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BLACK ENGLISH IN A SUBURBAN SOUTHERN COUNTY

by

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A thesis submitted to the Division of Curriculum and  
Instruction in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Education

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH FLORIDA  
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND HUMAN SERVICES

DECEMBER, 1987

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### Abstract

A comparison of the spoken language of adolescent Black males living in three southern suburban communities was conducted. The results indicated certain trends by locale in the areas of morphology, phonology, syntax and semantics. The findings affirm the assumption that it is possible to determine likenesses and differences in the Black English spoken by Black males living in three isolated communities with a rating instrument.

## BLACK ENGLISH IN A SUBURBAN SOUTHERN COUNTY

## Chapter One: Introduction

I've known rivers:

I've known rivers ancient as the world  
and older than the flow of human blood  
in human veins.

Langston Hughes (1921)

Problem Statement

Can Black spoken English, as measured by a rating instrument, be differentiated among adolescent Black males living in three different communities of a suburban southern county, according to morphology, phonology, syntax, and semantics?

Rationale

Given the distance between the virtually isolated Black communities in Clay County, Florida, certain likenesses and differences in the spoken Black English should be apparent.

Black English has long been of concern to writers, educators and researchers alike. Forced into a white society, the Blacks experience the "push-pull" momentum (Smitherman, 1977). The "push" is described as being the ever-present pressure to adopt the white culture's language,

as opposed to the "pull", which binds Afro-Americans to their roots encompassing the spoken language.

There is a direct correlation between oral language and reading and writing success. In addition, an awareness of the importance of learning styles plays a major role in the educational process.

Research verifies the fact that Black children have certain preferred learning styles. However, Janice E. Hale-Benson points out the fact that in most cases curriculum changes have concentrated on such things as smaller classes and compensatory education for Black students. In the creation of these smaller classes, nothing has changed; the same teaching methods are employed. Students are experiencing the same thing in a different place. Researchers feel there are other solutions that would be of benefit. Awareness on the part of the teacher of Afro-American dialect, culture and history would be a necessary factor in facilitating curriculum change (Hale-Benson, 1986).

Black English is generally considered to be non-standard English by that segment of society composed of white Standard English speakers. This generalization

regarding Black English denies the fact that the term "language" refers to sound and grammatical structure (Smitherman, 1985). In denying the existence of a language, the white society is gendering another form of prejudice. To consider another's dialect non-standard or different from the expected norm is to foster the pygmalion effect, thus preventing Afro-Americans from attaining their maximum potential level.

"The type of Black English used is determined by age, sex, socioeconomic status (and) geographical area in which one spent formative years. Most Black Americans are bidialectal, that is they have control of, or can use two different dialects. In other words, they talk differently at different times, using a vernacular or casual form and a more "standard" form for more formal occasions" (Alexander, 1985, p.29). This same feature may be true of other races.

#### Purpose

In light of the implications that oral language has in the education of Black students, this study proposes to determine the existence, if any, of differences among different geographical areas in the Black English spoken in a northeast Florida county by native Afro-Americans.

## CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Gold, Wax, Elephant's Teeth and Flesh:A History of Blacks in Clay County

Picture a harbor filled with alien moans rising from the wooden hulls partially submerged beneath briny waters of the Atlantic. The rattle of chains being loosened joins the mournful elegy of human suffering. A Portugese foreman speaks loudly to the huddled masses in trade-pidgin, learned by many of the slaves on Africa's West coast prior to their captivity.

Three hundred and fifty years ago the ancestors of present day Afro-Americans lived in the hinterland of Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana, and the Ivory Coast in West Africa. In these areas many different languages were spoken including Yoruba, Hausa, Wolof, Bulu, Bamoun, Temne, Akan, and Twi. They would have first been exposed to English by the sailors of the slave ships (Cran, MacNeil & McCrum, 1986, p. 196).

The slave dealers soon learned that mixing the languages was a necessity in the shipping of slaves. In order to prevent rebellion, the slaves were shuffled into groups from different tribes (Dillard, 1972; Cran, MacNeil

& McCrum, 1986). Many of the slaves would have already known Sabin, a "lingua franca" or language used for wider communication by Portuguese traders visiting the African West Coast.

