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ABSTRACT

This report is an overview of the most frequently recurring grammatical structures in the speech of ten-year-old to twelve-year-old black children from lower socioeconomic neighborhoods in Baltimore. The speech sample consists of three types of speech situations: playing games with peers, talking with an older white interviewer, and telling stories. This report presents the similarities between Baltimore Non-standard Negro English (BNNE) and Standard English (SE) as well as the differences, using a structural approach. Several important grammatical variables were chosen on which to perform some statistical counts. The results of these counts are presented in the appendix. They deal with the following features of BNNE: noun plural formation, possessive markers, past tense formation, presence versus absence of present tense auxiliary "be/copula," auxiliary "be/copula" past tense (i.e., "was" versus "were"), and the various forms of "have." (Author)

A GRAMMATICAL OVERVIEW OF

BALTIMORE NON-STANDARD NEGRO ENGLISH

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Special thanks are due the children whose speech was the object of this study for their willing and enthusiastic cooperation, and also those people in the Baltimore City Schools and the Baltimore community who assisted in the collection of the speech samples.

ABSTRACT

This report is an overview of the most frequently recurring grammatical structures in the speech of 10-12 year old black children from lower socio-economic neighborhoods in Baltimore. The speech sample consists of three types of speech situations: playing games with peers, talking with an older white interviewer, and telling stories. This report presents the similarities between Baltimore Non-standard Negro English (BNNE) and Standard English (SE) as well as the differences, using a structural approach.

Several important grammatical variables were chosen on which to perform some statistical counts. The results of these counts are presented in the appendix. They deal with the following features of BNNE: noun plural formation, possessive markers, past tense formation, presence vs. absence of present tense auxiliary be/copula, auxiliary be/copula past tense (was vs. were), and the various forms of have.

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General Background

The purpose of this report is to provide a description of the non-standard English spoken by Negro children in some of the lower socio-economic status neighborhoods of Baltimore. The work was conducted as part of the Program for the Study of Standard Language Acquisition, and as such represents an aspect of the descriptive work which was carried out for the purpose of developing teaching materials in standard English.

Within the last few years a number of linguists have begun to describe the non-standard varieties of speech found in the United States and to attempt to relate their description to the function of language varieties in society. Particular interest has been shown in the speech of lower-class Negroes, especially in large urban areas. Representative studies are those of Labov et al[1], Loman[2], Wolfram[3] and Shuy, Wolfram and Riley.[4] A practical point of concern has been with the language of school-aged children and with the question as to the extent to which speaking a non-standard variety of English may be a factor in the generally lower academic performance of lower-class black children. A review of this area is provided by Gasden[5], and an earlier statement of the pedagogical implications of non-standard speech was made by Stewart.[6]

There are at least two major theories which are put forth to account for the lower class black child's non-achievement in the public schools, and most studies of these children's speech reflect one or the other theoretical position. These theories have been called the deficiency model and the difference model. A critique of these positions and citations of relevant studies is provided by Dever.[7] The deficiency model lays great stress on the traditional norms of the public schools and on the observation that lower-class black children perform poorly on the

conventional tests of achievement. These children do not speak often in the classroom. If they do speak, they are reported to use "incomplete sentences" and "bad grammar." These observations are interpreted to indicate cognitive deficiencies and poorly developed or incomplete language systems.[8] The fact that the child's performance may fall progressively farther below the expectations of the school as he advances into the upper grades is accepted as further evidence of this deficit.[9]

The difference model accepts the observations made by proponents of the deficiency model, but with an important difference in attitude: the speech of the children is not judged on a scale of "good" versus "bad." A proponent of this model would not say that the child uses "bad" grammar, but that he uses a different, though fully systematic grammar. The positive contribution of the difference model, however, is the additional observation that the lower-class black child is proficient in other non-academic, speech situations--that he is fluent in speaking with his peers.[10] An attempt is then made to explain the discrepancy between poor performance in school and verbal fluency in peer-group activities. The child's poor school performance is viewed as a product of the conflict between his own peer and home behaviors and the school norms. The conflict may develop as the result of different value systems, different ways of recognizing social status, different styles of social interaction, but, most important, of different linguistic systems.

The present report accepts the attitudinal orientation of the difference model and supports as well its observation of the children's fluency in peer-group speech situations. However, an important emphasis of this study is not only the presentation of differences between standard English and the variety here described, but also the presentation of the similarities

between the two varieties of English.

Such an approach is consonant with the purpose of this report, which is to provide a description of the language behavior which must serve as a starting point for instruction in the standard language. The teacher, the school administrator or the writer of instructional materials will be concerned, not only with how the child's language differs from standard English, but also with how it resembles standard English.

Limitations on the scope of this report are presented in the following section in which the speakers and speech styles studied are described.

Collection of Language Samples

Parent-child game. The primary linguistic samples consisted of recorded conversations of 10-12 year old boys. This age group was chosen as representing an important subject population for instruction in oral standard English. Labov's work in New York indicated that this age group might be young enough not to be too hard pressed by peer pressures against learning standard English.[11] This time is also vital to a child's academic progress since in junior and senior high school, the curriculum focuses increasingly on substantive subject matter, while assuming proficiency in standard English.

Tape recordings were made by a white male interviewer at several Community Action Agencies in two inner city areas of Baltimore.[12] In these sessions, the boys played a game called Parent-Child.[13] It requires some linguistic activity on the part of the players as they bargain with each other to get points. In addition to the conduct of the game, sessions allowed for spontaneous conversational interchanges among the children.

This technique for elicitation of peer speech provided speech corpora for fourteen boys recorded over a period of eight months. The recordings

from several early sessions were discarded because a large proportion of time was spent by the interviewer in explaining how to play the game. The remaining sessions were relatively free of such intervention, and the boys became increasingly relaxed as they became accustomed to the recording setting.

In summary, these corpora are the product of a group of children who knew each other previously and who carried out the same activity repeatedly in sessions which were spaced over an extended period of time. These factors provided a check on the regularity of speech behavior over a period of time.

Interviews. A second sample source was tapped by interviewing some of the same children who had played the games and some who had not. This setting involved the children (some alone, some in pairs) in a speech context with an older white male. The general format was short question and answer interchange.

Narratives. A third source of speech was obtained by asking children to relate a recent episode of their favorite television show and/or to explain how to play one of their favorite neighborhood games.

Three of the boys who had played the games and participated in the interviews gave additional narrative samples. Three other boys from the same population as the game boys provided television episodes and game explanations. In addition, eight boys and girls from a Baltimore City grade school[14] were interviewed and asked to relate a television episode and describe a neighborhood game.

Is the Lower Class Black Child's Speech English?

Several investigators have suggested that the differences between standard English (SE) and Non-standard Negro English (NNE) are so basic

that NNE should be considered a different language instead of a dialect of English.[15] This view of differences seems too extreme for the corpora of Baltimore speech considered here.

Whereas most of the differences entail a NNE variation of a SE grammatical feature (e.g., the range of negation: SE I didn't see anything. vs. NNE I ain't see nothing.), at least one difference involves an entirely new category in NNE: the uninflected finite- be verb. SE does not formally mark the difference between Temporal (i.e., specified for time) and A-temporal, (e.g., I'm winning now., vs. Sometimes when I'm winning, she wants to quit.), whereas NNE commonly marks the difference (e.g., I'm winning now., vs. Sometimes when I be winning, she always be wanting to quit.). Although the meaning of this uninflected- be form is still subject to debate, it appears that the sets of SE and NNE examples above are semantically equivalent. The only difference is that whereas NNE marks out two areas of meaning by am/is/are:was/were vs. be, SE does not.

The relative ease of communicating with these children in situations in which they appear to feel at ease seems to be an indication of the mutual intelligibility of the two varieties.[16] The implications of this point are not clear, however, in light of our relative ignorance of the functioning of two similar linguistic systems which are coexistent in the same speaker, if indeed it can be said that linguistic systems can coexist in one speaker.[17]

After studying the speech of these children, it is still hypothesized that this variety is an English speech variety. The label Baltimore Non-Standard Negro English, though long, was chosen to designate: 1) geographical location of the speakers of this language variety, 2) the variety's sociolinguistic status (= Non-standard), 3) ethnic identification of the variety's speakers, and 4) the variety's language class membership

(= English).

Different non-standard varieties of English could also be designated with this set of descriptors, but further descriptors might be necessary, such as origin of its speakers.

Outline of the Analysis

The analysis followed the traditional procedures of comparison and tabulation of forms in the transcribed corpora. The analysis sought to identify the recurring aspects of speech which could provide clues to the structure of BNNE.

The assumptions carried into the analysis dealt with the concept of what Language, or a language, is and what it is not. The author's concept has been strongly influenced by structural linguistics, and especially by Garvin's formulation of the structuralist framework as a "definitional model of language."[18]

Garvin defines language by its peculiar structural properties. He selects "three sets of levels: two levels of structuring, the phonemic and morphemic respectively; two levels of organization, namely selection and arrangement; and several levels of integration, along which the scale of units of increasing complexity is arranged."[19] Briefly, it is expected that a language will have units, relationships and a hierarchy of structures.

The Format of the BNNE Grammar

The concept of a hierarchy of increasingly complex grammatical structures provided the basic organizational principle for this outline of BNNE grammar. At the bottom of the hierarchy are basic structural units defined by covariance of form and meaning. At the top of the hierarchy are highly complex units, the internal structures of which consist of clusterings and groupings of lower level units.

The basic grammatical structure of BNNE can be set forth on five levels.[20] The five levels are:

5. Sentences (clusters of clauses) -- not treated in this description

4. Clauses (the primary level of syntactic structure)

3. Phrases (including sublevels: Noun Phrase; Prepositional Phrase = Preposition + Noun Phrase)

2. Morpheme clusters (in which some morphemes are bound)

1. Morphemes (basic units of form-meaning covariance)

Of the five levels, only morphemes have no internal grammatical structure. Levels 2 - 5 describe a continuum of increasing potential grammatical complexity. That is, as one progresses from level 2 through level 5, the grammatical structures become increasingly complex.

This study does not represent an exhaustive analysis of the components at each level. However, the major grammatical categories at each level have been selected for description. By major is meant those categories which are represented in utterances in all the texts, such as the determiner system, the tense-aspect system, the systems of negation. Within these categories are found those differences which are most frequently cited as distinguishing BNNE from SE. Here, too, can be noted the preponderantly similar basic grammatical structure of these two varieties of English.

Footnotes

[1]William Labov, Paul Cohen, Clarence Robins & John Lewis, "A Study of the Non-standard English of Negro and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City," U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Cooporative Research Project No. 3288, 1968. Eric Reprint AL 001 821.

[2]Bengt Loman, Conversations in a Negro American Dialect, Washington D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics, 1967.

[3]Walter A. Wolfram, A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech, Washington D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969.

[4]Roger W. Shuy, Walter A. Wolfram, and William K. Riley, Field Techniques in an Urban Language Study, Washington D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics, 1968.

[5] Courtney B. Cazden, "Subcultural Differences in Child Language: an Interdisciplinary Review," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development, 1966, 12 (3), 185-219. Reprinted as Reprint No. 7 of Harvard R & D center on Educational Differences.

[6]William A. Stewart (Ed.), Non-Standard Speech and the Teaching of English, Language Information Series, No. 2, Washington D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics, 1964.

[7]Richard B. Dever, "Linguistic Aspects of Culturally Disadvantaged Children," in E. Philip Trapp and Philip Himmelstein (Eds.), Readings on the Exceptional Child, Research and Theory, (Revised Ed.) (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1969, in press. Pp. 9-10 of the prepublication copy.

[8]Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelmann, Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.

[9]For a discussion of the cumulative deficit hypothesis in relation to language development, see Martin Whiteman and Martin Deutsch, "Social Disadvantage as Related to Intellective and Language Development," in Martin Deutsch, Irwin Katz and Arthur R. Jensen (Eds.), Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.), 1968.

[10]William Labov, "The Logic of Nonstandard English," in James E. Alatis (Ed.), 20th Annual Roundtable Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, No. 22 (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press), 1969, pp. 1-43.

[11]William Labov and Clarence Robins, "A Note of the Relation of Reading Failure to Peer-Group Status in Urban Ghettos," Record, 1969, 70 (5), 395-405.

[12]Areas were selected on the basis of 1960 census data and a 1964 Baltimore City report. Areas were characterized by four factors: 1) Percentage of non-white residents (83% and 100% respectively), 2) Median family income ($3,254 and $2,404, respectively),3) Percentage of dilapidated buildings (35% and 30% respectively), and 4) Median education (in years) of head of household (5.0 years and 6.5 years respectively).

[13]Paul T. McFarlane, Pilot Studies of Role Behaviors in a Parent-Child Simulation Game, Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools, Report No. 39, Feb., 1969.

[14]The census figures for this area are as follows: 1) Percentage of non-white residents (1960) 18%, 2) Median family income $5,266 (for blacks $4,769), 3) Percentage of dilapidated buildings 1%, 4) Median education of head of household in years 10.1 (for blacks 8.6). The 1960 figures for the census tract immediately south of the census area were felt to be more indicative of the social composition of the area in 1968, due to the radical changes which have taken place since 1960. These figures are as follows: 1) Percentage of non-white residents 76%, 2) Median family income $3,579 (for blacks $3,586), 3) Percentage of dilapidated buildings 9%, and 4) Median education in years 8.5 (for blacks 8.3).

[15]Marvin D. Loflin, "Negro Non-Standard and Standard English: Same or Different Deep Structure?," Orbis 18 (1), 1969, pp. 74-91.

[16]Although this statement is also cited by Shuy in Roger W. Shuy, "A Linguistic Background for Reading Materials," in Joan C. Baratz and Roger W. Shuy (Eds.), Teaching Black Children to Read (Washington D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics), 1969, pp. 117-137, the distinction between one's active use of the language, involving production and comprehension, and one's passive use, involving only comprehension, might also be put forth to account for the mutual intelligibility of these two varieties of speech. For example, lower class black children are known to have active facility in BNNE, while white middle class adults have active facility in SE. In the case where there is mutual intelligibility, it could be attributable to the fact that both the children and the adults have passive facility in each other's variety. This need not necessarily mean, however, that the two grammatical systems are similar enough to be called varieties of one language.

16 (cont.)
See also William Labov , "The Non-Standard Vernacular of the Negro Community: Some Practical Suggestions," Paper presented at the Seminar in English and Language Arts at Temple University, Philadelphia, May 17, 1967. ERIC Document # ED 016 947 - 24 - AL 000 689. and

William Labov , "Some Sources of Reading Problems for Negro Speakers of Non-Standard English," Paper presented at the National Council for the Teachers of English Spring Institute on New Directions in Elementary English, Chicago, March 5, 1966.

"...the differences between non-standard Negro English and standard English are slight compared to their similarities...", p. 10.

[17]Joshua A. Fishman, "Sociolinguistic Perspective on the Study of Bilingualism," Linguistics: An International Review, 1968, 39, 21-49 (see especially pp. 27-30, 2. Linguistic inquiry into bilingualism.).

