The focus of this section is on the most common linguistic features of colloquial Finnish that can be discerned in the phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary. According to Mielikäinen (1986), spoken Finnish is characterised by "roughly twenty phonological, morphological and syntactical features, whose appearance deviates from the norms of standard language" (my translation). These features originate from local dialects and have

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<sup>62</sup> Other definitions exist in the current research literature. Osmo Ikola (1986) uses the term *yleispuhekieli* for a variety of spoken Finnish that is used in formal contexts. Pauli Saukkonen (1970) sees *yleispuhekieli* as a variety that adheres to the phonology and morphology of standard Finnish. Esko Koivusalo (1979, 17), in turn, defines *yleispuhekieli* as a spoken variety that is removed from everyday speech and instead lies in the middle ground between written standard Finnish and everyday spoken Finnish.



survived in spoken Finnish because of their broad geographical distribution (Mielikäinen 1986).

In this, as in the previous section, it is impossible to describe all the features of the variety discussed. Table 1 presents those features of colloquial Finnish most often mentioned in Finnish research literature (Mielikäinen 1982, Mielikäinen 1986, Lehtikoinen 1994, 152; Ingo 1999, 149–151; Nevalainen 2003, 9).<sup>63</sup> The categorisation of the features follows that of Ingo (1999, 149–151). The examples provided in the table originate from the same research literature as the features themselves.

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<sup>63</sup> Mielikäinen (1986) provides an extensive account of the geographical origin of these features.

**Table 1. Linguistic features of colloquial Finnish**

| Feature   | Examples  |
|---|---|
| <b>Phonological features</b>  |   |
| <b>a) Elision</b>   |   |
| Apocope of <i>i</i> after <i>s</i>  | <i>isäs</i> ['isäsi'], <i>osas</i> ['osasi'], <i>suureks</i> ['suureksi']   |
| Apocope of <i>A</i>   | <i>mökis</i> ['mökissä'), <i>tiel</i> ['tiellä'), <i>meill-oli</i> ['meillä oli']   |
| Elision of diphthong-final <i>i</i> in unstressed positions   | <i>alko</i> ['alkoi'], <i>semmonen</i> ['semmoinen'], <i>punanen</i> ['punainen']   |
| Elision of final <i>-t</i> in past participle ( <i>-nUt</i> ) forms of verbs  | <i>alkanu</i> ['alkanut'], <i>kirjottanu</i> ['kirjoittanut']   |
| Elision of word-medial <i>-n-</i> , <i>-l-</i> and <i>-m-</i>   | <i>meen</i> ['menen'], <i>oon</i> ['olen'], <i>tää</i> ['tämä']   |
| Complete elision of standard language <i>d</i> or replacement of <i>d</i> with dialectal weak grade variant                     | <i>tehään</i> ['tehdään'], <i>heijän</i> ['heidän']   |
| <b>b) Assimilation</b>  |   |
| Monophthongisation of final syllable <i>A</i> -ending diphthongs  | <i>vaikee</i> ['vaikea'], <i>rupee</i> ['rupeaa']   |
| Use of <i>tt</i> or <i>t</i> as a variant for standard language <i>ts</i> -cluster  | <i>ei sun tartte</i> ['ei sinun tarvitse'], <i>kato</i> ['katso']   |
| <b>c) simplification</b>  |   |
| Use of short variants of the pronouns <i>minä</i> ['I'] and <i>sinä</i> ['you'] <sup>64</sup>                                   | <i>mä(ä)</i> , <i>sä(ä)</i> , <i>mun</i> , <i>sun</i> ['minun, sinun']  |
| Use of short variants of numerals <sup>65</sup>   | <i>yks</i> , <i>kaks</i> , <i>kuuskytviis</i> ['yksi, kaksi, kuusikymmentäviisi']   |
| Omission of the interrogative suffix ( <i>-kO</i> ) or replacement with a short variant ( <i>k</i> or <i>ks</i> ) <sup>66</sup> | <i>oot sä käynys syömässä?</i> ['oletko sinä käynyt syömässä'], <i>otak sä lisää</i> ['otatko sinä lisää'], <i>tuutteks te?</i> ['tuletteko te?'] |
| <b>Morphological features</b>   |   |
| Omission of the possessive suffix   | <i>mun kirja</i> ['minun kirjani']  |
| Use of unmarked MA-infinitive in the illative case  | <i>lähen meneen</i> ['lähden menemään'], <i>(rupes) tekeen</i> ['rupesi tekemään']  |

<sup>64</sup> According to Nevalainen (2003, 10), these short forms of personal pronouns could also be regarded as a lexical feature because pronouns are a closed word class and do not show systematic phonological variation.

<sup>65</sup> In analysing the three translations, short forms of ordinal numbers (such as *eka* for 'ensimmäinen' which occurs in *Push*) are categorised as short variants of numerals, even though ordinal numbers in Finnish grammar may also be considered adjectives.

<sup>66</sup> The omission of the interrogative suffix may also be regarded as a morphological feature (Nevalainen 2003, 10).

|   |   |
|---|---|
| Use of the passive in place of the first person plural  | <i>me mennään</i> ['me menemme']  |
| <b>Syntactic features</b>   |   |
| Lack of number agreement in the third person plural (third person singular verb forms are used) | <i>ne tulee</i> ['he tulevat'], <i>tytöt menee</i> ['tytöt menevät'], <i>naiset ei tullu</i> ['naiset eivät tulleet'] |
| <b>Lexical features</b>   |   |
| Replacement of the third person pronouns <i>hän</i> and <i>he</i> with <i>se</i> and <i>ne</i>  |   |

As explained in the previous section, colloquial Finnish has its roots in local dialects. Why, then, have the features of colloquial Finnish spread so widely that they can be found in the speech of nearly all Finns?<sup>67</sup> First of all, colloquial Finnish has retained those features that have traditionally had a wide geographical distribution in Finland (for example, in both eastern and western dialects) or that have been used in areas with large populations (such as the southern and western parts of Finland) (Mielikäinen 1986; Lehikoinen 1994, 150). Another reason why said features have become common is that they have never functioned as labels to identify a person as coming from a certain geographical area and thus have never been targets of negative stereotyping (Mielikäinen 1982).

Since the next section examines past research on the use of colloquial Finnish in translations, some observations should be made here about the structural differences between colloquial Finnish and colloquial English. According to Anhava (2000), the main differences between English standard and non-standard varieties are found in pronunciation, although rural dialects and ethnic dialects (such as AAVE) may also differ from the standard in terms of their grammar. In contrast, colloquial Finnish and written standard Finnish have many morphological and syntactic differences (*ibid.*; see also Siikarla 1983, 64). Anhava (2000) concludes that the difference between colloquial Finnish and standard written Finnish corresponds to the difference between Standard English and an ethnic dialect of English.

<sup>67</sup> It should be remembered that not all features of colloquial Finnish are used by all Finns, and a single speaker may not use all of them in all situations (Lehikoinen 1994, 151).

### 3.2.3 Past Research on the Use of Colloquial Finnish in Translations

The dialogue in translated novels usually follows the general standard form of Finnish, and any use of colloquialisms or dialectal features is always exceptional in some way.<sup>68</sup> Interestingly, in novels originally written in Finnish, the use of spoken language has become more common, whereas in translations, use of the general standard is still dominant (Juva 1998, 50; Tiittula & Nuolijärvi 2007, 392). According to literary translator Kersti Juva, this is because Finns see stories that take place in their own culture as depicting reality, the language of these stories must also be believable. By contrast, translations represent foreign cultures, and Juva surmises that Finns may want the translations to feel foreign. In fact, Juva believes that deep down Finns respect everything foreign and dislike putting anything that originates from foreign countries into a bad light (Juva 1998, 50.). A different explanation is offered by Englund Dimitrova (1997, 63; cited in Tiittula & Nuolijärvi 2007, 392), who argues that although established authors of original fiction are free to deviate from the standard norm and to use language in new creative ways, translators, who are less respected as writers than original authors, will rather conform to the norm than change it.

Literary translator Eva Siikarla (1983, 66) describes the translation of dialects as a source of frustration for translators for which a correct solution is unlikely to be found. Siikarla (*ibid.*) identifies some especially problematic questions relating to the translation of dialects: should translators use a dialect or general spoken language? Should translators merely create a sense of dialectal speech by only using a few dialectal features? If translators decide to use a regional dialect, they must also decide which dialect to use. In the end, Siikarla (*ibid.*) concludes that in this matter translators have to decide for themselves. Sami Parkkinen (1998, 69), a translator of plays, says he refrains from using any particular dialects as such in his plays to avoid the reader associating the dialogue with any particular area of Finland. Professor

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<sup>68</sup> On writing about the use of dialectal features in Finnish literature, Mauno Koski (2002, 62) notes that if the author has used a dialect in writing the speech of a certain character, and even though the rest of the dialogue is written in the standard, the lines of dialogue featuring the dialect are marked and distinctive.

Liisa Tiittula from the University of Helsinki and professor Pirkko Nuolijärvi from the Institute for the Languages of Finland stress that translators should always strive for consistency no matter what colloquialisation strategy they decide to use (Siikamäki 2007, 5).<sup>69</sup>

The English language has many varieties characteristic of certain social classes. These varieties lack counterparts in Finnish because Finland's class system is different from those found in English-speaking countries (Siikarla 1983, 64; see also Koivusalo 1979, 16). For this reason, literary translator Eila Pennanen (1983, 68; 70) sees sociolects<sup>70</sup> as the most difficult language varieties to translate. Thus, although social differences may be evident in the linguistic form of the source text, they may not always appear in the translation (Siikamäki 2007, 5). In contrast, Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2007, 391) suggest that translating social variation is in fact easier than translating regional variation because of the difficulty of conveying the regional speech found in a certain country by using the language of another country.

Jyrki Kalliokoski (1998, 188) argues that written spoken language feels foreign because of the clash of two channels: speech and writing. Linguistic features characteristic of spoken Finnish and especially dialects, such as assimilation<sup>71</sup> and gemination at morpheme and word boundaries<sup>72</sup>, look foreign in a written text (Sarvas 1998).

In an analytic language such as English, style is conveyed primarily through vocabulary, whereas in synthetic languages such as Finnish, colloquial style may also be achieved through the use of phonological, morphological and syntactic features (Ingo 1999, 159).

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<sup>69</sup> During the writing of this thesis, Tiittula and Nuolijärvi completed a comprehensive volume on the use of spoken language in translated Finnish fiction (Tiittula & Nuolijärvi 2013), which the reader is advised to consult when conducting or planning to conduct research within this field.

<sup>70</sup> A sociolect, or a social dialect, is not determined by a speaker's place of origin, but rather social factors such as social class, occupation and age (see e.g. Paunonen 1989, 214). AAVE could be called a sociolect.

<sup>71</sup> An example is the assimilation of diphthong-final *i* with the preceding vowel in *punaanen* ('punainen') in the dialect spoken in Southern Ostrobothnia.

<sup>72</sup> For example, when *mene pois* is pronounced [menep pois] or *sinnekin* is pronounced as [sinnekin].

Nevalainen (2003) has studied colloquialisms in the Corpus of Translated Finnish<sup>73</sup> and compared their frequency to a corpus which consists of literature originally written in Finnish. In his quantitative study, Nevalainen (*ibid.*, 7) discovered that the linguistic features of colloquial Finnish found in translations corresponded “surprisingly well” with those found in real everyday colloquial language. Nevalainen (*ibid.*, 9) focuses on 14 phonological, morphological and lexical colloquialisms, and examines their occurrence in translated Finnish.

Nevalainen found that in translated fiction certain colloquialisms were clearly predominant, whereas in literature originally written in Finnish, colloquialisms were used more diversely than in the translations (*ibid.*, 11). According to Nevalainen (*ibid.*), this shows that translators, unlike original authors, employ certain strategies<sup>74</sup> in writing colloquial Finnish: they choose certain features by which they create the illusion of spoken language. Nevalainen (*ibid.*, 20) notes that although a translation is a copy of the original work of art, translating as a process is, however, a creative activity that involves making choices.

All the colloquialisms examined by Nevalainen were more frequent in the texts originally written in Finnish than in the translations (*ibid.*, 19). Additionally, the colloquialisms used in translations were mostly lexical, whereas the ones used in original Finnish fiction were mostly phonological (*ibid.*).

### **3.2.4 Discussion**

As noted in Section 3.2.1, colloquial Finnish may be defined in different ways, and the very concept of spoken language is by no means homogenous. The variety of Finnish described here is one which is used by the majority of

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<sup>73</sup> The Corpus of Translated Finnish has been compiled at the University of Joensuu, and it contains 10 million words. The corpus includes texts from 10 different source languages (Jokela 2006, 630.) The Corpus of Translated Finnish is the first Finnish corpus of translation to also include texts originally written in Finnish that belong to the same genres and to the same time period as the translations (Jantunen – Eskola 2002, 186).

<sup>74</sup> A brief overview of translation strategies for uninitiated readers is found in Paloposki (2002, 249–250).

the population of Finland in their daily speech and which does not reveal a speaker's regional background. Its characteristic features are evident in all the fundamental areas of linguistic inquiry: the phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax. Since these features are frequent in real spoken language, they are used in translated colloquial language as well. Since they are recognisable, they feel authentic, and it is this sense of authenticity that authors of the original novels have also attempted to achieve by using a non-standard variety of their own language. Further, as Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2007, 391) emphasise, linguistic variation in original novels is significant and to ignore it in translations would be to change the nature of the characters and the overall meaning of the novels (a view which certainly applies to the novels analysed in the present study, as will be seen in Section 5.6).

According to Wu and Chang (2008), the question of how translators handle translating dialect remains unanswered. They cite Hatim and Mason (1997, 99), who see three different possibilities in translating dialect: (1) the standard variety is used throughout the text, (2) a non-standard variety is used for the dialect or (3) a non-standard variety is used for informal contexts and the standard variety for formal situations. Furthermore, Stog (2006, cited in Wu and Chang 2008) considers it impossible to fully translate the original non-standard varieties used by an author because of the absence of fully equivalent varieties in the target language that evoke the exact same regional or social associations. Wekker and Wekker (1991, 228), in their study on the translation of the AAVE used in *The Color Purple* into Surinamese Dutch, are of the opinion that in translating dialect, the main purpose should be to elicit reactions from the reader of the translation that are similar to those experienced by the reader of the source text. They also observe that translators should choose to use non-standard varieties that have similar "socio-cultural characteristics" as the non-standard variety used by the original author (Wekker and Wekker 1991, 228). Although Wekker and Wekker come to the conclusion that Surinamese Dutch shares linguistic and socio-cultural aspects with AAVE, it is likely impossible to say the same of any variety of Finnish. One reason for this is, as mentioned in Section 3.2.3,

that Finland lacks the kinds of social class distinctions that cause linguistic distinctions.

After describing the two language varieties whose use in the three novels and translations is examined in this thesis, the focus now shifts from the study of linguistics to the study of literature, as the next section introduces the three authors and their novels. Before that, however, some general observations are made about the material.

## **4 The Material and Methodology**

### ***4.1 The Material***

The research material was selected based on two criteria. First, the novels had to include enough AAVE to make the study feasible. Second, it was required that the novels had not been used as research material in earlier studies concerning the translation of AAVE into Finnish. Three novels were chosen because the study of a single novel, or even two novels, may have provided less varied and less informative insight into how different authors use AAVE, and how different translators use colloquial Finnish to create the illusion of a specific non-standard variety.

The material consists of three novels written in the 1980s (*The Drawing of the Three*, 1987, and *A Time to Kill*, 1989) and 1990s (*Push*, 1996). In *The Drawing of the Three* and *A Time to Kill*, AAVE is never central to the narrative. Nonetheless, in both novels, a form of the variety is used by one or more main characters, and the vernacular is part of these characters' identities (much more so in *The Drawing of the Three* than *A Time to Kill*, as will be seen, because in the former novel, the extravagant form of AAVE is inseparably associated with the character who speaks it). In *Push*, the use of AAVE is the most pronounced of the three novels. The variety is used in nearly every sentence, which is understandable since the novel is narrated in the first person by an illiterate African American teenager.



In all three novels, AAVE is an essential part of characterisation. In *The Drawing of the Three*, the features of AAVE signify a character's twisted state of mind. In *A Time to Kill*, the features are used to suggest a sense of community among the African American characters and even to distinguish their social status (for example, a minor character who belongs to the criminal underworld uses a much stronger form of AAVE than the black county sheriff). In *Push*, the linguistic features indicate that the main character belongs to a highly disadvantaged and impoverished group of people. So here, as in *A Time to Kill*, AAVE is used to demarcate the boundaries of a particular sub-community of African Americans, although in *Push* it is specifically used to emphasise the low social status of its speakers. Before examining the novels in more detail, their authors are briefly introduced.

## **4.2 The Authors**

### **4.2.1 Stephen King**

Stephen Edwin King was born in Portland, Maine in 1947 (Stephen King Biography). When King was two years old, his father left the family, only saying that he was going to buy some cigarettes (Russell 2002, 2). King's mother was left to take care of Stephen and his brother David, who was five years old at the time. The family was also suffering from poverty (*ibid.*). King's mother had to work several low-paid jobs to support the family (King 2006, 114). During the next nine years, the family travelled around the United States, eventually returning to Maine (Russell 2002, 2).

At a young age, King found among his father's possessions an H.P. Lovecraft anthology volume, which was his first introduction to, in King's own words, "serious fantasy-horror fiction" (King 2006, 116–117). King was also influenced by horror films, among them *Creature from the Black Lagoon*, which he saw at around the age of seven (Russell 2002, 3). At about this time, he also wrote his first horror story (*ibid.*, 4).

While attending university, King took various jobs to make a living, at one point working at the university library, where he met his future wife. Incidentally, King began writing *The Gunslinger*, the first novel in the *Dark Tower* series, on paper found at the library (*ibid.*, 5–6). The second book of the series, *The Drawing of the Three*, is examined in this thesis.

King graduated from the University of Maine in 1970 with a bachelor's degree in English and a qualification to teach at high school level (Stephen King Biography). Although King was able to secure a teaching job, he and his family (which by 1972 included two children) struggled financially, living in a trailer in Maine (Russell 2002, 6).

At this point, King had had short stories published in various magazines.<sup>75</sup> In the spring of 1973, a major breakthrough in his career occurred when the publishing company Doubleday agreed to publish his novel *Carrie* (Stephen King Biography). The sales of *Carrie* allowed King to quit his teaching job and become a full-time writer, which had been his dream all along (Russell 2002, 8).

In the 1980s, King's fame continued to soar, and the first books about him were being written (*ibid.*, 10). King himself is the first to admit that part of his success is owed to the films adapted from his works (for example, the success of the 1976 film version of *Carrie* fuelled sales of the novel) (*ibid.*, 13; see also Tuhkanen 2005, 151). Views on the reasons for King's popularity range from his way of combining horror with depictions of real life to his writing in a diverse spectrum of genres (Strengell 2005, 3).<sup>76</sup> Strengell (*ibid.*, 6) considers as another possible reason King's respect for his readers. Sutherland (2007, 26) regards the popularity of genre authors such as King (and, one assumes, John Grisham) as brand loyalty. He also describes this type of loyalty as irrational, yet highly profitable (*ibid.*).

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<sup>75</sup> His first published short story appeared in the magazine *Startling Mystery Stories* in 1967 (Stephen King Bibliography).

<sup>76</sup> In the *Dark Tower* series, King has blended together multiple genres, including science fiction, fantasy, western and adventure. Some critics have seen King's novel *The Stand* (1978) as a combination of science fiction, horror, fantasy and satire (Tuhkanen 2005, 152; see also Saricks 2009, 120).

King has been a prolific writer throughout his career. According to Spignesi (2001, 10; cited in Strengell 2005, 3), his oeuvre includes more than 500 individual titles. King was one of the authors who in the 1970s and 1980s made publishing history by selling more than a million hardback copies at full retail price in two consecutive years (Sutherland 2007, 26).

King's influences include, among others, Edgar Allan Poe (Tuhkanen 2005, 151). Although Sutherland (2007, 26) comments that King has established himself as the Poe of our day, he cynically remarks that King has also proven an "unmatched money machine" for publishers.

King may be called the most influential horror author of our time (Tuhkanen 2005, 150). In 2003, he received *The National Book Foundation Medal for Distinguished Contribution to American Letters* (Stephen King Biography). According to Tuhkanen (*ibid.*, 151), King renewed the Anglo-American horror genre in the 1970s. Before this period, most horror writing was in the form of short stories which appeared in peripheral publications instead of the kind of lengthy novels King tends to write (*ibid.*). King also brought to horror fiction realistic milieus and depictions of the human psyche (*ibid.*). Tuhkanen (*ibid.*, 153) notes that although some of King's work is less than stellar, he has written novels that can be regarded as classics of horror literature, including *'Salem's Lot* (1975), *The Shining* (1977), *Pet Sematary* (1983) and *Misery* (1987). Although King has written non-horror stories, supernatural elements have crept into some of these novels as well, such as *Dolores Claiborne* (1993) (Saricks 2009, 120).

King's characters are ordinary people with whom the reader can empathise and whom King places in strange situations (Saricks *ibid.*, 119). Saricks (*ibid.*, 120) describes King's protagonists as sympathetic but "haunted". In King's novels, the point of view often switches from the narrator to the characters (Tuhkanen 2005, 151).

#### 4.2.2 John Grisham

John Grisham was born on February 8, 1955 in Jonesboro, Arkansas (John Grisham Biography 1). Grisham majored in accounting at Mississippi State University before he went to law school at the University of Mississippi (John Grisham Biography 2). After graduation, he worked for nearly a decade at a small law practice in Southaven, Mississippi (John Grisham Biography 1).<sup>77</sup>

During this time, Grisham encountered a case involving a twelve-year-old victim of rape (John Grisham Biography 2). Grisham was shocked by the case, and he wondered how he would have reacted had he been the girl's father (Grisham 1992, ix). He became obsessed with the concept of a girl's father taking revenge on her rapist, and this idea evolved into the basic premise of his first novel, *A Time to Kill*, analysed in this thesis (*ibid.*, x). Writing the novel took three years, and Grisham completed it in 1987 (John Grisham Biography 2).

The novel was initially rejected by most publishers<sup>78</sup>, although eventually the rights were bought by Wynwood Press who published the novel in a modest printing in the summer of 1988. At this time, Grisham had already begun work on his second novel, *The Firm*, whose film rights he sold for 600 000 dollars. Selling the film rights brought Grisham to the attention of other publishers (John Grisham Biography 1). After *The Firm* became a big hit, publishers' interest in *A Time to Kill* was renewed, and the latter title was re-published. This time the debut novel was a bestseller. Ever since *A Time to Kill*, Grisham has kept a steady working pace, writing roughly one novel a year. His novels have been translated into 40 languages (John Grisham Biography 2).

Hänninen (2007, 92) sees Grisham as a skilful creator of clever plots and admits that the author's knowledge of jurisprudence and politics manifests itself in the believable details Grisham fills his stories with. According to Kettunen (1998, 216), Grisham depicts the workings of the legal system with

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<sup>77</sup> Hänninen (2007, 92) notes that Grisham's Southern background has been evident in his novels since the start of his literary career, that is, ever since he wrote *A Time to Kill*.

<sup>78</sup> According to Hänninen (2007, 91), Grisham received 28 rejection letters from publishers.

sharp cynicism. Hänninen (2007, 93) describes Grisham's stories as action-oriented and stylistically very clear, and he suggests that these features may have attracted the interest of filmmakers.

Some of Grisham's first, and most well-known, novels featured a David and Goliath scenario with "an underdog lawyer fighting corruption and winning" (Saricks 2009, 83; see also Kettunen 1998, 216). Grisham has said that typically in his novels he creates a terrifying conspiracy, places his sympathetic main character in the middle of it, increases the tension so that the character's life is at stake, and finally allows the character to escape the situation (Kettunen 2007, 67). His books explore themes such as the influence of money on the judiciary and the sometimes extraordinary features of American legislation (Hänninen 2007, 91). Furthermore, Grisham often ruminates on the relations between the political-economic power axis and the judiciary (*ibid.*, 90).

Yet, Hänninen (*ibid.*, 92) criticises Grisham of using the same themes in many of his books: a young, incorruptible lawyer has to fight against the ruthless world of law and corporations (e.g. *A Time to Kill* (1989), *The Firm* (1991), *The Rainmaker* (1995)) or a world-weary cynic is driven into a crisis and experiences a profound change (e.g. *The Testament*, 1999). In a similar vein, Kettunen (1998, 216) comments that the good people in Grisham's novels are the incorruptible heroes who manage to maintain their idealism amidst widespread corruption. Occasionally, his stories involve a conversion and a change in the life of the main character (*ibid.*).

According to Sutherland (2007, 76), unlike Stephen King, who has attempted to reinvent his story-telling through, among others, e-books, a Dickensian serial novel (*The Green Mile*, 1996) and stories unrelated to the horror genre, Grisham has never strayed too far from his usual story formula (*ibid.*). Nonetheless, some scholars note that Grisham has indeed broadened his range beyond the thriller genre, one example being his novel *A Painted House* (2001), which is not a legal thriller (Saricks 2009, 83; Hänninen 2007, 92; Kettunen 2007, 69).

Hänninen (2007, 92) notes that sometimes Grisham's writing is flat and his characterisations paper-thin (see also Kettunen 2007, 67). Kettunen (2007, 67) sees the moral distinctions in Grisham's books as being very clear cut between good and evil (see also Hänninen 2007, 92). Yet, Hänninen (2007, 92) concedes that there are exceptions to these simple moral divisions, as in the novel *The Brethren* (2000).

### 4.2.3 Sapphire

Tracey Walters (1999, 414)<sup>79</sup> mentions that since Sapphire's contribution to American literature is relatively recent, few scholarly examinations of her work exist, and most texts concerning Sapphire are book reviews, which can hardly constitute a basis for any in-depth analysis. Therefore, the biographical information presented in this section comes solely from Walters's entry for Sapphire in Emmanuel S. Nelson's reference volume *Contemporary African American Novelists: A Bio-Bibliographical Critical Sourcebook* (1999).

Sapphire is known as a poet, performance artist and novelist. She is also black, a victim of rape, a feminist and a lesbian. She was born on August 4, 1950. At around the age of three or four, Sapphire was sexually abused by her father, a memory she had suppressed until her thirties.<sup>80</sup> At the age of thirteen, her mother left the family, and she had to drop out of school. At the age of twenty-one, she moved to San Francisco, where, inspired by the New Age movement, she changed her name from Ramona Lofton to Sapphire (Walters 1999, 411).

In San Francisco, Sapphire became familiar with the work of poets Don L. Lee, Ntozake Shange, Sonia Sanchez and Jayne Cortez – all of whom had a major influence on her own poetry. According to Walters (*ibid.*, 412), "Sapphire's early poems reflect her passionate anger against a society that tolerates racism, homophobia, sexism, classism, global warfare, and

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<sup>79</sup> Walters is Assistant Professor of Literature in the Department of Africana Studies at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. She specialises in African American and Afro-British literature.