Walsh, in his notices of Brazil, in 1828 and 1829, says in describing a slave ship, examined by the English man-of-war in which he returned from Brazil in May, 1829:...The slaves were all enclosed under grated hatchways, between decks....They were all branded like sheep, with their owner's marks of different forms. These were impressed under their breasts, or on their arms, and the mate informed me, with perfect indifference, 'quimados pelo ferro quente --burnt with the red hot iron'....As soon as the poor creatures saw us looking down at them, their dark and melancholy visages brightened up. They perceived something of sympathy and kindness in our looks, which they had not been accustomed to, and feeling, instinctively, that we were friends, they immediately began to shout and clap their hands. One or two had picked up a few Portuguese words, and cried out, 'Viva! viva!' (Miller, 1860, p. 285).



When people are thrust into a situation such as the slaves were, it necessitates the adoption of a new means of communication. It is likely that the slaves possessing a knowledge of Sabir would have taught others, possibly even during the long sea voyages (Cran, MacNeil & McCrum, 1986).

A pidgin language refers to a language having no native speakers. The fact that it has no native speakers makes the language exist as a "lingua franca" until it becomes the only language of an entire community (Cran, MacNeil & McCrum, 1986; Dillard, 1972). A language adapted by an entire community or when parents speaking pidgin teach their offspring to speak the language, is then referred to as a creole.

It is wrong to assume that a creole does not possess rules. Although the creole may be simplified, it has definite syntactical patterns (Cran, MacNeil & McCrum, 1986).

Black English developed distinguishing characteristics as it progressed from pidgin to present day Black English. An example of the simplifying effects are the omission of "is" and other verbs (Cran, MacNeil & McCrum, 1986). More complicated is the use of "be" in the establishment of time.

It was in the year 1620 that the first Negroes were imported into Virginia, even though the English government passed an act legalizing the slave trade in 1562 under the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The first attempts by the English to import slaves were unsuccessful due to the lack of demand for laborers (Miller, 1860). Southern planters, in order to meet the demands for tobacco, sugar, and cotton, invested in the purchase of slave laborers during the 1600s. The invention of the cotton gin provided the necessary impetus to make the slave trade a rapidly growing business (Risjord, 1986).

The St. Johns River, as it came to be known, flowed on its northerly route as history continued to be born on its banks. Present day Clay County, once occupied by Indian cultures as long ago as 5,000 B.C., began to play its role in the transportation of the slave population (Blakey, 1976).

According to Blakey, the constant warring factors as a result of the European desire to possess Florida carried many problems for the early settlers. The French, British, and Spanish flags changed places on many occasions. Nevertheless, Clay County continued to grow.

In the same study, Blakey found that there were large plantations in Florida, but only two individuals owned over two hundred slaves in 1860. Further, there were only five people in Clay County who equaled or exceeded Davis Floyd's ownership of twenty-four slaves.

George Fleming came into possession of a 1,000 acre tract on the St. Johns River. He named his place "Hibernia." The Flemings also brought slaves to the island. Present day Fleming Island is inhabited by descendants of the Fleming slaves (Blakey, 1976).

George Fleming and his descendants were to set a precedent in Clay County. Their slaves, starting with fifteen in 1800 and increasing to thirty by 1830, were awarded freedom for good service in the 1800s.

Samantha Knight Bryant, born in 1893, and one of the descendants of the Fleming Island slaves, relates many of her earlier experiences. When Samantha was seventeen, she was allowed to accompany Mrs. Margaret Seton Fleming Biddle to Trenton, New Jersey. Although during earlier years, the two had been playmates, Mrs. Bryant turned down an invitation to try ice skating.

The Fleming slaves were allowed to go to school with the Fleming children. In most areas of the South, it was

unheard of for Blacks to be taught to read and write. Their masters thought them more pliable if illiterate. It is not surprising that Mrs. Bryant, at 93, states that "They didn't know that they were Black 'till integration." Integration was practiced in the Fleming Island community (Parks, 1987).

The Kingsley plantation, located in the northern section of Clay County, produced another unusual situation. Kingsley came to Florida via Madagascar in 1803. He married African Princess Anna Madigene Jai in a tribal ceremony, and the newlyweds made Florida their home.