[18]Paul L. Garvin, "The Definitional Model of Language," in Paul L. Garvin (Ed.), Natural Language and the Computer (New York: McGraw-Hill), 1963, pp. 3-22.

Paul L. Garvin, On Linguistic Method (The Hague: Mouton), 1964, especially pp. 7-11.

[19]Paul L. Garvin, 1964, Ibid.

[20]The question of how many levels to postulate was determined by noting the form and function of lower level units in more complex (i.e., higher) structures. A simple example can help to illustrate this.

1. I like dogs.
2. I like those dogs over there.

The morpheme cluster dog + -s (=plural) is a simple filler of the direct object slot in number 1. In number 2, the same cluster is only a part of the noun phrase, those big dogs over there, specifically, the head of the noun phrase. The noun phrase in toto is the filler of the direct object slot in number 2.
On the basis of this, three levels of description are postulated: 1) morpheme cluster, 2) phrase, and 3) clause. The structural configuration is as follows:

A. Morpheme cluster can fill a slot in phrase (as head of phrase), and in clause (as direct object of clause).
B. Phrase can fill a slot in clause (as direct object of clause), but not in morpheme cluster.

The Morpheme

As with any language variety, the grammatical structure of BNNE has as its foundation basic linguistic units called morphemes. The morpheme is the minimal form-meaning covariant unit of language. Form-meaning covariance is basic to the functioning of any linguistic system. Several examples may be useful in understanding form-meaning covariance: man differs from men by a vowel sound. Corresponding to the change in form is a change of the grammatical meaning: Plural. Man differs from man's by a consonant sound accompanied by a change of meaning: Possessive. And further, men differs from men's by a consonant sound accompanied by a change of grammatical meaning: Possessive. The same principle applies to verbs. See differs from saw by a vowel sound and is accompanied by a change of meaning: Past Tense.

Morpheme Clusters

The complexity and subtlety of BNNE (or any) linguistic structure is not accomplished by catenating morphemes indefinitely, but by clustering morphemes and subsequent clusters of morphemes according to conventions in an increasingly complex hierarchy.

The simplest morpheme clusters consist of two or three morphemes with relatively simple interrelationships. Some clusters are readily separated: Noun + Plural (man-men, girl-girls, tooth-teeth). Others are not so easily described. Some clusters require the investigation of linguistic context to complete the description. One class of the latter type is the noun-phrase determiner class.

Determiners. A determiner introduces a nominal phrase and limits the meaning of the following nominal. The analysis of determiners in BNNE yielded the following classes of morphemes.

1. A specificity designation
   (a) Definite
   (b) Indefinite
2. A proximity designation (for definite only)
   (a) Unspecified (a-proximate)
   (b) Near (proximate)
   (c) Far (non-proximate)
3. A number designation
   (a) Singular
   (b) Plural

The term proximity refers to temporal as well as spatial relationships (e.g., This time I want to be the child.).

The clustering of these morphemes is pictured in the following diagram.

		Definite			Indefinite
		Proximity			
		A-proximate	Proximate	Non-Proximate	
Number	Singular	the	this	that	a, any, some, every, etc.
	Plural		these	them	some, any, etc.

Figure 1

The BNNE Determiner

The BNNE determiner structure is like that of SE in most respects.

The differences from SE have to do with the form of certain determiners. For example, the BNNE plural non-proximate form is them (SE those). Secondly, there is only one form for the indefinite singular determiner: a /ə/. The use of them is a common characteristic of other non-Standard English (NE) varieties of Baltimore speech. Illustrating examples are rather easy to find in the corpora. Some of these follow.

Definite A-proximate

sg. That's the wrong one.

pl. That'd be giving you the points.

Definite Proximate

sg. I like this chair.

This time I want to be the child.

pl. Don't you got to put all these cards down, all these B's on here?

Definite Non-proximate

sg. He ain't gonna get that one either.

He got me that time.

pl. I order you to get them things up, boy.

Them cards over there is thicker than these.

Indefinite

sg. You a good guy.

You already gave a order on that one, I mean a agreement.

I'm gonna get me a Oriole hat, too.

Go ahead, pick any one of them.

You gotta make some agreement, Larry.

Yep, they was watching every move they made.

pl. If we hide some marbles, you c'find them, you can have them.

...and when they shoot any marbles out of the pot,
we'll pick them up and put them in our pockets.

The /ə/ segment of the definite determiners has been observed in New York speech by Labov (1964).[1] In BNNE and SE connected speech, /ə/ in the initial position is commonly lost or assimilated to the previous consonant: e.g., what's this [hwəs'sIs], cause this (boy) [k^həz'zIs], shove them ['səvðm], put this [p^hʊt'tIs] ~ [p^hʊt'dIs].

Nouns. The analysis of BNNE nouns discloses the following classes for morphemes.

1. Class
   (a) Count nouns (designated for number)
   (b) Mass (not specified for number)
2. Number
   (a) Singular
   (b) Plural (see Appendix A, pp. A-1FF. for more specific information relative to noun plural formation.)
3. Possession

The following diagram pictures the configuration of morphemes:

	count		mass	
	Unmodified	Possessive	Unmodified	Possessive
singular	man	man*	water	water*
plural	men	men*		

Figure 2

The BNNE Noun

*The possessive morpheme is rarely formed by the usual SE suffix -s. Possession is indicated rather by the positioning of a noun before a second noun accompanied by a \/ stress pattern.

Examples are plentiful. Under the category of count nouns:

Singular

...you gotta have a half a marble.

I almost busted that boy head.

The girl name was Billy.

Singular Possessive

She pushed her husband -- Penèlope húsband -- right in the water.

Geòrge cárds was in a different place.

When she came out, she had that làdy díamond right in her hand.

What your mòther náme then? Give him your mòther náme.

Then she stole $5,000 from her hùsband bánk.

Plural

You tell everyone to put their feets in, and you say like this, "Tarzan was in a tree and he fell out."

He said, "If you got but two hands you can do it."

I know what every last one them numbers is.

You got so sharp eyes on you, you know.

Plural Possessive

I can look at the people cards, can't I?

Sometime they call him the marble king -- when they win all the people marble, they call him the marble king.

Mass Nouns

You don't have to come straight home from school if you wear your hair the way I want you to.

Hey, George, don't take too much money --

You better go downstairs and drink some water.

Pronouns. The pronoun can function as a phrase constituent: in a prepositional phrase as the object of the preposition (to them), noun

phrase as a possessive attributive (my house), compound noun phrase as a head (me and George). Pronouns can be clause constituents and fill the subject, direct object, indirect object, predicate nominative, or the possessive nominal slots.

The analysis of BVNE pronouns isolated the following classes of morphemes.

1. A number designation
   (a) Singular
   (b) Plural
2. A person designation
   (a) First person
   (b) Second person
   (c) Third person
3. A gender designation (for third person singular only)
   (a) Masculine
   (b) Feminine
   (c) Neuter

There is a fourth formal class which designates the grammatical slot in which the pronoun functions, a case designation. A complete array of these case forms follows:

He likes cats. (subject)

Cats like him. (direct object)

People give him stray cats. (indirect object)

He bought himself a Siamese. (reflexive indirect object)

Cats just seem to come to him. (object of preposition)

That Persian is his favorite cat. (possessive attributive)

Every cat you see around here is his. (possessive nominal)

The following chart shows how the morphemes cluster and the BNNE forms for the specified clusters.

	Subject	Object	Reflexive	Attributive 1	Attributive 2
SINGULAR					
1st person	I	me	(myself)	my	mine
2nd person	you	you	yourself	you(r)	yours
3rd person masculine	he	him	hisself	his	his
3rd person feminine	she	her	(herself)	her	(hers)
3rd person neuter	it	(it)	(itself)		
PLURAL					
1st person	we	(us)	(ourself)	our	(ours)
2nd person	you all	(you all)		(you alls)	
3rd person	they	them	themself	thei(r)	(theirs)

Figure 3

The BNNE Pronouns

() indicates that examples of this form were not found in the corpora.

There is one major form which is not found in general SE: the second person plural you all, which is also characteristic of Standard Southern speech. One variety of English spoken by Baltimore whites with origins in Eastern Virginia has the second person plural form youse (/yuwz/ or /yuwz/) as in Where is youse going?, What time will youse be back?

BNNE examples are presented by functional slot.

Subject

I want Anthony to play me.

Object

I know he can't beat me.

You in the tenth grade.

He in the tenth grade.

It don't be open on Monday.

We were scared.

Y'all gonna play with us?

They wanted it to break.

I betcha I could beat you though.

You could a ordered him.

They made it that way.

Y'all gonna play us?

I heard you all.

You shuffle them up?

Indirect Object

Mama ain't gonna give me no whippin'.

You better go buy you some clothes, boy.

You gave him twenty points right there.

We ain't gonna give 'em nothin'.

Object of Preposition

You shouldn't a done this to me.

Show you what I'm gonna do to you.

Don't whisper nothin' to him.

Bof of us got zero.

I beat both of you all.

We asked you on all of 'em.

Reflexive

(a) Subject Iterative

I say, "go look for it yourself."

(b) Direct Object:

And he took and blindfold hisself.

You better go downstairs and cool yourself off.

(c) Indirect Object:

You got yourself a deal.

I'm gonna get me a Oriole hat.

(d) Object of Preposition

Boys always want to be on a team by themself.

You take it for yourself.

Well, you let him talk for hisself.

Possessive Attributive

Then my mother took and put on her jacket and rushed out the house.

I order you to do your homework.

And then Casper turned back to his normal self.

...and when he shoot any marbles out of the pot, we'll pick them up and put them in our pockets.

They had to get back in the window turn back to their normal self.

Possessive Nominal

let's see what mine say.

Put yours down, boy.

So he's got a agree on his, right?

Adverbs. Adverbs modify verbs, verb phrases, whole predicates, whole clauses, and nouns (usually following the noun: The man downstairs...).

There are four general classes of adverbs in SE[2] according to broad meaning: emphatic adverbs, manner adverbs, temporal adverbs, and locative adverbs. Each class has distributional characteristics.

Emphatic adverbs emphasize a statement or express a reservation. Gleason cites always, usually, certainly as common emphatic adverbs. His characterization of emphatic adverbs is not complete enough to use as is. The justification for classifying always and usually as emphatic adverbs is in question. A more reasonable designation is temporal since these adverbs deal with one aspect of time description (i.e., restriction in time: never vs. usually vs. always.).

Gleason's defining criterion is purely distributional, that is, the emphatic adverb precedes the verb or auxiliary (when present). Given this syntactic criterion, there is no control on the homogeneity of the class. Homogeneity can be more nearly approximated by culling out obvious temporal, locative, and manner adverbs which leavee a reduced class of emphatic adverbs. ENNE examples of emphatic adverbs follow.

But you still beat.

You better not tear it.

It's really me against Larry.

These examples precede the verb. A group of clause-final adverbs performs the emphatic function as well.

He ain't gonna get that one anyway.

I'd rather be parent anyhow.

He ain't gonna get none nohow.

I didn't break no order either.

You better not open your mouth neither.

Manner adverbs answer questions containing how.

Don't read so slow.

I'm gonna play it cool today.

His cards wasn't arranged too good.

The relative manner adverb appears with a catenative verb construction.

You don't know how to play good enough.

Temporal adverbs answer questions containing when. Temporal adverbs designate various time parameters. One group of temporal adverbs fixes a point in time.

I'm gonna play it cool today.

I wanna play you now.

Another group designates time up until a point X.

I ain't said nothing yet.

He still haven't caught up with me, though.

We already played.

Yet and still occur with negative constructions, already with positive. The former are mutually exclusive in that yet occurs clause-final, still pre-verbal.

Another dimension is restriction in time. Never/ever indicates complete restriction.

He never want to lose them points.

They didn't never know that she was stealing all that stuff.

Nobody ever beat me.

Always indicates complete unrestriction.

I know you bad, cause you always bad.

Several adverbs indicate partial restriction in time.

Sometimes you get them hot.

He don't beat him often.

The relative temporal adverb is often used.

When you say it, say "for instance" so I know.

Locative adverbs are answers to questions containing where.

This go here, Kal.

I been outside playing.

If you come straight home from school.

I can't get too close to him.

The interrogative and relative locative adverb where is common.

Where's the dog at?

You're telling where to look at.

A fifth type of adverb might be called an adverb of degree. These adverbs answer questions containing how much.

I ain't help him none.

He brag too much.

Adjectives. Adjectives modify nouns. The two syntactic environments in which BNNE adjectives occur are the attributive position of a noun phrase and the absolute position (as a subject complement) in a clause. The adjective can stand alone or it may be intensified or limited.

Adjectives in attributive position follow, including examples with intensifiers and limiters.

All these little guys jump the big guys.

He got different cards, don't he?

He a friendly ghost.

Don't take too much money.

They take off so many points.

Me and him take boys real big.

Following are examples of the adjective in absolute position, some with intensifiers and limiters.

You slick, boy.

Anthony ain't naughty.

...they is young...

Like if they be wrong, we pick up a stick and beat them.

A hudgy marble is real fat.

It's too cold.

Birdman ain't so good.

He just bad.

Adjectives are modified to indicate degree As in SE, there are

comparative (adjective + -er: more + adjective) and superlative (adjective + -est: the most + adjective) degrees.

There was this old house over there.

Two older brothers.

My parents is older than you are.

I'm the first oldest...

That's a good deal, man.

It might be a better place to sleep.

I'm the best scorekeeper.

Modifiers. BNNE has a group of modifiers traditionally called adverbs, though formal characteristics do not justify this inclusion.

Gleason[3] has noted four types: intensifiers, limiters, sentence introducers/sentence connectors, and a nameless class consisting of not and there.

Intensifiers modify adjectives and adverbs, but not verbs. BNNE examples with an adverb are:

Don't read so slow.

I got my head mighty far, George...

...you cheat too much.

I bet your zero point's right there.

Intensifiers differ from adverbs in that adverbs occur in absolute position. Intensifiers do not.

He's slow.

*He's so.

Examples with an adjective follow.

It's too cold.

I'm being very nice to you.

You got so sharp eyes on you, you know.

As with adverbs, BNNE adjectives occur in absolute position while intensifiers do not.

It's cold.

*It's very.

Limiters modify phrases of all kinds. Common limiters are only, just, even. BNNE examples are:

Only way you'll beat is put me out...

Peewee only got one.

I only could wink one eye.

He say he don't want nobody to touch it. Not even type on it.

I just did like that.

I'm just telling them.

He just now said it.

There ain't no mother and father, just the parents.

Common SE sentence introducers/sentence connectors are nevertheless, however and furthermore. There are no BNNE examples in the corpora.

Gleason's fourth class consists of the items not and there (not the locative adverb). The class does not seem well-motivated, but serves rather as a catch all for fall-out from the other classes. Not is treated in the section on BNNE negation (p.