<sup>80</sup> Sapphire recovered these memories during therapy, and she has doubted their veracity (Doane and Hodges 2001, 124).

capitalism – all themes Sapphire returns to”. Eventually, Sapphire left San Francisco and headed to New York to pursue a dancing career. In 1983, she graduated from the City University of New York and later received her Master of Fine Arts degree from Brooklyn College. In 1987, Sapphire released her first collection of poetry, *Meditations on the Rainbow*, and in 1994, a book called *American Dreams* (*ibid.*, 411).

For many years, Sapphire taught reading and writing to teenage and adult learners in Harlem and the Bronx. Some of her students told her how they had been sexually abused by their parents and had become pregnant before reaching adolescence. These stories influenced her novel *Push*, which is analysed in this thesis.<sup>81</sup> *Push* propelled Sapphire into the limelight. Although the novel received praise from some critics, others disliked it because of its provocative content and experimental style. Critics have also noted that generally in her work, Sapphire presents a cynical view of America and uses violent imagery to emphasise her social commentary. These qualities have led some reviewers to compare Sapphire to poet Allen Ginsberg (*ibid.*, 414).

### **4.3 The Novels**

#### **4.3.1 The Dark Tower II: The Drawing of the Three**

*The Drawing of the Three* (1987) is the second volume in the *Dark Tower* series, which primarily consists of seven novels.<sup>82</sup> The first novel, *The Gunslinger*, was published in 1982, and the last, *The Dark Tower*, was published in 2004. The stories partly take place in a world reminiscent of the mythical American Wild West; some of the action takes place in our own world.<sup>83</sup> The series follows Roland Deschain, a gunslinger<sup>84</sup> on a quest to

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<sup>81</sup> According to Powers (1996, B2, cited in Doane & Hodges 2001, 114), one of Sapphire’s students was the inspiration for Precious, the main character of *Push*. The student was an overweight single mother with HIV who had a baby with Down syndrome by her father.

<sup>82</sup> The main story is told in seven books. King has also written a *Dark Tower*-related short story (*The Little Sisters of Eluria*, 1998) and a separate novel (*The Wind through the Keyhole*, 2012). The story has also been expanded upon in comic books not written by King.

<sup>83</sup> For example, in *The Drawing of the Three*, some of the action takes place in New York.

<sup>84</sup> King writes in the forewords of his novels that his gunslinger character was inspired by Clint Eastwood as the “Man with No Name” in Sergio Leone’s spaghetti westerns.

find the Dark Tower, where he believes he will find a way to reverse the decay that is affecting his world (or *Mid-World*,<sup>85</sup> as it is called in the novels) and that has, among other things, made time and geography fluctuant and unreliable.

In his forewords to the novels, King writes that the series was inspired by Robert Browning's narrative poem *Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came* (1855).<sup>86</sup> King has also said in an interview that he was influenced to a degree by Tolkien, although less in terms of subject matter, but rather in terms of writing a long novel about a quest to a far-off place (Reese 2003). Additionally, in his story, King wanted to link the fictional world concretely to our own (*ibid.*).

This second volume of the series, examined here, continues the adventures of Roland of Gilead. At the end of the first book, *The Gunslinger*, Roland arrives at the Western sea. In the second book, he travels along the beach until he comes to a door standing freely upon the beach. On the door is written *THE PRISONER*. Through this door, Roland enters the mind of Eddie Dean, a heroin addict (or, in other words, a prisoner of heroin) in the New York of 1987. Eventually, Roland *draws* Eddie Dean back to his own world by having him enter through the door to Mid-World. At first, Eddie is less than overjoyed to be there. Nevertheless, during the course of the novel, Eddie gradually begins to accept Roland's world as his new home.

Roland and Eddie continue traveling along the beach until they encounter another door standing on the beach. On this door is written *THE LADY OF SHADOWS*, and it leads to the mind of Odetta Holmes, a socially conscious twenty-six-year-old black woman living in the New York of 1964. She is the

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<sup>85</sup> Somewhat confusingly, King refers to Roland's world as Mid-World, yet also divides the world into "specific regions", namely In-World, Out-World, Mid-World, End-World, and the Borderlands (Furth 2006, 308). Furth (*ibid.*, 309) also notes the similarity of the name to Tolkien's Middle Earth and Midgard from Norse and Anglo-Saxon mythology.

<sup>86</sup> Browning, in turn, was inspired by Shakespeare's *King Lear*, where the Earl of Gloucester's outlawed son Edgar, in hiding and disguised as a madman, sings the following fragment of a song to express his seeming madness: "*Child Rowland to the dark tower came, His word was still, – Fie, foh, and fum, I smell the blood of a British man*" (Act III, Scene IV).



only child of a wealthy black dentist who made his fortune with a successful dental company.

When Odetta was five years old, a psychopath named Jack Mort dropped a brick on her head from the window of an apartment building. The incident gave birth to Odetta's side personality, the violent and crafty Detta Walker.<sup>87</sup> Although at first Detta had hardly any impact on Odetta's life, all this changed in 1959 when Jack Mort entered her life again by pushing her in front of an oncoming subway train (Mort is unaware that he has attacked the same person again, as he chooses his victims randomly). Consequently, both of Odetta's legs had to be amputated above the knee, resulting in her having to use a wheelchair. After the accident, Detta surfaces more often than before, but Odetta and Detta are oblivious to each other's existence.

Odetta is a fervent civil rights activist and frequently attends protests. Detta, on the other hand, has little interest in the Civil Rights Movement or any other form of organized political activity. Instead, she has different and unusual outlets for her hatred of white supremacy. These include shoplifting at department stores owned by white people and sexually teasing young white men nearly to the point of climax before acting violently towards them and leaving the scene. She is proud to have never been raped.<sup>88</sup>

Roland draws Odetta and Detta to his world. Upon entering Mid-World, Odetta is in control of her body, and Eddie soon falls in love with her.<sup>89</sup> The

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<sup>87</sup> According to Strengell (2005, 68), "the paradoxical existence of both good and evil in a single person, remains an important issue in the fiction of Stephen King." Strengell sees this theme as prevalent in fiction because it reminds us that people have an animalistic wild side to them that cannot wholly be gotten rid of. The theme also plays on the fear that each and every one of us is capable of evil deeds (*ibid.*, 69). Strengell traces this theme back to Robert Louis Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886).

<sup>88</sup> Strengell (2005, 72) observes that the dark side personas of characters in King's fiction usually exhibit uninhibited sexual behaviour.

<sup>89</sup> Strengell (2005, 125) notes that these kinds of "social relations between different classes of people feature in Westerns because of the specific history of the United States". Strengell (*ibid.*, 15, 125) cites Jane Fiedler's book *Love and Death in the American Novel* (with which King was familiar during the writing of *The Drawing of the Three*), which notes that the relationship between a young white man and an African American or a Native American woman has been a staple of American fiction. Furthermore, Strengell (*ibid.*, 15) mentions that critics differ in their views on how King writes his female characters. Some have criticised him of portraying them as stereotypes, and some have even described King as a misogynist. In contrast, some have regarded him as a feminist author with strong female characters.

three companions continue the journey along the beach. Eventually, they encounter a third and final door on which is written *THE PUSHER*. Through this door Roland enters the mind of Jack Mort in the New York of 1977. Mort is the man who caused Odetta's dissociative identity disorder and loss of legs. By the end of the novel, Roland, while in the mind of Jack Mort, directs him to step in front of the same subway train that took Odetta's legs. At the last moment, before the oncoming train kills Mort, Roland returns through the door to his own world and while doing so, bids Odetta and Detta to look through the door. As they look, they become fully aware of each other for the first time and merge into a single personality, combining Odetta's compassion and warm-heartedness with Detta's quick thinking. This new personality is able to accept and return Eddie's love. She begins to use her middle name and Eddie's surname as a sign of symbolic marriage, calling herself Susannah Dean. Yet, she still has a dash of Detta Walker in her. The Detta personality emerges sporadically throughout the rest of the *Dark Tower* series, sometimes when Susannah voluntarily allows her to surface in order to distance herself emotionally from a situation or to use Detta's sharp intellect to solve a problem. By the end of the novel, Susannah and Eddie accept their new lives in Mid-World and become Roland's companions in his quest for the Dark Tower.<sup>90</sup>

Detta is the only character in the novel who speaks AAVE (Odetta and Susannah speak Standard English).<sup>91</sup> Detta's speech is described in the

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<sup>90</sup> Strenge (2005, 125) sees Roland's newly formed group as another iteration of the "Losers' Club" from King's novel *It*. The club is formed by a group of young children who are all social outcasts in one way or another and who have to fight an evil force together. In other words, in both stories a group of less than perfect people combine their strengths to become heroes. As a matter of fact, the *Dark Tower* novels contain many references to King's other works and vice versa. According to Russell (2002, 75), readers of his books thus become insiders who share common knowledge and delight in being reminded about pleasurable past reading experiences. Russell notes that a relationship such as this between the author and the audience is characteristic of late twentieth century popular culture. One may argue here that, to some extent, all authors (including John Grisham and Sapphire) write about similar themes in several of their novels and that King has merely emphasised these thematic similarities to make his stories appear to belong to the same mythos.

<sup>91</sup> There is one exception, however. At one point in the novel, civil rights activist Rosa Parks is quoted as having said the following when she refused to relinquish her bus seat to a white person: *I'm not movin*. This quote is included in the analysis to obtain a complete picture of the use of AAVE in the novel.

novel as cartoony, “like Butterfly McQueen gone Loony Tunes” (246),<sup>92</sup> and as a caricature that bears little resemblance to any real use of the variety. Since *Detta* is less prominent in the series after *The Drawing of the Three*, this novel has the most salient instances of AAVE.

#### **4.3.2 *A Time to Kill***

The novel is set in the fictional town of Clanton, Mississippi, and centers around Carl Lee Hailey, a black man whose ten-year old daughter Tonya is raped by two young white men. The men are promptly arrested by local black sheriff Ozzie Walls. Carl Lee, however, wants to take personal revenge on the men.

Eventually, Carl Lee kills the two rapists by shooting them during a transfer of the prisoners. Carl Lee is arrested for two counts of murder. He hires Jake Brigance, who is white, as his lawyer. Since Jake once successfully acquitted Carl Lee’s brother, Lester, of killing another black man, Carl Lee is confident that Jake will be able to acquit him as well. Jake is less optimistic about Carl Lee’s chances, however, seeing as Carl Lee readily admits he killed the men.

The trial evokes strong feelings in Clanton, and, as the story progresses, Jake Brigance’s and his family’s lives are threatened by the Ku Klux Klan. In addition, Jake faces many other obstacles in his quest to acquit Carl Lee, including a jury consisting mainly of white jurors. Eventually, the case culminates in a large-scale riot in front of the court house involving the Klan and black supporters of Carl Lee.

*A Time to Kill* was Grisham’s first novel, published in 1989. In his foreword to the novel, Grisham says that originally, his goal was only to finish the book. Grisham claims that when he began writing the novel in 1984, three years after completing law school, he never seriously thought it would be published. According to Grisham, he spent a lot of time in courtrooms during

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<sup>92</sup> Butterfly McQueen was an African American actress whose most famous film role was Prissy, Scarlett O’Hara’s maid in *Gone with the Wind* (1939).

those early years of his legal career being fascinated by the high drama taking place in them (Grisham 1992, ix).

The novel features several African American characters, whose use of AAVE varies according to the situation and according to who is speaking and to whom. African American characters other than those already mentioned include Carl Lee's wife Gwen, one of her brothers (who appears only briefly), Tank Scales, "the owner of one of the safer and finer black honky tonks in the county" (187) and K.T. Bruster (or Cat Bruster) who is a friend of Carl Lee's and served with him in Vietnam. Bruster supplies Carl Lee with the gun which he uses to kill the rapists. Bruster's speech includes more features of AAVE than that of the other African American characters in the novel.

Overall, the use of AAVE in *A Time to Kill* is the most reserved of all the novels, and the speech of the African American characters is closer to Standard English than in either of the two other novels analysed. The character in the novel who uses the variety most profusely is Cat Bruster (although not as profusely as the characters in the other two novels). He only appears in settings where he is surrounded by other African Americans. In most other situations, the black characters talk to white interlocutors or in formal situations such as court hearings and interrogations. These situations lend themselves poorly to the expression of the African American identity. For example, when the sheriff, Ozzie Walls, is on official police business, he tends to prefer standard language. This reflects real world speech: people alter their speech depending on the extra-linguistic context. The dialogue also reflects real life in that some of the African American characters do not use the variety (such as the character Reverend Isaiah Street).

#### **4.3.3 Push**

The events of the novel begin in 1987. The main character is Claireece Precious Jones, or Precious, as she prefers to be called. She is an overweight 16-year-old African American girl who has lived her entire life in Harlem. She is also the narrator of the story, and the novel reads like a personal journal. Precious lives on welfare with her mother and is expecting

her second child by her father who began to sexually abuse her when she was only three years old. Precious gave birth to her first child, a daughter, when she was twelve. The daughter has Down syndrome and is taken care of by Precious's grandmother. After Precious had her first child, her father left the family. Precious's second child, a boy, is born without abnormalities. In spite of the circumstances that led to her pregnancies, Precious is proud of both children.

Precious's mother calls her a slut and beats her. Precious hates her mother and feels that nobody wants or needs her. She has no friends at school, and she often feels stupid, ugly and worthless. Sometimes she thinks about ending her life. Precious daydreams about having lighter skin, being skinny and dancing in music videos. In her fantasies, Precious is pretty like the women she sees in advertisements.

A teacher from Precious's school asks Precious to visit an alternative school called Higher Education Alternative/Each One Teach One, which offers an adult literacy class. Precious attends the class and is both glad to be in the school and glad to be able to read and write.

The alternative school class only comprises five or six other students. Some of those students' life stories are as harrowing as Precious's own. One of her class mates is Jermaine, a lesbian who has been sexually harassed as a child. When she was 13, she was raped by the father of her best friend and lover Mary-Mae after he caught the two girls making out. Another classmate, Rhonda Patrice Johnson, was also sexually abused at a young age (by her brother when she was 14). Therefore, other characters in the novel besides Precious have been sexually molested as children.

The class is reading Alice Walker's *The Color Purple*. Precious loves the novel and thinks the story resembles her own life. The book gives her strength. After some time, Precious wins a literacy award, and at last all is well in her life. The class has a school project, "Life Story", in which the students write their life stories and collect them in a big book. The teacher,

Ms Rain, asks Precious to write down her experiences and tells her it will help her cope with them.<sup>93</sup>

In 1989, Precious's mother tells her that her father, Carl, has died and that he had AIDS. Precious is glad to hear that he is dead. She and her children take HIV tests, and the tests for her son and daughter are negative, but Precious herself is diagnosed as HIV-positive. Despite all this, Precious feels more alive than ever before: she has her poetry, a son and friends. She badly wants to live.

At the end of the novel, readers are treated to a selection of Precious's poems and brief life stories written in prose by three of Precious's classmates: Rita, Rhonda and Jermaine, who have all experienced sexual abuse. Although these additional writings exhibit the same urban vernacular that permeates the novel, they are excluded from analysis in this thesis. This is because they represent written text, not spoken language. Additionally, Precious's poems include many misspelled words which may be regarded, not as examples of AAVE, but rather as examples of Precious's poor command of written language. According to Walters (1999, 414), Sapphire presents these stories to show that Precious's story is only one of many others like it. Still, Walters (*ibid.*) finds these stories undeveloped, and she suggests that this part of the text could have been integrated into the main story or, alternatively, published in a separate volume. Gomez (1996, 60; cited in Walters 1999, 415) shares this view: "[The poems and journal entries] seem extraneous; they don't amplify the story and are not integrated into the novel in a way that fills out the characters."

Nearly all the characters in the novel speak AAVE or a very similar vernacular, except characters such as welfare officials and teachers, who speak Standard English (although Ms Rain, the teacher, mostly speaks Standard English, she shifts into AAVE occasionally). Features of the variety are also used by non-African American characters. An example is one of

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<sup>93</sup> Doane and Hodges (2001, 124) observe that healing through writing is one of the themes of *Push*. They also see Ms Rain as "quite obviously based on Sapphire herself" (*ibid.*). This is because, as described previously in Section 4.2.3, Sapphire used to teach a similar class.

Precious's classmates, Rita Romero, who is Puerto Rican, although she was born in Harlem. One may speculate that the character has adopted the variety of language used by the people around her. As is well-known within sociolinguistics, children's use of a language is influenced by the environment they grow up in and the speech of their friends. Therefore, a very young child living among speakers of AAVE will more than likely acquire this variety. In the novel, the vernacular used by the non-African Americans is so similar to the one used by the African American characters that there is very little difference between them.

Since so many characters in the novel use AAVE and the story is narrated by the main character in her native vernacular, the variety is present on every page of the novel in nearly every sentence. Thus, only a sample of the novel is analysed in this thesis. The sample consists of the first ten pages and the last ten pages of the main body of the text, excluding the life stories at the end (that is to say, pages 3–12 and 131–140 in the edition used for the analysis). In the twenty pages analysed, the non-African American characters who use AAVE have no lines of dialogue. If their dialogue had been present in the sample, it would have been included in the analysis because it is indistinguishable from the speech of, for example, Precious and her mother. The main body of the novel contains Precious's poems and excerpts from her journal and notebook. One such excerpt is present in the sample analysed (on pages 132–133 in the original novel and page 133 in the translation). Since Precious's journal entries share the same linguistic features as the narration and dialogue, this segment is included in the analysis.

According to Walters (1999, 413), Sapphire uses an urban vernacular to allow readers to see the world from Precious's point of view. The use of AAVE in the novel has been noted by critics; for example, Rosemary Mahoney in the *New York Times Book Review* (1996, 9; cited in Walters 1999, 415) describes Sapphire's use of the variety as "halting dialect, a hobbled, minimal English that defies the convention of spelling and usage and dispenses with all verbal decorum." Yet, she also writes that "Precious' persona swiftly overrides whatever irritation the reader may feel at having to

puzzle through her not always convincingly misshapen words” (*ibid.*). In contrast, in her review of *Push* in *The Advocate*, critic Jewelle Gomez (1996, 60; cited in Walters 1999, 415) praises Sapphire’s use of dialect: “Sapphire’s carefully reproduced dialect draws the reader into the relentless, claustrophobic sorrow Precious inhabits. If readers will float with the dialect, even begin by reading it aloud, the rhythm of Sapphire’s work will quickly sweep them up.”

Walters (1999, 414) notes that some critics found Sapphire’s narrative strategies in the novel “ineffective”. She cites William Powers’s 1996 review of *Push* in the *Washington Post*: “at one point...the narration mysteriously switches from Precious’s yeasty vernacular to a sophisticated third-person voice, and then back again, to no good effect.” Similarly, commenting on the narrative, Gomez (1996, 60; cited in Walters 1999, 414) asserts that “[u]nfortunately, the impact of the story is short-circuited by real editing failures. [...] The narrative voice slips from first person to third, then back to first person. If there is a stylistic reason, it’s not apparent.”

The subject matter of the novel, namely a daughter being raped and impregnated by her father, has been explored by other notable African American authors, including Toni Morrison in *The Bluest Eye* (1970) and Alice Walker in *The Color Purple* (1982) (Walters 1999, 413; Doane & Hodges 2001, 127). As mentioned previously, Sapphire explicitly refers to *The Color Purple* in *Push*. Walters (1999, 413) sees similarities between the three novels: both Precious and Pecola in *The Bluest Eye* regard blue-eyed and blond-haired women as beautiful and both Precious and Celie in *The Color Purple* discover that through writing they can learn to love themselves. Similarities between the three novels have also been noticed by critics (*ibid.*, 413—414). Doane and Hodges (2001, 124) remark that whereas *The Color Purple* evokes “rural nostalgia,” *Push* evokes urban realism. Further, they describe Sapphire’s writing in *Push* as “scandalizing” because of its brutal subject matter (*ibid.*, 125).

Doane and Hodges (*ibid.*, 113) see Sapphire’s novel as merely reinforcing “the middle-class expectation that incest is primarily found among



the lazy and the poor.” They mention that some reviewers felt that *Push* was published because white readers have an almost voyeuristic desire for descriptions of black people living in poverty that reinforce pre-existing stereotypes.<sup>94</sup> Doane and Hodges (*ibid.*, 125—126, 131) also find it degrading how violent and low-grade aspects of the African American experience are emphasised and generalised in fiction, and how these aspects are then seen by the public as “authentic”. Nonetheless, they concede that in writing *Push*, Sapphire wanted to highlight the wasted potential of many black inner city children and to stress that these children deserve the same educational resources as everyone else (*ibid.*, 125).

Following the introduction of the authors and their novels, the methods used to analyse the data are discussed before presenting the findings of the study.

#### ***4.4 The Methodology***

This section describes the research design, the methods and the tools used to examine the data as well as some of the methodological problems encountered in the analysis.

The first step in analysing the data was to manually identify what features occurred in the original novels and the translations. To make handling the data easier, the relevant pages with AAVE or colloquial Finnish were scanned and made into modifiable text using an OCR (optical character recognition) software. In the present analysis, a trial version of ABBYY FineReader 11 was used. The OCR software, in addition to facilitating the search for and quantification of linguistic features, also saved the trouble of typing the dialogue by hand when example sentences were needed to illustrate the use of a feature in a particular text. Any recognition errors had to be corrected manually.

After the texts had been scanned and turned into modifiable form with the OCR software, the frequencies of occurrence of the relevant linguistic

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<sup>94</sup> See also Brown (2011, 164).

features had to be determined. For this task, the AntConc software (version 3.2.4) was used. AntConc is a freeware concordance software developed by Laurence Anthony. As Wu and Chang (2008) mention, corpus software tools are useful when the research involves lexical analysis of large samples of data.

The purpose of the study was not only to discover the frequency of occurrence of the most well-known and oft-cited features of the two varieties, but also to attempt to present as comprehensive an analysis as possible about how the authors have used AAVE and how the translators have created the illusion of the variety with features of colloquial Finnish. Therefore, no predetermined search criteria were used in the analysis.<sup>95</sup> Instead, the analysis was driven by the material thusly: whenever a word containing a feature of the relevant variety was found in the text, it was used as a search word, and the search results were counted. Some search words also had standard uses (like the AAVE aspectual markers *be*, *BIN* and *dən*, the latter of which are written in the novels as *been* and *done*), which meant that each occurrence had to be checked for context to determine whether a non-standard use was intended by the author or translator. With AntConc, this process was faster and more efficient than a purely manual approach.

In analysing a richly agglutinative language such as Finnish, the possibility in AntConc to use a wildcard search character (\*) was especially valuable. The wildcard search was also useful because Finnish words have morphophonological alternations that affect the realisation of a lexical form. For example, to search for all occurrences of the colloquial expression *ämmä* (a derogatory term for 'woman' that occurs in *Precious – harlemilaistytön*

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<sup>95</sup> In their study on the translation of AAVE in three Chinese translations of Alice Walker's *The Color Purple*, Wu and Chang (2008) used specific search words to find all instances of the seven syntactic features of AAVE they were seeking. An approach such as this was deemed inappropriate here since the comprehensiveness of the present study necessitated that all non-standard features be found, and the sole use of a small group of search words could have left some features undetected. Furthermore, some features could have occurred in words other than those searched for. The only search criteria used by Wu and Chang that were helpful for the present analysis were the ones for multiple negation. Wu and Chang used the search words *nobody*, *nothing*, *never*, *without*, *no*, *not*, *ain't*, *isn't*, *aren't*, *wasn't*, *weren't*, *don't*, *doesn't*, *didn't*, *can't*, *couldn't*, *won't*, *wouldn't*, *shouldn't*, *hadn't*, *haven't* and *has not*. For the current analysis, certain additional search words were useful; these include such variant spellings as *ain*, *nothin* and *nuthin* (the last being an example of eye dialect).

*tarina*), the wild card search *ämm\** was used because the word could occur with the plural *i*-suffix (such as *ämmien*, *ämmillä*). Similarly, instances of the monophthongisation of the final syllable in A-ending diphthongs were found by searching for the strings *\*ee\** (e.g. *lukee* ‘lukea’), *\*oo\** (e.g. *inhoo* ‘inhoa’), *\*uu\** (e.g. *haluu* ‘halua’) and *\*yy\** (e.g. *älyy* ‘älyä’) (all the example words are from *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*). The strings were left open-ended because the monophthongised sequence could be followed by a suffix (e.g. *oikeesti*, which also occurs in *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*). Suffixes had to be taken into account when searching for other features as well, including the short variants of pronouns (e.g. *mä* could occur as *mähän* or *mäkin* in addition to the isolated form *mä*). Some single word forms exhibited several features; for example, *onksulla* and *enksmä* in *Kolme korttia pakasta* feature the short variant *-ks* of the interrogative suffix *-kO* and a short variant of a personal pronoun (*sulla* and *mä*). Hence, in quantifying short forms of the personal pronouns *minä* and *sinä*, wildcard searches such as *\*mä\** and *\*sulla\** were necessary.

For many features, exact word forms were impossible to predict and thereby impossible to detect by using the concordance software alone, so these features had to be searched manually. These features include, in the case of AAVE, lack of agreement, lack of plural and possessive marking, and relative pronoun absence, and, in the case of colloquial Finnish, lack of agreement, elision of word-medial *-n-*, *-l-* and *-m-* (e.g. *oon*, *tuun*, *meen*) and the different forms of apocope. For both varieties, lexical features, such as slang, had to be searched manually. An additional reason why the data had to be examined manually was the possible use of eye dialect (for example, the word *ever* is spelled as *evah* in *The Drawing of the Three*). Manual analysis of the data was also necessary because of the sometimes inconsistent use of eye dialect. For instance, in *The Drawing of the Three*, both *nuthin* (six instances) and *nothin* (two instances) occur. The former word form employs eye dialect, whereas the latter does not. A manual search was also important in finding unexpected features and even incorrectly used features. A feature that can be used incorrectly is, for example, habitual *be*, as in the following example from *The Drawing of the Three*: *There **be** other*

*ways to slow you boys down* (296). Here, it is unlikely that the intended meaning is ‘there are *usually* other ways to slow you boys down’.

The methodology explained in this section and the examples of the search criteria provided herein serve both to explain the research process and to advise current and future scholars on how to conduct similar research. In the next section, the findings of the present study are discussed in detail.