Kingsley was also involved in the slave trade and owned at one time as many as 100 slaves. He and his African wife spoke several African languages and were thus able to teach their slaves the rudiments of the English language. This reference in regard to oral language is inconclusive; it can be assumed that some form of spoken English or a pidgin English might have been in use since Madagascar is off the Southeast coast of Africa. It is possible that Portugese traders and others using a "lingua franca" would have visited that area and possibly Kingsley would have known it himself (Blakey, 1976; Proctor, 1980).

### The Havoc of War

The rape of the Civil War played havoc on the citizens of Clay County. Planters lost heavily, as did others, as northern troops invaded the area. With the war's end and the reconstruction process underway, the elected politicians reorganized the county (Blakey, 1976).

Blakey also found that the original county seat was located in present-day Middleburg. Black Creek made transportation to the area easy for plantation development. The presence of a fort in the area was an added enticement. Many of the Middleburg settlers were slave owners before the war. One Ozias Buddington, for example, had twelve slaves in 1850. The Johnson plantation is recorded as having fifteen slaves.

The reconstruction period accelerated the growth of Green Cove Springs, located on the St. Johns River. The county seat was moved to Green Cove Springs, much to the chagrin of some of the Middleburg residents (Blakey, 1976).

Blakey found evidence that slaves were already a part of the history of Green Cove Springs area. Thomas J. Hendricks possessed twenty-six slaves in the Magnolia area in 1851 (Blakey, 1976).

With the rapid population growth, freed slaves were probably able to find better opportunities for work in Green Cove Springs in the many luxurious hotels that were developed to accomodate the tourists. Some Blacks worked on steamboats, railroads, or in turpentine camps (Blakey, 1976).

By 1901, 140 Blacks were enrolled in school in Green Cove Springs and 29 in Hibernia. There were also two small schools located at Peter's Creek and Highland, according to Blakey's findings.

#### Present Day Clay County

In present day Clay County, the major areas populated by Blacks fall within the same general boundaries as indicated by the history of the area. In Orange Park, the Black community is located near Kingsley Avenue. There are 138 Black students enrolled in Orange Park High School as of February, 1987. Middleburg High School's current enrollment of Blacks is thirty-six. The 199 Black students enrolled in Clay High School reflect the fact that Green Cove Springs, to date, has the largest Black population of Clay County (M. B. Bailey, personal communication, February 10, 1987).

There are scattered, small Black communities such as Fleming Island and Penny Farms with intact, long existing family groups, which probably date back to the earliest arrival of slaves in the Clay County area. Unfortunately, the details of Black history remain a mystery, as very few written documents are in existence that contain information about the Blacks of Clay County.

#### From Pidgin to Shuckin' and Jivin': The Black Language

The spoken language of Afro-Americans is deeply rooted in their culture. Verbal strategies have always been an important part of the Black population's culture and can be traced back to African cultural practices (Dillard, 1972; Smitherman, 1977; Folb, 1980).

"Living in the midst of a hostile and repressive white society, Black people found in language an important means of promoting and maintaining a sense of group unity and cohesion" (Hale-Benson, 1986, p.62).

The art of verbal exchange is emphasized by those raising Black children. The rearing process is usually a community project and not strictly dependent upon the immediate family members. Adults talk with children, playing verbal games to develop verbal strategies (Hale-Benson, 1986).

The Black churches also accept and encourage verbal responses. The Black churches play a major role in the cohesiveness of the Black community.

The preacher, an adept orator, admired by his flock, expects responses from the congregation. The church goers are aware of the traditional rituals and adhere to the expected behaviors. The congregation might respond to something the preacher says in church rap, such as: "Right on, brother!", or "Look out now, you on the case!" (Smitherman, 1977, p.88).

Some of the rap styles used by Blacks reflect the traditional African world view. There must be harmony in nature. The hierarchy of nature depends on all modes of existence for balance and rhythm (Smitherman, 1977). The rhythmical, cyclic pattern of the universe is present in verbal raps as well as in African and Afro-American music.

The call-response patterns are found, not only in the Black church, but on the street in verbal games. The cyclic pattern of these games require quick thinking and superb oral skills on the part of the participants. They are often accompanied by popular dances, such as the break dance of the 1980s (Folb, 1980; Hale-Benson, 1986; Smitherman, 1977).



Of major concern is the actual structure of Black English as a language. It follows certain acceptable patterns used by large numbers of Afro-Americans throughout the country. The following list depicts the most common features noted by linguists (Dillard, 1972; Smitherman, 1977).