There is a semantically empty clause introducer in SE. There is rarely used in BNNE. A common BNNE functional equivalent to there is it.

By semantically empty is meant that there does not refer to a previous noun phrase and does not by itself have a semantic referent. The following examples are representative of BNNE.

It was a show on named "Flipper."

It was this outlaw...

When -- it was a fire -- and, he went up there, and it was a little baby in the fire. It was a house on fire and the little baby was in there.

Verbs. The BNNE verb forms provide an interesting picture by comparison with SE, the most notable differences being 1) the absence of a third person singular form of the BNNE finite verb in the present tense (e.g., What do that mean?), 2) the absence in BNNE of an Auxiliary be/Copula form in present tense with certain subjects, 3) the partial loss or complete absence of the auxiliary have in present relative: past constructions, and 4) the existence of a single past tense form of the Auxiliary be/Copula (the BNNE preferred form is I was..., You was..., We was...). The following diagram presents these differences more clearly.

	Present				Past			
	BASE	1sg.	2sg. pl.	3sg.	1sg. 3sg.	2sg. pl.	Process	Participle
1.								
SE	do ←----------			does	did	←---←	doing	done
BNNE	do ←----------			←---←	did/done	←-←	doin	done
2.								
SE	be[1]	am	are	is	was	were	being	been
BNNE	be[1]	'm	ø	ø /is	was ←----	←---←	bein	been
3.								
SE	have ←----------			←has	had	←---←	having	had
BNNE	have/a	ø	ø	ø	(h)had	←-←	havin	had
4.								
SE	can ←----------			←---←	could	←-←		
BNNE	can ←----------			←---←	could	←-←		

Figure 4

The BNNE Verb

1. Be has different significance in SE and BNNE.

These differences will be further explained in the description of the verb phrases (p. 45ff.).

The base and present forms of the four types of BNNE verbs are as follows.

1. Main Verb: do

   How come you do it that way?

   What we gonna do with that?

   Do that taste good?[4]

   Birdman don't play so good.[4]

2. Auxiliary be/Copula

   I'm gonna be mean.

   Let me be the parent.

   It be half a marble. You split it in half.

   Verb: Copula in present tense.

   I'm a rag man, you know.

   You a bad boy.[5]

   He the child.[5]

   Alexander Mundy is the best.

   That's the game.

The above paradigm shows that there is not always a copula form in the present tense. The first person singular subject form is invariable as in I'm a rag man. For the remainder of the paradigm, absence and presence of the copula is predictable by phonological conditioning. Central to the conditioning process are hypothetical, underlying forms of the Auxiliary be/Copula for second and third person singular, and plural subjects.

Monosyllabic subjects which end in a vowel have a zero copula marker (e.g., That's [dæ] the game. It's [I] a deal.). This -s is the

contracted form of the underlying form *is* followed by phonological simplification of [ɪs] to [s].

In two cases ending in neither a stop consonant nor a vowel (*these*, *this*), it is theorized that the contracted form of *is* (*-s*) merges with the final sound of the preceding word, here the subject (*This a trick.*). The final sibilant is sometimes lengthened, a common occurrence also in SE rapid speech, (*This is a trick* [ðɪsːeˈtʰrɪk]) and sometimes it is not, (*This a trick* [ðɪseˈtʰrɪk]).

Verbs: Justification for positing underlying forms. The preceding statements assume that there are Auxiliary *be*/Copula forms underlying the speaker's performance and that the specific form he uses is shaped with regard to the phonological environment of its potential occurrence.

Two contrasting groups of utterances indicate the existence of two different underlying forms in constructions where the copula is commonly lost. One group has a third person singular subject and the other has second person singular or plural subjects.

Following interrogative pronouns or noun phrases the copula *is* form appears either in its full form or its contracted form (*-s*). The examples under b. below with third person singular subjects show this pattern. In a., where the subjects are second person singular, the copula is not indicated overtly. The underlying *are* form of the copula is completely absent in the identical environment where an underlying *is* would be realized as *-s*.

a. What you doin, boy? (phonologically [watʃuw], not *[watsyuw]).
   Which way you starting?
   Where them cards I gave you? Where them cards?
   How you all gonna get out there?

b. What's your name? What is your name? I asked you what is your name?

What is it?

What kind of machine is this?

Where's the lady at?

In summary, this evidence points to the existence of three underlying Auxiliary be/Copula markers (including the -m marker for first person singular).

Verbs: Other syntactic constructions manifest copula marking process. Forms of the copula are found in other syntactic configurations, such as 1) the initial constituent in a question, and 2) the final constituent in an embedded clause. In utterances where the copula is emphasized, the full is form is found accompanied by emphatic stress.

Questions with copula as the initial constituent are numerous. Some examples are:

Is that right? Is you Greenman?

Ain't no twenties, is it?

Ain't it the prairie wind that blow you down?

On the other hand, questions which might be considered the same type have no Auxiliary be/Copula marker.

We gonna get paid today?

But we comin the week after next?

She the parent? I mean, she the child?

They Diane's?

This the last we playin?

One point of view is that the above examples are questions formed by using question intonation with the statement syntactic order. One example hints that there is a distinct question word order.

That me?

If this were That's me?, the interpretation that intonation is the only indication of the question would be justified. As a corollary, the immediately preceding examples could also be viewed as questions marked only by intonation. The absence of -s in That me? however indicates a different underlying pattern: underlying initial is which is liable to loss. The preceding examples are ambiguous with regard to these two interpretations in contrast to That me? which is not ambiguous. Further examples of this non-ambiguous form are needed, however, to make a stronger case for the hypothesis.

A number of examples have the copula as the final constituent in embedded clauses of Clause Types VIII He is here.; IX He is good.; and X He is a football player.

I told you how Alexander Mundy is.

Ain't you gonna look at them so you know where they is?

In embedded clauses with no inversion, absence or presence of the copula is governed by the same principles which determine the shape of the initial paradigm.

You supposed to...see what is the highest point.

Everybody know you _ a lady.

I bet your zero point's right there.

Larry say he _ Birdman.

Some examples of the stressed copula are the following:

You ís her.

Hey, George, who ís you?

Whose ís they?

Verbs: Uninflected finite - 'be' marks a distinctive BNNE morphological category. Uninflected Auxiliary be/Copula is used as a finite

verb and is one of the most noted aspects of NNE. It is a regular feature of BNNE.

There are some pseudo-examples of finite be. These are thought to occur as the result of the loss of an underlying will as the result of co-occurring adverbials. The following are considered to be instances of loss of will.

I be the child this time.

You be child next game.

Then we be going home?

The adverbials make the A-temporal meaning[6] (associated with the finite - be construction) highly unlikely.

The occurrence of certain adverbs with be is the most reliable feature for identifying finite be constructions as well as for the interpretation of its meaning. Finite-be may indicate repetition, recurrence (or potential occurrence), but it always indicates that no specific time designation is intended, hence the term A-temporal. Examples with adverbials are as follows:

> When I be mad and the teacher -- One person be bad, I be mad at the teachers because teacher punish the whole class sometime for one person.
>
> Sometimes, when I be home, and I be doin my homework...
>
> And me, Jimmy, we always be the father. Nobody else don't be the father.
>
> Everytime we be outside playin a game and somebody been out...

Common adverbs occurring with finite-be are never, always, sometimes, and everytime. Sometimes and everytime often co-occur with when or if. Adverbs which inhibit the use of finite-be are once, one time, one night, etc., and last night, last week, etc., all denoting specific time.

Some finite-be forms appear with no adverb.

I be Alexander Mundy.

It be a half a marble.

They be so mad they just want to start up a fight.

3. Auxiliary 'have' [7]

Have occurs in a number of grammatical constructions in different forms. These forms represent degrees of contraction on a scale from full form to ∅. The contraction of Auxiliary have is determined primarily by its syntactic position. Following a modal auxiliary, the reduced form a is most common.

If I would a had eight there...

You could a ordered him.

This reduction is also common in SE.

Preceding a participial form of the main verb, BNNE commonly loses any trace of the Auxiliary have.

What I done wrong?

I never been to a basketball game.

All he been doin is sittin around...I been outside playin.

It is likely that someone would question this interpretation of the above constructions. In any case, the following example seems to greatly strengthen the case for an underlying have.

And Larry, he never beat me. Irving haven't and Peewee haven't either.

Verbs: Is 'have' a part of BNNE structure? The presence of Auxiliary have in the grammatical structure of NNE has been questioned on several occasions. The argument usually takes this form: since NNE is a consistent, self-contained speech variety, one cannot generalize for BNNE from SE. For example, since have precedes a participle in SE, a participle

with no finite preceding it in BNNE need not mean that BNNE has an underlying have which has subsequently been lost.

The logic of this argument is sound. Yet it is on the basis of internal structure that the Baltimore data seem to lead in the direction of positing an underlying form of the auxiliary preceding the participle (e.g., the example above under Auxiliary have preceding a participle.)

The phonetic composition of the auxiliary does make it very unstable in connected speech: [h] is commonly lost in BNNE (You afta go now), and [v] is easily assimilated or lost. This observation is by no means conclusive. On the basis of a further observation, however, the underlying form seems more justified. This further bit of information is that the negativized form of the auxiliary occurs often enough in two forms for one to realize that it is not just an occasional borrowing from SE, but rather that it is a consistent structural feature of BNNE.

He still haven't caught up with me, though.

I haven't been doing much but fixing my bike.

A second negative form of have (i.e., ain't) has a number of examples.[8] The difference between ain't + Participle and haven't + Participle has no meaning change associated with it. Ain't is, incidentally, the more common varient.

I ain't broke no agreement.

That ain't come on yet. It comes on Fridays.

We ain't agreed on it yet.

I ain't never seen them before.

4. Modal ban'

Examples of modal auxiliaries follow.

You lucky you can change.

Can we go out later than ten o'clock?

You can't say one word.

But they can't beat me.

The past forms of the four types of verbs are as follows (from p.26).

1. Main Verb: did

I just did like that.

We already did that one.

I didn't know what they did.

2. Auxiliary 'be'/Copula: was

And I was nice to you.

You was on this one and this one.

It was about Casper the Friendly Ghost.

We didn't see all of it. We was downstairs.

They was already on there.

My mother and them was in the living room so they couldn't hear.

3. Auxiliary 'have': 'had'

Her husband had gave her 11,000 dollars to buy this yellow dress.

...everywhere he go, his father had been there...

It was Thursday. Yeah, Thursday, cause my brothers had went to Boy Scout.

All the fire had gone cause they saw him.

4. Modal (could here is not strictly Past in meaning).

He asked me could he change, and I told him he couldn't.

Y'all said that y'all could go out Saturday night, but I said y'all couldn't.

Couldn't nobody else beat me though.

The process forms are found only with the BNNE main verb and the

Auxiliary be/Copula (p. 26). Examples follow.

1. Main Verb: doing

I ain't doing like George did.

All he been doing is sitting around.

Sometime, when I be doing something, and my mother see me doing it...

2. Auxiliary be/Copula

I'm being very nice to you.

The participal forms are represented by examples from the BNNE main verb and the Auxiliary be/Copula (p. 26). Examples follow.

1. Main Verb: done

What I done wrong?

How could I a done that?

She always was happy when she'd done it.

2. Auxiliary be/Copula: been

I been outside playing.

George hasn't been practicing.

I haven't been doing much but fixing my bike.

Footnotes

[1]William Labov, The Social Stratification of English in New York City (Washington D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics), 1966, pp. 244-265.

[2]H.A. Gleason, Jr., Linguistics and English Grammar (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965), pp. 129-132.

[3]Gleason, Ibid, pp. 129-132.

[4]Due to a lack of further examples of lexical do with the third person singular subject, the auxiliary do is used to illustrate the lack of agreement in BNNE.

[5]The inclusion of these examples in the paradigm is justified on the basis of related constructions: He not a bad boy., Anthony ain't naughty., You ain't the parent., You a naughty boy./ Yes, you is.

[6]The term A-temporal is borrowed from Marvin Loflin who used it in various working papers at C.A.L.. The phenomenon of NNE be is discussed widely in various sources: e.g., Fasold, Ralph W. "Tense and the Form BE in Black English," Sociolinguistics Program, Center for Applied Linguistics, Unpublished Paper.

[7]See Appendix, p. A-16ff. for further information relative to the design of instructional materials.

[8]This ain't is not the one associated with SE didn't (e.g., I ain't see the game.) or the one associated with SE aren't/isn't (You ain't the best player. or You ain't gonna beat me.). It appears that ain't can serve as a generalized negative auxiliary and copula, the differences between constructions being the form of the main verb following the auxiliary:

I ain't said...
I ain't say...
I ain't saying...
I ain't no baby.

Phrase Types

Proceeding from the description of lower level grammatical units to more complex, the next level encountered is the phrase level. The designation of a phrase level indicates a range of structures along a continuous scale of complexity.

There are several types of phrases in BNNE which can be conveniently described in terms of typological frameworks of the kind which Gleason has set up for the noun phrase.

The Noun Phrase. The typology for the English noun phrase (NP) is distributional. Each NP has a head (a noun) and the functional slots to the right and the left of the head are numbered consecutively: plus to the right and minus to the left. For example, to the left are the N-1, N-2...N-6 slots. To the right are the N+1 and N+2 slots. A simple code number is assigned to each slot. The code numbers simplify the classification of phrase tokens.

The NP typology is as follows:[1]

	Predeterminer	Determiner	Numeral	Adj....	Adj.	Noun	Head Noun	Adverb	Clause Prep. Phrase
Slot:	N-6	N-5	N-4	N-3	N-2	N-1	N	N+1	N+2
Code:	0	1	2	3	4	5	-	6	7
	only	the	three	mean...old		boxer	dogs	there	in the yard

BNNE NP tokens were assigned a code reference number. This number

was made up of the code digit(s) corresponding to the functional slot(s) which were filled for a given NP token. For example, the boy is a 1, all these cards is a 01, and this old house over there is a 146. Examples of the various NP types are listed according to their code numbers.

0. Predeterminer + Head

Ain't no mother and father, just parents.

1. Determiner + Head

I'm waiting for a answer.

He telling the answers.

Where them cards I gave you?

You gotta make some agreement, Larry.

I ain't got no wedding.

2. Numeral + Head

Peewee got two zeros.

That don't hurt me one bit.

...her husband had gave her 11,000 dollars to buy this yellow dress.

3/4. Adjective + Head

But they wasn't good parents.

You in bad shape.

He thought they was real ghos's.

5. Noun + Head

This is cattle country.

6. Head + Adverbial (no examples)

7. Head + Prepositional Phrase

He didn't put none of those things on.

01. Predeterminer + Determiner + Head

He obeyed all the orders.

Don't give me all them O's.

02. Predeterminer + Numeral + Head

There's only one thing I don't like about this--...

If you got but two hands you can do it.

03. - 06. (No examples)

07. Predeterminer + Head + Prepositional Phrase

We read all kinds of comic books in school.

12. Determiner + Numeral + Head

But that's twenty and you give away the zero points.