## 5 Findings

### 5.1 General

The research material guided the analysis; thus, the study was conducted without any assumptions about which features would be found and which would not. As a result, the analysis included not only those features of AAVE and colloquial Finnish that were defined in Sections 3.1 and 3.2, but also the other non-standard features which the authors and translators had used to evoke the speech of African American characters. All non-standard features excluded from the aforementioned sections are covered separately and labelled as “other non-standard features”. The other non-standard features are included in this thesis for two reasons. Firstly, they are included for the purpose of comparability with other studies because other scholars may categorise some of these features as belonging to the varieties discussed. For example, Rickford (1999, 7) includes the Southern pronoun *y’all* as a feature of AAVE, and Wekker and Wekker (1991, 227) consider the lack of personal pronoun subject as a feature of AAVE, but in this thesis these are categorised as “other non-standard features” since they are considered by the author to be untypical features of AAVE. Secondly, some of the other features are highly frequent in the texts. For example, slang words and colloquial expressions in *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina* are so frequent that they cannot sensibly be ignored as features intended to evoke the non-standard speech of African American characters.

The Finnish translation of *The Drawing of the Three, Musta torni 2: Kolme korttia pakasta*, was published for the first time in 1993 by the now defunct

publishing company Book Studio and translated by Kari Salminen. The edition used for this analysis was published by Tammi in 2005. The two editions have the same translator. *A Time to Kill* was translated into Finnish in 1994 as *On aika tappaa*, translated by Kimmo Linkama. The book was published by WSOY. This edition is also the one used in the current analysis. *Push* was first published in Finnish by Art House in 1998 under the title *Ponnista!*, and it was translated by Kristiina Drews. In 2010, the book was republished by the publishing company Like under the new title *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*. Although the translator is the same, the latter publication is billed as the second, revised edition, which may mean that there are minor differences between the editions. The republication was doubtless intended as a tie-in with the 2009 film version of the novel, entitled *Precious: Based on the Novel “Push” by Sapphire*.<sup>96</sup>

The analysed text for *A Time to Kill* consists solely of dialogue. In turn, the text for *The Drawing of the Three* consists of both spoken dialogue and Detta’s thoughts, which in the novel are written in italics. Lastly, the text for *Push* consists of the narration, most of the dialogue and one short excerpt from Precious’s notebook. As already noted in Section 4.3.3, only 20 pages of *Push* are analysed in this thesis (the first and last 10 pages, to be exact). This should be a sufficient representative sample for a quantitative analysis of the frequency of the features used by Sapphire and the translator, Kristiina Drews, throughout the entire novel.

In Table 2 below, the word counts for *Push* and *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina* include the entire text of the 20-page sample, whereas the word counts for *A Time to Kill* and *The Drawing of the Three* and their translations only include the dialogue (and, for the latter novel, Detta’s thoughts, which exhibit AAVE features). The dialogue for *Push* includes that of minor characters who are described in the novel as being Latino but whose speech is nearly identical to that of the African American characters.

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<sup>96</sup> This seems likely, as the 2010 edition features the film poster artwork on the cover.

**Table 2. Word counts for each text**

|                | TDOTT | KKP   | ATTK   | OAT    | Push  | PHT   |
|----------------|-------|-------|--------|--------|-------|-------|
| Entire text    | 2 231 | 2 005 | 12 671 | 10 622 | 4 995 | 4 505 |
| Dialogue       |       |       |        |        | 1 129 | 1 041 |
| Notebook entry |       |       |        |        | 74    | 57    |

TDOTT: *The Drawing of the Three*

KKP: *Kolme korttia pakasta*

ATTK: *A Time to Kill*

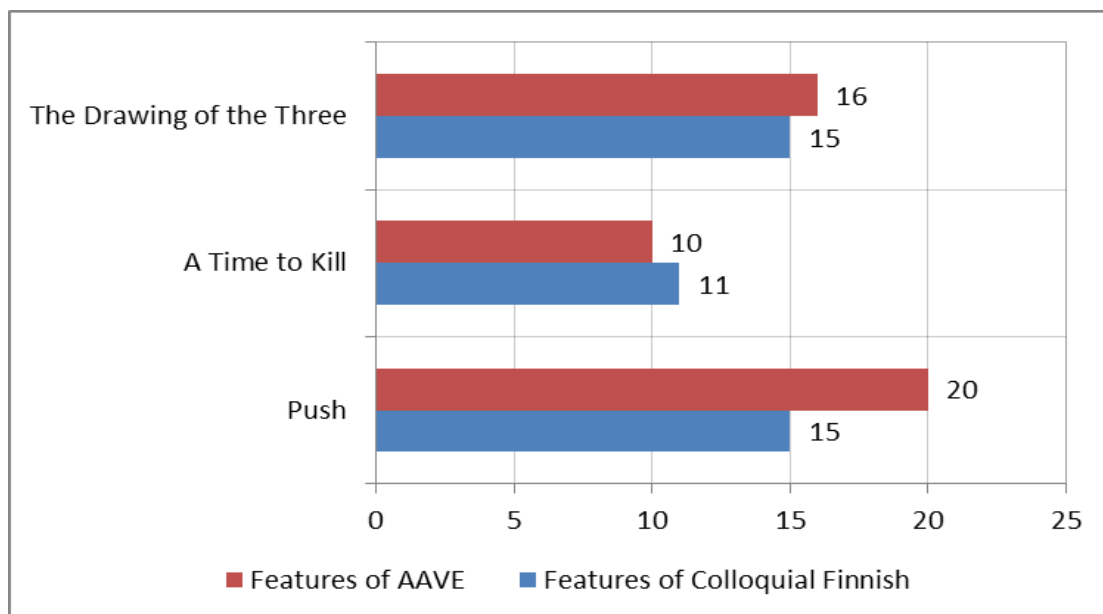
OAT: *On aika tappaa*

PHT: *Precious – harlemlaistytön tarina*

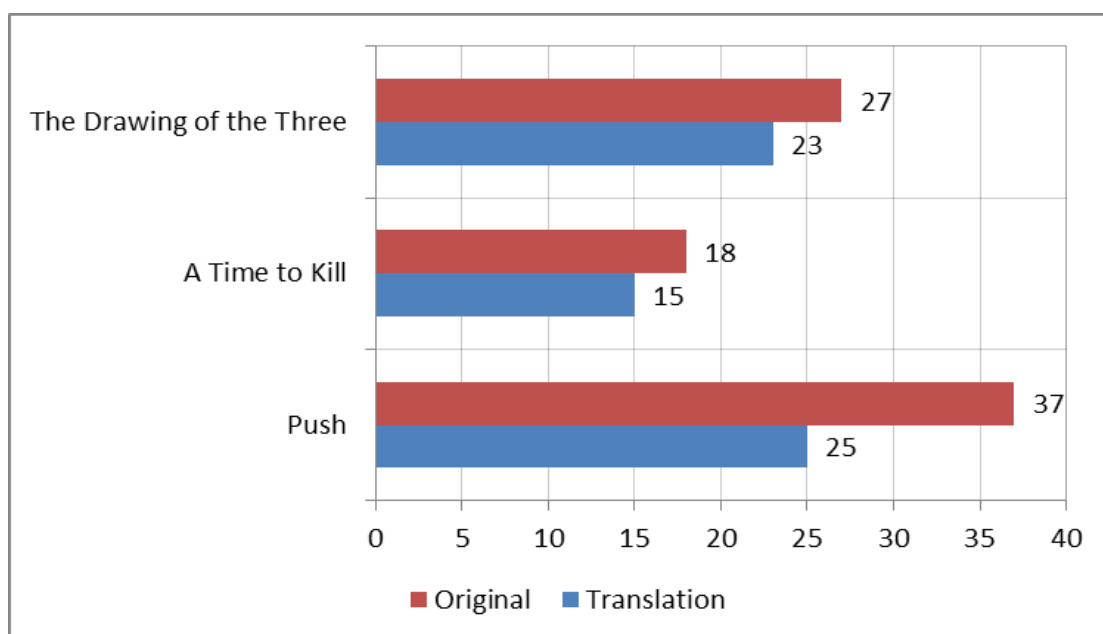
As can be seen from Table 2, the word counts, and consequently, text lengths vary considerably. In this regard, no direct comparison of the frequency distribution of non-standard features between the three texts is valid. *A Time to Kill* has the most text analysed of all the novels, yet as shall be seen, the least number of AAVE and colloquial Finnish features. The notebook entry in *Push* is so brief that comparing the frequencies between this short segment, the dialogue alone and the entire novel would be senseless. Suffice it to say that percentually both Sapphire and Kristiina Drews have used non-standard features in equal measure in the notebook and in the rest of the book. Therefore, they have used non-standard language roughly equally in the notebook entry and in the dialogue. Most of *Push* consists of narration, and dialogue is fairly scarce. As a result, most features occur in the narration.

Figure 1 below shows the number of different features of AAVE and Colloquial Finnish (as described in Section 3) in the originals and the translations. Figure 2 shows the total number of different non-standard linguistic features in the novels, including the other non-standard features.

**Figure 1. The total number of different features of AAVE and colloquial Finnish in the texts**



**Figure 2. The total number of different non-standard features in the texts (including other non-standard features)**



The two figures show that *Push* has the largest number of unique features of AAVE (19 different features), followed by *The Drawing of the Three* (16 features), while *A Time to Kill* has the least number (10 features). Here, the separate analysis of the other non-standard features in the data proves useful since it demonstrates that even when all non-standard features are accounted for, the relation between the number of individual features remains the same.

The number of features in the translations seems to correspond pretty well with the number of features in the originals; that is to say, it seems as though the translators have taken their cue from the original authors' use of AAVE: *Push* and its translation show the most variation in the non-standard features used, whereas *A Time to Kill* and its translation show the least variation.

Both figures indicate that the use of non-standard forms is more varied in the original novels than in the translations. Thus, the translators have adhered more closely to the standard language than the authors (although with *The Drawing of the Three* and *A Time to Kill*, the difference is small). As mentioned before in Section 3.2.3, Nevalainen (2003) found that novels written originally in Finnish had more variation in the use of colloquialisms than translations. It would be interesting to discover whether authors of original fiction tend to use non-standard forms more frequently and more variedly than translators (cf. Englund Dimitrova's (1997, 63) comment on translators' conformity to the norm, as cited on page 36 of this thesis).

Detailed analysis of the individual features is presented in the following sections. First, in Section 5.2, the use of AAVE features in the original novels is examined one novel at a time. Then, in Section 5.3, the use of colloquial Finnish in the translations is examined, again focusing on each text separately. Subsequently, in Sections 5.4 and 5.5, other non-standard features in the novels and in the translations are examined in similar vein. Each section begins with a table showing the frequencies of the individual features appearing in the text under discussion. In the tables, L stands for lexical feature, S for syntactic feature, M for morphological feature, P for



phonological feature and MP for morphophonological feature. The features are so categorised for two reasons: first, to indicate how each feature was interpreted linguistically in this study (especially crucial for the “other non-standard features”, as they may be classified differently by different researchers<sup>97</sup>), and second, to make the research as transparent as possible, so that when the distribution percentages for each type of feature are presented in Figures 3–8 in Section 5.6, the reader can determine which features were considered lexical and which were considered syntactic, for example.

After each table, the features are discussed in the order in which they appear in the tables. Detailed discussion of all the already-established features of AAVE and colloquial Finnish appearing in the tables seems extraneous to the focus of this thesis, and consequently only the most insightful comments will be made regarding their frequency in the data. Conversely, all the other non-standard features appearing in the tables must perforce be explained, since these are new to the present study. In the example sentences provided in the main body of the text and the appendices, the specific features discussed are typefaced, where necessary, in bold by the author, unless otherwise noted. Further, in the body of the text, long lists of examples from the data are purposely kept at a minimum so as to maintain the reader’s interest and to keep the presentation concise. This is not to say that example sentences are unimportant. They *are* important, especially for purposes of comparability and giving the reader insight into the choices made in the analysis. Therefore, all example words and sentences are provided for selected features in the appendices (chiefly for features whose use is subject to interpretation or for features that are here deemed to have been used incorrectly). Including the appendices is also important because, as will be seen in Section 5.6, the results of this study differ in some respects from those obtained in previous similar studies.

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<sup>97</sup> For example, as will be seen later, features such as the substitution of the objective pronoun *them* for *those* and the use of *y’all* as the second person plural pronoun may be categorised as either lexical or syntactic features because of their pronominal function.

## 5.2 Features of AAVE in the Original Novels

### 5.2.1 *The Dark Tower II: The Drawing of the Three*

**Table 3. Features of AAVE in The Drawing of the Three**

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature  | Category |
|-------------------------|--|----------|
| 96                      | <i>th</i>  | P        |
| 74                      | liquid vocalisation                                | P        |
| 68                      | consonant cluster reduction                        | P        |
| 44                      | gon/gonna  | S        |
| 44                      | lack of auxiliary (of which 14 occur in questions) | S        |
| 35                      | slang  | L        |
| 19                      | multiple negation                                  | S        |
| 18                      | merger of [ɛ] and [ɪ]                              | P        |
| 9                       | equative copula <i>be</i>                          | S        |
| 8                       | habitual <i>be</i>                                 | S        |
| 7                       | lack of agreement                                  | S        |
| 6                       | copula absence                                     | S        |
| 5                       | <i>dən</i>   | S        |
| 3                       | use of the verb stem only to indicate simple past  | S        |
| 2                       | relative pronoun absence                           | S        |
| 1                       | monophthongisation of /ai/                         | P        |

P: phonological feature

S: syntactic feature

L: lexical feature

In *The Drawing of the Three*, AAVE *th* is the most frequent feature, occurring 96 times, of which 12 are considered here to have been used incorrectly (see Appendix 1). In this novel, both *wid* ‘with’ (final [θ] occurs as d) and *wit* (final [θ] occurs as t) appear (the former also occurs in *widdout*). As for *wid* and *widdout*, as noted in Section 3.1.5, although *d* is mainly used for *th* in word-initial position, and voiceless [θ] does not occur as voiced *d*, Bailey and Thomas’s (1998, 87) real-life data included *wid*.

The word form *yo* ‘your’ occurring in the novel (*Suck on **yo** each one’s candles!* (284)) is here classified as the vocalisation of *r* after a vowel. The same applies to the word *sho* ‘sure’ (*we sho dint see nobody looked like that down here [...]* (149)).<sup>98</sup> To continue, King uses *woof* for ‘wolf’ twice (e.g. *Might be **woofs*** (302)). Wolfram, Adger, and Christian (1999, 205) use *woof* for *wolf* as an example of liquid vocalisation, remarking that before a labial consonant, such as *f*, *p* or *l*, the liquid may be vocalised. They also note that this feature only occurs in varieties of Southern American English (*ibid.*). As per their classification, *woof* is here analysed as liquid vocalisation. Although an attested phonological realisation of the word *wolf*, *woof* may be here regarded as a deliberate stylistic choice, given that in the English language, *woof* is the written representation of the noise a dog makes. The translator, Kari Salminen, has refrained from using any non-standard forms to represent this choice: *Täällä saattaa olla susia* (315). In the original novel, vocalisation of *r* occurs in a proper name (*Ain’t fallin fo none o yo honky tricks, Mist’ **Chahlie*** (308)). This occurrence is ignored in the translation (*Mä en lankee mihinkään sun kataliin temppuihis, herra **Charlie*** (320)). The expression *Mister Charlie*, or simply *Charlie*, is a derogatory slang term for a white man (Major 1971, 82).

The verb form *gonna* occurs twice in the novel as *gonna* and all the other times as *goan*. A problem for analysis is that the word *goan* is used in two different ways in the novel, both as a variant for *gon/gonna* (i.e. as a future reference, e.g. *Do it while you got a chance, cause Detta Walker **goan** get outen dis chair and cut dem skinny ole white candles off [...]* (284)) and as a form of the verb *to go*, whereby *goan* corresponds to Standard English *going* (e.g. *I ain’t **goan** nowhere wit choo, mahfah* (291)).

Of lexical features, *The Drawing of the Three* is the only one of the original novels to exhibit AAVE slang, which is fairly frequent (35 instances), even though only five individual slang words are used (see Appendix 3). The character Detta frequently uses the word *mahfah* (occasionally accompanied by another slang word, *honky*, as in *honky mahfah*). The word *mahfah* may

<sup>98</sup> Mufwene (2001a, 297) lists homophonous word pairs such as *sure/shore* and *poor/pour* (both having the sound [o:]) as a separate feature.

be classified as slang (meaning ‘motherfucker’). The word *honky*, in turn, is a disrespectful term denoting a white person that originates from the African Wolof language word *honq* (‘pink man’) (Major 1994, 239).<sup>99</sup> *Mahfah* exemplifies two AAVE features: word-medial *th* [ð] appears as *f*, and word-final liquid *r* is vocalised. The realisation of *th* as *f* here seems to deviate from established AAVE phonology because, as was seen in the discussion of AAVE phonology in Section 3.1.5, the voiced sound [ð] should occur as voiced *v* when the sound occurs between two vowels (as in *muver* for *mother*).

Another example of African American slang in the novel is the word *jive*, which refers to “cool talk or talk used to put someone on” (Green 2002a, 14). In the novel, the word is used in the latter meaning: *Why you talkin at me dat way? Why you talkin like you was talkin to somebody else? You quit dat honky jive!* (209). The translation is *Miksi sä puhut mulle tolla lailla? Miksi sä puhut niinku sä puhusit jollekulle toiselle? Lopeta toi älytön pelleily!* (316). As can be seen, the translator has used a word with a more general meaning (‘fooling around’) than the original.

In *The Drawing of the Three*, Detta uses the slang word *fuzz*: *Honky fuzz jus be lettin him off anyway* (244). Here Detta means that white police officers are unable to apprehend the man who pushed her in front of the oncoming subway train. Interestingly, the translator has again misinterpreted a slang word since the translation has no reference to the police but a derogatory term that refers to the culprit himself: *Antaa sen juoppohullun nuijan vaan mennä menojaan* (258).

Although the merger of [ɛ] and [ɪ] mainly occurs before nasal consonants (as in *agin* ‘again’), in the current data it sometimes does not. According to Mufwene (2001a, 297), there are exceptions to the rule concerning nasal

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<sup>99</sup> Although the main purpose of this thesis is not to provide an account of how individual features of AAVE have been translated into Finnish, it is nevertheless interesting to note that a word such as *honky* lacks an established equivalent in Finnish, unlike a word such as *nigga* (Taivalkoski-Shilov 2008, 256). In *Kolme korttia pakasta*, the expression *honky mahfah* is translated inconsistently. Whereas the saying in the original remains the same throughout the novel, the translator has added variation to the expression: in one instance, he has used the expression *vitun ääliömäinen hevonperse* (260) and in another instance, *valkonen mulkku* (294), which is closer to the actual meaning of the original.

consonants, as, for example, *get* may be pronounced *git*, which in the novels is the most common word form exhibiting this feature (see Appendix 12). In *The Drawing of the Three*, the merger occurs 18 times, of which 11 occur before a nasal consonant (see Appendix 12).

Habitual *be* occurs in *The Drawing of the Three* eight times. All occurrences are here considered to be incorrect use. One example is *I be letting you lie before this **be** all over* (293, the first indicative *be* in this sentence is here interpreted to be the result of an absent modal auxiliary *will*, see Section 5.4.1 and Appendix 15). Thus, King seems to have merely replaced finite forms of the verb *be* with indicative *be* as a general property of African American speech. King may have been unfamiliar with the semantic content of the marker, although as noted in Section 4.3.1, Detta Walker is described in the novel as speaking like a stereotypical African American. The description may be King's way of exculpating himself from any errors he has made or of avoiding offending African American readers. Nevertheless, habitual *be* is the most misused feature of AAVE in the novel. Indicative *be* also occurs in the novel in environments where it may be interpreted as an equative copula, as described by Alim (2004a, 2004b): *He **be** one sneaky sumbitch* (278). Nine such instances occur in the text, and one instance of an equative copula is also found in *Push* (see Appendix 5).

In *The Drawing of the Three*, a possible aspectual combination occurs: the construction *done been* in *My cunt feel all slick an tallowy, like somebody **done been** at it with a couple them little bitty white candles you graymeat mahfahs call cocks* (290–291). If the *been* is intended to be the aspectual marker *BIN*, the meaning should be construed as 'like somebody has been at it for a long time'. Yet, the combination *dən BIN* is not listed by Green (2002a, 34–72) in her comprehensive account of AAVE aspectual markers. She does describe, however, the aspectual combination *BIN dən*, but notes that it essentially covers the same semantic range that *BIN* does, with perhaps additional emphasis on the resultant state meaning conveyed by *dən* (Green 2002a, 67). Since the remote past marker *BIN* signifies that an event happened a long time ago, its use in the sentence is technically correct, but

the remote past meaning seems incompatible with the context in which it is uttered in the novel (Detta speaks this line of dialogue the following morning after having gone to sleep the previous night; therefore, the rape she suspects happened during the night would not have happened in the remote past). Whether the *been* is supposed to represent AAVE remote past *BIN* or not is subject to interpretation, as no other occurrences of *BIN* are found in the novel (as it turns out, in all the novels, *BIN* is the rarest of the three aspectual markers). The construction *done been* may here be analogous to the Standard English present perfect construction *has been*, whereby the *been* in the former should be analysed in the same way as the latter, i.e. as the main verb of the construction. This view is adopted in the present analysis, especially since Green's (2002a, 61) data, consisting of real-life AAVE use, include the sentence *She dən been to church*, the meaning of which Green defines as 'She has been to church before'. The construction here functions much like the present perfect. In consequence, it seems unnecessary to assume that a remote past meaning is necessarily intended. In studies such as this, analysing words that appear outwardly similar in the standard and the non-standard variety (such as *been*) is problematic because the author's intention is sometimes difficult to determine, even when the context is known. Yet, seeing as King has misused the aspectual marker *be*, it is unlikely that he has used *BIN* correctly.

The only occurrence of the monophthongisation of /ai/ in the entire data is found in *The Drawing of the Three*, where King has used the eye dialectal spelling *mah* ('my'): *Fuckah cut off mah laigs* (244). As mentioned in Section 3.1.5, Hurd (2006, 83) regards *my* as one of the words that usually exhibit monophthongisation in written representations of AAVE.

## 5.2.2 A Time to Kill

**Table 4. Features of AAVE in A Time to Kill**

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature  | Category |
|-------------------------|--|----------|
| 47                      | lack of auxiliary (of which 28 occur in questions) | S        |
| 31                      | lack of agreement                                  | S        |
| 23                      | multiple negation                                  | S        |
| 17                      | gonna  | S        |
| 9                       | copula absence                                     | S        |
| 3                       | liquid vocalisation                                | P        |
| 1                       | <i>dən</i>   | S        |
| 1                       | existential <i>it</i>                              | S        |
| 1                       | AAVE question ( <i>wh</i> -question)               | S        |
| 1                       | use of the verb stem only to indicate simple past  | S        |

S: syntactic feature  
P: phonological feature

The lack of auxiliaries presented a problem for the analysis; namely, determining whether the missing element in a sentence was an auxiliary or a copula. For example, sentences such as *Jake talk about me?* (204) and *That all?* (204) occur in the novel. In the analysis, the following principle applied: if the missing element was followed by a noun phrase, adjectival phrase or adpositional phrase, it was considered a copula, whereas if it was followed by a verb phrase, it was considered an auxiliary. Based on this principle, the former example sentence has a missing auxiliary and the latter has a missing copula.

The category of AAVE lack of agreement here includes instances where the subjunctive verb form *were* occurs as the simple past form *was* (*But I wish my girl **was** okay too [...] (79)*). This sort of lack of agreement in the subjunctive mood is common in many spoken varieties of English. In the novel, it also occurs in contracted forms: *He'd cut them both if he knew*

**they's datin'** (187, 'they were dating'). Once in the novel, a similar contraction is used with agreement intact: *Carl Lee limped to where I's layin'* [...] (167, 'where I was laying').

As can be seen from Table 4, the only aspectual marker used in *A Time to Kill* is *dən*, which occurs once in the text. Considering that overtly diagnostic features of AAVE in the novel are infrequent and that *dən* is also present in Southern American English (see Johnstone 1994, 286), Grisham appears to favour features that are shared in these two varieties. *Dən* is used in the novel by Gwen, Carl Lee's wife, as she is talking to Reverend Agee, another African American character: *I figured you had **done** spent the money on lawyers' fee or somethin' like that* (316). Although *dən* here correctly denotes that an action has been completed, its co-occurrence with the past perfect auxiliary *had* seems strange, since *dən* shares some of the semantic range of the present perfect tense.



### 5.2.3 Push

**Table 5. Features of AAVE in Push**

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature  | Category |
|-------------------------|--|----------|
| 153                     | lack of agreement  | S        |
| 66                      | lack of auxiliary (of which 12 occur in questions)             | S        |
| 59                      | consonant cluster reduction                                    | P        |
| 43                      | <i>th</i>  | P        |
| 42                      | copula absence   | S        |
| 26                      | multiple negation  | S        |
| 20                      | gonna/gon  | S        |
| 16                      | merger of [ɛ] and [ɪ]  | P        |
| 13                      | use of the verb stem only to indicate simple past              | S        |
| 5                       | relative pronoun absence                                       | S        |
| 4                       | <i>dən</i>   | S        |
| 4                       | lack of possessive marker                                      | S        |
| 4                       | AAVE question (3 <i>wh</i> -questions and 1 indirect question) | S        |
| 2                       | <i>BIN</i>   | S        |
| 2                       | devoicing  | P        |
| 2                       | existential <i>it</i>  | S        |
| 1                       | equative copula <i>be</i>                                      | S        |
| 1                       | habitual <i>be</i>   | S        |
| 1                       | preterite <i>had</i>   | S        |
| 1                       | <i>what</i> as a relative pronoun                              | S        |

S: syntactic feature  
P: phonological feature

**Table 6. Features of AAVE in the dialogue of Push**

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature   | Category |
|-------------------------|---|----------|
| 25                      | consonant cluster reduction                       | P        |
| 23                      | lack of agreement                                 | S        |
| 22                      | lack of auxiliary (of which 7 occur in questions) | S        |
| 17                      | copula absence                                    | S        |
| 14                      | <i>th</i>   | P        |
| 12                      | use of the verb stem only to indicate simple past | S        |
| 8                       | multiple negation                                 | S        |
| 6                       | merger of [ɛ] and [ɪ]                             | P        |
| 5                       | gon   | S        |
| 3                       | lack of possessive marker                         | S        |
| 2                       | devoicing   | P        |
| 1                       | <i>BIN</i>  | S        |
| 1                       | <i>dən</i>  | S        |
| 1                       | relative pronoun absence                          | S        |
| 1                       | <i>what</i> as a relative pronoun                 | S        |

P: phonological feature  
S: syntactic feature

**Table 7. Features of AAVE in the notebook entry in *Push***

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature                     | Category |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| 2                       | lack of agreement           | S        |
| 2                       | copula absence              | S        |
| 1                       | consonant cluster reduction | P        |
| 1                       | lack of possessive marker   | S        |
| 1                       | <i>th</i>                   | P        |

S: syntactic feature  
P: phonological feature

Since the notebook entry is so brief compared to the rest of the novel and because the novel primarily consists of the narration, any comparison between the three types of text yields little insight (perhaps a larger sample would have provided a more complete picture of the relations between the distributions). Even so, when comparing the frequency tables for *Push*, some minor differences can be found in the distribution of features in the novel as a whole, the dialogue alone and the one notebook entry. Lack of agreement is percentually less frequent in the dialogue alone (16,43%) than in the whole novel (33,05%) and the notebook entry (28,57%). Copula absence is more frequent in the dialogue (12,14%) than in the entire novel combined (9,07%). Percentually this feature is the most frequent in the brief notebook entry (28,57%). The notebook entry has no instances of the lack of auxiliaries.