#### Phonology

The following are phonological differences:

/th/ = /d/ and/or /f/

absent /r/

deleted middle consonant (help = hep)

deleted final consonant (wasp = wasp)

hypercorrection of plural /s/ (that mines)

stress pattern variation (PO-lice)

beginning consonant blend variation (dat = that)

#### Morphology

The following are morphological differences:

copula auxillary omissions (is/are)

absent -s, -es (he walk)

hypercorrections (we walks)

completive action auxillary (he done gone)

be as main verb (he be ugly)

been to indicate distant past

is with all persons/numbers (I is, you is,)  
 absence of possessive marker (Tonya' dog)  
 absence of plural marker (two dog)  
them to denote subject/object (them ladies)

### Syntax

The following are syntactic differences:  
 absence of question inversion (Where the car is?)  
 retention of subject pronoun (Dat boy, he bad.)  
 copula auxiliary omissions (He sleep.)  
 omission of have forms (She gone shoppin.)  
been to indicate distant past (He been sick.)  
 multiple negation (Ain't no girl whip me.)  
 uninflected use of to be (They be goin.)

### Semantics

Many words used in Black English are loan-translations from African languages. "Give me five" for example, may be traced back to the West African custom of a handshake accompanied by a phrase to establish truth. Mandingo's have a saying that translates, "put your skin in my hand" (Smitherman, 1977, p.45). Phrases such as these are perhaps the basis for many of the word meanings used in current-day Black English.

Black English is still undergoing the change process. Semantic differences vary according to geographical location, but are usually easily understood by Black English speakers (Smitherman, 1977). New words filter into the language and some older usages reappear from time to time. Some of the words used by Black English speakers eventually find their way into standard English (Dillard, 1972).

## CHAPTER THREE: DESIGN OF THE STUDY

### Introduction

Based on the history of the Clay area, the most heavily populated communities of Afro-Americans remain in the same locations that once sheltered their ancestors. The study was conducted in Green Cove Springs, Orange Park, and Middleburg, Florida due to the three large Black communities in those locales. The communities remain isolated, having their own churches and social activities.

### Subjects

For the purpose of this study, five Afro-American male students were selected from Orange Park, Middleburg and Green Cove Springs, Florida. The basis for selection was that the subjects had lived in the Black community for thirteen to eighteen years.

Arrangements were also made to interview at least one adult resident in each area to lend input into the nature of the language development process of their respective locales.

### Procedures

The subjects were taped in home settings to avoid contamination of the language that might occur in a school setting due to bidialectical tendencies. Many students feel pressured to alter their normal, daily spoken language in the school's atmosphere.

The subjects recorded a description of an event of their choice. The duration of the taping sessions was three to five minutes. Using a checklist designed in accordance with Black English commonalities, the tapes were coded and notated according to phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. A comparison of the likenesses and differences between locales was then noted if apparent.

The adult interviews were conducted informally. Certain questions regarding their views on Black English were included. The adult interviews were taped and transcribed and any contributions to the study by the subjects were noted.

### Instrumentation

A checklist based on the commonalities of Black English was developed. The checklist enabled the recorded data to be easily coded for tallying likenesses and differences among selected locales (see Appendix A).

### Analysis of Data

The transcriptions and Black English checklists on each subject were compared for similarities and variations in the areas of phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics.

### Summary

It is hoped that the project will determine any likenesses or differences in the three areas. As noted previously, the locales were selected on the basis of current population, as well as the past history of Clay County which indicated that these areas probably contain descendants of the slaves brought to Clay County by various owners during the 1800s.

## Chapter Four: Results

### Collection of Data

Taping sessions in the Orange Park area were conducted by a Black, adult female. Five Black males of high school age were asked to discuss informally any subject of interest. The conversations were taped using an audio cassette recorder. The recordings took place in private homes in the Black community.

Middleburg data were collected in the same manner by a Black female resident from four Black males presently enrolled in Middleburg High School. The fifth recording was taped by a white, adult male at Middleburg High School.

Five Black male students at Clay High School were taped by an adult, white male at Clay High School. The taping sessions were conducted in an office setting.

The tapes were charted using a checklist of commonalities of Black English and then compiled by locale (see Appendix A). The compilations were done geographically and then totaled by area.