...and these three people, they is young...

13. Determiner + Adjective (1) + Head

Bof of us got the same thing on each side.

14. Determiner + Adjective (2) + Head

That's a good deal.

These the new style.

I'm the best scorekeeper.

15. Determiner + Noun + Head

I'm a rag man, you know.

I get that dog point, you know.

I'm gonna get me a Oriole hat, too.

16. Determiner + Head + Adverbial

I get the points over here.

What's the name of that street down there?

(A. What's number ten?) That one right there.

17. Determiner + Head + Prepositional Phrase

(What did you see?) A piece of white paper.

I don't like them kind of glasses.

23./24. Numeral + Adjective + Head

Two older brothers.

I have twenty-five more points.

25. - 27. (No examples)

34. Adjective + Adjective + Head

O there you are you little naughty boy.

012. - 013. (No examples)

014. Predeterminer + Determiner + Adjective + Head

Just a plain doctor?

They start playing all that bad music.

015. - 016. (No examples)

017. Predeterminer + Determiner + Head + Prepositional Phrase

I'm gonna order you all the rest of the way.

Just my brother in law. 11.1.12, LK

123. - 128. (No examples)

124. Determiner + Numeral + Adjective (2) + Head

...His three bad brothers, they always mess something up.

134. Determiner + Adjective + Adjective + Head

"Doctor, I'm madly in love with this nice beautiful girl."

135. (No examples)

136. Determiner + Adjective + Head + Adverb

We went to the same bridge where those people went at.

137. (No examples)

145. Determiner + Adjective (2) + Noun + Head

I think Frank was gonna be a great baseball player.

She say could they have a big cocktail party for all their friends.

146. Determiner + Adjective (2) + Head + Adverbial

There was this old house over there.

147. Determiner + Adjective (2) + Head + Prepositional Phrase/Clause

This the last game we get?

A little boy on his tricycle came in.

Some BNNE constructions do not fit the typology. One such construction is illustrated by the three examples following:

I know what every last one them numbers is.

You get one them other chairs you can'ts wheel around like that, cause you cheatin.

It be a half a marble.

In these examples, the meaning is clear. All three are similar to SE constructions which have the preposition of. Most likely the speed of articulation affects the loss of the labiodental spirant and the elision of the vowel, since the first two examples were uttered very rapidly. In the third example, the phonological environment is suspected of bringing about this loss: word-final [f] is homorganic with [v] of. This reduction is also common in other English dialects.

A second group of structures called "noun-phrase-like structures which lack head nouns"[2] does not fit the typology. Several types of these structures were found in BNNE (most are also found in SE).

But I'm gonna take off all the fifteen.

Let them two play.

He the youngest.

They my sister's.

BNNE, like SE, has compound NP structures which consist of two heads joined by a conjunction (usually and). The heads may be pronouns or nouns or a mixture of the two.

Compound BNNE phrases in which all heads are pronouns always use the object form, regardless of the phrase's function in the clause, even though BNNE differentiates the form of the pronoun used in the subject slot and the object slot: I know he can't beat me.

> When they leave, me and you gonna play and I bet you I beat.
>
> I thought you were just talkin about me and you.

Some BNNE compound phrases consist of a pronoun and a noun (usually a name) or a NP. As with the previous type of compounds, pronouns appear only in the object case. Three subtypes of compounds follow.

A. Pronoun + Name

> O.K. Me and Larry playin'.
>
> Mr._____told me and George come down to the center.

B. Pronoun + NP

> ...and den he was goin' out, him and his family, they was goin' out...
>
> ...me and this boy was fightin'; me and a little boy.
>
> Don't you remember when me and my cousin Jimmy came and he won me?
>
> Sometimes, me and my two brother-in-laws and my brother, and we go outside. We play baseball sometimes...

C. Name/Noun Phrase + Pronoun

> Last night, we was in bed playin', my mother and them was in the livin' room so they couldn't hear...
>
> Granny and them, they s'posed to have been on a...
>
> ...so he put Fred and Barney and his wife an' them up to the moon.

The examples under C. illustrate a construction characterized as a a collective. A paraphrase of the first example might be "my mother and a group of assorted people (closely associated in some way, as through

friendship of familial ties) were in the living room so they couldn't hear..."

The Adjective Phrase. The adjective phrase typology has fewer functional slots than the NP typology, and hence, fewer possible types of adjective phrases. The typology is as follows:

	Predeterminer (Limiter)	Degree (Intensifier)	Head	Specification
Slot:	A-2	A-1	Adj.	A+1
Code:	0	1	-	2
	just	too	high	for me

KNNE examples of various types are listed under appropriate code numbers.

0. Predeterminer + Head

He just bad.

1. Degree + Head

Man, that makes me so sick.

Birdman ain't so good.

You said 'no' too many times.

He gettin' kinda bad.

But you too late, now.

2. Head + Specification

I got more than you.

Not older than me.

01. - 02. (No examples)

12. (No examples)

012. (No examples)

The adjective phrase functions as a subject complement of a Clause Type IX (just as an adjective can function as a complement).

He just bad.

That'd be too many.

I'm too happy.

The adjective phrase functions as attributive of the head noun in a noun phrase.

This is a brand new silver diamond coat.

Me and him take boys real big.

They take off so many points.

You got so sharp eye on you, you know.

The Adverb Phrase. The adverb phrase typology is as simple as the adjective phrase. It appears as follows:

	Predeterminer (Limiter)	Degree (Intensifier)	Head	Specification
Slot:	Av-2	Av-1	Av	Av+1
Code:	0	1	-	2
	only	very	lightly	on the back

BNNE has the distinction between adjective phrase and adverb phrase, but the fillers for the slots in the two types may be the same (the use of 'good' as adverb as well as adjective). Examples of adverb phrase types follow.

0. Predeterminer + Head

He just now said it. Didn't you?

I think I winning so far.

1. Intensifier + Head

Birdman don't play so good.

I bet your zero point's right there.

He looked at him real hard.

I got my head mighty far, George...

2. Head + Specification

You don't know how to play good enough.

...the dog was running faster than the girl...

I's trying to tell him good as I could.

01. - 02. (No examples)

12. Intensifier + Head + Specification

I can't get too close to him.

You don't have to come straight home from school.

You all almost got the same things, see, right across from each other.

Adverbials. Adverb phrases and prepositional phrases can function as a simple adverb (i.e., modify verbs, verb phrases, whole predicates, whole sentences, and nouns). Any structure which can function thus is called an adverbial. Like adverbs, adverb phrases and prepositional phrases can modify clauses in different ways.

There are no examples of emphatic adverbials of the adverb phrase and prepositional phrase type. There are examples, however, of Manner, Temporal, and Locative adverbials.

Manner Adverbial

She went fast like a rocket.

...the dog was running faster than the girl...

I's trying to tell him good as I could.

Only way you'll beat is put me out...

His cards wasn't arranged too good.

Temporal Adverbial

He just now said it.

I think I winning so far.

Two can do it at a time.

It don't be open on Monday.

You be child next game.

I went to school and I used to come home every day.

I can't go swimming no more.

We went to Fort Smallwood a few times.

Locative Adverbial

Your shoulder in my way.

I never lived on a farm.

I got my head mighty far, George.

You all almost got the same things, see, right across from each other.

I can't get too close to him.

The Verb Phrase. As has been seen from the preceding description, verb stems (including auxiliaries) can be changed in form and meaning in relatively few ways.

Changes in meaning are the result of systematic changes in form. But, in a hierarchy, stems and markers are further combined syntactically into fused units. The sum of these verb fused units constitutes the BWNE verb phrase. The verb phrase (designated VP forthwith) consists of sub-structures which contribute to its complexity and subtlety. The complexity is great

enough such that description of the entire VP is beyond the scope of this paper.

The first sub-structure is the system of form-meaning covariances in the VP. The second is the system of catenative constructions. A third is the modal auxiliaries.

Since the form-meaning covariance[3] is most basic to the VP, it is considered first. Following that, BNNE catenative constructions are described.

Form-meaning covariances in the BNNE verb phrase. BNNE verb phrases have three parameters of form-meaning covariance: Temporality, Voice, and Aspect. Each is subdivided in several ways.

Temporality includes Temporal (i.e., designated for time) and A-temporal[4] (i.e., time not specified) categories. The A-temporal subcategory is distinctive in BNNE. In SE, a meaning roughly equivalent to the NNE A-temporal is indicated by the same form designating present tense (SE: I'm writing a letter now. I'm always writing letters.). In BNNE, the meaning difference is indicated in the verb phrase (BNNE: I'm writing a letter now. I always be writing letters.).

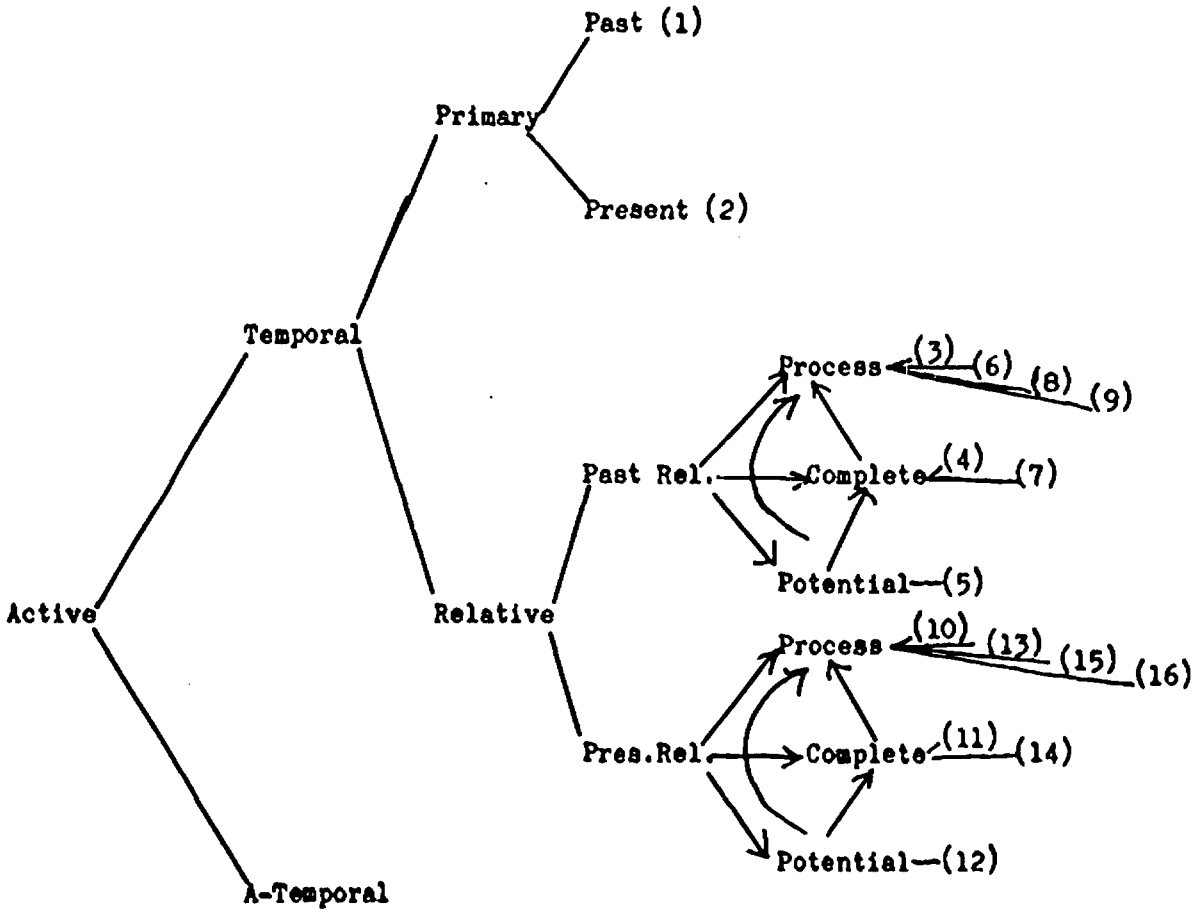
The A-temporal category is undifferentiated.

The Temporal category subdivides into Primary time and Relative time. Relative time is often referred to traditionally as the perfect.

Primary time subdivides into Past and Present. Relative time subdivides into Past Relative and Present Relative.

Relative time designations subdivide further by virtue of three aspects, tentatively designated Process, Complete, and Potential. Any one aspect, any combination of two, or all three aspects generate seven potential relative time designations.

A schematic diagram may help to clarify the category relationships. The numbers in parentheses are explained below.



The diagram is partly descriptive and partly predictive for BNNE since not all categories have attested examples. BNNE examples fit this framework, however, with no apparent contradictions. The following hypothetical examples are listed to clarify the diagram. The numbers accompanying the examples correspond to the numbers in the diagram.

A-Temporal - be eating; be.

Temporal

Primary	Past	(1) ate; was
	Present	(2) eat; -s, ∅, (i)s

Relative	Past Relative	Process	(3) was eating; was being
		Complete	(4) had eaten; had been
		Potential	(5) was gonna eat; was gonna be
		*Complete-Process	(6) *had been eating; *had been being
		*Potential-Complete	(7) *was gonna (a) eaten; *was gonna (a) been would (a) eaten; would (a) been
		*Potential-Process	(8) *was gonna be eating; *was gonna be being
		*Potential-Complete-Process	(9) *was gonna (a) been eating; *was gonna (a) been being
	Present Relative	Process	(10) -m eating; -m being
		Complete	(11) (have) eaten; (have) been
		Potential	(12) -m gonna eat; -m gonna be will eat; will be
		Complete-Process	(13) (have) been eating; (have) been being
		*Potential-Complete	(14) *-m gonna (a) eaten; *-m gonna (a) been *will (a) eaten; *will (a) been
		*Potential-Process	(15) *-m gonna be eating; *-m gonna be being will be eating; will be being

Temporal (cont.)

Relative (cont.)	Present Relative (cont.)	*Potential-Complete-Process	(16) *-m gonna (a) been eating; *-m gonna (a) been being; *will (a) been eating; *will (a) been being

*Categories indicated with an (*) have no examples in BNNE corpora. Those examples listed are predicted forms. The status of (a) /ə/ (reduced form of have) is uncertain. If lost, an ambiguous structure results, e.g., had eaten or had a eaten.

The following form-meaning covariances are consistent throughout the preceding paradigm:

Process = be V-ing

Complete = (h(a)ve) V-en

Potential = -m/ø/(i)s...gonna

BNNE examples of the categories follow.

Primary Time: Past[5]

I beat a game.

I just did like that.

He didn't do nothing wrong.

She ain't do nothing to me.[6]

I ain't gonna punish him cause he gave me a favor.

His cards wasn't arranged too good.

They had a draw.

Primary Time: Present[7]

He get five.

How come you do it that way?

I'm a rag man, you know.

You a bad boy.

You not the parent.

You ain't the parent.

He the child.

Alexander Mundy is the best.

That's the game.