In contrast to the other two novels, most instances of lack of agreement in *Push* were unrelated to the subjunctive mood. The use of the feature in this novel is therefore more similar to that described in Section 3.1.4 on AAVE syntax. Lack of agreement in *Push* usually occurs with reporting words that introduce lines of dialogue, such as *say* in the following: *Ms Weiss say to Mama [...]* (132). The frequent occurrence of direct speech in the novel is understandable, since the story is told from Precious's point of view and is supposed to be her written diary. Occasionally, lack of agreement coincides with other features. For example, in *Mrs Lichenstein ax me [...]* (7), it

coincides with metathesis (see Section 5.4.3), and in *I doose my work* (8, the only instance of this word form in the data), it coincides with eye dialect.

In one part of the novel, Precious's mother is telling Ms Weiss, Precious's counsellor, about how Precious's father began abusing his daughter: *I guess, he **come** over you know. I **wake up** at night, morning, he not wif me, I **know** he in there wif her* (133). Here, it is open to interpretation whether Sapphire has intended historic present tense forms or actual past tense forms designated by verb stems only. These verb forms are in this study considered instances of the former and treated as examples of lack of agreement rather than lack of past tense marking. Yet, as Precious's mother's recollections continue, some verbs seem to be more easily interpreted as referring to the past tense than others, especially after she says *I don't know when it **start*** ('started', 135). This sentence seems to indicate that what follows is in the past tense. A little later in the text, the character seems to shift to historic present: *He **climb** on me, you know. [...]* *So he on me* (135). The latter sentence seems to initiate another shift, this time from past to present tense whereby the verb forms that follow this shift should be analysed as lack of agreement, as has been done in this study. Yet another shift in tense occurs when Precious's mother says *I **think** she some kinda freak baby then* (136). Here the adverb *then* seems to invite a simple past interpretation. It must be emphasised that these are interpretations of the data that may not necessarily reflect Sapphire's original intentions.

Another example of lack of agreement that is subject to interpretation is the following: *She go in her pocket **get** out that ol' blue change purse [...]* (137). In this sentence, either the verb *get* lacks agreement with the subject (*she*), or additionally lacks the conjunction *and* (*and gets out*), or the verb lacks a preceding preposition *to* (*to get out*). This thesis favours the lack of agreement view without a postulated conjunction: 'She goes in her pocket, gets out [...]'].

*Push* has an instance of verbal tense marking that is ambiguous and may be analysed differently by different scholars; namely, the word form *seen* in

the following sentence: *Even now I go downtown and **seen** the rich shit they got, I see what we got too* (138). One possible conclusion is that the past participle form of the verb is used here to express simple past ('saw'), a feature which Rickford (1999, 7) identifies as a feature of AAVE. Yet, based on the context and the use of present tense forms elsewhere in the sentence, it seems more likely that the absent element is the present perfect auxiliary *have*. This interpretation is adopted in the current study, although, again, the author's exact intention is unknown.

*Push* has one unclear example of consonant cluster reduction: *September twenty-four* (4, 'twenty-fourth'). The cluster [rθ] is not mentioned in the research literature as being subject to reduction, and the cluster violates the AAVE reduction rule by including a voiced ([r]) and a voiceless sound ([θ]) (see Section 3.1.5). As with other features found in *Push*, this may be idiolectal variation or simply Sapphire's way of expressing the character's illiteracy. *Twenty-four* is thus not counted in the current analysis as consonant cluster reduction. Another cluster that is unattested in most studies is *thas* ('that's', six occurrences). Since the cluster [ts] conforms to the reduction rule, and is similar to such attested forms as *des* for 'desk', consonant cluster reduction seems to be what Sapphire intended to convey with this word form. Therefore, *thas* is analysed here as consonant cluster reduction.

Occasionally in the analysis it was difficult to determine whether a word exemplified consonant cluster reduction or lack of past tense marking when the absent element was word-final *-ed*. For example, compare the following two sentences from *Push*: *Where that guy **help** me?* (11); [...] "Nineteen seventy?" *the nurse say **confuse** quiet* (11). In the former sentence, the absent *-ed* ending is a past tense suffix, whereas in the latter sentence, it is an adjective suffix. In this thesis, words that, based on the context, are adjectives (such as *confused*) are analysed as containing consonant cluster reduction, and words that are verbs (and based on the context, verbs in the past tense) are analysed as the use of the verb stem only to indicate simple past tense.

*Push* has two occurrences that are here classified as remote past *BIN* (see Appendix 6). As noted in Section 5.2.1, when discussing the use of AAVE in *The Drawing of the Three*, *BIN* is difficult to distinguish from *been* occurring as the main verb in a present perfect construction that lacks the auxiliary *have*. *Push* has other instances that could be interpreted as *BIN* but are here analysed as lacking a present perfect auxiliary because their meaning seems to correspond more closely to present perfect than remote past *BIN* (*What you **been** doin!* (9); *I never **been** nowhere* (12)) or because their meaning can be interpreted either way (*She **been** staring at my stomach* (9); *You **been** high tailing it round here* (9)). Thus, only those examples of *BIN* that are here considered as unequivocal are categorised as such. As the reader may recall from Section 3.1.4, the marker is stressed in speech (as indicated by Green's choice of signifying the stress with capital letters) and thus differs phonetically from the verb form *been* that is shared with Standard English. Since word stress cannot be determined from the text, the exact linguistic feature in all these examples remains unclear, a missing auxiliary or AAVE *BIN* (a reading of each passage by the author of the novel would be helpful in reaching a conclusion). For the two examples of *BIN* in *Push*, see Appendix 6.

The only instances of devoicing in the entire data are found in *Push*, where the word *killed* is spelt *kilt*: [...] *Miz West son that got **kilt*** [...] (134); [...] *Miz West son got **kilt*** [...] (134). As described earlier in Section 3.1.5, devoicing (whereby e.g. the word *bad* is pronounced [bæt]) only occurs when the voiced stop is preceded by a vowel, which is not the case with *kilt*. Nevertheless, in the current study, *kilt* is categorised as an example of devoicing.

Preterite *had* is a rare feature in the data, occurring only once in *Push*: *I **had got** left back in the second grade too* [...] (3). That use of this feature is confined to *Push* may be appropriate because as mentioned in Section 3.1.4, real-world preterite *had* is found mainly in the speech of preadolescents and young adults.

## 5.3 Features of Colloquial Finnish in the Original Novels

### 5.3.1 *Kolme korttia pakasta*

**Table 8. Features of colloquial Finnish in *Kolme korttia pakasta***

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature   | Category |
|-------------------------|---|----------|
| 234                     | short variants of <i>minä</i> and <i>sinä</i>                               | P        |
| 49                      | elision of diphthong-final <i>i</i>   | P        |
| 30                      | apocope of <i>i</i> after <i>s</i>  | P        |
| 17                      | replacement of <i>hän</i> and <i>he</i> with <i>se</i> and <i>ne</i>        | L        |
| 14                      | colloquial variant of the interrogative suffix                              | P        |
| 12                      | omission of the possessive suffix   | M        |
| 11                      | lack of agreement   | S        |
| 9                       | unmarked MA-infinitive in the illative case                                 | M        |
| 6                       | monophthongisation of <i>A</i> -ending diphthong                            | P        |
| 4                       | elision of word-medial <i>-n-</i> , <i>-t-</i> , <i>-m-</i>                 | P        |
| 3                       | use of the passive for the first person plural                              | M        |
| 3                       | <i>tt</i> or <i>t</i> as a variant for <i>ts</i> -cluster                   | P        |
| 2                       | apocope of <i>A</i>   | P        |
| 1                       | elision of final <i>t</i> in past participle ( <i>-nUt</i> ) forms of verbs | P        |
| 1                       | short variants of numerals  | P        |

P: phonological feature  
L: lexical feature  
M: morphological feature  
S: syntactic feature

There is little to say about the features of colloquial Finnish in the translations from a descriptive point of view because colloquial Finnish is a variety the translators are familiar with and know how to use properly. Yet, some noteworthy observations can be made concerning the use of the variety in the three translations. For example, in *Kolme korttia pakasta*, the short variant of the interrogative suffix is written together as a single word with the following short variant of a personal pronoun (e.g. *onksulla*, *enksmä*). All in all, nine such instances occur in the text.

Additionally, the apocope of word-final *A*, a frequent feature in actual colloquial Finnish, is only found in *Kolme korttia pakasta* and only occurs twice in the text. On both occasions, the word is *kans* ‘kanssa’, which could be considered either apocope or the truncation of a frequent word. In this analysis, the word is categorised as an instance of the former.

### 5.3.2 *On aika tappaa*

**Table 9. Features of colloquial Finnish in *On aika tappaa***

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature  | Category |
|-------------------------|--|----------|
| 306                     | short variants of <i>minä</i> and <i>sinä</i>                        | P        |
| 191                     | replacement of <i>hän</i> and <i>he</i> with <i>se</i> and <i>ne</i> | L        |
| 37                      | omission of the possessive suffix                                    | M        |
| 37                      | use of the passive for the first person plural                       | M        |
| 30                      | lack of agreement  | S        |
| 16                      | elision of diphthong-final <i>i</i>                                  | P        |
| 6                       | elision of word-medial <i>-n-</i> , <i>-l-</i> , <i>-m-</i>          | P        |
| 3                       | <i>tt</i> or <i>t</i> as a variant for <i>ts</i> -cluster            | P        |
| 2                       | monophthongisation of <i>A</i> -ending diphthong                     | P        |
| 1                       | apocope of <i>i</i> after <i>s</i>                                   | P        |
| 1                       | short variants of numerals   | P        |

P: phonological feature  
 L: lexical feature  
 M: morphological feature  
 S: syntactic feature

In *On aika tappaa*, the translator, Kimmo Linkama, occasionally refrains from using features of colloquial Finnish. For example, he occasionally uses the full forms of the personal pronouns *minä* and *sinä*, as in the following sentence: **Sinäkö** tuon valamiehistön valitsit? (398).

*On aika tappaa* exhibits a type of artificial colloquial Finnish construction where the full form of a personal pronoun in the genitive case is followed by a noun in the partitive case without a possessive suffix: *Te käytitte minun nimeä ja minun perheen nimeä niiden rahojen keräämiseen* (322).



Constructions such as these are rare in real spoken Finnish. Instead, common usage has the short form of the pronoun followed by the head word of the noun phrase in the partitive case with or without a possessive suffix (*mun nimeä/nimeän*).<sup>100</sup>

Another example that shows how colloquial Finnish is used less frequently here than in the other translations is the presence of intact agreement, even in the speech of characters such as the seedy Cat Bruster: *Tiedätkö, miksi ne eivät ole saaneet mua tuomituksi?* (176).

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<sup>100</sup> As a side note, in their study of the translation of AAVE into Surinamese Dutch, Wekker and Wekker (1991) find the first 1983 Dutch translation of *The Color Purple* unsatisfying because the variety used in the translation is an invention of the translator and not a real variety of Dutch.

### 5.3.3 Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina

**Table 10. Features of colloquial Finnish in Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina**

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature   | Category |
|-------------------------|---|----------|
| 440                     | short variants of <i>minä</i> and <i>sinä</i>                               | P        |
| 123                     | replacement of <i>hän</i> and <i>he</i> with <i>se</i> and <i>ne</i>        | L        |
| 75                      | elision of diphthong-final <i>i</i>   | P        |
| 66                      | elision of final <i>t</i> in past participle ( <i>-nUt</i> ) forms of verbs | P        |
| 65                      | elision of word-medial <i>-n-</i> , <i>-l-</i> , <i>-m-</i>                 | P        |
| 62                      | monophthongisation of <i>A</i> -ending diphthong                            | P        |
| 57                      | omission of the possessive suffix   | M        |
| 46                      | apocope of <i>i</i> after <i>s</i>  | P        |
| 36                      | short variants of numerals  | P        |
| 27                      | lack of agreement   | S        |
| 22                      | colloquial variant of the interrogative suffix                              | P        |
| 15                      | <i>tt</i> or <i>t</i> as a variant for <i>ts</i> -cluster                   | P        |
| 11                      | unmarked <i>MA</i> -infinitive in the illative case                         | M        |
| 9                       | use of the passive for the first person plural                              | M        |
| 1                       | replacement of <i>d</i> with dialectal weak grade variant                   | P        |

P: phonological feature  
L: lexical feature  
M: morphological feature  
S: syntactic feature

**Table 11. Features of colloquial Finnish in the dialogue of Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina**

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature   | Category |
|-------------------------|---|----------|
| 111                     | short variants of <i>minä</i> and <i>sinä</i>                               | P        |
| 23                      | omission of the possessive suffix   | M        |
| 23                      | replacement of <i>hän</i> and <i>he</i> with <i>se</i> and <i>ne</i>        | L        |
| 20                      | elision of diphthong-final <i>i</i>   | P        |
| 13                      | elision of final <i>t</i> in past participle ( <i>-nUt</i> ) forms of verbs | P        |
| 10                      | elision of word-medial <i>-n-</i> , <i>-t-</i> , <i>-m-</i>                 | P        |
| 7                       | monophthongisation of A-ending diphthong                                    | P        |
| 7                       | colloquial variant of the interrogative suffix                              | P        |
| 6                       | apocope of <i>i</i> after <i>s</i>  | P        |
| 5                       | lack of agreement   | S        |
| 4                       | use of the passive for the first person plural                              | M        |
| 3                       | unmarked MA-infinitive in the illative case                                 | M        |
| 3                       | <i>tt</i> or <i>t</i> as a variant for <i>ts</i> -cluster                   | P        |
| 2                       | short variants of numerals  | P        |
| 1                       | replacement of <i>d</i> with dialectal weak grade variant                   | P        |

P: phonological feature  
M: morphological feature  
L: lexical feature  
S: syntactic feature

**Table 12. Features of Colloquial Finnish in the notebook entry in Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina**

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature                                       | Category |
|-------------------------|---|----------|
| 5                       | short variants of <i>minä</i> and <i>sinä</i> | P        |
| 3                       | omission of the possessive suffix             | M        |
| 1                       | elision of diphthong-final <i>i</i>           | P        |
| 1                       | lack of agreement                             | S        |
| 1                       | monophthongisation of A-ending diphthong      | P        |

P: phonological feature  
M: morphological feature  
S: syntactic feature

When examining the differences in the frequency distribution of the features between the whole text and the dialogue and notebook entry alone, the possessive suffix appears to be omitted more frequently in the notebook entry (27,27%) than in the entire translation (5,40%) or in the dialogue alone (9, 66%). The relatively large representation of this feature in the notebook entry may reflect the way Precious’s notebook contains her personal memories and feelings; therefore, possessive constructions are more likely to occur in the notebook entries. The narration and dialogue seem to correspond fairly closely to each other in terms of the frequency of the features without any major differences between the two, which would seem to suggest that the translator, Kristiina Drews, has not used colloquial Finnish in any significantly different way in the dialogue. The only difference between the three most frequent features in the entire novel and the dialogue alone is that in the dialogue, one of those three is the the omission of the possessive suffix rather than the elision of diphthong-final *i*. Further, replacement of *hän* and *he* with *se* and *ne*, which is one of the three most frequent features in the whole novel and in the dialogue alone, is completely absent from the notebook entry.

As in *On aika tappaa*, standard forms are occasionally used where non-standard variants might have been expected. Standard forms are used of, for example, the personal pronouns *minä* and *sinä*, the past participle suffix *-nut* (where the suffix is intact), the possessive suffix (with the suffix intact) and numerals. In all the translations, instances such as these may result from the translators' desire to vary their expression.

*Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina* is the only one of the translations to exhibit the omission of the interrogative suffix in an expression of quantity. This is a characteristic feature of spoken Finnish, and it occurs in the text once: *Kai siks etten mä vielä tiedä **kauan[ɤ]** mä tätä stooria heitän* (11).

Of all the translations, the only instance of colloquial consonant gradation is in *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*. The word form is *tiiä* ('tiedä', 135), where [ɤ] occurs as the weak grade variant of [t]. This is the only feature of colloquial Finnish to appear only once in the entire data.

## 5.4 Other Non-Standard Features in the Original Novels

### 5.4.1 The Drawing of the Three

**Table 13. Other non-standard features in The Drawing of the Three**

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature   | Category |
|-------------------------|---|----------|
| 18                      | allegro forms   | P        |
| 15                      | reduced modal auxiliary <i>will</i>                           | S        |
| 8                       | lack of personal pronoun subject                              | S        |
| 5                       | front-rising diphthong [ɜɪ]                                   | P        |
| 4                       | substitution of the objective pronoun <i>them</i> for 'those' | L        |
| 3                       | lack of preposition   | S        |
| 3                       | realisation of <i>s</i> as <i>d</i> before a nasal consonant  | P        |
| 2                       | Southern breaking   | P        |
| 1                       | regularised reflexive pronoun ( <i>hissself</i> )             | S        |
| 1                       | indefinite article <i>a</i> in place of <i>an</i>             | S        |
| 1                       | lack of article   | S        |

P: phonological feature  
 S: syntactic feature  
 L: lexical feature

All three original novels feature allegro forms, where unstressed syllables are deleted (Johnstone 1994, 283). Examples from the current data include ‘*bout*’ (‘about’) and ‘*cause*’ (‘because’). According to Rickford (1999, 5), deletion of unstressed initial or medial syllables seems to be more common in the speech of old speakers (over 60 years old) than young speakers. Despite this, allegro forms are the most frequent “other” non-standard features in *The Drawing of the Three* and *A Time to Kill* and the second most frequent such feature in *Push*. One exception to the principle of allegro forms involving reduced syllables is found in *The Drawing of the Three*, which features the word form *an* (‘and’). All occurrences of *an* are here categorised as allegro forms because in the present study the term is understood to cover all frequent word forms that are shortened in speech (thus resembling the

truncation of frequently used words in colloquial Finnish (see Section 5.5.1)). For a full list of the allegro forms appearing in the original novels, see Appendix 14.

In *The Drawing of the Three* (and *Push*), some instances of indicative *be* were interpreted in the present analysis as future references with the modal auxiliary *will* reduced, for example: *Nex time you **be** callin me dat **be** de las time you **be** callin anyone anything* (*The Drawing of the Three*, 378). Here the modal auxiliary *will* could be interpolated before all instances of the word *be*. Reduction of *will* and *would* resulting in an indicative *be* is found in other varieties of English as well (Fasold 1981, 181). The feature is significantly more common in *The Drawing of the Three* (15 instances) than in *Push* (one instance). This may again be explained by King's seeming lack of awareness of the possible aspectual meaning of indicative *be*, which may have resulted in him using the word form as a general feature of African American speech. Because all instances of this feature are subject to interpretation and may be categorised differently by other research workers, all examples from the data are presented in Appendix 15.

In some cases, it is uncertain whether or not the author has intended a future reference, as in the following example: *You goan do this young cocka-de-walk first, and dat Really Bad Man **be** wakin up and you goan give him one big grin [...]* (279). The context here seems to indicate a future reference. When sentences appeared to express future reference based on the context, they were interpreted as such in the analysis and not as aspectual *be* constructions even if *be* was followed by a verb with the *-ing* suffix, as in the following example: *I **be** letting you lie before this be all over* (*The Drawing of the Three*, 293). The second *be* seems to be an incorrectly used habitual *be*, since it is difficult to postulate a corresponding Standard English construction with the auxiliary preceding it.

The lack of personal pronoun subject is listed by Wekker and Wekker (1991) as a feature of AAVE. In this thesis, the category includes lack of the dummy subject *it*, which is the absent subject in three of the eight occurrences of this feature in *The Drawing of the Three*. The novel also has

the most occurrences of the feature of all three novels (in the others, this feature is infrequent). For a full account of all the instances in the novels, see Appendix 16.

*The Drawing of the Three* is the only novel of the three in which phonological realisations of the following kind occur: *toin* 'turn' (260), *joik* 'jerk' (e.g. 262; the word occurs three times) and *squoit* 'squirt' (262). These seem to represent the front-rising diphthong [ɜɪ] that characterises New York City English (the classic example is the pronunciation of *thirty-third* as *toidy-toid*) (Gordon 2004, 286). This phonological feature is rarely discussed in the literature on AAVE. King may have used the feature to link Detta linguistically to her hometown despite the incongruity vis-à-vis genuine use of the variety.

*The Drawing of the Three*, along with the other two original novels, has examples of undifferentiated pronoun case where the objective pronoun *them* has been substituted for *those* (Washington & Craig 2002, 224), as in [...] *cut dem skinny ole white candles off* [...] (284). *Them* in this use also occurs in the novel with the standard *th* sound: *Doan you be touchin me wid no water from where them poison things come from!* (295).

In both *The Drawing of the Three* and *Push*, prepositions are sometimes absent, as in the following example from the former novel in which the preposition *of* is missing: [...] *like somebody done been at it with a couple [ɔ] them little bitty white candles* [...] (290–291). The feature occurs three times in *The Drawing of the Three*, and in all instances the absent preposition is *of* (see Appendix 17).

*The Drawing of the Three* is the only novel of the three to exhibit the realisation of *s* as *d* before a nasal consonant, which occurs three times in two different words: *wadn't* ('wasn't'; 246, 373) and *bidness* ('business'; 378). This feature is considered characteristic of AAVE by Wolfram, Temple Adger and Christian (1999, 204), who assert that *s* and *v* may be realised as *t* or *d* before the nasals *m*, *n* and *ng*. They also note that this feature is typical of Southern American English varieties (*ibid.*; see also Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1996, 140).



King uses the spellings *laigs* ('legs'; 244, 344) and *haid* ('head'; 380), where a single vowel sound, in this case /e/, is pronounced as a diphthong. The spellings may be meant to approximate the so-called Southern drawl, or Southern breaking, whereby a vowel is broken into two segments that are separated by a semivowel (e.g. *pass* is pronounced as [pae:<sup>h</sup>æs] (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006, 121, 240). Instead of a semivowel, the vowel *i* is used in the novel to produce an eye dialect form of the feature. Although Southern breaking is not usually listed as a feature of AAVE, the use of Southern features to evoke AAVE is not unprecedented, as Schneider (2003, 19) remarks that Southern American English and AAVE are "closely related" and the latter may be considered a "daughter variety" of the former.<sup>101</sup> In the current data, Southern breaking occurs only in *The Drawing of the Three*.

The reflexive pronoun *hisself* is used once in both *The Drawing of the Three* (p. 257) and *A Time to Kill* (p. 187). This variant of the pronoun *himself* is formed by analogy with reflexive pronouns whose first part is a possessive pronoun, such as *herself* and *myself* (Bailey 2010, 190; Wolfram, Temple Adger & Christian 1999, 221).<sup>102</sup>

The novel has one occurrence of the indefinite article *a* preceding a vowel-initial word: [...] *a old crippled lady* [...] (297). The only other occurrence of this feature in the data is in *Push*, where it also only occurs once: [...] *keep a eye on him* [...] (137). This feature is referenced in an essay by June Jordan, an African American poet and essayist, who taught AAVE in an undergraduate course at the State University of New York. In the essay, she presents as one of the rules of the variety the following: "never use the indefinite article *an*" (Jordan 1988, 369). Her "rules", however, are perhaps not as linguistically valid as those of established linguists: one of her rules suggests that a speaker may "invent" special past tense forms and use them if they are understandable (*ibid.*).

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<sup>101</sup> On the common ancestry of Southern American English and AAVE, see Mufwene (2003, 64–81).

<sup>102</sup> *Hisself* appears in one of the example sentences used to illustrate the verb structure *call-self* in Section 3.1.3 of this thesis.

The lack of articles can be observed in *The Drawing of the Three* (one instance) and *Push* (39 instances). In *Push*, it is the most frequent other non-standard feature (see Table 15 in Section 5.4.3). In *The Drawing of the Three*, the missing article is *the* in [9] *One you trine to give me* (212). For all examples from *Push*, see Appendix 18.

#### 5.4.2 A Time to Kill

**Table 14. Other non-standard features in A Time to Kill**

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature   | Category |
|-------------------------|---|----------|
| 41                      | allegro forms   | P        |
| 20                      | ever for 'every'  | P        |
| 5                       | substitution of the objective pronoun <i>them</i> for 'those' | L        |
| 5                       | <i>y'all</i> as the second person plural pronoun              | L        |
| 2                       | lack of personal pronoun subject                              | S        |
| 1                       | <i>brung</i> as the past tense of <i>bring</i>                | MP       |
| 1                       | <i>go</i> as a verbal marker                                  | L        |
| 1                       | regularised reflexive pronoun ( <i>hisself</i> )              | S        |

P: phonological feature

L: lexical feature

S: syntactic feature

MP: morphophonological feature

A feature found only in *A Time to Kill* is the occurrence of the determiner *every* as *ever*. *It'll take **ever** man I've got to serve these papers* (306). *Ever* also occurs when *every* is part of a compound: the pronoun *everbody* 'everybody' occurs eight times (once as the genitive form *everbody's*), the adverb *vertime* 'every time' occurs four times, the pronoun *everthing* 'everything' occurs twice and finally, the adverb *everwhere* 'everywhere' occurs once. Other scholars may categorise this feature as an allegro form, but seeing as its use is restricted to *A Time to Kill*, it has been analysed separately in the present study.

In *A Time to Kill*, both black and white characters use *y'all* as the second person plural pronoun. Rickford (1999, 7) includes *y'all* as an AAVE pronoun.

*Y'all* is here considered a lexical feature rather than a syntactic one following the principle employed by Green (2002a), whereby verbal markers such as *come*, *stay* and *finna* are categorised as lexical features even though they fulfil a syntactic function like the aspectual markers *be*, *BIN* and *dən*.<sup>103</sup>

A feature only found in *A Time to Kill* is the use of *brung* as the past tense form of *bring* (the Standard English equivalent of which is *brought*). It involves apophony, whereby word-internal sound changes indicate a grammatical category. An example of apophony in Standard English is the verb form *sang*, the past tense of *sing*. The feature is morphophonological and the only one classified as such in the current analysis.

The last unique feature in *A Time to Kill* is the use of the verb *go* as a verbal marker, similar to the marker *come* discussed in Section 3.1.3: *And don't you go call him* (174).

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<sup>103</sup> The verbal markers *come*, *stay*, *finna* and *steady* are absent from the present data. Possible reasons for the absence of these and many other lexical features of AAVE are discussed in Section 5.6.