### Morphology

The Orange Park results indicate a frequency of an absent "s/es" used in the third person. This tendency was more frequent in the Orange Park data than in the Middleburg or Green Cove Springs areas, but was audible in all three.

Hypercorrection, or use of forms like "We talks", was noted both in Orange Park and Middleburg. No trace of hypercorrection was audible in the Green Cove area.

The use of "be" as the main verb occurred with highest frequency in Orange Park and Green Cove Springs. The compilation indicated equal usage in both locales. It was not detectable in the Middleburg area.

Absent plural markers, such as found in "two dog", were used only in the Middleburg area. There was no audible evidence of its presence in the other areas.

Isolated incidences of the use of "is/all" with all persons was found in Orange Park. Additionally, a singular occurrence of "they/you" as possessives was found in the Middleburg data (see Table 1).

### Phonology

The use of /th=d/ was found only in Green Cove and Orange Park. In all three areas the absent /r/ occurs



frequently. The Orange Park and Middleburg subjects delete some middle consonants and vary beginning blends. A very high occurrence of deletion of final consonants and stress pattern variations were found in all areas (see Table 1).

### Syntax

The Orange Park males had the highest frequency of absent verb copulas as found in the example "He bad". The absent verb copula was also recorded in the Middleburg and Green Cove locales.

The only incident of lack of question inversion was found in Green Cove Springs and use of the multiple negative occurred only in Orange Park. Orange Park subjects more frequently omitted "have" forms, but the absence of "have" forms was noted in all areas (see Table 1).

### Semantics

Orange Park subjects demonstrated the highest variation of word meaning. "He real Black, man", was used to refer to the different shades of pigment in peers and in this reference indicated the darkest shade of black as being a less desirable quality.

"I'm a serious man with the ladies", was used to refer to individual physical attraction and success in male-female relationships. "I like to play with their heads", is

another sexual remark referring to successful romantic endeavors.

Adjective combinations, with the use of nouns as adjectives as found in the phrase, "two little brat-brothers", were used to emphasize descriptions. The phrase was used to indicate a playful nature and was used jokingly. Another example of nouns used as modifiers occurred in the phrase, "just sittin' in this cool-breeze house, chillin' back". The phrase refers to relaxing in a pleasant atmosphere.

In the Middleburg area, "That's what the year I was born", was used to mean, "That is the year I was born". The subjects did not have any other notable semantic variations.

One of the Green Cove subjects used "just hollerin', carryin' on", to indicate being extremely noisy as an indication of happiness. This was the only semantic variation noted (see Table 1).

There are noted likenesses and differences apparent in the areas of morphology, phonology, syntax and semantics in the three Afro-American Black communities selected for this study.

Summary of Geographically Compiled Data

<u>MORPHOLOGY</u>	<u>ORANGE PARK</u>	<u>MIDDLEBURG</u>	<u>GREEN COVE</u>
absent s/es	frequent	infrequent	infrequent
hypercorrection	infrequent	infrequent	
"be" as main verb	frequent		frequent
absent plural markers		frequent	
is/all with all persons	frequent		
they/you as possessives		infrequent	
<u>PHONOLOGY</u>	<u>ORANGE PARK</u>	<u>MIDDLEBURG</u>	<u>GREEN COVE</u>
/th/=d/	frequent		frequent
absent /r/	frequent	frequent	frequent
delete middle consonants	infrequent	infrequent	
deletes final consonants	frequent	frequent	frequent
stress pattern variations	frequent	frequent	frequent

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<u>SYNTAX</u>	<u>ORANGE PARK</u>	<u>MIDDLEBURG</u>	<u>GREEN COVE</u>
absent verb			
copulas	frequent	infrequent	infrequent
lack of question			
inversion		infrequent	
multiple			
negatives	infrequent		
omits "have"			
forms	frequent	infrequent	infrequent

---

<u>SEMANTICS</u>	<u>ORANGE PARK</u>	<u>MIDDLEBURG</u>	<u>GREEN COVE</u>
	frequent	infrequent	infrequent

## Chapter Five: Conclusions

Black English spoken by Black males living in three different communities of a suburban southern county can be differentiated according to likenesses and differences in the areas of morphology, phonology, syntax and semantics. Certain patterns of similarities and differences are obvious in the compiled data.

In the area of morphology, the absence of the "s/es" is common to Black English speakers and usage has been maintained in the three locales. Even though this characteristic is present in the spoken language of the three areas, it may not be represented in the written language and in situations that require the speaker to use Standard English.