They my sister's.

Relative Time: Past Relative: Process

I was thinking that you was gonna let me be the parent...

They had a draw and didn't nobody know they was drawing.

...the boy went in and his father was chasing the boy.

Relative Time: Past Relative: Complete

...and everywhere he go his father had been there...

Her husband had gave her 11,000 dollars to buy this yellow dress.

Then the man who had did it...

All the fire had gone, cause they saw him.

I had put oil on them and tried to fix them...because I had broke his car.

If you had went Tuesday, you would a saw this man...

She had threw the ball under a old station wagon...

They had to put-- somebody had took a log and put a head there...

Relative Time: Past Relative: Potential

Told you I wasn't gonna do you that way.

...so they was gonna have a fight.

Relative Time: Past Relative: Complete-Process (No examples)

Relative Time: Past Relative: Potential-Complete

I would a took off seven points right there.

He would a broke your bones.

Nobody would a knew the score.

You would a saw this man.

Relative Time: Past Relative: Potential-Process (No examples)

Relative Time: Past Relative: Potential-Complete-Process (No examples)

Relative Time: Present Relative: Process

I'm being very nice to you.

I ain't doing like George did.

He getting kind of bad.

Anthony trying to be slick.

My neck is stretching.

And they looking for his son...

Relative Time: Present Relative: Complete[8]

I already seen them play.

I never been to a basketball game.

And Larry, he never beat me. Irving haven't and Peewee haven't either.

Sometimes we get out fiv of three. When you been good.

He still haven't caught up with me, though.

I haven't been there sick, but I went there when I got my leg cut.

We haven't played each other yet.

We haven't agreed on these two.

I ain't never seen them before.

I ain't never played.

I ain't said nothing yet.

That ain't come on yet. It comes on Fridays.

We ain't agreed on it yet.

Relative Time: Present Relative: Potential

I'm gonna be the child next time, too.

You gonna get out this town and leave him alone.

...they still chasing him, gonna get his father.

I ain't gonna be the parent.

Ain't gonna be no next time.

Relative Time: Present Relative: Complete-Process

All he been doing is sitting around...I been outside playing.

I haven't been doing much but fixing my bike.

She said, "I'm sorry but ain't nobody by that name been living on Stingy Road..."

Relative Time: Present Relative: Potential-Complete (No examples)

Relative Time: Present Relative: Potential-Process (No examples)

Relative Time: Present Relative: Potential-Complete-Process (No examples)

A-temporal

We always be the father. Nobody else don't be the father.

It don't be open on Monday.

That be a loudmouth lime.

They don't hardly never be home.

Sometime when I be doing something...

I be doing my homework, my brother be around looking...

The BNNE Passive Construction. The passive construction is different in form in BNNE and SE. In the BNNE corpora, there was only one SE passive construction. One boy telling about a television episode which he had seen described the condition of a character.

He'd been dope'.

The BNNE passive is formed by linking a form of get and the participle. There are very few examples of the passive construction in the corpora so it is possible to list an example of every variety. They have been divided

into classes according to the auxiliary structure of the verb phrase.

A. Get + Participle

...Lotta people get killed in bars.

...so we wait until tomorrow, when I get paid.

B. Got + Participle

Everybody thought that Will Sonnett got shot, but it was Frank Reynolds.

And they say that a person got killed on the snow.

And then my wagon, it got ran over.

C. Gonna get + Participle

We gonna get paid today?

(Wi)ll get + Participle

But she say, if we call her, that she'll get fired from her job.

D. Getting + Participle

I heard about a lotta people getting drunk and getting killed.

E. Had got + Participle

...and he had got punched...

...and she act like she 'ad just got locked in there.

F. Modal + Get + Participle

We might get killed on the snow, too.

Some children cross in the middle of the street and they might get hit.

But they can't get caught.

And then you will, so that you can't get melted again.

Other 'GET' Constructions. The word get is used in several capacities. Get is used one way in the sense of to become.

People get drunk

You get tired of the old one--same old thing.

It is also used in a catenative verb phrase[9] which resembles the passive, but differs from it in that the actor is the grammatical subject.

I got him trapped.

They got these mixed up.

I had to get the chair fixed.

Your mother said she was gonna get a dog changed for you.

Another type of catenative has no direct object between get and the participle.

After we get finished doing art, it don't look too too good.

Catenative Verb Constructions. Catenative verb constructions in SE are outlined by Gleason.[10] He prefaces his discussion of clause patterns with two verbs, thus:

> Some simple sentences have two verbs:
> He stopped talking.
> Any verb whatever can occur as the last in such a series. Only a short list can occur in the initial position. The latter verbs are called catenatives (FN. W.F. TWADDELL, The English Verb Auxiliaries, 1960) from the fact that they form chains of verbs. Such chains most often contain only two verbs, but much longer sequences are possible. All but the last must be catenatives (312).

Catenative verb constructions are subclassified by two types of features: formal characteristics and transformational capability. On thie basis, he separates eleven types of catenative constructions in SE. Classes 1-7 are defined by formal characteristics alone. Classes 8-11 are formally identical to classes 2, 3, 5, and 7, respectively, but they have no passive transformation (classes 2, 3, 5, and 7 do).

BNNE examples exist for most of the catenative verb classes. The transformational capacity of BNNE examples must be discussed tentatively

at this time due to the lack of a sufficient quantity of BNNE passive constructions. Catenative verb classes (with BNNE examples) are displayed below but no assessment is made of the transformational capability. Therefore, classes 8-11 have been combined with classes 2, 3, 5, and 7 respectively.

1. Catenative Verb + to + Verb

   He just want to count the other.

   I just had to move up closer.

   I tried to get out ahead and push...

   I started to go to the Civic Center one time...

2. Catenative Verb + Noun/Pronoun Object + Verb

   I let you have it.

   Let them two play.

   Mr. H- told me and George come down to the center.

3. Catenative Verb + Noun/Pronoun Object + to + Verb

   Roberta told me to tell you that she says she was gonna get you.

   You ain't even got a shirt to put over your bare back.

   He say he don't want nobody to touch it.

4. Catenative Verb + Verb + -ing

   Then the bank man came jumping all in there.

   ...then they started telling us ghost stories.

   ...he go catching insects and all, like grasshopper, crickets.

5. Catenative Verb + Noun/Pronoun Object + Verb + -ing

   ...and all the girls start screaming, see him coming.

   ...we was waiting for him, cause we heard the girls screaming.

6. Catenative Verb + -en

   People get drunk.

   After we get finished doing art, it don't look too good.

7. Catenative Verb + Noun/Pronoun Object + Verb + -en

(No BNNE examples: A SE example would be:
They saw the Rams beaten by two touchdowns.)

Gleason's SE typology excludes several BNNE (and SE) constructions which otherwise fit the description of catenative. These are:

You don't know how to play good enough.

And then she get ready to tell, she say...

With a minor change in specification, class 3 catenatives could include the examples above.

Modal Auxiliaries. The addition of a modal auxiliary presents new aspects of meaning to the verb phrase.

The subtle meanings facilitated by the modal auxiliaries are difficult to describe explicitly.

The modal can in BNNE implies efficacy (capability) and permission.

You can never beat me, boy.

Can't nobody convince you.[11]

I can look at those people cards, can't I? (SE may)

Can I change it?

Both meanings however preserve the tense of the verb phrase (present).

The modal could seems more complex. It occurs with the Present Relative: Complete form of verb phrase.

How could I a done that?

You could a ordered him.

The meaning added by could seems to be efficacy.

Could occurs with the Base form of the verb, with the meaning added being again, efficacy. With some degree of consistency, can and could indicate Present and Past respectively.

He asked me could he change and I told him he couldn't.

...she could run so fast...

You couldn't never win with me, either.

How come I couldn't do that, too?

Couldn't nobody in there beat me playing.[11]

How come I couldn't do that, too? is Primary Past, while How come I can't do that, too? is Primary Present. How come I couldn't a done that? is Present Relative: Complete. In the latter example could is a redundant tense indicator. In the former two examples, the tense of the construction is indicated by the can-could opposition.

The modal will provides an alternative to express the Present Relative: Potential.

Me and him will start.

You won't agree on nothing.

The modal will involves potential and intention (i.e., Me and him intend to start.; You don't intend to agree on nothing.)

The modal would has subtle meanings. Besides indicating potential and intention, the modal can bear the tense indication. Examples follow.

...and he closed back the window so nobody wouldn't see him...[11]

The man wouldn't never get out.

...the man wouldn't give him none...

Would co-occurs with the Present Relative: Complete form of the verb phrase.

Nobody would a knew the score.

...you'd a got ten points.

He would a broke your bones.

I wouldn't a disagreed on everything.

The modal should is unpaired in BNNE, as opposed to SE, where shall

and should are related. Should occurs primarily with the Present Relative: Complete form of the verb phrase.

I should have ordered you.

You should a seen what he did.

You shouldn't a done this to me.

He shouldn't a told me...

The auxiliary do/did is not a modal, the primary difference being that do/did seems to have syntatic functions with no meaning increment.

At least four functions of do/did can be pointed out. The first is to bear emphatic stress in a strong affirmative statement.

I dó get four points.

I bet you I dó get something.

So I díd beat the top ones.

So I díd beat one...I dìd só beat a game.

Second is the tag function, in which do/did serve as a verb phrase substitute.

A. I don't like them kind of glasses. K. I do.

Sometimes he like to play and sometime he don't.

A. You said Kalvin got 20 points on that. G. No I didn't. I said... A. Yes, you did.

A combination of the tag function and the interrogative function of do/did gives a function called tag-question.

Do he have to come straight home from school? He do?

He got different cards, don't he?

A. But, he disobeyed. B. Did I?

He just now said it. Didn't you?

The third function of do/did is as a question marker, occurring initially in one type.

Do I have to clean up the house this week?

Do that taste good?

Don't you want me to get my hair cut?

Did I order you?

Anthony, didn't you whisper something in his ear?

Do/did also occur immediately following a wh- interrogative word.

What do that mean?

Why don't you just be quiet?

Who did I play first?

How many did Larry get?

How come you ain't come and get me?[6]

The fourth is as bearer of the negator for certain constructions. First, the negative of the A-temporal.

Nobody else don't be the father.

It don't be open on Monday.

Second, with present and past tense constructions.

He don't even know what it is. (He knows...)

Nobody don't beat nobody.[11]

I didn't say nothing.

They had a draw and didn't nobody know they was drawing.[11]

I ain't see that.[6] Oh yes I did.

Third, do bears the negator in imperative constructions.

Don't tell me nothing.

Don't turn 'em over so fast, man, put that back.

Clause Types

Clauses are composed minimally of a subject and a verb. A clause may have other functional slots such as object of the verb, complement of the subject or of the object, and adverbials. The functional slots are

filled by morpheme clusters, phrases, and embedded clauses.

The presentation of BNNE clause types is based upon Gleason's[12] typology for English. Clauses are classified by the type of verbs they contain; a) transitive, b) intransitive, and c) linking. Gleason has sixteen clause types for Standard English.

BNNE clause structure is like that of SE. The nature of any differences between BNNE and SE can be illustrated by two particular examples: 1) copula verb distribution in BNNE differs from SE, and 2) some verbs in BNNE do not function like SE with respect to transitivity and intransitivity.

First, the present tense copula is susceptible to loss under specified phonological conditions, which have been discussed previously (see p. 26ff.).

Second, two BNNE verbs differ from SE in their classification with regard to transitivity and intransitivity: win and beat.

In BNNE they seem interchangeable. It is possible to say I beat, as well as I beat him, and I beat a game. SE functional equivalents are I won for the intransitive, and I beat him and I won a game for the transitive.

In addition, it is possible to say I won, as well as You can't win everybody, and He won two and I won two. SE functional equivalents would be I won, with You can't beat everybody and He won two and I won two.

In summary, BNNE win and beat are both transitive and intransitive. In SE, win is intransitive, and transitive with a non-animate direct object, while beat is transitive with an animate direct object.

Following is the typology for English clause types with Standard English examples. The symbols used in the typology are:

S = subject of the clause

V = verb of the clause

Vx = subclass of the verb (specified in parenthesis following the symbol)

Adv., Adj., Pred. Adj., and Pred. Noun are self explanatory

DO = direct object of the verb

IO = indirect object of the verb

OC = complement of the direct object

C = verbal complement

V_{PI} = verb with inseparable preposition

V_{PS} = verb with separable preposition

Standard English Clause Types:

I. S - Vi (Adv) Fish swim (quietly). (Vi = intransitive verb)

II. S - Vl - Pred. Adj. Bulldogs look fierce. (VI = linking verb look)

III. S - Vb - Pred. Noun Boys become men. (Vb = linking verbs like become)

IV. S - Vt - DO Farmers grow food. (Vt = transitive verb)

V. S - Vt - IO - DO She gave him money.

VI. S - Vc - DO - OC They called him Paul. Bob considered him foolish. (Vc = linking verbs like call, consider)

VII. S - Ve - DO - OC They elected him president. (Ve = linking verbs like choose, elect)

VIII. S - copula - Adv. The man is outside.

IX. S - copula - Adj. Grass is green.

X. S - copula - NP The girl is a servant.

XI. S - Vt - DO (with no passive transform possible) She resembles Jane.

XII. S - Vt - DO (DO = adverbial of measure) Jim walked miles.

XIII. S - Vt - IO - C (C = complement of measure) It cost me plenty.

XIV. S - V - DO - DO She taught me Latin.

XV. S - V_{PI} - DO They looked at houses. (V_{PI} = verb with inseparable preposition)

XVI. S - V_{PS} - DO They looked Jim up. (V_{PS} = verb with separable preposition)

BNNE examples of clause types follow:

Clause Type I: S - Vi (Adv.)

Larry beat.

He lost.

Alexander Mundy won.

This go here, Kal.

You cheat in that chair.

Clause Type II: S - Vi - Pred. Adj.

...my wife look ugly.

...it don't look too good.

Other examples classified type II by virtue of the linking verb look follow.

You look like a hundred and eighty.

(Everybody know you a lady) You look like one.

Another example raises a question of classification. The verb look is present, but followed by a pronoun, not an adjective.

You don't look it.

Clause Type III: S - Vb - Pred. Noun (Examples only in catenative constructions).

...they started walking to become a musician.

...the mule ask him did he want to come a musician.

Two other examples are similar, but the complements following the verb are adjectives, not nouns.

He getting kind of bad.

...and he took some pills and turn tiny.

Clause Type IV: S - Vt - DO

Because of the number of examples, it is helpful to subclassify according to the type of direct object.

DO = Numeral + Noun:

I got twenty points.

Peewee got two zeroes.

DO = Numeral:

I got a hundred and thirty-five.

Larry gets zero. (also, Larry get zero.)

I lost twenty-five.

DO = Determiner + ...+ Noun:

I gots a pill.

I get that dog point, you know.

I ain't got no wedding.

DO = NP with a noun substitute as head:

I like them blue ones.

I ain't see that one.