### 5.4.3 Push

**Table 15. Other non-standard features in Push**

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature   | Category |
|-------------------------|---|----------|
| 39                      | lack of article   | S        |
| 19                      | allegro forms   | P        |
| 9                       | lack of preposition   | S        |
| 6                       | regularised plural forms                                      | M        |
| 5                       | lack of conjunction   | S        |
| 4                       | <i>gone</i> as a verbal marker                                | L        |
| 4                       | regularised irregular past and past participle forms          | M        |
| 1                       | assimilation  | P        |
| 1                       | double auxiliary  | S        |
| 1                       | indefinite article <i>a</i> in place of <i>an</i>             | S        |
| 1                       | inflecting adjective used with pre-modifier <i>more</i>       | S        |
| 1                       | lack of personal pronoun subject                              | S        |
| 1                       | metathesis  | P        |
| 1                       | reduced modal auxiliary <i>will</i>                           | S        |
| 1                       | reduplication   | S        |
| 1                       | substitution of the objective pronoun <i>them</i> for 'those' | L        |
| 1                       | <i>they</i> as the third person plural possessive form        | S        |

S: syntactic feature  
P: phonological feature  
M: morphological feature  
L: lexical feature

As in *The Drawing of the Three*, prepositions are also occasionally absent in *Push*. The feature is more frequent in *Push* (nine occurrences) and the range of omitted prepositions is broader than in *The Drawing of the Three*: *of* is absent four times, *to* three times, and *in* twice. One possible occurrence of this feature in *Push* is subject to interpretation: *She go in her pocket get out that ol' blue change purse [...]* (137). Here the preposition *to* may be missing after the word *pocket* ('*she goes in her pocket to get out [...]*'), or the word *get*

exemplifies lack of agreement ('*she goes in her pocket, **gets** out [...]*'). Because of the ambiguity, this use is excluded from the analysis. Another ambiguous sentence is *A bird is my heart* (131), where the preposition *in* might be posited before the noun phrase *my heart*. This use is therefore also excluded from the analysis. See Appendix 17 for all instances of lack of preposition that were included in the analysis.

Sapphire uses regularised forms of irregular plurals: *mens* (10, two instances), *womens* (11; 132, two instances), *feets* (3, one instance), [*Spanish*] *peoples* (10, one instance), *the polices* (6, one instance). In the last example, an invariable plural (*the police*) is used like a count noun in the plural number. Labov (1963, 337) includes regularised plurals in his description of AAVE.

Of the original novels, *Push* is the only one to exhibit lack of conjunctions, which is a feature unreported in most studies on AAVE. There are five instances in all, four of which are subordinating conjunctions (*if* is absent on three occasions, *that* is absent once) and one is the co-ordinating conjunction *and*. At one point in the novel, *if* is replaced by the auxiliary *do* in an indirect question in reported speech: *Rita ask me **do** I want another hot chocolate* (131). This is not counted as lack of a conjunction because in AAVE indirect questions, the words *if* or *whether* may be replaced by an auxiliary at the beginning of the embedded clause (Green 2002a, 89). For all instances of lack of conjunction, see Appendix 19.

The word *gone* is used as a verbal marker in *Push* four times and is perhaps related to *gonna/gon*. The connection to *gonna* is suggested by the use of *gone* to denote future events in the following examples: [...] *so I can **gone** 'n graduate* (3); *Maybe to **gone** 'n git it over with* (4); *I just wanna **gone** get the fuck out of I.S. 146 [...]* (6); *I wanna finish at Each One Teach One 'n **gone** get my G.E.D* (132). In the last example, *gone* most closely approximates *gonna*. As can be seen from these examples, *gone* can occur after the words *can* and *wanna*. This distinguishes the marker from *gonna*, which cannot occur in these environments.

On four occurrences in *Push*, irregular past and past participle forms of verbs are regularised: [...] *where me and my baby got **tooked*** [...] (11, 'taken', the past participle form of the verb); [...] *this Harlem Hospital where I was **borned*** (11, 'born', the past participle form of the verb); [...] *after it was **borned** on the kitchen floor* [...] (11, the past participle form of the verb); *But thas all I **knowed*** (12, 'knew', the past form of the verb). From a real-world psycholinguistic viewpoint, more specifically from the point of view of language acquisition, regularised forms such as these are present in the speech of young children (much younger than Precious) who are in the early stages of acquiring English as their mother tongue.

The spelling *unnerstand* for 'understand' (*You unnerstand?* (135)) is here considered an example of assimilation, the only one of its kind in the current data. Two other analyses are possible. The first is to analyse the feature as consonant cluster reduction. This interpretation seems unlikely, as the word fails to fulfil all the criteria required for reduction to occur. Although the *nd* cluster is subject to reduction, and reduction occurs when both consonants are voiced, a word-medial consonant cluster is reduced only when it is followed by a consonant-initial suffix (as mentioned before in Section 3.1.5). The second is to analyse *unnerstand* as eye dialect, as Johnstone (1994, 283) has done for words such as *innerduced* and *innersted* in her study on how the speech of lower-class, rural white Southern Americans is represented in Harry Crews's novel *Body*.

*Push* features a double auxiliary, which is the only one in the entire data: [...] *it **don't can** go no further* (11). Interestingly, double auxiliaries are mentioned by Craig, Thompson, Washington and Potter (2003) as a feature of the speech of child AAVE speakers (the children participating in the study were in the 2<sup>nd</sup> through the 5<sup>th</sup> grades). This morphosyntactic feature was, however, rare in the children's speech (2003, 624). Nevertheless, being a feature used by young speakers, it seems to fit the character of Precious.

*Push* has one instance of the comparative structure *more better* (*Bottle **more better** for kidz* (135), where the pre-modifier *more* combines with an

adjective whose comparative form in Standard English is produced through inflection alone.

Metathesis, the transposition of two consecutive consonants, is mentioned as a phonological feature of AAVE by Rickford (1999, 5) and as a morphological feature by Labov (1963, 337). The only occurrence of metathesis in all the novels is the word *ax* ('ask') in *Push*, which occurs once in the 20 pages analysed in this thesis: [...] *Mrs Lichenstein ax me to please sit down* [...] (7). Sapphire also uses Standard English *ask*: "*Would you like to share some of that in this session?*" *Ms Weiss ask* (136).

The absence of the modal auxiliary *will* that was observed in *The Drawing of the Three* is also found in *Push*, albeit in the latter novel the feature is much less frequent, occurring only once: *I [ø] do yours one day you want*. [...] (131). Here, the expression *one day* seems to favour a future time interpretation, and thus the omission of *will* seems likely. Another occurrence in *Push* that may be interpreted as an absent *will*-auxiliary is in the following sentence: *Well I be damned* [...] (8). This sentence could be understood to have the full form *I'll be damned*, although the expression as used in the novel may also be a fixed phrase. Hence, it will not be counted here as an example of reduced *will*.

Reduplication only occurs in *Push*: *She quiet quiet* (12). The reduplication of a word is rarely discussed in the literature on AAVE. Reduplication may, however, occur morphologically and phonologically within a word. For example, Rickford (1999, 7) mentions reduplication of the past participle suffix (e.g. *likeded* 'liked') as a feature of AAVE. He also notes that this feature applies only to a select few verbs and is mainly used by adolescents (*ibid.*). Craig, Thompson, Washington and Potter (2003, 626), in turn, indicate a different form of partial reduplication in their study of AAVE used by children, viz., the reduplication of consonants in a word so that, for example, the word *escape* is pronounced /ɛkskep/.<sup>104</sup> The translation of the

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<sup>104</sup> A feature similar to reduplication is subject repetition (as in the sentence *Mr. Jones, he don't eat nothing*), which is listed as a feature of the variety by Wekker and Wekker (1991) and Dürmüller (1983, 105).

novel also exhibits reduplication in the one notebook entry included in the sample: [...] *monta vuotta niinku pesukone ympäri ympäri* [...] (133). This one occurrence of reduplication in the translation seems like an isolated stylistic choice on the part of the translator, since the original novel has a conjunction between the two instances of the repeated word: [...] *years like wash machine aroun and around* (133).

Rickford (1999, 7) regards the use of *they* as a third person plural possessive form (Standard English *their*) as a feature of AAVE pronouns. It is used once in *Push: Must be what they already had in they pocket* (131). In this study, the feature is categorised as syntactic rather than lexical, because it is here considered as belonging to the same category as the lack of a possessive marker but affecting a pronoun and because it is less clearly a fixed expression as, for example, the objective pronoun *them* and the second person plural *y'all*.



## 5.5 Other Non-Standard Features in the Translations

### 5.5.1 Kolme korttia pakasta

**Table 16. Other non-standard features in Kolme korttia pakasta**

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature  | Category |
|-------------------------|--|----------|
| 88                      | slang/colloquial expressions   | L        |
| 16                      | speech fillers/discourse particles/interjections                                 | L        |
| 15                      | lowering of the final vowel in a diphthong                                       | P        |
| 14                      | demonstrative pronouns <i>toi</i> for 'tuo' and <i>noi</i> for 'nuo'             | L        |
| 2                       | <i>se</i> as a definite article  | S        |
| 2                       | syncope  | P        |
| 2                       | a verb with the stem <i>itse-</i> lacks the <i>tse-</i> element ( <i>tarvi</i> ) | P        |
| 1                       | truncation of a frequently used word ( <i>sitten</i> > <i>sit</i> )              | P        |

L: lexical feature  
P: phonological feature  
S: syntactic feature

In the analysis, a distinction is made between slang and colloquial expressions. Words are categorised here as either slang or colloquial expressions according to how they are classified in Kielitoimiston sanakirja (The New Dictionary of Modern Finnish). Some words are not in the dictionary, such as *mari* (a short variant of *marijuana*), which occurs in *On aika tappaa* (p. 21), so these had to be categorised by the present author (*mari* is here considered slang). Vulgar expressions, such as *kusipää*, are excluded from the analysis, as they could also be used in texts written wholly in the standard language. In this respect, the current study differs from that of Nevalainen (2003).

The other non-standard lexical features occurring in the translations are divided into two subcategories: on the one hand, slang and colloquial expressions form one category; and on the other hand, speech fillers, discourse particles and interjections form another category. The latter

category includes words such as *niinku*, *just* and *ai*. All examples from the current data are presented in the appendices.

The frequent use of slang in *The Drawing of the Three* is not reflected in the translation, which only has three instances of Finnish slang, and only two slang words are used (*puklata* ‘to throw up’, which occurs twice, and *nussia*, which also occurs twice (in both occurrences of the latter word, it is used in the sense ‘to mess with someone’, and since this is an unusual meaning of the word, *nussia* is here considered slang).

An example of the lowering of the final vowel in a diphthong is *melkeen* ‘melkein’ in *Kolme korttia pakasta*. This feature is present and frequent in all three translations (see Appendix 22 for all instances in the texts).

The demonstrative pronouns *toi* (‘tu’) and *noi* (‘noi’) are both frequently used in *Kolme korttia pakasta* (14 instances). These pronouns originate from the Häme and South-West dialects but have since become common in spoken Finnish (Mielikäinen 1986). The feature is rare in the other two translations: in *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*, only the pronoun *toi* is used (one occurrence), and in *On aika tappaa*, neither pronoun is used.

The pronoun *se*, in addition to its use as a demonstrative, can be used much like a definite article in spoken Finnish. In all three translations, the pronoun is interpreted to have been used in this sense when the original sentence featured a corresponding definite article, although some exceptions are made (see Appendix 23).

Syncope involves the omission of sounds within a word, e.g. *mihkään* (‘mihinkään’) in *Kolme korttia pakasta*. The feature occurs in *Kolme korttia pakasta* and *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*. In neither novel is syncope a common feature; it occurs only twice in *Kolme korttia pakasta* and once in *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*. For all instances of syncope, see Appendix 24.

*Kolme korttia pakasta* has two instances of the verb stem *tarvitse-* lacking the element *-tse*: *Sun ei **tarvi** tehdä muuta kun tunnustella käsillä missä on*

*se toinen silmukka* (392); [...] *mä loukkasin valkosia poikia koska niitä tarvi loukata* [...] (453). The feature only occurs in this novel, and although here considered phonological, it may also be considered morphophonological.

The only instance of the truncation of a frequently used word in *Kolme korttia pakasta* is *sit* ‘sitten’: *Ja minne mun pitäis sit lähteä?* (303). Truncations are common in spoken Finnish and are therefore natural choices for the translator to convey colloquial speech. This feature is absent from *On aika tappaa*, but is much more frequent in *Precious – harlemlaistytön tarina* (122 instances). For a full list of all expressions considered truncations of frequently used words, see Appendix 25.

### 5.5.2 *On aika tappaa*

**Table 17. Other non-standard features in *On aika tappaa***

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature  | Category |
|-------------------------|--|----------|
| 97                      | slang/colloquial expressions                     | L        |
| 64                      | speech fillers/discourse particles/interjections | L        |
| 14                      | lowering of the final vowel in a diphthong       | P        |
| 4                       | se as a definite article                         | S        |

L: lexical feature  
P: phonological feature  
S: syntactic feature

In *On aika tappaa*, a slang word is used as a proper name (*Snadi*, “Tiny” in the original) for a character who is an associate of Cat Bruster, an African American member of the criminal underworld. *Snadi* occurs in the translation eight times, but since the word is only used in its proper name function, it is excluded from the analysis.

Of all the translations, *On aika tappaa* has the fewest number of other non-standard features, a characteristic shared by the original novel. The way the translations seem to correspond to the originals in terms of the number of features used is further discussed in Section 5.6.

### 5.5.3 *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*

**Table 18. Other non-standard features in *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina***

| Frequency of Occurrence | Feature  | Category |
|-------------------------|--|----------|
| 225                     | slang/colloquial expressions                           | L        |
| 119                     | truncation of a frequently used word                   | P        |
| 48                      | speech fillers/discourse particles/interjections       | L        |
| 22                      | lowering of the final vowel in a diphthong             | P        |
| 11                      | apocope  | P        |
| 7                       | assimilation ( <i>emmä</i> )                           | P        |
| 5                       | se as a definite article                               | S        |
| 1                       | demonstrative pronoun <i>toi</i> for 'tuo'             | L        |
| 1                       | syncope ( <i>ees 'edes'</i> )                          | P        |
| 1                       | <i>tottakai</i> ('of course') written as a single word | L        |

L: lexical feature  
P: phonological feature  
S: syntactic feature

In *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*, as in all the other translations, slang and colloquial expressions are the most frequent other non-standard feature. Yet, slang words are used in this translation much more frequently than in the other two. *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina* also has the most variation in the slang expressions used, and most of the expressions are only used once in the sample analysed (see Appendix 20). Because of the subject matter of the novel, many of the slang and colloquial expressions in *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina* relate to sex, such as *vittu*, *lutka* and *muna*. Oddly, although the translator, Kristiina Drews, has used slang and colloquial expressions abundantly, the sample of the original novel has no instances of AAVE slang. As a result, the choice of using slang is entirely Drews's since there is no comparable use of lexical features in the original novel. With the prevalent use of slang, Drews may have intended to convey the main character's youth (although she also uses slang in Precious's mother's speech).

In *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*, other forms of apocope occur besides the apocope of *i* after *s*, which is its most common form in the data. These other forms are the apocope of word-final *-n* (e.g. *muutenki*, *tietenki*) and word-final *-i* that is not preceded by *s* (*tapahtu*, *unohtu*). For all examples and their frequencies in the text, see Appendix 26.

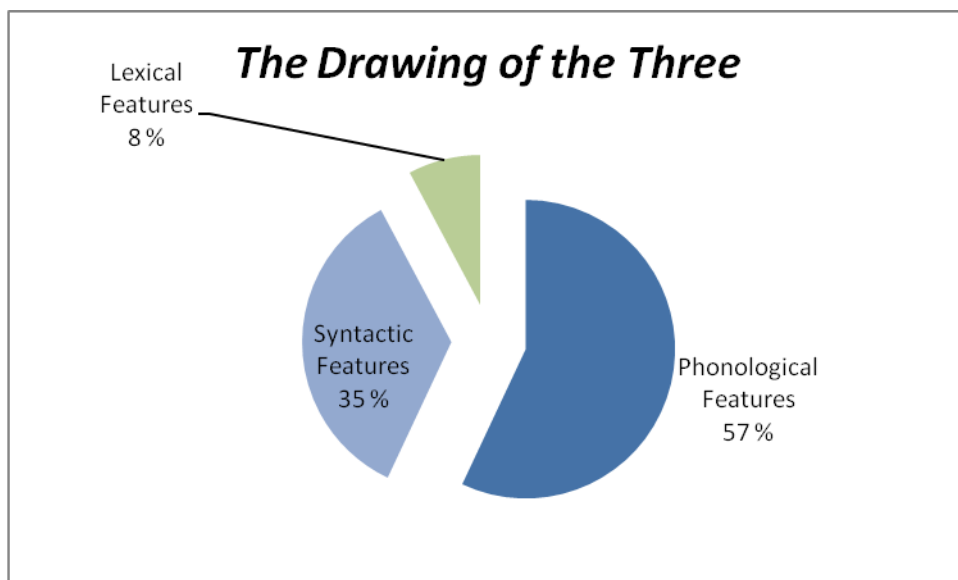
As can be seen from Table 18, the word *emmä* occurs in the translation seven times. It is here considered an example of assimilation, a feature that in the translations only occurs in *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*.

A general lexical feature relating to a deviation from standard orthography is the single appearance of *totta kai* ('of course') written as a single word: *tottakai* (p. 19). In standard Finnish, this expression is a set phrase consisting of two words. The feature is admittedly minor, but worth noting nonetheless.

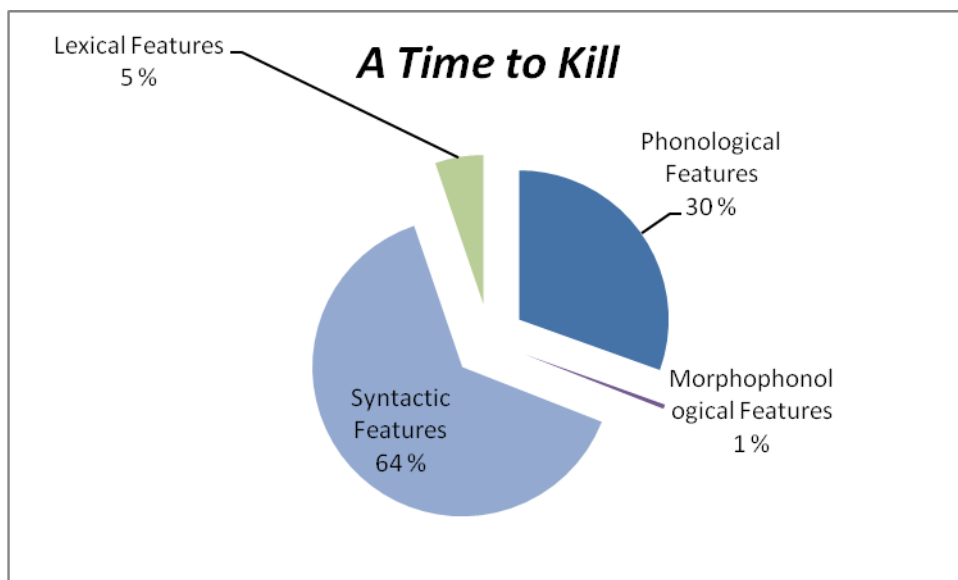
## **5.6 Discussion**

In the frequency tables presented in the previous sections, each linguistic feature is marked for linguistic category, i.e. either as lexical, phonological, morphological, morphophonological or syntactic. Figures 3–8 show the percentual distribution of each category in all six texts. The figures include the other non-standard features.

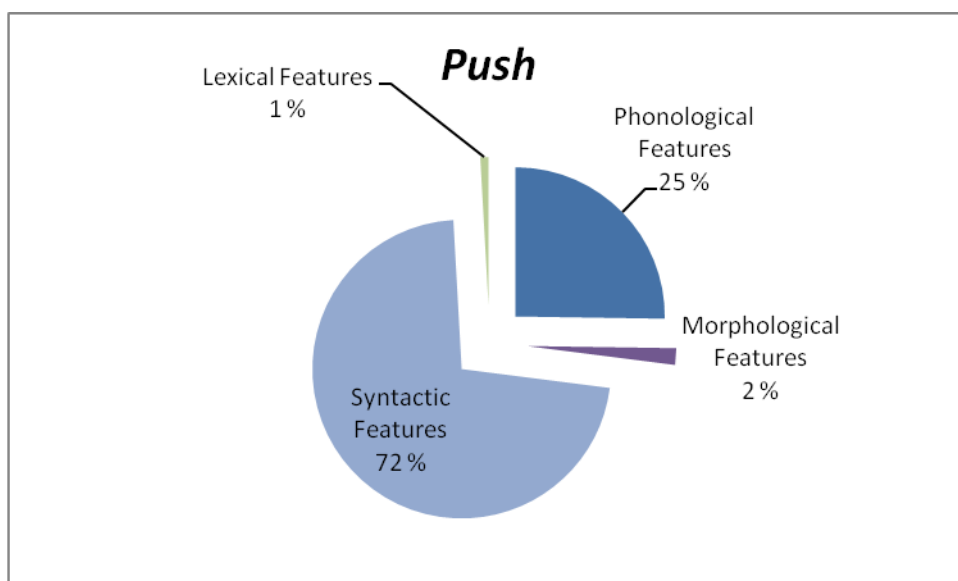
**Figure 3. The distribution of linguistic categories in The Drawing of the Three**



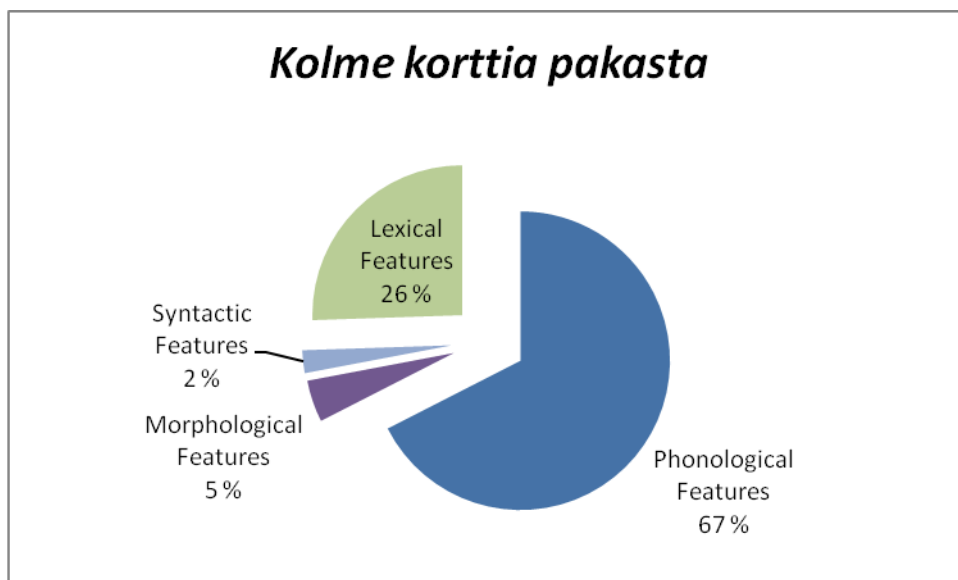
**Figure 4. The distribution of linguistic categories in A Time to Kill**



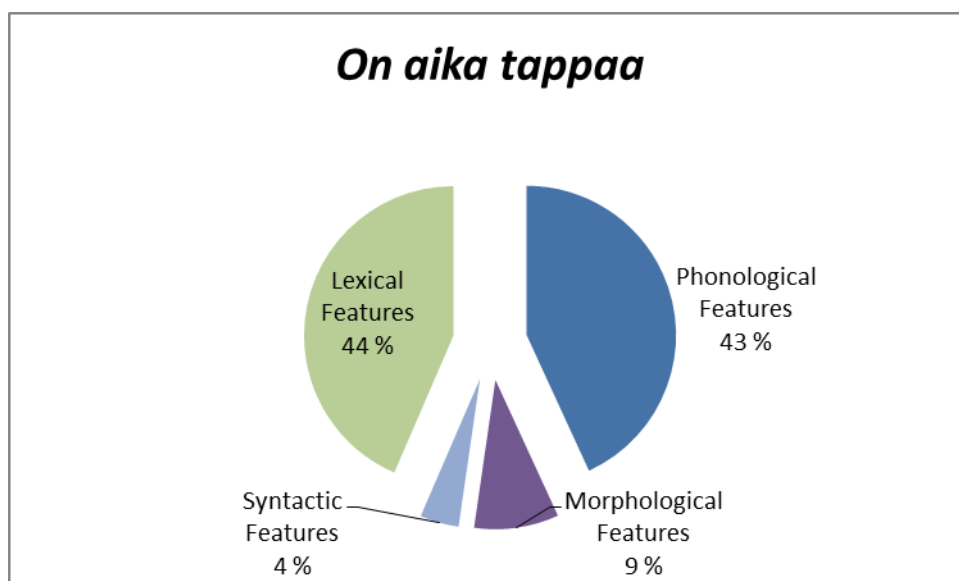
**Figure 5. The distribution of linguistic categories in Push**



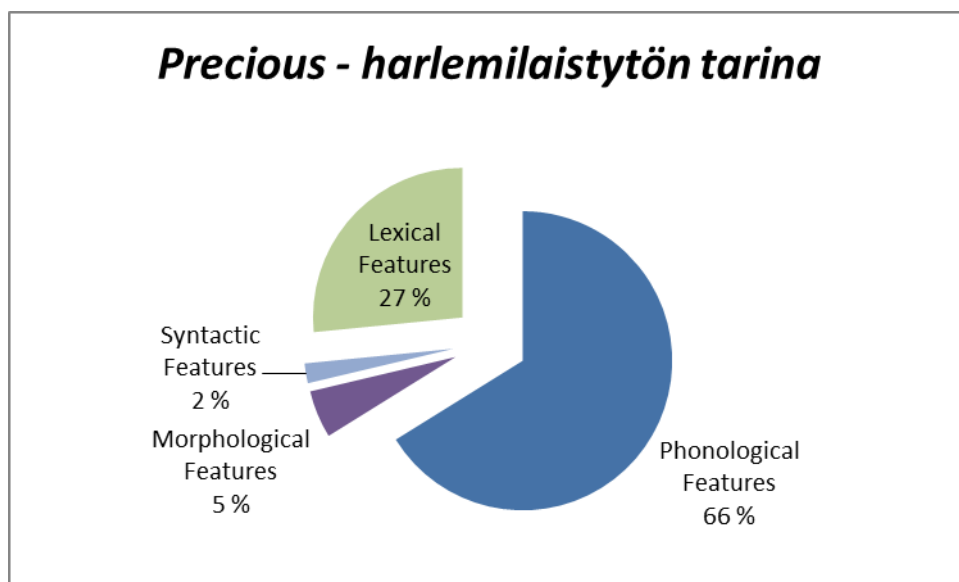
**Figure 6. The distribution of linguistic categories in Kolme korttia pakasta**



**Figure 7. The distribution of linguistic categories in *On aika tappaa***



**Figure 8. The distribution of linguistic categories in *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina***



The figures show that of the three original authors, Grisham and Sapphire rely mostly on syntactic features, whereas King has used phonological features to suggest AAVE. In contrast, all three translators have preferred phonological features of colloquial Finnish. While the original novels use primarily syntactic features of AAVE and few phonological features, the



translations use primarily phonological features of colloquial Finnish and few syntactic features. The result seems contrary to the notion expressed by Anhava (2000), cited in Section 3.2.2, that the main differences between Standard English and non-standard English are found in pronunciation (although as noted in that section, he does concede that ethnic dialects may also have differences in grammar, i.e. syntax). The only novel of the three that seems to fit Anhava's characterisation of non-standard English is *The Drawing of the Three*.