Hypercorrection does not appear in the Green Cove Springs area but has been retained in Orange Park and Middleburg. This does not mean that it is not used in Green Cove. It may be present in the spoken language of other members of the Black community. The subjects recorded may have, through the years, adopted Standard English usage in this instance.

Middleburg was the only area that did not use "be" as a main verb. The use of "be" as a main verb was common in the

subjects of Green Cove and Orange Park. The fact that Middleburg males did not use plural markers supports the theory that location and distance account for differences in Black spoken English patterns throughout the county.

Phonologically speaking, speakers from the three areas commonly use deletion of final consonants, stress pattern variations and omission of the /r/ sound. Isolation has not affected many of the phonological traits that historically are a part of Black English. The data indicated a high phonological frequency among the three locales.

Orange Park males produced the most colorful semantical differences. The trend toward preservation of Black English characteristics and use of semantic variations indicates that these Black males consider their language a valued entity. They strive to develop verbal skills that are unique and colorful. One must consider the variables that may have influenced the nature of the recorded data. The Orange Park males were taped by a Black female. The presence of that person may have influenced the responses. It was evident upon listening to the tape that the males felt comfortable about doing the recordings.

The subject matter for discussion selected by the boys in Middleburg and Green Cove Springs may have limited their semantic differences. While most of the boys talked to some

extent of sports, it was more prevalent in the recordings in these areas. The Middleburg males also talked a great deal about religion. Semantical differences may not be as noticeable in discussing religion and football.

Variables other than locale may have affected the results of this study. Socio-economic level, bidialectical subjects, exposure, isolation and education need to be considered. Further studies are recommended in each of these areas.

Likenesses and differences are apparent in the historically located Black communities of Green Cove Springs, Middleburg and Orange Park. These factors are measurable and recordable as demonstrated by this study.

When questioned about their feelings toward the use of Black English, some Black adults in all three areas felt that Blacks must learn to speak Standard English in order to compete in today's society. Only two of the Black adults interviewed felt that the pressure to conform to Standard English was another form of prejudice.

In many cases Blacks become bidialectical due to pressure from the white society to master Standard English and pressure from the Black counterparts to maintain Black English. Many Blacks resent other members of their community that imitate the speech of whites. The "push-pull

momentum cannot be ignored (Smitherman, 1977). The controversy continues. America remains ethnocentric in regard to the spoken word. Black English possesses a style of its own. To lose this part of our heritage, would be to ignore the fact that many of America's words were derived from the colorful Black language of Afro-Americans.



## APPENDIX A

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MORPHOLOGYPHONOLOGY

COPULA/AUXILLARY  
OMISSIONS (IS/ARE)

/TH/= /D/

ABSENT S/ES THIRD  
PERSON (HE WALK)

/TH/- /F/

HYPERCORRECTION  
(WE TALKS)

ABSENT /R/

ABSENT PLURAL MARKER  
(TWO DOG)

DELETES MIDDLE  
CONSONANT (DOOR=DO)

ABSENT POSSESSIVE  
(JACK DOG)

DELETES FINAL  
CONSONANT (GIFT-GIF)

COMPLETE ACTION AUXILLARY  
(HE DONE GONE)

STRESS PATTERN  
VARIATION

BE AS MAIN VERB

BEGINNING BLEND  
VARIATION

BEEN AS DISTANT PAST

IS/ALL PERSONS/NUMBER

THEY/YOU AS POSSESSIVES  
(THEY CAR)

THEM AS SUBJECT/OBJECT

DOUBLE PLURAL (FEETS)

NO MARKER THIRD PERSON  
SINGULAR (HE WORK HERE)

SYNTAXSEMANTICS

NO QUESTION INVERSION  
(WHERE THE STORE IS?)

---

NOTE WORD MEANING VARIATION  
i.e. BAD FOR GOOD

---

RETAINS SUBJECT PRONOUN  
(THE DOG, HE)

---

NO VERB COPULA  
(HE BAD)

---

OMITS HAVE FORMS  
(HE GONE)

---

REMOTE TIME STRUCTURE  
(I BEEN DONE THAT)

---

MULTIPLE NEGATIVES

---

UNINFLECTED FUNCTION OF  
VERB TO BE

---

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