DO = Pronoun:

I likes it.

I saw you all.

I killt you.

Nobody don't bent nobody.[11]

DO = a phrase which is a comparison:

You ain't got more than me.

Several constituent orders are possible depending on the placement of the adverbial element. The initial adverbial is one type.

Now you get that haircut.

More common is a preverbal modifier (a limiter or an adverb):

I only got four points.

He already got that one.

You can never beat me, boy.

Ain't nobody ever beat me.

Most common is the adverbial as the final element (a simple adverb, adverb phrase or a prepositional phrase).

I ain't said nothing yet.

You got the lowest one there.

He like Birdman the best.

He saying it wrong.

Both of us got the same thing on each side.

Some examples have two adverbial phrases.

Birdman ain't got no sense now against Alexander Mundy.

Clause Type V: S - Vt - IO - DO (commonly Vt = give)

He gives you that point.

Then she gave the girl her shoes.

The pattern with more complex verb phrases follows.

That'd be giving you the points.

...her husband had gave her 11,000 dollars to buy this yellow dress.

Other examples do not have the verb give :

I make you a deal.

I'm gonna get me a Oriole hat, too.

Clause Type VI: S - Vc - DO - OC

They call me Mundy.

...and they call him a killer.

Although the verb is different from those specified (consider, call), relationships of the following examples justify their inclusion in this Clause Type.

I got him trapped.

You got them there B's mixed up.

Man, that makes me so sick.

There are no Clause Type VII examples in the corpus.

Clauses with copula verbs are well represented in BNNE.

Clause Type VIII: S - Copula - Adverbial

I was at home.

You're in my way.

The order of adverbial slot when filled by a simple adverb can be reversed.

Here it is.

Here's your A and here's my B.

Two adverbials can occur in a Clause Type VIII example

It's too late now.

Who was here yesterday?

Clause Type IX: S - Copula - Adjective[7]

I was foolish, too.

Birdman is lucky.

That's good.

They bad.

My father thirty-seven.

Clause Type X: S - Copula - NP

I'm your father, child.

You a naughty boy. Yes, you is.

That's a deal, man.

We a child.

There are no examples of Clause Types XI and XII.

Clause Type XIII: S - Vt - IO - C (C = complement of measure)

I bet you twenty dollars...

That don't hurt me one bit, boy.

There are no BNNE examples of Clause Type XIV.

Clause Type XV: S - V_{PI} - DO

I gave away the zero.

We gonna take off everything.

She picked up the telephone.

And I'm helping out Irving.

Clause Type XVI: S - V_{PS} - DO

You shuffle them up?

Then he heist up the window and brought me in.

First, we turn these cards over.

You better go downstairs and cool yourself off.

Questions in BNNE

BNNE question types can be discussed most clearly in relation to clause types.

There are three basic types of questions in BNNE. The first contains an interrogative WH-: who, where, why, what, how. The second begins with an auxiliary (one of the forms of be, will, can, do or negative counterpart). The declarative constituent position of the auxiliary is following the subject. In SE and BNNE, subject-auxiliary inversion can indicate the interrogative. The third type differs from the declarative clause in intonation. Some BNNE examples of this type appear to be the second type followed by loss of auxiliary. For example, Are you going home? is the second type, You going home? of the third.

Question Type 1. There is a large number of the interrogative WH-question type in BNNE. Examples are similar to SE, the only exception

being the regular absence of BNNE present tense copula (see p.26ffVerb: Copula in present tense). This feature is not critical to the identity of the WH- question. The absence of an auxiliary, however, will change a question from the second to the third type.

Examples of the first type with who follow.

Who beat between me and Barry?

Who took that off?

Interrogatives with copula present a greater variety of forms. Phonological conditioning strongly influences whether a present tense copula form will be present or absent. The present tense is treated here since the past copula form is invariable: was (e.g., Who was here yesterday?).

The present tense copula has several forms with who.

Who's the parent?

Who's the lady who used to come here?

Who gonna be the mother and who be the father?

Who in here fifteen years old?

There are insufficient examples of who questions to formulate distributional rules.

There is only one example each for interrogatives related to who: whose, and who all.

Whose is they?

Who all'll play first?

Examples of the interrogative what are numerous and are divided into two groups: copula and non-copula constructions.

Analysis of copula constructions strengthens the phonological basis for predicting presence or absence of the present tense forms. The copula form is occurs in full or contracted form following what if the subject is a singular NP.

What's your name? What is your name? I asked you what is your name?

What's all that black stuff?

What is it?

What kind of talk is that?

Non-copula what questions have an underlying verb auxiliary, sometimes absent. What questions with the auxiliary follow.

What did you do, add that up with my other?

What do that mean?

What can I do?

What is you doin?

What constructions with no auxiliary follow.

What you say?

What you want me to do?

What you got?

What you looking at?

What you gonna tell me, mommy?

Note the absence of the auxiliary be marker with second person singular subject, and its presence with third person singular subject.

There are few post-verbal what questions.

You know what? (what = DO)

You said do what?

If I don't have to what? (what = predicate)

It's agree? (No.) Well, what?

A partial interrogative has an interrogative WH- filling a functional slot in a phrase.

What work?

Until what time?

Well, what day of July?

Examples of interrogative which are of one type: the noun modifier. For this reason, it would be more accurate to discuss it with the NP. For the sake of convenience, it is mentioned here.

Which way you starting?

Which one is it?

(You lost that one.) Lost which one?

Did I order you? On which one?

Examples for why can be mentioned briefly.

Why don't you just be quiet?

Well, why it my fault then?

A functional equivalent for why is how come.

How come I couldn't do that, too?

Where provides a sufficient number of examples to strengthen phonological hypotheses regarding presence or absence of copula/auxiliary be.

The person and number of the clause subject determine whether the present tense copula/auxiliary be is lost or retained and, if retained, the form of it. Third person singular subjects tend to preserve the present tense copula/auxiliary be as a contracted marker ('s) following where while second singular and all plural subjects tend to be lost.

Third Singular

Where's the lady at?

Where's that?

Second Singular

Where you at?

Where you taking them?

Plural

Where them cards I gave you? Where them cards?

The auxiliary do is frequently absent following where.

Where you see that at?

Absence of do has been seen previously.

What you mean - so bad?

What you want me to do?

How is used in several types of constructions: simple interrogative, interrogative noun/adjective modifier, and a constituent in a frozen how about. Examples of the simple interrogative are:

How can you order me on that one?

How you all gonna get out of there?

How could I a done that?

How you say if I get rid of my dog?

Examples of the interrogative adjective modifier are:

How old will you be?

How many points can you take off?

I get six points and he get how much?

How as a constituent in a frozen phrase how about is used to present a series of alternatives after one has been proposed, or else to bring a proposal to the fore for action. Examples follow.

How about homework?

You need something. Okay, now, how about it?

How about if I stay later than ten o'clock, will you let me stay home Saturday?

Question Type 2. In a large number of questions the auxiliary is the initial constituent (copula constructions being exceptions since they can also occur initially in a question). Examples follow.

Will you come home early?

Can he keep his dog?

Do that taste good?

Did you go to the circus?

Examples with negatives follow.

Ain't you gonna look at them so you know where they is?

Don't you want me to get my hair cut?

Anthony,didn't you whisper something in his ear?

Examples of initial copula follow.

Is that right?

Is that an agreement?

Is you Greenman?[13]

Ain't it the prairie wind that blow you down?

Ain't that right?

Question Type 3 (Intonation). Questions designated solely by intonation are relatively few. Copula constructions involve interesting patterns (see p. 26ff. Verb: Copula in present tense).

Examples of Question Type 3 follow.

He said he could beat me?

You don't want it?

I can't tell them?

I can go on the trip?

And then we have to go?

Put another agreement?

Some examples are ambiguous relative to intonation and auxiliary deletion.

You remember that day?

You want us to go get George?

Y'all two wan' play?

You got another one?

We gonna get paid today?

But we comin' the week after next?

You shuffle them up?

The copula also has this ambiguity between questions indicated solely by intonation as opposed to copula deletion. An example of intonation follows.

It's agree?

This conforms to the pattern for it + present tense copula. Intonation is the sole indicator of the question.

An example of copula deletion is:

That me?

This is interpreted as Is that me? from which is has been deleted. If this example were to parallel It's agree? the form would be That's me? No copula form exists in a phonological environment conditioned for its appearance: it's or that's. Further examples of the first subclass are:

It's agree?

You Birdman, huh? (regular clause intonation - 231)

It's four o'clock now?

Examples ambiguous with regard to class follow (all having a rising intonation contour).

This the last we playin'?

You the parent?

You ready?

They Diane's?

Negation in BNNE

BNNE forms negatives on two levels: clause and sub-clause. Clause

negation negates the essential assertion of the clause. Partial negation negates one or more clause constituents.

The negative particle for clause negation is used in the verb phrase in one of two forms: full or contracted. The contracted form n't is most common and occurs with verb auxiliaries and modals. The only possible exceptions are may and might which have questionable status in BNNE. In addition, the full form not occurs when the present tense copula is lost: (He ain't...vs. He not...).

Copula + Negative. Most commonly, the contracted negative particle occurs with the copula as ain't.

I ain't no fool.

You ain't the parent.

Birdman ain't so good.

It ain't my first time.

The full negative particle occurs with the first person singular subject (I'm not...), the third person singular subject, with the contracted form of the copula (That's not...), and second and third person subjects where copula has been lost (You not..., He not...).

I'm not sure.*

I'm not a woman.

That's not right...No, it's not.

That's not the one.

You not in this game.

You not the parent.

He not a bad boy.

We not allowed to hit nobody in the stomach or nothin'.

*A count of negative forms in the corpora showed that I'm not...was more common than I ain't..., That's not... It's not...was about as common as That ain't..., It ain't.... Other third singular subjects used ain't almost exclusively.

The position of the auxiliary + negative is determined by features of the clause. The usual syntactic order of negative copula constructions is S - Copula - Negator (You ain't the parent). There are exceptions to this order. First, when the grammatical subject is a negative (nobody, nothing, no + Noun), the order becomes Copula - Negator - S....

Ain't nothin' wrong with that.

There ain't nothin' funny about him.

Second, negative copula questions (non-wh-) have the Copula - Negator - S... syntactic order.

Ain't it the prairie wind that blow you down?

Ain't that right?

A similar construction involves a semantically empty clause introducer (It ain't nothin', is it?, There ain't no mother and father; just the parents., That ain't nothin' about that.), which may also be lost.

Ain't no other one to take.

Ain't no mother, father; just parents.

The negative past tense copula is simply wasn't.

But they wasn't good parents.

...and he told he....yeah...that she wasn't no kleptomaniac.

Auxiliary 'be' + Negative. This auxiliary with the negative behaves like the copula. Most common in present tense is ain't. It usually follows the grammatical subject.

I ain't doin' like George did.

I ain't gonna be the parent.

You ain't gonna get none.

The full negative particle occurs with first person singular and third person singular subjects with the contracted copula (I'm not..., that's not...) and second and third person subjects with copula absent (You not..., he not...).

(Boy, he tellin' him.) No, I'm not. I just psst, psst, psst. What do that mean?

But if you're not goin' for your onesies goin' back...

If you not lookin', somebody could run down there and kick the can.

You not gettin' nothin' else.

Like the copula, when the subject of a clause is negative (nobody, nothing, no + Noun), the auxiliary is initial.

Oh, boy, ain't nobody gonna convince you.

Constructions with semantically-empty clause introducers most commonly lose it and begin with the auxiliary and the negative.

Ain't gonna be no next time.

The negative past tense auxiliary be is simply wasn't.

I told you I thought I wasn't gonna get nothin'.

...she act like she had just got locked in there, like they wasn't gonna steal nofin' or nofin'.

Auxiliary 'have' (or BNNE equivalent) + Negative. There are two different auxiliary + negative constructions commonly found in parallel linguistic environments: haven't and ain't. The significant identifying form of these constructions is the past participle. There is no apparent meaning difference between the two. Both normally follow the grammatical subject.

I haven't been doin' much but fixin' my bike.

He still haven't caught up with me, though.

We haven't played each other yet.

I ain't never seen them before.

I ain't broke no agreement.

That ain't come on yet. It comes on Fridays.

When the grammatical subject is negative, the auxiliary and subject are

reversed.

I'm sorry, but ain't nobody by that name been livin' on Stingy Road.

Ain't nobody beat. It's a tie.[14]

Auxiliary 'do' + Negative. The contracted form of the negative particle occurs with do.

You don't order me. I order you.

Birdman don't play so good.

It don't be open on Monday.

That don't hurt me one bit, boy.

Nobody else don't be the father.

The auxiliary and subject are inverted in imperative constructions and questions.

Think hard. Don't make a mistake.

Don't whisper nothin' to him.

Don't you want me to get my hair cut?

Why don't you just be quiet?

Auxiliary 'did' (or BNNE equivalent) + Negative. There are two auxiliary + negative constructions found in parallel environments: didn't and ain't. Both co-occur with the base form of the main verb, again with no apparent meaning difference.

I didn't give away the five.

She didn't get me, but she had a little talk with me.

We didn't see all of it. We was downstairs.

(A. Did you see that?) I ain't see none of 'em.

(So I did beat one.) You ain't beat none. (I did so beat a game.) Oh, yeah. When I was the child, he did beat one.

Some of 'em went in, but I ain't go in.

The subject and auxiliary are inverted in qu stions.

Anthony, didn't you whisper something in his ear?

When the subject is negative, the auxiliary precedes it.

(So we both beat.) Ain't nobody beat. It's a tie.

...they had a draw, and didn't nobody know they was drawin'...

Modal Auxiliary 'can' + Negative. The usual order is exemplified by the following:

If he can't find anybody, everybody get in free.

Yes sir. But they can't beat me.

The order s changed in questions (Can't you do that if you want to?), when the subject is omitted (Can't get it off like this, see?, Can't take off none, so don't try.), and when the subject is negative (Can't nobody convince you.).

Modal Auxiliary 'could' + Negative. The customary syntactic order is exemplified by the following.

How come I couldn't do that, too?

Y'all said that y'all could go out Saturday night but I said y'all couldn't.

When the subject is negative, it and the auxiliary are reversed.

Couldn't nobody in there beat me playin'.

Modal Auxiliary 'will' + Negative.

I bet you twenty dollars you won't beat me.

Them bof of 'em won't get no zeroes.

See, with me around, you won't never beat.

Modal Auxiliary 'would' + Negative.

I guess it was broke. It wouldn't change.

...and the man wouldn't give him none...

They had a --- had painted a hippy bus, so nobody would

suspect them. So nobody wouldn't rob them or nithin'.

Modal Auxiliary 'may' + Negative.

You may not go on the trip.

'Not' + Infinitive.

...our father tell her not to take and give us no money; not to give us none of us none of no money.

She said, "My mother told me not to let nobody in..."