The linguistic categories in the translations are similarly distributed except for *On aika tappaa*, where lexical features are more frequent, morphological features slightly more frequent, and phonological features less frequent than in the other translations. Of the original novels, *A Time to Kill* and *Push* have similarly distributed linguistic categories.

The only observed morphological features in the original novels are found in *Push*; namely, regularised irregular past and past participle forms and regularised plural forms.<sup>105</sup> In all three translations, morphological features have the second-lowest frequency.

Although lexical features are highly frequent in the translations (885 individual instances in the entire data), phonological features are more frequent (1,694 individual instances in the entire data). The result is different from that reported by Nevalainen (2003) because in his data, as noted in Section 3.2.3, most features in the translations were lexical, whereas most features in the texts originally written in Finnish were phonological. This is noteworthy because the current study includes a wider variety of lexical features than Nevalainen's study,<sup>106</sup> even though, unlike in his study,

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<sup>105</sup> As noted before, metathesis may either be considered a morphological feature (Labov 1963, 337) or a phonological feature (Rickford 1999, 5). The present study adopts the latter view.

<sup>106</sup> The lexical features Nevalainen included in his study were the most common speech fillers and interjections, the most common swearwords and vulgar expressions, colloquial equivalents of the words *äiti*, *isä*, *poika* and *tyttö*, and colloquial expressions for *nainen* (Nevalainen 2004, 76). By contrast, the current study includes all lexical features found in the texts. It is understandable that Nevalainen chose to restrict his analysis to only the most common expressions, as his sample of data was much larger than the one analysed in the present study.

swearwords are excluded from the present analysis, excepting swearwords that actually referred to entities in the real world (e.g. *vittu, paska*) and mild expressions used as intensifiers (e.g. *halvaton*). Swearwords are excluded because they are likely to also appear in the dialogue of translations that otherwise are written wholly in standard Finnish and because unlike in original Finnish fiction, the number of swearwords in translations is to a large degree determined by the number of swearwords in the originals.<sup>107</sup> Even if swearwords had been included in the analysis, it is unlikely that the total number of lexical features would have greatly exceeded the total number of phonological features. As noted in Section 3.2.3, Nevalainen found that phonological features were predominantly used in fiction *originally* written in Finnish. One explanation could be that the distinctiveness of AAVE, especially in *The Drawing of the Three* and *Push*, has led the translators to employ similar strategies as Finnish authors do in writing dialect.

Still, the present study may be incomparable with that of Nevalainen because he studied a large corpus consisting of complete novels and did not restrict his analysis to the non-standard dialogue of specific characters. This may explain the different result obtained here, but then, when translators use non-standard features, they implicate something about the characters (as noted in Section 3.2.3, the use of non-standard features in translated dialogue is always more marked than the use of standard features, the latter being the norm), so the colloquialisms in Nevalainen's data almost certainly serve a similar function as the ones in the current data. Additionally, although only portions of the novels are analysed in this thesis, the frequency relations in the use of non-standard features are sure to be indicative of the three translators' overall preferences in the use of colloquialisms. If the speech of white characters had been included in the present analysis, lexical features of colloquial Finnish may indeed have been the most frequent (a further study is required to determine this). Most of the source texts of the translations in Nevalainen's data probably made less extensive use of non-standard

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<sup>107</sup> Hjort (2007) has studied the guiding principles for translating swearwords into Finnish by conducting a survey among literary and audiovisual translators. Hjort discovered that publishers had advised translators of popular literature to refrain from using strong swearwords. Regardless, most of the literary translators surveyed said that they try to maintain the severity of the original swearwords (*ibid.*).

language than the source texts analysed here.<sup>108</sup> Thus, the results of this study are important because they indicate that when translators create the illusion of a non-standard variety that is equivalent to another, existing variety in a different language, and when that existing variety is used by the original author in a stylistically marked way (*The Drawing of the Three* and *Push*), they favour phonological features, whereas when the original variety is not stylistically marked (*A Time to Kill*), lexical features are preferred.<sup>109</sup> A possible conclusion from this is that translators prefer phonological features when a strong presence of non-standard language is needed and lexical features when only a hint of non-standard language is required.

To continue the discussion on the lexical features of colloquial Finnish, one might argue that the inclusion of colloquial expressions in any capacity is a less than ideal approach because then the question arises as to which words should be classified as colloquialisms. For example, the derogatory term *nekru* ('nigger') occurs in the translations but is not labelled as a colloquial expression by Kielitoimiston sanakirja (only as a derogatory term), yet the word is hardly standard language use, either. Another problem with including colloquial expressions and one that necessitates the inclusion of all colloquial expressions in the appendices is that the categorisation of certain expressions as standard or non-standard may change over time. Yet another problem is that a translation may be written entirely in standard Finnish (including the dialogue) but still contain colloquial expressions.

If scholars follow Nevalainen's principle of including only certain colloquial expressions, then on what grounds do they select which expressions to search for in a corpus? In the current study, a far greater number of colloquial expressions has been included in the analysis than in Nevalainen's study.

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<sup>108</sup> In fact, Nevalainen (2003, 19) himself suspects that the differences in the use of colloquial Finnish in the two corpora he examined may have partly resulted from the corpora being unrepresentative of the use of colloquialisms (one reason for this being that the source texts of the translations in his data may have featured limited use of non-standard language). The way the language of the original novels may have affected the translations is a point which will be returned to later in this section.

<sup>109</sup> Although, to be sure, in *On aika tappaa*, the proportion of lexical features (44% of all non-standard features in the text) is not significantly higher than that of phonological features (43%). Nonetheless, lexical features are clearly more frequent in *On aika tappaa* than the other two translations.

Should the selection of expressions for inclusion in the analysis be arbitrary or should all colloquial expressions be included? If the researcher selects a particular subset of expressions whose incidence in the data is to be determined, then how can one objectively assess whether the researcher has chosen the most salient expressions to look for in the data? Whether the researcher decides to delimit the selection of the objects of study (as Nevalainen has done) or allows the material to guide the research (as the present author has done), any theory formulated on the basis of the data is bound to have insufficient characterisation power, that is, there will be objects of the type characterised in the theory but excluded from the theory, as the theory fails to account for all colloquial expressions in the language. Sanders (1980) sees an insufficiently powerful theory as less deficient than an excessively powerful theory, which “[...] characterizes unattested objects that are clearly not of the same type as the attested objects in the domain” (*ibid.*, 17).<sup>110</sup> The data in Nevalainen’s study were more extensive than in this study, which must have induced him to limit his search criteria. The more limited data of the present investigation made restricting the analysis of lexical features to a set list of slang words and colloquial expressions seem unnecessary. Moreover, such a restriction would have been detrimental to the analysis of *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*, which includes the largest number of such expressions.

In the frequency tables in the previous section, slang and colloquial expressions were grouped together as a single category of lexical features, but when these two types of expressions are examined separately, the result is that, in the three translations, colloquial expressions are more common and exhibit more variation than slang. Additionally, the number of different colloquial expressions is surprisingly consistent across the texts: 37 for *Kolme korttia pakasta*, 41 for *On aika tappaa* and 39 for *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*. The last-named has the most frequent use of slang,

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<sup>110</sup> Sanders (1980, 17) provides as an example of an insufficiently powerful theory a theory that “characterizes all known natural languages except Upper Chehalis”. His example of an excessively powerful theory is one that “characterizes all known natural languages and in addition a language in which all negative sentences are phonetic mirror images of their corresponding affirmatives”. Sanders considers both theories unnatural but the latter more so than the former (*ibid.*).

followed by *On aika tappaa*, with *Kolme korttia pakasta* having the least frequent use of slang. This finding is somewhat surprising, as Detta Walker's vernacular is intended to be extravagant, and at the outset one might have supposed that *Kolme korttia pakasta* would have featured slang more prominently than *On aika tappaa*. For a comprehensive list of the slang and colloquial expressions included in the analysis, see Appendix 20.

Although lexical features are prominent in the translations, they are less prevalent in the originals. That lexical features of AAVE were few in the data seems to differ from Ingo's (1999, 159) view cited in Section 3.2.3 that in English, colloquial style is achieved mainly through vocabulary. One possible explanation is that AAVE is so specific a variety of language that its lexical features by themselves are insufficient to evoke its use. This aspect of the use of AAVE in literature merits further research.

Lastly, a few words are in order concerning the distribution of the features in the texts. In all three original novels, the lack of auxiliaries is frequent, which is explained by the presence of this feature in other spoken varieties of American English. *Push* is the only novel to feature all three aspectual markers *be*, *BIN*, and *dən*, whereas *A Time to Kill* only has one instance of *dən*. *Dən* is also the only aspectual marker to occur in all three novels. This may be a result of *dən* also occurring in Southern American English. In contrast, *BIN* is the least common aspectual marker in the present data. As is evident from these differences, each author has used AAVE to a different extent and to different degrees. For example, habitual *be* is frequent in *The Drawing of the Three*, but in *Push*, only two occurrences are found and in *A Time to Kill* none at all. What may be at play here is the individual authors' conceptions about what the variety is like. King may have favoured indicative *be* simply because it is a feature he has associated with AAVE. Although Mufwene (2001b, 36), as mentioned in Section 3.1.4, has observed that imitators of AAVE rarely use other unique grammatical features than habitual *be* to evoke the variety, this can be said to hold in the current data only for *The Drawing of the Three*, where indicative *be* (a term that here includes both equative *be* and habitual *be*) is arguably the most frequent syntactic

feature that is unique to the variety. Yet, again bearing in mind Mufwene's comment, both *The Drawing of the Three* and *Push* contain many other syntactic features besides habitual *be* and as already mentioned, *A Time to Kill* lacks the feature altogether.

In all three translations, the short variants of the first and second person singular pronouns are the most frequent. This may be explained by the frequency of these two personal pronouns in any speech! The same holds for the replacement of the personal pronouns *hän* and *he* with *se* and *ne*, which is also a highly frequent feature in all the translations. The frequency of the short variants of numerals in the translations is clearly dependent upon the frequency of numerals in the original novels and is thus not particularly enlightening.

As for the other non-standard features in the originals, *allegro* forms are highly frequent in all three novels, which may be explained by their commonness in many other spoken varieties of American English. Each original novel has other non-standard features that are absent from the other two. Three non-standard features are only found in *The Drawing of the Three*: front-rising diphthong [ɜɪ], Southern breaking and the realisation of *s* as *d* before a nasal consonant. In turn, four features are unique to *A Time to Kill*: the use of *ever* for 'every', the use of *y'all* as the second person plural pronoun, the use of *brung* as the past tense form of the verb *bring* and the use of *go* as a verbal marker. Finally, *Push* has nine features absent from the other novels: regularised plural forms, lack of conjunction, *gone* as a verbal marker, regularised irregular past and past participle forms, assimilation, a double auxiliary, an inflective adjective used with the pre-modifier *more*, metathesis, reduplication, and *they* as the third person plural possessive form. From this long list, it is easy to see that *Push* has the largest selection of unique non-standard features in the data. Overall, *Push* and its translation both have the largest number of other non-standard features. This property of the two texts may reflect a stylistic decision on both Sapphire's and Drews's part to express Precious's unschooled speech (the use of AAVE for

characterisation in the novels is addressed again, briefly, at the end of this section).

Based on the data, there seem to be more differences in the use of AAVE features between the authors than in the use of colloquial Finnish between the translators. In the translations, the same features tend to appear with minor differences in frequency between the texts. For example, all the features of colloquial Finnish in *On aika tappaa*, which has the least number of such features in the data, occur in the other two translations as well (all the other non-standard features found in *On aika tappaa* are also present in the other translations). This may confirm Nevalainen's (2003, 11) conclusion that translators tend to rely on a few select colloquialisms to create the illusion of speech.

So far, the discussion has focused on the differences in the occurrence of features of AAVE and colloquial Finnish; yet, some features of AAVE described in Section 3.1.2 are entirely absent from the data. The vocabulary of AAVE is the most underrepresented linguistic category in the originals, with most of the lexical items presented in Section 3.1.3 absent from the data (including expressions such as the verbal markers *come*, *stay*, *finna* and *steady*, *kitchen* 'the hair at the nape of the neck', *womanish* and *mannish*). The authors may have avoided these words either because they were unaware of the full range of the lexicon of the variety – except perhaps for its most stereotypical exemplars such as *honky* in *The Drawing of the Three* – as may be the case with King and Grisham, or because such words may be unfamiliar to most readers (especially those that superficially appear to be Standard English words but have a different meaning in AAVE, such as *kitchen*). Of syntactic features, while existential *it* occurs, its variant *dey* does not. Further, in terms of syntax, negative inversion constructions (*Didn't nobody ask me do I be late for class*) are absent from the data. Although lack of possessive marker occurs in the material, lack of plural marker (of the type *two dog*) does not. Although *gonna* is frequent in the texts, the reduced future construction *I'ma* is entirely absent. An unexpected result of the current study is that in place of *I'ma*, the absence of the modal auxiliary *will* is used to

express future time in *The Drawing of the Three* and *Push*. Two phonological features of AAVE relating to vowel sounds are missing from the novels: the lowering of [ɛr] and the realisation of *-ing* and *-ink* as *-ang* and *-ank* (see Section 3.1.5).

As Nevalainen (2003, 11) notes, the translator's choices are influenced by the original author's choices. This is evident from the current data, as can be seen when examining the total number of non-standard features in the original novels and the translations: of the originals, *Push* has the most features of AAVE, and of the translations, *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina* has the most features of colloquial Finnish. In contrast, of the originals, *A Time to Kill* has the least number of features of AAVE, and of the translations, *On aika tappaa* has the least number of features of colloquial Finnish. The AAVE in *A Time to Kill* is closer to general spoken American English or, specifically, a Southern vernacular than in the other novels, and, therefore, the translator may have had little reason to emphasise the non-standard speech of the African American characters with frequently occurring Finnish colloquialisms.<sup>111</sup> In contrast, in *The Drawing of the Three* and *Push*, the characters use AAVE in an extreme manner, which is an important part of their characterisation and which the translators have conveyed by frequent use of features of colloquial Finnish.

To continue, the main characters in *The Drawing of the Three* and *Push* are clearly different from the characters in *A Time to Kill*. The former are not “regular people” like the characters in the last-named novel, but rather eccentric, because their lives have shaped them that way. King and Sapphire have therefore used a wider variety of linguistic features of AAVE (and non-standard features in general) to convey the distinctiveness of these characters through their dialogue. By contrast, Grisham invites the reader to identify with his protagonists by not having them use a dialect that is likely to be foreign to the reader. He may have also wanted to show the characters as

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<sup>111</sup> This phenomenon in the current data seems to lend credence to Nevalainen's (2003, 19) hypothesis that the lack of variation in the use of colloquial Finnish in translations is partly the result of the original novels not providing enough reason to use colloquialisms.



being of an equal social status to the reader. This contrasts with the vile, vulgar woman in King's novel and the poor, illiterate girl in Sapphire's.

## **6 Conclusion**

This thesis has presented a study on how two language varieties, African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and colloquial Finnish, have been used in a specific field (literature), and how one of the two, colloquial Finnish, has been used in a particular medium of communication (translation), and how both have been used to fulfil a specific purpose (depicting the speech of African American characters in fiction).

This was accomplished by first defining some key concepts pertaining to language variation generally and to the two varieties specifically. Then, the varieties themselves were described (with AAVE, the emphasis was on describing the linguistic features, which may be unfamiliar to most readers). It is evident from the descriptions that discussion of non-standard varieties extends beyond the boundaries of core linguistics into the domains of sociolinguistics and historical linguistics. Like other non-standard varieties, the two studied here may seem to be mere corruptions of the standard, but, as shown, their vocabulary, syntax, phonology and morphology are rule-governed. Moreover, the regularity of the linguistic features of the two varieties has made it possible to identify those features in literary representations of the varieties.

The three novels examined were introduced, as well as their authors. All three novels analysed rely on and allude to the cultural and historical aspects of the African American experience (including living in poverty, being part of a disadvantaged minority and fighting against racial segregation). They reflect the racial abuse African Americans have suffered since the early days of slavery in the United States. They all touch upon dark sexual themes. Two also include explicit allusions to previous fictional accounts of African Americans.

To collect the data, an OCR software was used, which effectively made analysing the data easier and more efficient than in a purely manual analysis. One of the insights of this study is that the translations seem to be affected by the degree to which non-standard language is used in the originals. *A Time to Kill* has the highest word count of the texts, and yet it has the lowest frequency of AAVE features and the fewest number of individual features. The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to *On aika tappaa*. Another, more significant result of the present study, which may have import for the larger context of other research projects and the entire field of studying the translation of dialect, is that in two of the translations, *Kolme korttia pakasta* and *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*, the most frequent features are phonological rather than lexical. In Nevalainen's (2003) data, phonological features were the most frequent in fiction originally written in Finnish and lexical features were the most frequent in translations. A possible explanation for the different result is that the originals of these two texts feature AAVE as a prominent stylistic choice that serves as a means of characterisation. In comparison, *A Time to Kill* features a moderate representation of the variety, and most of the features of colloquial Finnish in its translation are lexical, as in Nevalainen's study (although the difference between the number of occurrences of lexical and phonological features, the two most frequent categories in the translation, is extremely slight at only one percent). Nevertheless, lexical features are still clearly more frequent in *On aika tappaa* (44%) than in the other translations (26% for *Kolme korttia pakasta* and 27% for *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina*). The distinctive use of AAVE in *The Drawing of the Three* and *Push* may have prompted the translators of those novels to employ similar strategies to those used by Finnish authors when they write dialect. By contrast, the more suggestive use of AAVE in *A Time to Kill* may have led the translator to merely imply non-standard speech through the predominant use of lexical features. This conclusion would have been more compelling had the analysis included an additional novel featuring restrained use of AAVE — a possible starting point for a future study on the subject. Because of the small size of the study, however, the results obtained should be interpreted cautiously. Hopefully, the results may still be used to support findings in other studies.

By no means has this thesis been an extensive look into the way AAVE has been translated into Finnish. The necessary restriction of the scope of the study has resulted in the exclusion of many themes and topics in this area of research that merit further investigation in future studies. An interesting extension of the current study would be to determine how readers of translated literature react to colloquialisms in translations and specifically to the strategies used to express the speech of African Americans, a sociolect without equivalent in the Finnish language. The study of reader reactions could be accomplished through surveys and interviews as well as through examining newspaper reviews of translations of novels that feature AAVE. Such reviews present critics' views on the translations, whereas readers' views may be found in, for example, the online communications in blogs and message boards. Using interviews as a research methodology can be problematic because they can give a distorted view of readers' reactions, since the interviewees may wish to please the interviewer by being more analytical than in an actual reading situation. Another matter of interest is to discover how African Americans feel about the fictional representations of their speech and how the way the characters speak affects how the characters are perceived by readers. What is needed, therefore, is a more complex study than the one at hand (or several smaller studies). Such a complex work could also include information on how AAVE has been used in American literature and how AAVE has been translated into Finnish over the years, thus branching further into the fields of literary studies, sociology, cultural history and the history of literary translation into Finnish. Given the tremendous diversity of possible studies, the use of African American Vernacular English in novels and colloquial Finnish in their translations will remain a source of potential research for a long time to come.

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## Appendices: AAVE

### Appendix 1: AAVE *th*

#### ***The Drawing of the Three:***

initial [ð] as *d*: *dat* 41, *de* 'the' 8, *dis* 7, *d'* 'the' 5, *den* 4, *dem* 2, *dere* 2, *dey* 1, *disyere* 1, *dot's* 'that's' 1 (correct)

medial [ð] as *f*: *mahfah* 12 (considered here incorrect; voiced [ð] should occur as voiced *v* between two vowels)

medial [θ] as *d*: *widdout* 1 (Although *d* is mainly used for *th* in word-initial position, and voiceless [θ] does not occur as voiced *d*, Bailey and Thomas's (1998, 87) data included *wid*)

final [θ] as *d*: *wid* 4 (Although *d* is mainly used for *th* in word-initial position, and voiceless [θ] does not occur as voiced *d*, Bailey and Thomas's (1998, 87) data included *wid*. In the text, all the words following *wid* begin with a voiced consonant (*wid dat*, *wid no*, *wid dat*, *wid me*), which seems to conform to Bailey and Thomas's real-world results.)

final [θ] as *t*: *wit* 4 (correct)

final [θ] as *f*: *breaf* 2, *bofe* 1 (correct)

#### ***Push:***

initial [ð] as *d*: *dere* 1 (correct)

medial [ð] as *v*: *muver* 3, *fahver* 1 (correct)

medial [θ] as *f*: *nuffin* 9, *wifout* 2 (correct)

final [θ] as *f*: *wif* 10, *maff* 9, *teef* 2, *bofe* 1, *mouf* 1, *ninfe* 1, *twelf'* 1 (correct)

final [θ] as *d*: *wid* 1 (Although Bailey and Thomas's (1998, 87) data included *wid*, speakers mostly used the form when the following word began with a voiced sound. Here, the word does not: [...] *I'm more inclined to go wid **Shrug** in *The Color Purple*. (138))*

### Appendix 2: Liquid vocalisation

#### ***The Drawing of the Three:***

Vocalisation of *r*:

*yo* ('your'): 25 (one instance occurs as part of the word *yosef's*)

*sho* ('sure'): 15

*mahfah* ('motherfucker'): 12

*fo* ('for'): 9

*mo* ('more'): 4

*nossuh/no suh* ('no sir'): 2

*befo* ('before'): 3

*evah* ('ever'): 1

*you* ('your'): 1

### ***A Time to Kill:***

Vocalisation of *r*:

*yes suh* ('yes sir'): 3

### **Appendix 3: AAVE slang**

#### ***The Drawing of the Three:***

*mahfah*: 17

*honky* (in one instance, spelled as *honkey*): 15

*fuzz*: 1

*jive*: 1

*Mist' Chahlie*: 1

### **Appendix 4: Habitual *be***

#### ***The Drawing of the Three:***

*I be letting you lie before this **be** all over.* (293) (incorrect)

*There **be** other ways to slow you boys down.* (296) (incorrect)

*I think it jes **be** you and me now, honeychile.* (310) (incorrect)

*I think yo frien **be** pokin the devil down in hell.* (310) (incorrect)

*Want to come up here and hunt me down no matter how that Really Bad Man  
be. (344) (incorrect)*

*That what he be thinkin, and that be all right. (345) (incorrect)*

*There be three of em. (379) (incorrect)*

*He think you be sleepin! (380) (incorrect)*

**Push:**

*We don't be coming to your house in Weschesser or wherever the fuck you  
freaks live. (8) (assumed to be correct)*

**Appendix 5: Equative copula *be***

***The Drawing of the Three:***

*He be one sneaky sumbitch. (278)*

*Fucker be loaded! (279)*

*He be one strong buck. (307)*

*He be good fo choppin one mo row cotton [...]. (307)*

*[...] he still be pretty strong [...]. (344)*

*That what he be thinkin, and that be all right. (345)*

*That be jes fine, graymeat. (345)*

*He be too busy gittin his medicine. (375)*

*[...] might even look like a brother, but inside it be him [....]. (376)*

**Push:**

*I know that back door be locked. (4)*

**Appendix 6: Remote past *BIN***

**Push:**

*I been knowing a man put his dick in you [...].(11–12) (correct)*

*I'm twelve now, I been knowing about that since I was five or six [...]. (12)  
(correct)*

## Appendix 7: *Dən*

### *The Drawing of the Three:*

*How many times you **done** rape me while I was buzzed out? (290) (correct)*

*My cunt feel all slick an tallowy, like somebody **done** been at it with a couple  
them little bitty white candles you graymeat mahfahs call cocks.  
(290–291) (correct)*

*Looky here, you boys **done** opsot me. (293) (correct)*

*You **done** put de poison in t'other end. (308) (correct)*

*Think yo frien **done** finally passed on. (310) (correct)*

### *A Time to Kill:*

*I figured you had **done** spent the money on lawyers' fee or somethin' like  
that. (316) (correct)*

### *Push:*

*Coon fool, I tell one kid **done** jumped up. (6) (correct)*

*Well I be damned, I **done** heard everything, white bitch wanna visit. (8)  
(correct)*

*I **done** tole her that. (133) (correct)*

*Ms Weiss look like she **done** stopped breathing. (135) (correct)*

## Appendix 8: Relative pronouns

### *The Drawing of the Three:*

Absence of the relative pronoun *who*:

*[...] we sho dint see nobody [ø] looked like that down here [...] (215) (correct:  
relative pronoun absence occurs in a noun phrase that is the direct  
object of the clause (*nobody who looked like that*))*

*An I think you the one [ø] goan have to do most of de bustin. (305) (correct:  
relative pronoun absence occurs in a noun phrase that is the subject*

complement of the clause (*the one **who** goan have to do most of de bustin*))

### **Push:**

Absence of the relative pronoun *who*:

*Then Miz West [☐] live down the hall pounding on the door [...]* (9–10)  
(incorrect: relative pronoun absence occurs in a relative clause that modifies a noun phrase that functions as the subject of the sentence (*Miz West **who** live down the hall*))

[...] “*Where that guy [☐] help me?*” (11) (incorrect: relative pronoun absence occurs in a relative clause that modifies a noun phrase that functions as the subject of the sentence (*that guy **who** help me*))

Absence of the relative pronoun *that*:

*It’s something about being a nigger [☐] ain’t color.* (11) (correct: the absent relative pronoun occurs in a relative clause that is part of the subject complement of the sentence (*something about being a nigger **that** ain’t color*))

*I been knowing [☐] a man put his dick in you, gush white stuff in your booty you could get pregnant.* (11–12) (‘I been knowing that if a man [...]’) (correct: the relative clause occurs in the direct object position (***that** a man put his dick in you [...]*))

*So you cain’t blame all that shit [☐] happen to Precious on me.* (136) (correct: the relative clause occurs in direct object position (*all **that** shit happen to Precious*))

*What* as a relative pronoun:

*You cain’t blame all **what** happened to Precious on me.* (137) (correct: as mentioned in Section 3.1.4, *what* is a relative pronoun in AAVE)

## **Appendix 9: Existential *it***

### ***A Time to Kill:***



Told her mamma **it** was two white men in a yellow pickup truck [...]. (42)