Throughout the discussion of negation, the sequence of the auxiliary + negative and the subject is noted. It might be helpful to bring these cases together and make a general statement. 1.) A positive subject precedes the auxiliary + negative (and copula + negative). 2.) If the subject is negative (nobody, nothing, no + N), the order is reversed for can't, couldn't, didn't, ain't (copula and auxiliary), ain't (= haven't), and ain't (= didn't)(A below). The order remains S + V for wouldn't and don't (B below).

A.	They can't beat me.	Can't nobody convince you.
	How come I couldn't do that?	Couldn't nobody in there beat me playing.
	Larry didn't help me none.	...and didn't nobody know they was drawing.
	We ain't gonna give them nothing.	Oh, boy, ain't nobody gonna convince you.
	I ain't no fool.	Ain't nothing wrong with that.
	I ain't broke no agreement.	Ain't nobody by that name been living on Stingy Road.
	(So I did beat one.). You ain't beat none.	Ain't nobody beat.
B.	The man wouldn't give him none.	...so nobody wouldn't see him.
	Birdman don't play so good.	...nobody don't beat nobody.

The following summarizes partial negation. Partial negation refers

to negation of any one of the non-verb phrase functional slots in the clause.

Subject + Negator

Sorry, nobody lives on Stingy Road by that name.

NP + Negator

Not that one.

Time adverbial + Negator

See. You can never beat me, boy.

Not Saturday night.

Not yet.

Not no more.

Object + Negator

You get nothin'.

I get two points. He get none.

Adjective phrase + Negator

Not older than me.

Predicate + Negator

Not even type on it.

Multiple negation derives from sentence negation. Multiple negation is the grammatical process whereby one or more phrases in one non-verb functional slot of the clause is negated, in addition to the VP.

Auxiliary and Subject

Ain't nobody beat.

Can't nobody convince you.

Ain't nobody gonna convince you.

Couldn't nobody in there beat me playin'.

They had a draw, and didn't nobody know they was drawin'.

Nobody don't beat nobody.

Nobody else don't be the father.

You be a good sport if nobody don't mess wif you or nothing.

He closed the window back so nobody wouldn't see him...[11]

Auxiliary and Object

An' I ain't gonna have nothin'.

You ain't gonna get none.

Mama ain't gonna give me no whippin'.

"Not" and Object

You not gettin' nothin' else.

Copula/Auxiliary "be" + Complement

That ain't nothin' about that...

...and he told her that she wasn't no kleptomaniac...

Ain't gonna be no next time.

There ain't no mother and father, just the parents.

Auxiliary and Adverb of Time

Alexander Mundy don't never be caught.

I can't go swimming no more.

Auxiliary and Sentence Modifier

He ain't gonna get none nohow.

Auxiliary and Object of Preposition

You won't agree on nothin'. Let's see. How come he don't agree on nothin'?

Several examples of double negation have no negative auxiliary.

Subject and Object

Nobody gets nothin'.

Preverbal Adverb and Object

He never get none.

Footnotes

[1]H.A. Gleason, Jr., Linguistics and English Grammar (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965), p. 140.

[2]Gleason, Ibid, p. 316.

[3]Form-meaning covariance is the foundation of structural linguistics (see Garvin, "On Structuralist Method," On Linguistic Method, 1964, pp. 144-147)

[4]Marvin D. Loflin, "Negro Non-Standard and Standard English: Same or Different Deep Structure?," Orbis, XVIII, 1 (1969), pp. 74-91.

[5]See Appendix, p. A-7ff. and A-15ff. for information relative to the design of instructional materials.

[6]See p. 77. : V. Auxiliary did (or BNNE equivalent) + not.

[7]See Appendix A, p. A-12ff. for information on the present tense copula relative to the design of instructional materials.

[8]See Appendix A, p. A-16 for a discussion of the status of auxiliary have in BNNE.

[9]The catenative verb construction is discussed in the next section on the same page.

[10]Gleason, op. cit., pp. 312 - 315.

[11]For a discussion of the different word order see p. 79.

[12]Gleason, op. cit., pp. 299-328.

[13]It is interesting to note that the copula which occurs in the interrogative is is: the same as occurs in the embedded clause (Do you know what they is?). This is contrary to expectations as seen in the paradigm (You a naughty boy., They police.).

[14]Ain't may be didn't since beat = verb base or participle.

APPENDIX

Grammatical Counts Relevant to Instructional Materials

Formation of BNNE Noun Plurals

The following discussion attempts to list similarities and differences of plural formation in SE and BNNE and to present an explanation of the differences.

Classes of plural formation in Standard English. SE noun plurals are formed in five basic ways,[1] as follows:

Class 1: Some nouns' plural formation is phonologically conditioned.

a. Nouns ending in voiced stops, nasals, vowels, r, l and v have the plural ending /z/: cubs, games, bees, bars, bills, groves.

b. Nouns ending in voiceless stops and f have the plural ending /s/: cups, clefs.

c. Nouns ending in the spirants (s, z, š, ž, č, and ǰ) have the plural ending /ɨz/: glasses, roses, wishes, garages, witches, judges.

Class 2: Some nouns form the plural by changing the final stem-consonant and adding /z/ or /ɨz/: house-houses, knife-knives, path-paths.

Class 3: Some nouns form the plural by adding /ɨn/ to a changed or unchanged stem: ox-oxen, child-children, brother-brethren.

Class 4: Some nouns form the plural by an internal vowel alternation: man-men, woman-women, foot-feet.

Class 5: A small number of nouns have an identical singular and plural form: sheep, fish, deer, moose.

Two aspects of BNNE plural formation. The main focus of interest is

how BNNE speakers form plurals. More specifically, 1) do BNNE and SE speakers utilize the same processes of noun plural formation? and 2) do related words in BNNE and SE form plurals in the same way (i.e., are related words in the same noun plural class?).

Consider these BNNE plural variants, grouped according to SE noun plural formation classes.

SE	Class 1:		BNNE Plural Forms
	a.	dog	[dɔg] ~ [dɔgz]
		bed	[bɛ^:dz] ~ [bɛ^:d]
		car	[k^{h}ɒz]
		cold	[k^{h}olz] ~ [k^{h}owz] ~ [k^{h}owdz]
		friend	[frɛ̃ŋ̃] ~ [frɛ̃nts]
		school	[skuwz] ~ [skuw]
		shoe	[šɨwz]
	b.	bet	[bɛts] ~ [bɛt]
		hike	[həyks] ~ [həyk]
		desk	[dɛsɨ] ~ ['dɛsɨz]
		test	[t^{h}ɛsɨ] ~ ['t^{h}ɛsɨz]
		graph	[græfs] ~ [græf]
		raft	[ræfs]
		dent	[dɛn·s] ~ [dɛn·t·s]
		coat	[k^{h}owts]
		colt	[k^{h}owts] ~ [k^{h}olts]
		cart	[k^{h}ɒt] ~ [k^{h}ɒts]
	c.	prize	[p^{h}raɨz] ~ [p^{h}razɨz]
		face	[fɛys] ~ [fɛysɨz]
		wish	[wɪšɨz]

place [p^{h}lɛys] ~ [p^{h}lɛysɨz]

race [rɛys] ~ [rɛysɨz]

SE Class 2:

path [p^{h}æɛθs]

knife [na:vz] ~ [nɔyfs]

house [hæwzɨz] ~ [hæws]

loaf [lowf] ~ [lowfs]

calf [k^{h}æfs] ~ [k^{h}æf]

SE Class 3:

child [č^{h}a:lz] ~ [čɑrwǰrɨn]

SE Class 4:

man [mɛn] ~ [mɛnz] ~ [mæɛnz]

woman ['wumɨ̃:]

tooth [t^{h}ɨwθ] ~ [t^{h}ɨwθs] ~ [t^{h}ɪyf] ~ [t^{h}ɪyfs]

mouse [mɑws] ~ [mɛys] ~ [mɑwsɨz]

goose [gɨws:]

foot [fɪyt] ~ [fɪyts] ([futs])

SE Class 5:

fish [fɪs] ~ [fɪšɨz]

moose [muws]

sheep [šɨyps]

deer [dɪ.^{ə}.z]

Distinctive BNNE Plural Formations. Note first the types of plural formation utilized in BNNE. The examples reveal but one variation in formation of a few BNNE plurals.

In SE, either a vowel change or the addition of -s, -z, -ɨz indicates the plural. BNNE sometimes utilizes both.

SE	tooth	BNNE (pl.)	[t^hɪyfs]
		SE (pl.)	[t^hɪyθ]
SE	man	BNNE (pl.)	[mɛnz]
		SE (pl.)	[mɛn]
SE	foot	BNNE (pl.)	[fɪyts]
		SE (pl.)	[fɪyt]

These BNNE variants are not the major variant for that noun. It is, however, inaccurate to cite them as "rare" since they do recur.

In summary, all SE plural formation types are found in BNNE. In addition, BNNE speakers use redundant markers. The explanation for this formation is unclear, perhaps due to hypercorrection. This question of its origin will not concern us for the present.

Plural formation of related nouns in BNNE and SE. A class by class analysis reveals the coincidence of class membership for noun plurals in BNNE and SE.

In Class 1, a noun commonly occurs with no plural marker.

two dog

two bet

two graph

two prize

two place

These variants as such fit Class 5 in which the plural is unchanged.

A large number of variants, however, remain in Class 1:

dogs	col's (colds)
ears	schools
shoes	prizes
bets	dents

graphs	wishes
coats	places

One significant area of noun plural formation is the loss of a final consonant, which removes that consonant's phonological influence from formation of the plural form. The consonant preceding the "lost" consonant then governs the plural formation. In some instances, the plural form is unchanged.

friend	frien's	[frɛnz]
raft	raf's	[ræfs]

The preceding examples remain in their subclasses of Class 1. Other examples, however, represent noun plural formations differing from SE because of final consonant loss.

desk	(BNNE (sg.) [dɛs]); (pl.) [dɛsɪ] or ['dɛsɨz]
test	(BNNE (sg.) [t^hɛs]); (pl.) [t^hɛsɪ] or ['t^hɛsɨz]

Some nouns in SE have -r and -l, which in BNNE appear as vowel glides.

cars	[k^hɒz]
colds	[k^howːz]
schools	[skuwz]

Class 2 also shows some unmarked noun plural variants.

house

loaf

calf

Of the remaining variants, only four are identical to SE: i.e., the final consonant is changed and /-z/ or /-ɨz/ is added.

knives	[naːvz], also lives, leaves
houses	[hawzɨz]

The remaining variants form their plurals like Class 1 nouns.

path (pl.) [p^hæθs], also booth

knife (pl.) [nəyfə], also life, leaf, loaf, calf

The one Class 2 example is child. The least frequent variant was children (the SE plural) and the most frequent was two childs (a Class 1 formation type).

SE Class 4 words are not all the same in BNNE. A few remain in Class 4, which forms the plural solely by a vowel change.

men	mice
teeth [t^hɪyf]	feet

Several use Class 1 formation rules.

mans	mouses
tooths	foots

Some fit Class 5 (no change).

woman [wʊmɪ̃ɪ]	mouse
tooth	goose

Though there are but a few BNNE examples which parallel SE Class 5, there are some differences from SE. Several remain in Class 5.

moose

fish

Several go to Class 1.

fishes

sheeps

deers

Several nouns commonly appear with no plural ending. One of the most common is cent.

Five cent

Six five cent

The Marker of Possession.

It was noted earlier that the SE possessive for nouns is used but rarely. This means that the unmarked noun preceding a head can be a possessive. The reason why a noun without a segmental possessive indicator may nevertheless be possessive, is due to the stress pattern of the respective phrases. Word order (N + N) and accompanying stress pattern \ / are indicators of possession: (/ = Primary Stress; \ = Secondary Stress).

bábý cárriage (SE a carriage for babies)

bàby cárriage (SE a single baby's carriage)

Past Tense Formation in BNNE.

The formation of the Past Tense in BNNE has some major differences from SE. An understanding of the nature of these differences is essential to work on instructional procedures or materials.

A typology for studying BNNE Past Tense formation. It has been helpful to view the forms of BNNE past tense within the framework set forth by Gleason for SE.[2] This framework was taken as a reference only. It was not assumed that Gleason's categories would be a valid description of BNNE Past Tense.

Gleason differentiates 53 classes of verbs on the basis of Past Tense and Participle formation: 13 classes in some detail. He merely mentions 6 classes with two members each, and 34 classes with one member each. The participle is disregarded here since only the formation of the past tense is relevant. It is necessary to the discussion to be familiar with Gleason's first 13 classes.

Class 1: Past tense is formed in one of three phonologically-conditioned ways: 1) /d/ after stem-final /b,g,ǰ,v,d,ð,z,m,n,ŋ,l,r,ə,y,w,H/, e.g., rubbed, rigged, judged, etc.

2) /t/ after stem-final /p,k,č,f,θ,s,š/, e.g., stepped, picked, switched, etc.

3) /ɨd/ after stem-final /t,d/, e.g., seated, padded

Class 2: The verb is unchanged in past tense: e.g., bet, cut, hit, etc..

Class 3: Past tense is formed by changing the stem vowel /i/ to /e/: e.g., cling-clung (also "dig, sink, sting").

Class 4: Past tense is formed by changing the stem vowel /iy/ to /e/ and adding /t/: e.g., creep-crept (also "deal, feel, keep, sweep, weep").

Class 5: Past tense is formed by changing the stem vowel /iy/ to /e/: e.g., bleed-bled (also "feed, meet, speed").

Class 6: Past tense is formed by changing the stem vowel /i/ to /æ/: e.g., begin-began (also "drink, ring, swim").

Class 7: Past tense is formed by changing the stem vowel /ay/ to /ow/: e.g., drive-drove (also "ride, smite, write").

Class 8: Past tense is formed by changing the stem-final /d/ to /t/: e.g., bend-bent (also "build, spend").

Class 9: Past tense is formed by changing the stem vowel /iy/ to /ow/: e.g., freeze-froze (also "speak, steal").

Class 10: Past tense is formed by changing the stem vowel /ay/ to /aw/: e.g., bind-bound (also "find, grind, wind").

Class 11: Past tense is formed by changing the stem vowel /ow/ to /uw/: e.g., blow-blew (also "grow, know, throw").

Class 12: Past tense is formed by changing the stem vowel /e/ to /o/, (Gleason's dialect /oH/): e.g., bear-bore (also "swear, tear, wear").

Class 13: Past tense is formed by changing the stem vowel /ey/ to /u/: e.g., forsake-forsook (also "take, shake").

The BNNE morphological category 'Past'. Justification for the category Past Tense in BNNE was established by the presence of unambiguous past

tense indicators for nine of the thirteen classes previously described. (In three of the four unrepresented classes, however, there were no examples.) Some of the verified past tenses are: Class 1: jumped, started, tumbled; Class 2: hit, beat; Class 3: won; Class 4: slep(t); Class 5: met, read; Class 10: found; Class 11: blew up, threw; Class 12: broke; Class 13: took. There are also examples from some of the forty classes not mentioned above: heard, made, said, saw-seen, came, was, had, told, got, bit, went, ran, fell, gave, caught, thought, lost.

Distinctive BNNE Past Tense Markers.

In two of the thirteen classes there were non-SE past tense variants. In the other forty classes, there were eight non-SE past tense variants.

Class 1 Past Tenses are formed by adding an alveolar stop /t,d/ or the sequence /id/. This fact is responsible for variations in that class as word-final consonants are easily lost in BNNE. Another factor to account for variation is the use of the historical present as a narrative device in BNNE, i.e., using present tense where a past tense is used in SE. An example of historical present follows:

> And then, he come out and the cat jumped, and scratches his face, and then the--then he runs to the door and the dog bites his leg, and then he run in the garden, and the mule kicks him, and then he come back to his friends and say, "Three men jump--some wierd monsters jump me, a witch was on a broom scratch my face, and a man bit my leg, kick me on the leg...

The verb 'say' seems to be invariable, as a narrative stylistic feature.

> They had caught the man and they had him up wif a gun and then--and then the others--the other two investigators--and the man say, "If you don't come, I'm gonna kill this lady." And they--first--they had already one man...
>
> (P. What happened there, Lamuel? Why did you only get five? You got two agreements?) L. I say, "I won't clean up around the house."

Loss of Final /t, d, ɨd/ and Lack of Past Tense Markers.

How important is the influence which BNNE phonological deletion rules exert on the elimination of past tense markers?

In an attempt to assess differences in BNNE past tense formation from SE, a count was made of potential past tense verbs to note presence or absence of a past tense marker in connected speech.

Purpose of the Count. The object of the count was to answer two questions: 1) How many verbs are unmarked for past tense when context indicates past tense?, and 2) How many unmarked past tense verbs were due to the loss of final consonant -d or -t?

The corpora used for the count were game playing sessions, narrative sessions, and casual interview sessions for children from one of the two areas mentioned in footnote 12 of the introduction.

Setting up the Count. The number of potential past tenses was determined by contextual features such as other past tenses and/or adverbial constructions in context.

The verbs were then separated according to the formation type of the past tense. Five major types of Past Tense were isolated. The first type has only the endings /-t/, /-d/, and ɨd/. A second type has only the change of a stem-vowel. The third type has a vowel change in the stem and the endings /-t/, /-d/, and /ɨd/. The fourth type is unchanged for past tense. Finally, the fifth type has a suppletive past tense, i.e., the past formation has no phonological similarity to the present tense forms.

Excluding Ambiguous Examples. Two limitations excluded phenomena of questionable interpretation. Several phonological environments made it impossible to determine whether /-t/, /-d/ were present or not. Preceding words with initial consonants /t-/, /d-/,/ɨ-/, and/ϴ-/, potential

past tenses were 'uncountable.' Historical present tenses were also excluded, even though they occur where SE dictates the use of a past tense.

Summary of Results. A summary shows 461 countable past tenses and 120 uncountables. There were 108 countables of the first type (/-t/, /-d/, and /-id/), of which 40 were past and 68 were unmarked. There were 150 countables of the second type (i.e., past indicated by a stem vowel change), all 150 of which were past. There were 140 countables of the third type (i.e., past indicated by stem vowel change and final /-t/, /-d/, and /id/), of which 84 had the redundant past tense. Consistent with the second class all stem vowels were changed. In other words, of the 56 cases not marked redundantly for past tense, loss of redundancy was due to the loss of final /-t/, /-d/, and /-id/ in every case. There were 26 countables of the fourth type (i.e., no past tense indicator), all of which potentially had stem-final /-t/. In only 5 cases, /-t/ was lost (21/26). There were 29 countables of the fifth type (i.e., past tense is suppletive: e.g., go-went) all of which had a potential final /-t/. In 20 instances, the /-t/ was lost (9/29).[3]

Discussion of Results. The results point up the significance of final /-t/, /-d/, and /-id/ in predicting the absence of past tense forms in BNNE, and the necessity to explain and practice this aspect of the language in instructional programs.

On the contrary, stem vowel change as a past tense indicator in BNNE is consistent with SE and should not need more than customary emphasis in instructional materials.

Besides these two characteristics of BNNE past tense, several distinct BNNE past tenses occurred: Type 1 examples - burnt and killt; other examples - ranned, seen, telled and broked.

Presence Vs. Absence of Present Tense Auxiliary "be"/Copula in BNNE

In order to get an idea of the shape of the Auxiliary be/Copula Present Tense paradigm a count was carried out.[4] For each potential present tense environment, it was noted whether the Auxiliary be/Copula was marked by 1) a full form (am, is, are), 2) a contracted form (-m, -s, -re), or 3) no overt marker (∅).

The variant in some environments is conditioned by word order, a case of this being the embedded clause with copula (Do you know where they is?). The form is invariant in this environment and for this reason, was not counted since the invariability would distort the count of non-positionally-conditioned variants.

The A-temporal was considered uncountable, by definition. That is, only present tense variants were counted.

Summary of Results. The results can be summarized briefly. There were 798 countable environments and 35 uncountables of the clause-final copula type. Of these 35, 31 were is forms (4 non-agreement), 2 are forms, and 2 am forms.

Of the 798 countable forms, 88 (11%) were full forms, 473 (59%) contracted forms, and 237 (30%) zero forms. This breakdown is structurally trivial and yields but one generalization: the number of contracted and the number of zero copula variants far outweigh the number of full verb forms. For SE, it would be expected that the percentages of full and contracted forms would infinitely exceed the zero forms.

Structurally significant information emerges from a further breakdown by the grammatical subject of the clause in which the Auxiliary be/Copula occurs. It was demonstrated previously that the subject of the clause in which the Auxiliary be/Copula could potentially occur determined which form

of the copula was underlying.

The following chart shows this breakdown with the attendant count.

Environment	Full Form	Contracted Form	Zero Form
NP (sg.)	25	7	21
NP (pl.)	10 (3 non-agr.)		7
Compound NP - (e.g., "me and him").	1		6
I (am)	1	173	8
You (are)	12 (4/12 = "is")	14	70
He (is)	2	15	43
She (is)			7
It (is)	5	96	8
That (is)	3	119	4
This(is)	6 (includes {dIs:})		5
We (are)		2	17
They (are)	4	1	18

Interrogatives and clause introducers do not govern the Auxiliary be/ Copula form. This is governed by the grammatical subject of the clause. These factors are displayed below.

Gram. Subj:	Full Form		Contracted Form		Zero Form	
	3 sg.	other	3 sg.	other	3 sg.	other
Who		1 (1)	5		4	1
Where		2 (2)	13			8
What	9	2 (1)	18		1	6
There			5	1 (1)		
Here			4			
Misc.(X)	5				2	1

(X) The miscellaneous class includes adverbs and possessive pronouns, all with too few examples on which to base any structural statements.

(Y) Instances of non-agreement of the listed number are noted in ().

On the basis of this count, a paradigm is set forth for BNNE as follows.

I'm the best player.

You the best player.

He the best player.

She the best player.

It's a good game.

That's a good game.

This is a good game. ~ This a good game.

We good players.

They good players.

Alexander Mundy is the best.

Them boys are good. ~ Them boys good.

Me and him the best.

Copula Past Tense: 'Was' Vs. 'Were'

The descriptive statement in the main text postulated was as the only Auxiliary be/Copula past tense variant in BNNE. This statement was made on the basis of a count trying to determine the relative frequency of was and were.

Only those environments in which the grammatical subject preceded the copula were classed as countable. This excluded interrogatives where what, where, why, and so forth preceded the past tense. Clause introducers such as there, and it were also considered uncountable.

Since most of the speech in the game sessions was in the present tense, only the narratives and the interviews from the CAA and the other school children were considered.[5]

Summary of the Results. A summary shows the following results: 349 countable environments, of which 330 have the was variant and 19 the were variant. Structurally significant statements emerge after a further structural breakdown which differentiates environments according to the person and number of the grammatical subject, as follows:

Grammatical Subject:	Was	Where
NP - (singular)	51	1
*NP - (plural)	6	3
I	38	0
*You	3	?
He	62	0
She	33	0
It	79	0
That	11	0

Grammatical Subjects (cont.)	Was (cont.)	Were (cont.)
This	1	0
*We	16	3
*They	30	10
	330	19

The starred forms (*) are important, since they have grammatical subjects which in SE govern were. These figures indicate a slight tendency toward were in BNNE. Yet, the dominant form remains was, even for the latter subjects (they was = 55, they were = 18).

'Have' in BNNE

Have belongs to two morphological classes in BNNE, as in SE: Main Verb (Lexical) and Verb Auxiliary. A third class might also be considered: the catenative verb, e.g., have to + verb.

The BNNE Main Verb have and the catenative have to vary slightly from SE. The only feature of Main Verb have and catenative verb have to peculiar to BNNE is the occurrence of the uninflected form with third person singular subject (he have to). This difference encompasses the entire finite verb system.

Earlier discussions of Auxiliary have in BNNE[6] have attempted to deny its existence in NNE surface structure. The issue has been debated[7] and discussed with some clarification.

The structural configurations involving Auxiliary have in BNNE do not appear unreasonably difficult. A sketchy paradigm will present an overview of this structure quickly.

Subject	'have'	Participle	
He	∅	been	home a long time.[8]
He	ain't	been	home a long time.
He	haven't	been	home a long time.
He	(h)ad	been	home a long time.
He	-d	been	home a long time.

Subject	Modal	'have'	Participle	
He	would	a	been	at home.
He	wouldn't	a	been	at home.

The count tried to determine the dominant patterns of have in BNNE. A count of all three structural classes of have in BNNE corpora was made.[9]

Catenative 'have'. There were 165 potential catenative constructions of which 140 were have to, 2 has to, and 24 had to.

Five of the 140 have to had a third person singular subject, which constitutes non-agreement of verb and subject. There were two has to examples, the usual SE subject-verb agreement. (See chart 1).

Lexical 'have'. There were 190 lexical (main verb) have examples. Of these, 99 were present tense have-has, and 91 past tense had.

Of the 99 present tenses, 96 were have and 3 has. Ten of the 96 have had third person singular subjects, meaning that they did not agree with the subject as in SE. (See chart II).

Auxiliary 'have'. There were 49 occurrences of auxiliary have. Present tense accounted for 20 of them, and past tense for 29.

There were two present tense variants: has, and ∅, (He has gone...

and He gone.). The most frequent was Ø with 18 occurrences, while for has there were two.

There were two past variants: had, and -d, (She has gone., and She'd gone.). Had was most frequent occurring 24 times. Contracted -d occurred 5 times.

The auxiliary have has the negative particle n't. There are three negative variants of have in BNNE: I haven't done nothing. He hasn't done nothin, and I ain't done nothing. There were 39 potential negatives. Ain't was the most frequent variant occurring 29 times. Haven't was next with 9 occurrences. Hasn't occurred only one time.

Three haven't occurrences had a third person singular subject, constituting a lack of subject-verb agreement.

Finally, auxiliary have follows a modal verb, as in I would have done it. There were 46 examples in the corpora, of which 40 have 'a' /e/, as in I would -ve done it. Two instances have no auxiliary at all and one example has the full form have.

CHART I

CATENATIVE 'HAVE to' ---'HAD to':

	HAVE to	HAS to	HAD to
NP. sg.*			3
pl.			1
I	2		9
You	23		2
He*	[3]	2	1
She*			1
It*	[1]		
This*			
That*			
We	1		3
They	1		3
Who*	1		
Name*			1
Aux. + _____	108		
	140	2	24

*third person singular subject.

[ ] = non-agreement of subject and verb.

CHART II

LEXICAL 'HAVE':

	HAVE	HAS	HAD
NP sg.		1	1
pl.			
I	15		16
You	7		7
He	[6]	1	13
She			16
It	[1]		2
This			
That			
We	24		8
They	5		12
(-)body	2		1
Name		1	3
Who	[1]		
Aux. + _____	35		4
	105	3	83

= non-agreement of subject and verb.

CHART III

Auxiliary "HAVE"

	Have	-ve	Has	Ø	Had	-D	Haven't	Hasn't	Ain't
NP sg.				1	3				
pl.					1	1			
I			1	6	2		4		13
You				3	2				5
He			1	5	5		1		5
She						3			
It					1				
This									
That					1				1
We				1	1		2		1
They					5	1			1
Who					1				
(-)body					2				1
Name				2			2	1	2
	0	0	2	18	24	5	9	1	29

Auxiliary 'Have':

	HAVE	-ve	Ø	/e/
Auxiliary +_____+ Participle	1	3	2	40

Footnotes

[1]H.A. Gleason, An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics (Rev.) (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), pp. 97-99.

[2]Gleason, Ibid, pp. 102-103.

[3]This discrepancy is no doubt due to the -nt sequence in went which is the most frequent suppletive past tense. Post consonantal stops are lost more readily than post vocalic.

[4]The count was made on 18 corpora: 9 parent child game sessions - CAA # 4, 5/6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16 and 19; 5 narrative-interview sessions - G&AR 10/24/68, KM 10/24/68, GS 6/25/69, KM&AR 12/5/69, AR 11/14/68, from one of the two populations described in FN. 12. of the Introduction; 6 narrative sessions from the population described in FN. 14. of the Introduction, GB 1/21/69, GB 2/25/69, DW 2/20/69, RJ 2/12/69, RH 1/20/69, MS (date?).

[5]CAA narratives and interviews: AR 11/14/68, DB and JF 4/9/69; AR and KM 12/5/68; G and AR 10/24/68; KM 10/24/68; GS 6/25/69. Population described in FN. 14. of Introduction: CW 6/17/69, CB 2/25/69, RJ2/12/69, RH 1/20/69, PM 6/18/69, DW 2/20/69, 6/17/69, MS (date?), GB 1/21/69.

[6]Marvin Loflin presented this view stemming from his work with NNE while at C.A.L. (See previous notes).

[7]One such discussion is presented in: William Labov, Paul Cohen, Clarence Robins and John Lewis, A Study of the Non-Standard English Of Negro and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City V.I. Report No. CRP 3288, 1964, Columbia University, Contract -OEC-6-10-059, U,S. Office of Education, 221-228.

[8]The difference between simple past and the participle is not always clear. Several verbs have simple pasts in BNNE which are indistinguishable from the participle: I seen it, He done it. The two forms do exist, however. The following excerpt from the narrative of one boy shows the difference quite clearly.

> And I say, "I don't know where Kelvin went." So she say, Kelvin gone to the ballgame with two other boys."
>
> AR 10/24/68

[9]The corpora used in the count were A) CAA games # 4, 5/6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 19, B) CAA Interviews and Narratives: AR&G 10/24/68, KM&AR 12/5/68, DB&JF 4/9/69, C) School Interviews and Narratives: GB 1/21/69, CB 2/25/69, DW 2/20/69, 6/17/69, RJ 2/12/69, RH 1/20/69, MS (date?), CW 6/17/69, PM 6/18/69, RF 6/18/69.

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