**Push:**

*It's something about being a nigger ain't color.* (11)

*It's a black girl across the table from me with long pretty hair in dreadlocks like Ms Rain.* (131)

**Appendix 10: AAVE questions**

***A Time to Kill:***

*How I'm gonna pay another?* (169) (inverted *wh*-question) (correct)

**Push:**

*What you been doin'!* (9) (a *wh*-question lacks the auxiliary *have*) (correct)

*Rita ask me do I want another hot chocolate.* (131) (an indirect question that is identical to a direct *yes-no* question: *Do I want another hot chocolate?*) (correct)

*Why I should? I ask.* (131) (a direct *wh*-question without subject–auxiliary inversion) (correct, see Rickford 1999, 8)

*What I'm in recovery for?* (138) (a direct *wh*-question without subject–auxiliary inversion) (correct, see Rickford 1999, 8)

**Appendix 11: Use of the verb stem only to indicate simple past**

***The Drawing of the Three:***

*How many times you done **rape** me while I was buzzed out?* (290) (although accompanied by *dən*, the context here seems to support a simple past interpretation ('how many times did you rape me') as does the use of simple past in the subordinate clause (*while I **was** buzzed out*))

[...] *an I **bust** it cause it needed bustin an when I saw a white boy I could bust why I **bust** him too [...]* (441)

***A Time to Kill:***

Just **ask** how you was. (204) ('asked')

**Push:**

Last time they **want** to weigh me at school I **say** no. (11)

I put on Kool and the Gang and you **disco** to that? (134) ('discoed')

I don't know when it **start**. (135)

I **give** her a bottle. (135) ('gave')

I **give** him tittie, Precious bottle. (135) ('gave')

I **bottle** her, **tittie** him. (135) ('bottled', 'tittied')

But I never **git** dried up cause Carl always on me. (135) ('got')

But I think thas the day IT **start**. (135) ('started')

I **think** she some kinda freak baby then. (136)

So you cain't blame all that shit **happen** to Precious on me. (136)  
(('happened'))

Abdul **get** tested. (138) ('got')

**Appendix 12: The merger of [ɛ] and [ɪ]**

**The Drawing of the Three:**

*git* ('get'): 6

*gittin* ('getting'): 4

*kin* ('can'): 4

*agin* ('again'): 3

*set* ('sit'): 1

**Push:**

*git* ('get'): 15

*forget* ('forget'): 1

**Appendix 13: Lack of possessive marker**

**Push:**

**mama** [sic] jaw open like evil wolf. (133)

[... ] *she born about the same time as **Miz West** son that got kil. (134)*  
*But anyway Precious 'bout the same age as Gary, **Miz West** son got kilt, give  
or take a few months! (134)*  
*She walkin' talkin' — everything 'fore **Miz West** son. (134)*

#### **Appendix 14: Allegro forms**

##### ***The Drawing of the Three:***

*an* ('and'): 11  
*'cause* ('because'): 5  
*lone* ('alone'): 1  
*t'night* ('tonight'): 1

##### ***A Time to Kill:***

*'bout* ('about'): 34  
*'cause* ('because'): 6  
*'specially* ('especially'): 1

##### ***Push:***

*'cause* ('because'): 10  
*'bout* ('about'): 3  
*b'long* ('belong'): 1  
*'buse* ('abuse'): 1  
*'cuz* ('because'): 1  
*'fore* ('before'): 1  
*'less* ('unless'): 1  
*'steadda* ('instead of'): 1

#### **Appendix 15: Reduced modal auxiliary *will***

##### ***The Drawing of the Three:***

*Honky fuzz [Ⓢ] jus be lettin him off anyway. (244)*

*Detta [ə] give a twenty-dollar bill to know dat. (256) (the reduced auxiliary is either will or would)*

*You goan do this young cocka-de-walk first, and dat Really Bad Man [ə] be wakin up and you goan give him one big grin [...]. (279)*

*Well, maybe I [ə] be goan on a little way [...]. (291)*

*You [ə] bofe be finding dat out. (291)*

*[ə] Be tellin you and yo bad-ass buddy there lie in pieces all ovah dis beach. (293)*

*I [ə] be lettin you lie before this be all over. (293)*

*That [ə] be all right, Mister Man [...]. (295)*

*That [ə] be all right jest the same. (295–296)*

*There [ə] be other ways to slow you boys down. (296)*

*I [ə] be still. (300)*

*Nex time you [ə] be callin me dat [ə] be de las time you [ə] be callin anyone anything. (378)*

*And dat time I [ə] not be lettin up agin. (379)*

### **Push:**

*I [ə] do yours one day you want. (131)*

## **Appendix 16: Lack of personal pronoun subject**

### **The Drawing of the Three:**

*[ə] Goan break it ovah yo dead face! (293) (the absent pronoun is I)*

*[ə] Want to come up here and hunt me down [...]. (344) (the absent pronoun is he)*

*[ə] Wadn't meanin to kill me wid dat poison food. (373) (the absent pronoun is they)*

*[ə] Jes wanted to make me sick. (373) (the absent pronoun is they)*

*[ə] Set there and laugh while I puked an moaned, I speck. (373) (the absent pronoun is they)*

[☞] *Might not look like him over there, [☞] might look like some tubby little sack of shit, [☞] might even look like a brother [...].* (376) (in both instances, the absent pronoun is *he*)

[☞] *Didn't take him long to find another gun, did it?* (376) (the absent pronoun is the dummy subject *it*)

[☞] *Got dis bidness all figured out.* (378) (the absent pronoun is *I*)

[☞] *Goan be the best dinner those daddies evah had!* (407) (the absent pronoun is the dummy subject *it*)

[☞] *Becomin any minute now!* (407) (the absent pronoun is *they*)

[☞] *Goan be any minute now!* (407) (the absent pronoun is the dummy subject *it*)

### ***A Time to Kill:***

[☞] *Usually keep some naked women around.* (58) (the absent pronoun is *I*)

[☞] *Got the best prime rib in Memphis, right here in one of my clubs.* (60) (the absent pronoun is *I*)

### ***Push:***

[☞] *Got on big orange-color sleeveless dress [...].* (132) (the absent pronoun is *she*)

## **Appendix 17: Lack of preposition**

### ***The Drawing of the Three:***

[...] *like somebody done been at it with a couple [☞] them little bitty white candles [...].* (290–291) (the absent preposition is *of*)

*Suck shit out [☞] my ass, mahfah!* (300) (the absent preposition is *of*)

*I jes kick some san' over de brains dat squoit out d'other side [☞] yo haid [...].* (380) (the absent preposition is *of*)

### ***Push:***

[...] *she got her white bitch hands folded together on top [☞] her desk.* (6) (the absent preposition is *of*)

*I was gonna yank her fat ass out [o] that chair.* (6) (the absent preposition is of)

*I want maybe [o] git Lil Mongo out [o] retard house [...]* (132) (the absent prepositions are, in order, to and of)

*I put her on one side of me on pillow, Carl on other side [o] me.* (135) (the absent preposition is of)

*You know what trip me out is it almost can go in [o] Precious!* (136) (the absent preposition is to)

*I wanted my man for myself. [o] Sex me up, not my chile.* (136) (the absent preposition is to)

*Like I was [o] one place and instead of step up, it's a leap!* (139) (the absent preposition is in)

*I wake up at night, [o] morning, he not wif me.* (133) (the absent preposition is in; the sentence also has an absent article *the* after the preposition: 'in the morning')

## **Appendix 18: Lack of article**

### ***The Drawing of the Three:***

*[o] One you trine to give me.* (212) (the absent article is *the*)

### ***Push:***

*[o] Bitch know how old I am.* (7) (the absent article is *the*)

*WHOOooo like [o] owl in [o] Walt Disney movie I seen one time.* (9) (the absent articles are, in order, *an* and *a*)

*[o] Pain walking on me now.* (10) (the absent article is *the*)

*He [o] coffee-cream color, good hair.* (10) (the absent article is *a*; as can be seen here, some of these sentences also have a missing copula)

*This nurse [o] slim butter-color woman.* (11) (the absent article is *a*)

*This nurse [o] same as me.* (11) (the absent article is *the*)

*A lot of black people with [o] nurse cap or [o] big car or light skin [o] same as me but don't know it.* (11) (the absent articles are, in order, *a*, *a* and *the*)

[ə] *Boy say I'm laffing ugly.* (12) (the absent article is *a*)

[ə] *Blond girl who is [ə] airline stewardess say, Precious!* (131) (the absent articles are, in order, *a* and *an*)

*Even if [ə] boyfriend do give her money she got better things to spend it on then Precious Jones.* (131) (the absent article is *the*)

*She hug me and ask [ə] waitress, "Could I have another hot chocolate and cappuccino."* (131) (the absent article is *the*)

*She call here, call here, asking [ə] social worker to see me.* (131) (the absent article is *the*)

[...] *I walk through [ə] door, one minute past four.* (132) (the absent article is *the*)

*Mama sitting on [ə] big green couch.* (132) (the absent article is *a*)

*Got on [ə] big orange-color sleeveless dress, torn under the arms.* (132) (the absent article is *a*)

*I need [ə] house for me 'n Abdul.* (132) (the absent article is *a*)

*I want maybe git Lil Mongo out [ə] retard house where she lay on floor in pee clothes [...]* (132) (the absent article is *the*; this sentence also has an absent preposition, *of*)

*mama [sic] jaw open like [ə] evil wolf.* (133) (the absent article is *an*)

*the [sic] smell deeper than [ə] toilet.* (133) (the absent article is *a*)

*I wake up at night, [ə] morning, he not wif me [...].* (133) (the absent article is *the*; this sentence also seems to lack the preposition *in* before the word *morning*)

*I dream of [ə] day we gonna you know, git married, git [ə] house wif grass [...].* (134) (the absent articles are, in order, *a* and *a*)

*He born summertime 'bout [ə] same time as you.* (134) (the absent article is *the*)

*I put her on one side of me on [ə] pillow, Carl on [ə] other side me.* (135) (the absent articles are, in order, *the* and *the*)

*She write poems too, [ə] lady at Each One Teach One say.* (136) (the absent article is *the*)

*Ms Rain say [ə] journal completely confidential.* (136) (the absent article is *the*)

*I go down to [o] kitchen where [o] house mother is. (136) (the absent articles are, in order, the and the)*

*You could get Abdul from nursery, feed him, and keep a eye on him till I get back so I could go to [o] Body Positive meeting? (136–137) (the absent article is the)*

*I got this virus in my body like [o] cloud over [o] sun. (137) (the absent articles are, in order, a and the).*

*I see those men in [o] vacant lot share one hot dog and they homeless [...]. (139) (the absent article is the)*

*Like I was one place and instead of [o] step up, it's a leap! (139) (the absent article is a)*

*I'm in [o] dayroom at Advancement House [...]. (139) (the absent article is the)*

#### **Appendix 19: Lack of conjunction in *Push*:**

Lack of the subordinating conjunction *if*:

*[o] She know so much let her ass do the talking. (7)*

*I been knowing [o] a man put his dick in you, gush white stuff in your booty you could get pregnant. (12) (Here, the absent *if* co-occurs with another missing subordinator, *that* (*I been knowing that if [...]*.)*

*I do yours one day [o] you want. (131)*

Lack of the co-ordinating conjunction *and*:

*I jus' fall in Mr Wicher's class [o] sit down. (4)*

### **Appendices: Colloquial Finnish**

#### **Appendix 20: Slang and colloquial expressions**

##### ***Kolme korttia pakasta:***

Number of occurrence of slang expressions: 5

Number of different slang expressions: 3

Number of different colloquial expressions: 37



*mulkku*: 11 (colloquial expression, derogatory term for an obnoxious person; two instances occur as part of the compound word *kusimulkku*)

*äpäpä*: 8 (colloquial expression, derogatory term: 'bastard')

*paskiainen*: 7 (colloquial expression, derogatory term: 'bastard')

*narttu*: 5 (colloquial expression, derogatory term for a woman: 'bitch'; one instance occurs as part of the compound word *nekrunartun* 'nigger bitch')

*paska*: 4 (colloquial expression: 'shit'; three instances occur as part of a compound word: *paskapersekaverisi* 1, *paska-aivo* 1, *paskakikkare* 1)

*perse*: 4 (colloquial expression, vulgar: 'the buttocks'; two instances occur as parts of compound words: *paskapersekaverisi*, *hevonperseeksi*, *perseestä*, *perettä*)

*hässä*: 3 (colloquial expression, vulgar: 'to have sex')

*kusi*: 3 (colloquial expression: 'urine'; two instances occur as part of the derogatory compound word *kusimulkku*)

*nuija*: 3 (colloquial expression: 'a dumb person')

*kulli*: 2 (colloquial expression, vulgar: 'penis')

*nussia*: 2 (slang: 'to mess with someone'; since the word is rarely used in this meaning, it is here considered slang)

*pallit*: 2 (colloquial expression: 'testicles')

*puklaisin*: 2 (slang: 'to vomit')

*totta vie*: 2 (colloquial expression: 'sure enough')

*imuhomman*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'blow job')

*jätkä*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'guy')

*kalppia*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to leave quickly')

*kanttu vei*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'unconscious')

*kaveri*: 1 (colloquial expression used to refer to a man: 'fellow')

*kellit*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'testicles')

*kusettaa*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to trick someone')

*letukka*: 1 (colloquial expression: derogatory term for a young woman)

*läjä*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'pile', as part of the compound word *sontaläjä*)

*meuhkata*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to make noise')

*mulkku*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'penis')

*muna*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'penis')

*naamataulu*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'face')

*namu*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'treat', here refers to the penis)

*nekru*: 1 (colloquial expression, vulgar: 'nigger', as part of the compound word *nekrunartun* 'nigger bitch')

*panna töpinäksi*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to carry out something')

*persreikä*: 1 (colloquial expression, vulgar: 'the anus', literal use)

*pikkasen*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'a little')

*pillu*: 1 (colloquial expression, vulgar: 'vulva')

*pistelette (napaanne)*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to put')

*potkaista tyhjää*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to die')

*sassiin*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'quickly')

*sujut*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to be quits with somebody')

*taala*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'dollar')

*tyyppi*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'person')

*vetää käteen*: 1 (slang: 'to masturbate')

*vittu*: 1 (colloquial expression, vulgar: 'vulva')

*älykääpiö*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'a dumb person')

*älyvapaa*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'mindless')

*äällömäinen*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'stupid')

### ***On aika tappaa:***

Number of occurrence of slang expressions: 11

Number of different slang expressions: 5

Number of different colloquial expressions: 41

*kaveri*: 11 (colloquial expression used to refer to a man: 'fellow')

*nekru*: 6 (colloquial expression, vulgar: 'nigger')

*telkkari*: 6 (colloquial expression: 'TV')

*taala*: 5 (colloquial expression: 'dollar')

*jätkä*: 4 (colloquial expression: 'guy')

*kalja*: 4 (colloquial expression: 'beer')

*kama*: 4 (slang: 'dope')

*neekeri*: 4 (colloquial expression, vulgar: 'nigger')

*jäbä*: 3 (slang: 'dude')

*sikaniska*: 3 (colloquial expression, derogatory term: 'redneck')

*kännissä*: 2 (colloquial expression: 'drunk')

*möhliä*: 2 (colloquial expression: 'to make a mistake')

*paska*: 2 (colloquial expression: 'shit'; although swearwords are excluded from the present analysis, some words (such as *paska*) can also be used as colloquial expressions, as in [...] *ja se koko paska on mutkikasta* [...]. (177))

*paukut*: 2 (colloquial expression: 'a drink')

*pistää*: 2 (colloquial expression: 'to put')

*pose*: 2 (slang: 'jail cell')

*putka*: 2 (colloquial expression: 'jail')

*sapuska*: 2 (colloquial expression: 'food')

*tyyppi*: 2 (colloquial expression: 'person')

*duuni*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'job')

*homma*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'work'; *Pakko olla klaanin hommia*. (326))

*hommissa*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'at work')

*huora*: 1 (colloquial expression, derogatory term: 'whore')

*iisisti*: 1 (*ota iisisti*) (colloquial expression: 'take it easy')

*jeparit*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'the police')

*joutua kuseen*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'get into trouble')

*kakara*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'brat')

*kalsarit*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'men's underpants')

*ketku*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'a sly person')

*kusta*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to urinate')

*kämppä*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'apartment')

*mari*: 1 (slang: short variant of *marijuana*)

*miten menee?*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'How are you?')

*mokata*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to make a mistake')

*nalkkiin*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'trapped')

*niin 'joten'*: 1 (colloquial expression: *Tekisin sen uudestaan, niin etten mä sitä kadu*. (175))

*nirhiä*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to kill')

*pamppu*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'big shot')

*paukku*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'explosive')

*polakki*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'Polish person')

*porukka*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'group')

*pottuile*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to tease')

*pyyhkiä*: 1 (colloquial expression used in *Hyvin pyyhkii* 'I'm fine')

*sun*: 1 (colloquial expression used in the construction *siitä sun tästä* where *sun* corresponds to the conjunction *and*.)

*täppi*: 1 (slang: 'money')

*vinosilmät*: 1 (colloquial expression, derogatory term for Asian people)

*äijä*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'man')

### ***Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina:***

Number of occurrence of slang expressions: 72

Number of different slang expressions: 22

Number of different colloquial expressions: 39

*mutsi*: 35 (slang: 'mother')

*tykätä*: 12 (colloquial expression: 'to like')

*matikka*: 11 (colloquial expression: 'math')

*faija*: 5 (slang: 'father')

*paska* 5 (colloquial expression: 'shit'; *paska* 4, *paskamaikoista* 1)

*skidi*: 5 (slang: 'kid')

*hoitsu*: 4 (colloquial expression: 'nurse')

*meinata*: 4 (colloquial expression used in the meanings 'about to do something' (two instances) and 'to mean' (two instances))

*muija*: 4 (colloquial expression: 'woman'; once used to refer to Precious herself, therefore meaning 'girl', a usage which may be classed as slang)

*töllätä*: 4 (colloquial expression: variant of *töllöttää* 'to watch')

*ämmä*: 4 (colloquial expression: 'woman')

*kimma*: 3 (slang: 'girl')

*likka*: 3 (colloquial expression: 'girl')

*nekru*: 3 (colloquial expression, derogatory term: 'nigger')

*stoori*: 3 (slang: 'story')

*vittu* 3 (colloquial expression, vulgar: 'vulva'; of all nine instances of the word, four actually refer to the vulva, five are used as swearwords; *vittupäällä* 1, *vituntyrkytin* 2)

*jengi*: 2 (slang: 'people')

*lutka*: 2 (colloquial expression: 'slut')

*pistää*: 2 (colloquial expression: 'to put')

*rotsi* 2 (slang: 'jacket'; one instance occurs in *nahkarotsi* 'leather jacket')

*dorka*: 1 (slang: 'a stupid person')

*freesi*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'fresh')

*fudaa*: 1 (slang: 'to kick')

*funtsia*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to think')

*fuulaa*: 1 (slang; in standard Finnish roughly: *valheita* 'lies')

*fyrkka*: 1 (slang: 'money')

*handu*: 1 (slang: 'hand')

*heitän*: 1 (colloquial expression used in the meaning 'to speak; to present':

*Kai siks etten mä vielä tiedä kauan mä tätä stooria **heitän** [...]. (11)*

*kamu*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'buddy')

*kelata*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to think')

*kreisi*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'crazy')

*kundi*: 1 (slang: 'guy')

*kuplafolkkaria*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'the Volkswagen Beetle')

*kusettaa*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to cheat')

*kuteet*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'clothes')

*kyttä*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'cop')

*kyylälle*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to this snooper')

*kälppiä*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to leave quickly')

*landepaukku*: 1 (slang: 'country bumpkin')

*leffa*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'film')

*läpes*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'your mouth')

(hoitsun)*lätsä*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'nurse's cap')

*megeen*: 1 (slang: '(to come) along')

*meikälaisellä*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'me')

*minsa*: 1 (slang: 'minute')

*mulkkaa*: 1, *mulkoilee*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'to look at')

*muna*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'penis')

*nisti*: 1 (slang: 'drug addict')

*pallinsa*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'his testicles')

*pimppsa*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'the female genitalia')

*poikafrendi*: 1 (slang: 'boyfriend')

*pöllä*: 1 (slang: 'to steal')

*pöpi*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'crazy')

*rööristä*: 1 (colloquial expression: '(down the) drain')

*sieppaa*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'annoys')

*telkku*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'TV')

*tsiigaan*: 1 (slang: 'I am looking at')

*veks*: 1 (slang: the standard Finnish equivalent is *pois* 'away': *Mä olin vuoden veks koulusta*. (11) *Veks* can also be analysed as a particle used in spoken Finnish.)

*väritelkkarit*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'colour TVs')

*äijä*: 1 (colloquial expression: 'man')

## **Appendix 21: Speech fillers/discourse particles/interjections**

### ***Kolme korttia pakasta:***

*joo* ('yes'): 4 (speech filler or discourse particle; one occurrence as *joopa*)

*jessus*: 2 (interjection)

*justiin*: 2 (discourse particle)

*niinku*: 2 (speech filler or interjection)

-s (discourse particle): 2 (neither is used interrogatively: *tules* 1, *katsos* 1)

*häh*: 1 (interjection)

*jep*: 1 (interjection or discourse particle)

*just*: 1 (a discourse/focus particle used for emphasis in speech, a phonological variant of *justiinsa*)

*silleen*: 1 (speech particle)

### ***On aika tappaa:***

*joo*: 25 (speech filler or discourse particle)

-s (discourse particle): 12 (both interrogative and non-interrogative uses, e.g. *minäpäs, mitäs*)  
*okei*: 8 (discourse particle)  
*ehei*: 5 (interjection or discourse particle)  
*jaa*: 3 (interjection or speech filler: *Jaa-a* 1, *Jaa jaa* (counted here as two instances of *jaa*)  
*jep*: 3 (interjection or discourse particle)  
*just*: 1 (focus/discourse particle)  
*äh* (interjection): 1

### ***Precious – harlemlaistytön tarina:***

*niinku*: 26 (interjection or speech filler)  
*joo*: 4 (speech filler or discourse particle, one occurrence as *joopa*)  
*just*: 4 (focus/discourse particle)  
*kait*: 4 (spoken variant of the modal particle *kai*)  
-s (discourse particle): 2 (neither is used interrogatively: *oles* 1, *ollaanpas* 1)  
*häh*: 1 (interjection)  
*jaa*: 1 (interjection or speech filler)  
*justiinsa*: 1 (discourse particle)  
*okei*: 1 (discourse particle)  
*silleen*: 1 (speech particle)  
*tota*: 1 (speech filler)  
*Täh?*: 1 (interjection)  
*voi jee!*: 1 (interjection)

### **Appendix 22: Lowering of the final vowel in a diphthong**

#### ***Kolme korttia pakasta:***

*vaan* ('vain'): 12  
*melkeen* ('melkein'): 3

#### ***On aika tappaa:***

*vaan* ('vain'): 9

**Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina:**

*vaan* ('vain'): 17

*melkeen* ('melkein'): 3

*nään* ('näen'): 1

*oikeen* ('oikein'): 1

**Appendix 23: Se as a definite article**

**Kolme korttia pakasta:**

*Sä olet pannut myrkkyyä **siihen** toiseen puoleen. (320) (original: You done put de poison in t'other end. (308))*

*Mä otin **sen** sinisen lautasen koska se nainen toimitti mut sairaalaan [...]. (453) (original: I took the blue plate because that woman landed me in the hospital [...]. (441))*

**On aika tappaa:**

*[...] se on hoitanut enemmän murhajuttuja kuin **se sun poikasi** tulee ikänään näkemään. (177) (original: [...] he's handled more murder cases than your boy'll ever see. (170))*

***Se sun poika** olisi vaan tiellä. (177) (original: Your boy'd be in the way. (170))*

*Tänä aamuna se oli hermona, kun **se uusi lakimies** ei ole vielä käynyt sen luona. (203) (original: He was fussin' this mornin' cause the new lawyer ain't been to see him yet. (196))*

*[...] niin kuin **se sun kaverisi Bruster**. (212) (original: [...] includin' your friend Mr. Bruster. (205))*

**Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina:**

*Nyt **se huora** kysyy, vaik se viis sekuntia sitten jo tiesi. (15) (original: She asking now, a few seconds ago the hoe just knew what I was. (7))*



*Mä vaan seisoin siinä ku se kipu iski [...]. (17) (original: I jus' standing there 'n' pain hit me [...]. (9) The original lacks a definite article, but nevertheless a definite article interpretation of se seems likely here.)*

*Silmissä hölmö ilme nyt kun niissä ei kiilu se häijy punanen valo niinku sillon ku se lyö. (133) (original: Eyes look stupid wifout red evil light on to hit you. (132) Again, the original lacks a definite article, but the translation is here interpreted to exhibit definite article use of se.)*

*[...] ja se hoitaja oli mulle kiva [...]. (139) (original: I remember when I had my daughter, nurse nice to me [...]. (139) Here, the original text lacks an article, but a definite article may be postulated as occurring before the word nurse.)*

*Se 2,0 oli pohjanoteeraus [...]. (139) (original: The 2.0 days was really low days [...]. (139))*

#### **Appendix 24: Syncope**

##### ***Kolme korttia pakasta:***

*aattelee* ('ajattelee') 1, *mihkään* ('mihinkään') 1

##### ***Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina:***

*ees* ('edes') 1

#### **Appendix 25: Truncation of a frequently used word**

##### ***Kolme korttia pakasta:***

*sit* ('sitten'): 1

##### ***Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina:***

*et* ('että'): 44

*mut* ('mutta') 29

*ku* ('kun') 27

*sit* ('sitten'): 12 (one instance is written together with the following short variant of a personal pronoun: *sitsä*)

*vaik* ('*vaikka*'): 5

*ni* ('*niin*'): 1

*sitte* ('*sitten*'): 1

#### **Appendix 26: Apocope in *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina***

apocope of word-final -n: *jotenki* 3, *ainaki* 1, *kuiteski* 1 (spoken language variant of the particle *kuitenkin*, similar to *kummiskin*), *kummiski* 1, *muutenki*: 1, *tietenki* 1, *vieläki* 1

apocope of word-final -i that is not preceded by s: 2 *tapahtu* 1, *unohtu* 1

## Suomenkielinen lyhennelmä

### Tutkimus afroamerikkalaisesta puhekielestä kolmessa romaanissa ja suomen yleispuhekielestä niiden käännöksissä – *The Dark Tower II: The Drawing of the Three*, *A Time to Kill* ja *Push*

Pro gradu -tutkielma käsittelee afroamerikkalaisen puhekielen (African American Vernacular English, AAVE) käyttöä kolmen englanninkielisen romaanin dialogissa ja suomen yleispuhekielen käyttöä romaanien käännöksissä. Tutkimuksen tarkoitus on selvittää, mitä AAVEn piirteitä kirjailijat ovat käyttäneet luodakseen vaikutelman siitä, että tietyt romaanien henkilöahmot käyttävät puheessaan tätä kielimuotoa ja mitä suomen puhekielen piirteitä kääntäjät ovat käyttäneet luodakseen vaikutelman erityisestä puhekielen muodosta. Tutkimus on pääasiassa kvantitatiivinen ja deskriptiivinen. Romaanit ovat Stephen Kingin *The Dark Tower II: The Drawing of the Three* (1987), John Grishamin *A Time to Kill* (1989) ja Sapphiren *Push* (1996).

*The Dark Tower II: The Drawing of the Three* ilmestyi ensimmäisen kerran suomeksi vuonna 1993 nimellä *Musta torni 2, Kolme korttia pakasta* (suom. Kari Salminen, kustantajana Book Studio). Suomennoksen julkaisi uudelleen samannimisenä kustannusosakeyhtiö Tammi vuonna 2005, ja tätä painosta käytettiin käsillä olevassa tutkimuksessa. *A Time to Kill* -romaanin suomennos ilmestyi vuonna 1994 nimellä *On aika tappaa* (suom. Kimmo Linkama, kustantajana WSOY). Tätä painosta käytettiin tutkimuksessa. *Push* julkaistiin ensimmäisen kerran suomeksi vuonna 1998 nimellä *Ponnista!* (suom. Kristiina Drews, kustantajana Art House). Käännös julkaistiin uudelleen vuonna 2010, tällä kertaa nimellä *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina* (kustantajana Like). Tutkimuksessa käytettiin uutta painosta. Koska *Push*-romaanissa AAVEa on käytetty runsaasti (lähes koko romaani on kirjoitettu kyseistä kielimuotoa käyttäen), analyysissä tutkittiin vain osaa

tekstistä, tarkemmin sanoen kymmenen ensimmäistä ja kymmenen viimeistä sivua.

Romaaneissa *The Drawing of the Three* ja *Push* AAVE on huomattavan korostunut tyylikeino. Romaanissa *A Time to Kill* puolestaan AAVE on hillitympää kuin kahdessa ensin mainitussa. Romaanin *The Drawing of the Three* afroamerikkalainen henkilöahmo kärsii sivupersonahäiriöstä, jonka aiheuttama sivupersona on väkivaltainen ja viekas ja puhuu, kirjailijan omin sanoin, kuin stereotyyppinen afroamerikkalainen. Romaanin *Push* päähenkilö taas on köyhä, luku- ja kirjoitustaidoton murrosikäinen afroamerikkalainen tyttö, joka on elänyt koko ikänsä Harlemissa. Sen sijaan romaanissa *On aika tappaa* afroamerikkalaiset päähenkilöt ovat varsin ”tavallisia” ihmisiä, ja juuri tässä romaanissa AAVEa on käytetty vähän. Nämä erot näkyvät myös käännöksissä: *Precious – harlemilaistytön tarina* sisältää eniten suomen yleispuhekielen piirteitä ja *On aika tappaa* vähiten.

Tutkielman alussa määritellään muutama tärkeä käsite, joka liittyy kielen variaatioon ja sosiolingvistiikkaan<sup>1</sup> ja jotka ovat relevantteja tämän tutkimuksen kannalta. Tutkielmassa määritellään lisäksi molemmat tutkittavat kielimuodot, afroamerikkalainen puhekieli ja suomen yleispuhekieli. Kielimuodot kuvataan kahdessa luvussa, jotka sivuavat kielimuotojen historiallista taustaa mutta joiden pääpaino on kielellisten piirteiden kuvauksessa.

AAVEN piirteet käsitellään yksityiskohtaisemmin kuin suomen yleispuhekielen piirteet kahdesta syystä. Ensinnäkin jälkimmäiset ovat tuttuja suurelle osalle suomalaisista, joten yleispuhekielen käyttö on ollut kääntäjille helppoa. Sitä vastoin AAVE on kielimuotona suomen yleispuhekieltä spesifimpi, sillä sitä käyttävät vain tietyn puhujaryhmän jäsenet, jotka muodostavat verrattain pienen osan kaikista englannin kielen puhujista. Toinen syy on se, että tässä tutkimuksessa on myös kiinnitetty huomiota siihen, onko AAVEn piirteitä käytetty oikein alkuteoksissa. Muut kuin afroamerikkalaiset englannin kielen puhujat nimittäin saattavat helposti

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<sup>1</sup> Sosiolingvistiikka tutkii sosiaalisten muuttujien (kuten yhteiskuntarakenteen ja eri sosiaalisten ryhmien) aiheuttamaa kielellistä vaihtelua.

ymmärtää AAVEn tunnusmerkkiset syntaktiset piirteet väärin, mikä näkyy myös AAVEn kaunokirjallisissa kuvauksissa.

Tutkielmassa esitetty AAVEn kuvaus perustuu pääasiassa Lisa Greenin, William Labovin, John R. Rickfordin, Salikoko S. Mufwenen ja Geneva Smithermanin kuvauksiin AAVEn rakenteesta. AAVE on kielimuoto, jonka piirteet ovat suhteellisen yhteneväisiä Yhdysvaltain eri osissa. Jonkin verran variaatiota tietenkin esiintyy, eivätkä kaikki afroamerikkalaiset suinkaan puhu AAVEa. Voidaan yleisesti ottaen todeta, että AAVEa puhuvat pääasiassa nuoret ja kouluja käymättömät puhujat.

Nimitys *AAVE* ei ole ainoa, jota tästä kielimuodosta on käytetty tutkimuskirjallisuudessa. Itse asiassa nimitykset ovat muuttuneet ajan myötä samalla kun afroamerikkalaisista käytetyt nimitykset ovat muuttuneet. Esimerkiksi yksi kielimuodon varhaisimmista nimistä oli *Negro dialect*. Tutkijat eivät ole vielä tänäkään päivänä yksimielisiä AAVEn alkuperästä. On kuitenkin olemassa kaksi vallalla olevaa pääkäsitystä: AAVE on joko kehittynyt kreolikielestä eli kahden tai useamman kielen sekakielestä tai kehittynyt pelkästään englannin kielen murteiden vaikutuksen alaisena. Lisäksi eräät tutkijat ovat katsoneet, että AAVEssa on afrikkalaisten kielten piirteitä, mutta se on saanut myös vaikutteita amerikkalaisista murteista. Tutkijat ovat kuitenkin yhtä mieltä siitä, että AAVEn kielelliset erityispiirteet eivät ole poikkeamia englannin yleiskielestä, vaan säännönmukaisia ominaisuuksia, joiden merkitykset voidaan johdonmukaisesti yhdistää englannin yleiskielen vastaaviin merkityksiin.

Ensimmäiset AAVEa koskevat tutkimukset tehtiin 1800-luvun loppupuolella ja 1900-luvun alussa, mutta nämä tutkimukset olivat epätieteellisiä, koska niissä kielimuodon katsottiin johtuvan mustien ”litteistä nenistä ja paksuista huulista”. Tällaiset rasistiset väitteet tyrmättiin 1940-luvulla. AAVEn tutkimus jatkui entistä vilkkaampana 1960- ja 1970-luvuilla. Tuolloin tehdyt tutkimukset osoittivat AAVEn säännönmukaisuuden ja muodostivat perustan myöhemmälle tutkimukselle.

AAVEN kielellisiä piirteitä käsitellään tässä tutkielmassa sanaston, lauseopin ja äänneopin osalta. AAVE voidaan jakaa sanastoltaan kahteen luokkaan: toisaalta yleisiin sanoihin ja ilmauksiin, joita kaikkien ikäluokkien puhujat käyttävät ja toisaalta slangi-ilmauksiin, joita käyttävät lähinnä varhaisnuoret ja nuoret aikuiset. Yleiseen sanastoon kuuluvat esimerkiksi verbiä määrittävät partikkelit kuten *come*, joka ilmaisee puhujan ärtymystä (esimerkiksi virkkeessä *He come walking in here like he owned the damn place*) ja *steady*, joka ilmaisee jatkuvaa toimintaa (esimerkiksi virkkeessä *Her mouth is steady runnin*). Slangia ei käsitellä työssä kovin seikkaperäisesti, sillä slangi muuttuu jatkuvasti, ja sanat, jotka ovat tällä hetkellä muodissa saattavat pian vanhentua.

AAVEN lauseoppia havainnollistaa esimerkkipuhe *Didn't nobody ask me do I be late for class*, jossa esiintyy neljä AAVEn lauseopillista piirrettä. Ensimmäinen piirre on useamman kuin yhden kieltosanan käyttäminen lauseessa. Esimerkissä kielto sanat ovat apuverbi *didn't* ja indefiniittipronomini *nobody*. Nämä kielteiset sanat ovat lisäksi käänteisessä järjestyksessä, sillä tavallisesti englannin kielessä apuverbi seuraa subjektia. Esimerkissä esiintyy myös habituaalista eli tavanmukaista tilannetta ilmaiseva *be*, joka esittää asiantilan toistuvana tapana tai taipumuksena. *Be*-partikkelin merkitys voidaan yleensä ilmaista englannin sanalla *usually*. Esimerkin neljäs piirre on käänteinen epäsuora kysymyslause virkkeen loppuosassa: *do I be late for class*. Epäsuorassa kysymyslauseessa apuverbi edeltää subjektia, kuten englannin kielen vaihtoehtokysymyksissä.

Habituaalinen *be* on yksi AAVEn ainutlaatuisista aspektia ilmaisevista partikkeleista. Kielitieteessä aspekti on verbin ominaisuus, joka liittyy siihen ajallista etenemistä kuvaavan merkityseron. Muita tällaisia partikkeleita ovat *BIN* ja *dən*. Tutkielmassa partikkeleita merkitään tutkija Lisa Greenin noudattaman käytännön mukaan siten, että isoilla kirjaimilla kirjoitettu *BIN* osoittaa, että partikkeli äännetään painottaen, ja *dən*-partikkelin kirjoitusasussa švaa-vokaali osoittaa, että partikkelia ei painoteta puheessa. Poikkeava kirjoitustapa osoittaa myös, että partikkelit eroavat englannin yleiskielen sanoista *been* ja *done*. *BIN* ilmaisee, että jokin tilanne on joko

alkanut tai tapahtunut kokonaan kaukaisessa menneisyydessä. Esimerkkilauseessa *He BIN running* lauseen subjekti (*he*) on juossut jo kauan aikaa. *Dən*-partikkeli puolestaan osoittaa, että lauseen kuvaama tapahtuma on päättynyt, kuten esimerkissä *He dən ran*.

AAVEN äänteellisten piirteiden kuvaus keskittyy segmentaaliseen fonologiaan eli niihin äänteellisiin prosesseihin, jotka liittyvät yksittäisten äännesegmenttien tuottamiseen. Yksi AAVEn tunnettu äänteellinen piirre on konsonanttiyhtymien reduktio eli vajaaääntöisyys erityisesti sanojen lopussa. Esimerkiksi sana *spend* äännetään *spen*, *left* äännetään *lef* ja *mask* äännetään *mass*. Konsonanttiyhtymät *nt* ja *nk* eivät redusoidu. Näin ollen sanat *mint* ja *think* ääntyvät kuten englannin yleiskielessäkin. Konsonanttiyhtymä *nt* ei kuitenkaan äänny kielteisten apuverbien kuten *can't*, *won't* ja *ain't* lopussa. Tällöin konsonanttiyhtymän korvaa nasaalivokaali<sup>2</sup> (esimerkiksi *don't* äännetään [dō]). Myös sanan keskellä olevat konsonanttiyhtymät voivat redusoitua. Jos sanan keskellä oleva konsonanttiyhtymä edeltää konsonantilla alkavaa suffiksia,<sup>3</sup> kuten *nd* sanassa *kindness*, vain konsonanttiyhtymän ensimmäinen konsonantti äänny. Jos konsonanttiyhtymä edeltää suffiksia *-able*, kuten sanassa "acceptable", molemmat konsonantit yleensä ääntyvät. Jos konsonanttiyhtymä edeltää suffiksia *-ing*, konsonanttiyhtymä voi redusoitua tai jäädä ennalleen.

Toinen merkittävä äänteellinen piirre on englannin kielen *th*-äänteiden toteutuminen *t*-,*d*-,*f*- ja *v*-äänteinä. Englannin kielessä on kaksi *th*-äännettä: soinnillinen (jota äännettäessä äänihuulet värähtelevät), kuten sanoissa *these* ja *smooth*, ja soinniton (jota äännettäessä äänihuulet eivät värähtele), kuten sanoissa *bath* ja *birthday*. Yleinen sääntö on, että AAVEn puhujat käyttävät soinnittomia *t*- ja *f*-äänteitä soinnittoman dentaalisen frikatiivin<sup>4</sup> sijasta ja soinnillisia *d*- ja *v*-äänteitä soinnillisen dentaalisen frikatiivin sijasta. Vaikka AAVEn puhujat yleensä korvaavat sananalkuisen soinnillisen *th*-

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<sup>2</sup> Nasaaliäänteitä äännettäessä ilmavirta kulkee nenän kautta.

<sup>3</sup> Suffiksi on epäitsenäinen kielenaines, joka liittyy sanan perään.

<sup>4</sup> Dentaalisissa äänteissä kielen kärki koskettaa etuhampaiden takaosaa. Frikatiiveja äännettäessä ääntöväylä supistuu siten, että ulos kulkeva ilmavirta aiheuttaa hankaushälyä.

äänteen *d*-äänteellä, kuten sanassa *dese* ('these'), sananalkuinen soinniton *th* äännetään yleensä samalla tavoin kuin yleiskielessäkin (esimerkiksi sanoissa *think* ja *thirty*).

Tutkielmassa AAVE:n kuvausta seuraa toisen tarkastellun kielimuodon, suomen yleispuhekielen, esittely. Käsitettä *yleispuhekieli* käytetään tässä yhteydessä puhutun suomen kielen kielimuodosta, joka ei noudata yleis- ja kirjakielen normeja äänne- ja muotorakenteessaan ja jossa ei ole alueellisesti leimaavia piirteitä. Yleispuhekielen käsitteelle on olemassa monenlaisia määritelmiä, eikä puhekielikään ole millään muotoa homogeeninen käsite. Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastellaan sellaista kielimuotoa, jota suurin osa Suomen väestöstä käyttää puheessaan ja josta ei voi päätellä puhujan alueellista alkuperää. Juuri yleisyytensä vuoksi piirteitä käytetään käännetyssä puhekielessä. Niiden tunnistettavuus tekee niistä todentuntuisia, ja todenmukaisuuden vaikutelmaan alkuperäinenkin kirjailija on pyrkinyt käyttäessään oman kielensä standardista poikkeavaa kielimuotoa.

Sampo Nevalainen (2003) on tutkinut puhekielisyysien esiintymistä Käännössuomen korpuksessa ja verrannut niiden frekvenssiä korpukseseen, joka koostuu alun perin suomeksi kirjoitetusta kirjallisuudesta. Nevalainen (mts. 7) havaitsi kvantitatiivisessa tutkimuksessaan, että suomennetun puhekielen piirteet vastasivat ”yllättävän hyvin” todellisen arkipuhekielen piirteitä. Nevalainen havaitsi, että suomennöksissä tietyt piirteet ovat selvästi pääasiallisessa käytössä, kun taas piirteiden käyttö on monipuolisempaa supisuomalaisissa teksteissä (mts. 11). Tämä on Nevalaisen (mp.) mukaan osoitus siitä, että kääntäjät, toisin kuin kirjailijat, noudattavat strategiaa kirjoittaessaan puhekieltä: he valitsevat joitakin piirteitä, joilla he luovat puhekielen vaikutelman. Kaikkia Nevalaisen tarkastelemia puhekielen piirteitä esiintyi useammin supisuomalaisessa kaunokirjallisuudessa kuin käännetyssä kaunokirjallisuudessa (mts. 19). Lisäksi käännöksissä käytetyt keinot olivat useammin sanastollisia, kun taas alun perin suomeksi kirjoitetussa kaunokirjallisuudessa puhekielisyiden vaikutelma saatiin aikaan pääasiassa äänteellisin keinoin (mp.).



Tämän tutkielman tärkein osuus, aineiston analyysi, alkoi teksteissä esiintyvien puhekielisten piirteiden tunnistamisella ilman sähköisiä apuvälineitä. Aineiston käsittelemisen helpottamiseksi kaikki romaanien sivut, joilla oli AAVEa tai suomen yleispuhekieltä, skannattiin ja muutettiin muokattavaan muotoon tekstintunnistusohjelmalla. Tutkimuksessa käytettiin ABBYY FineReader 11 -ohjelmaa. Ohjelma mahdollisti kielellisten piirteiden vaivattoman haun aineistosta ja teki tarpeettomaksi tekstien kopioimisen käsin gradussa tarvittavia esimerkkilauseita varten. Ohjelman tekemät tunnistusvirheet piti kuitenkin korjata käsin, mikä voitaneen katsoa menetelmän haittapuoleksi. Piirteiden esiintymistiheyden määrittämiseen käytettiin AntConc-konkordanssiohjelmaa (versio 3.2.4).

Tutkimuksessa esitetään aluksi yleisiä huomioita analyysistä ja piirteiden lukumäärässä esiintyvistä eroista tekstien välillä. Sitten tarkastellaan piirteiden esiintymistä yksitellen jokaisen kuuden tekstin osalta. Tutkimuksessa on eroteltu varsinaiset AAVEn ja yleispuhekielen piirteet "muista puhekielen piirteistä", jotka havaittiin aineistosta ja joita ei ollut kuvattu aiemmin tutkielmassa kielimuotojen piirteiden esittelyn yhteydessä. Muut puhekielisyydet on sisällytetty analyysiin siksi, että käsillä oleva tutkimus olisi vertailukelpoinen muiden vastaavien tutkimusten kanssa, ja siksi, että osa tutkijoista saattaa lukea nämä piirteet järjestään kuuluviksi kyseisiin kielimuotoihin.

Tutkimuksesta käy ilmi, että alkukielisten romaanien osalta Grisham ja Sapphire suosivat lauseopillisia kielenpiirteitä, kun taas King on suosinut äänteellisiä. Sen sijaan käänöksissä äänteelliset piirteet ovat kaikista yleisimpiä ja lauseopilliset harvinaisimpia. Tulos on sikäli odottamaton, että Anhavan (2000) näkemyksen mukaan englannin yleiskielen ja puhekielisten kielimuotojen pääasialliset erot ilmenevät ääntämisessä (Anhava (mts.) kuitenkin myöntää, että etnomurteet voivat erota yleiskielestä kieliopiltaankin). Tutkituista romaaneista ainoastaan *The Drawing of the Three* vaikuttaa sopivan Anhavan kuvaukseen.

Alkukielisistä teksteistä muoto-opillisia piirteitä on vain romaanissa *Push*. Kaikissa tapauksissa kyse on epäsäännöllisten muotojen

säännönmukaistumisesta. Kaikissa kolmessa käännöksessä sitä vastoin muotopiirteet ovat kolmanneksi yleisin kielellinen kategoria.

Vaikka käännöksissä sanastolliset piirteet ovat taajaan esiintyviä, äänteellisiä piirteitä esiintyy niitä enemmän. Poikkeus on *On aika tappaa*, jossa sanastollisia piirteitä esiintyy enemmän kuin äänteellisiä (vaikka eroa onkin vain yksi prosentti). Tulos eroaa edellä mainitusta Nevalaisen (2003) tutkimuksesta, jonka mukaan käännöksissä käytetyt piirteet olisivat enimmäkseen sanastollisia. Mahdollinen selitys tässä tutkimuksessa havaitulle erolle on se, että kahdessa tutkitussa romaanissa esiintyvä leimallinen AAVEn käyttö on saanut kääntäjät käyttämään samanlaisia strategioita kuin suomalaiset kirjailijat murretta kirjoittaessaan.

Vaikka sanastolliset piirteet ovat yleisiä kaikissa kolmessa käännöksessä, ne ovat harvinaisia alkuteoksissa. Eniten sanastollisia piirteitä on romaanissa *The Drawing of the Three*, mikä saattaa johtua romaanissa esiintyvistä AAVEn slangisanoista kuten *honky*, joka tarkoittaa valkoihoista ihmistä. *The Drawing of the Three* on kolmesta alkuteoksesta ainoa, jossa on käytetty slangia. Romaanissa *A Time to Kill* Yhdysvaltojen eteläosissa puhutulle englannille ominaiset pronominit *them* (merkityksessä 'those') ja *y'all* (monikon toisen persoonan pronomina) ovat suhteellisen frekventtejä, minkä johdosta kirjan dialogissa on enemmän sanastollisia piirteitä kuin *Push*-romaanissa. On huomattavaa, että vaikka *Pushin* kääntäjä Kristiina Drews on hyödyntänyt runsaasti slangia ja puhekielisiä ilmauksia luodakseen kuvan murrosikäisen afroamerikkalaisen puheesta, Sapphire on alkuteoksessaan käyttänyt sanastollisia piirteitä vain vähäisesti.

Kaikissa kolmessa alkuteoksessa AAVEn sanasto on vähäistä, ja sanasto onkin aineistossa kyseisen kielimuodon kielellisistä kategorioista vähiten edustettu. Mahdollisia selityksiä on kaksi: joko AAVEn sanasto on ollut kirjailijoille tuntematonta (kuten saattaa olla asian laita Kingin ja Grishamin osalta) tai kirjailijat ovat halunneet säilyttää tekstiensä ymmärrettävyyden välttämällä sanoja, jotka ovat valtaosalle lukijoista tuntemattomia (esimerkiksi sellaisia sanoja kuin *kitchen*, joka tarkoittaa niskahiuksia). AAVEn sanastollisten piirteiden vähyys aineistossa tuntuu

poikkeavan Ingon (1999, 159) esittämästä ajatuksesta, jonka mukaan englannin kielessä puhekielisyyden vaikutelmaa luodaan erityisesti sanaston avulla. Mahdollinen selitys on se, että AAVE on niin erityinen kielimuoto, ettei sen jäljittelemiseen kaunokirjallisuudessa riitä pelkät sanastolliset keinot. Asian selvittäminen vaatisi jatkotutkimusta.

Romaaneista *Push* on ainoa, jossa esiintyvät kaikki AAVEn aspektia ilmaisevat partikkelit *be*, *BIN* ja *dən*, kun taas *A Time to Kill* -romaanissa esiintyy vain *dən* (yksi esiintymä koko tekstissä). Koko aineistossa harvinaisin partikkeli on *BIN*. Kuten nämä erot romaanien välillä osoittavat, jokainen kolmesta kirjailijasta on käyttänyt AAVEa eri tavoin ja eri suhteessa. Esimerkiksi habituaalinen *be* esiintyy usein romaanissa *The Drawing of the Three*, mutta romaanissa *Push* partikkeli esiintyy vain kaksi kertaa ja romaanissa *A Time to Kill* ei kertaakaan. On mahdollista, että kirjailijoiden tapa käyttää AAVEa kuvastaa heidän käsitystään siitä, millainen kielimuoto on. Esimerkiksi King on saattanut suosia indikatiivimuotoista *be*-verbiä juuri siksi, että hän on yhdistänyt tämän piirteen AAVEen.

Kaikissa kolmessa käännöksessä *minä*- ja *sinä*-pronominien lyhyet asut ovat yleisimpiä puhekielisyyksiä, mikä luultavasti johtuu näiden persoonapronominien yleisyydestä kaikessa puheessa. Sama pätee kolmannen persoonan pronominien *hän* ja *he* korvaamiseen sanoilla *se* ja *ne*, joka on yhtä lailla frekventti piirre kaikissa käännöksissä.

AAVEN piirteiden esiintymistaajuus alkuteoksissa on saattanut vaikuttaa kääntäjien käyttämien yleispuhekielen piirteiden esiintymistaajuuteen. *A Time to Kill* -romaanissa esiintyvä AAVE on lähempänä yleistä puhuttua amerikanenglantia (tai Yhdysvaltain eteläosissa puhuttua englantia) kuin muissa romaaneissa. Näin ollen romaanin kääntäjälläkään, Kimmo Linkamalla, ei ole ollut syytä korostaa yleiskielestä poikkeavaa kielimuotoa runsailla puhekielisyyksillä. Kahdessa muussa romaanissa puolestaan AAVEn piirteitä esiintyy paljon ja kielimuoto on kirjailijoiden tietoisesti käyttämä tyylikeino, jota kääntäjät ovat jäljitelleet käyttämällä vastaavassa määrin yleispuhekielen piirteitä.

Romaanien *The Drawing of the Three* ja *Push* päähenkilöt eroavat romaanin *A Time to Kill* hahmoista. Kahdessa ensin mainitussa päähenkilöt eivät ole "tavallisia" ihmisiä kuten jälkimmäisessä, vaan pikemminkin omalaatuisia. Siksi King ja Sapphire ovat käyttäneet Grishamia enemmän AAVEn piirteitä kuvatakseen hahmojensa erikoislaatuisuutta myös dialogissa. Grisham taas haluaa lukijoidensa samastuvan kirjansa päähenkilöihin, eikä vieras puhetapa välttämättä edistä tätä tavoitetta. Vähäisillä AAVEn piirteillä Grisham on mahdollisesti myös halunnut osoittaa, että afroamerikkalaiset päähenkilöt edustavat samaa yhteiskuntaluokkaa kuin lukijat (toisin kuin *Push*-romaanissa, jossa päähenkilö on Harlemissa varttunut luku- ja kirjoitustaidoton tyttö).

Aineiston suppeuden takia tulosten merkittävyyttä ei pidä liioitella. On kuitenkin toivottavaa, että tutkimuksen tuloksia voidaan käyttää lisätukena myöhemmissä tutkimuksissa esitetyille oletuksille. Mahdollisessa jatkotutkimuksessa voitaisiin tarkastella lukijoiden ja kriitikoiden arvioita suomennetusta puhekielestä. Kritiikkejä löytyy sanomalehtien kirja-arvosteluista, ja lukijoiden arvioita on löydettävissä Internetin blogeista ja keskustelupalstoilta. Lukijoiden haastattelemisessa ongelmaksi muodostuisi se, että haastattelut voivat antaa vääristyneen kuvan lukijoiden ajatuksista, koska haastateltavat saattavat luonnostaan pyrkiä auttamaan haastattelijaa olemalla analyyttisempia kuin oikeassa lukutilanteessa. Lisäksi olisi kiinnostavaa selvittää, miten afroamerikkalaiset itse suhtautuvat siihen, kuinka heidän puhetapaansa esitetään kaunokirjallisuudessa ja miten fiktiivisten henkilöihahmojen puhe vaikuttaa siihen, miten lukijat hahmoihin suhtautuvat. Samoin kiinnostavaa olisi kartoittaa, miten AAVEa on käytetty amerikkalaisessa kaunokirjallisuudessa ja miten AAVEa on suomennettu kautta aikojen. Puhekielen, kaunokirjallisuuden ja kääntämisen tutkimus ei ole vielä paljastanut kaikkia salojaan.