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FAKULTA PEDAGOGICKÁ<br>KATEDRA ANGLICKÉHO JAZYKA

# Afro-Americká Lidová Angličtina <br> BAKALÁŘSKÁ PRÁCE 

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# African American Vernacular English <br> Undergraduate Thesis 

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Tato stránka bude ve svázané práci původní formulář Zadání bak. práce

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ABSTRACT<br>Stupková, Kristýna. University of West Bohemia, 2015. African American Vernacular English. Supervisor: PhDr. Naděžda Stašková, Ph. D.

This bachelor thesis deals with African American Vernacular English (AAVE). It consists of four main parts: the Introduction, the Theoretical Background, the Analysis of excerpts and Conclusion.

Theoretical background covers labels and labeling process of the variety, the historical development and origin theories. Grammatical features such as verbal and preverbal markers, copula verb be, negation and properties of nouns and pronouns are discussed.

From phonological features the most important ones are consonant cluster reduction, word final devoicing and the production of $t / d$ sounds and $f / v$ sounds in words where $t$ th sound is normally present. Lexicon of AAVE is also featured and some patterns that change meaning of Standard English words.

The practical part consists of the analysis of a novel Imani All Mine by African American writer Connie Porter. Phenomena described in the theoretical part are demonstrated in use on chosen excerpts. Excerpts were chosen manually from the book and divided into groups according to the phenomena appearing in them.

The aim of this thesis is to show that AAVE is a language with set rules and patterns and that its features are not mistakes. The analysis proved that the AAVE really is a rule governed language and that phenomena, which differs from Standard English appear systematically and frequently usually without exceptions.

Key words: African American Vernacular English, AAVE, Black English, lexicon, grammar, phonology

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is a very interesting and dynamic variety of English language spoken by most African Americans in the United States (Green, 2002, p. 1). Its uniqueness comes from specific set phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic patterns, verbal rituals and lexicon (Smitherman, 1998, p. 207).

American public used to understand AAVE as a lower, working-class slang and as Standard American English with mistakes in grammar and pronunciation, but AAVE has its own distinct rules and structure (Pullum, 1999, p. 40). Its distinctive features are often understood as mistakes by those, who are not familiar with these rules and patterns. What made the public more aware of AAVE was the decision of the Oakland City School board in 1996 that regarded AAVE and its use in school facilities. It was settled that teachers should be specially trained to look at AAVE more objectively and were able to better understand those students who speak it (Pullum, 1999, p. 40).

Also thanks to rap and hip hop music, literature, film industry and social media people are more acquainted with this variety and its differences from other varieties of the English language, however the use of AAVE is still somewhat constrained, especially the use in educational facilities as mentioned above, because only Standard English is considered appropriate to use. Teachers are still not sufficiently familiar with the system and the patterns of AAVE and this issue leads to misunderstandings and miscommunication between the teachers and students who identify themselves as speakers of AAVE.

The reason why I chose this topic for my undergraduate thesis is to show that AAVE is not a slang full of careless mistakes but a colorful variety with interesting culture, which manifests in the lexicon, with unique features in grammar and phonology and to point out the possible places of ambiguity.

This undergraduate thesis consists of four main parts: the Introduction, the Theoretical Background, the Analysis of excerpts and Conclusion.

The theoretical part deals with a description of the origin theories and history of AAVE, evidence about the development of the variety and the process of labeling
throughout the history. Grammatical, lexical and phonological properties of the variety are also discussed.

The practical part is concerned with an analysis of excerpts taken from a novel Imani All Mine (IAM) by Connie Porter (2000) written completely in AAVE.

The aim of this thesis is to show the rules and various patterns used within the variety which speakers follow and to prove that AAVE is not just Standard English with mistakes in grammar and with careless pronunciation.

## 2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

### 2.1 Labeling the Variety

Labels are used to link speakers to a certain variety of language and they also serve as a general description of the linguistic features that occur in the specific variety. In the case of AAVE these labels changed throughout the time because of their connection to sociohistorical development and social climate in the USA (Green, 2002, p. 6). This labeling process will be discussed in the following subchapter.

Green (2002) provides a list of the following labels used throughout the history of AAVE until now (p. 6):

- Negro dialect
- Nonstandard Negro English
- Negro English
- American Negro speech
- Black communications
- Black dialect
- Black folk speech
- Black street speech
- Black English
- Black English Vernacular
- Black Vernacular English
- Afro American English
- African American English
- African American Vernacular English

Some of these labels include "English", suggesting its characteristics have a lot in common with other varieties of English. Other labels are highlighting the African/creole relation (Green, 2002, p. 6).

Another label Smitherman (2000) often refers to is Ebonics. This term became rather controversial after the Oakland City School Board decision. It is derived from words ebony (dark colored exotic wood) and phonics (method for teaching reading).

Word ebony points to the connection of AAVE to its African roots (Pullum, 1999, p. 40).

In labeling this variety of language we have to take in consideration the acceptability of the terms and political correctness. Negro dialect refers to a period when African Americans were referred to as Negroes, however, it is acceptable to use Negro English when referring to historical state of the language in the early period of its development (1620-1700), but at present it would be highly inappropriate to use such a term in referring to African American English and its speakers.

### 2.2 Labeling process

Smitherman (2000) describes the labeling process of speakers and language throughout the history from African to African American (p. 44).

### 2.2.1 African

Initially the label African was linked to slaves brought to the Colonial America, because their connection to Africa was still very strong. African was the most commonly used term also Africans were referred to as "free" or "slave" depending on their enslavement status. Other labels used were "Negro" or "nigger". "Negro" comes from Spanish and Portuguese and it means black. The term "nigger" did not acquire its well known negative connotation until the late nineteenth century (Smitherman, 2000, p. 44).

### 2.2.2 Colored

After several generations of Africans were born the term African lost its initial meaning. It was possible to encounter the label "New Negroes" to refer to descendants of the first Africans brought to the New World. In the nineteenth up to the early twentieth century the term colored came to use. This label was their starting point on their way to emancipation (Smitherman, 2000, p. 45).

### 2.2.3 Negro

Negro as a label for Africans was used in the past as mentioned above, but in the twentieth it gained a different meaning. The fight for racial equality and civil rights changed its understanding. It was supposed to "construct a new identity of dignity, respect and full citizenship" (Smitherman, 2000, p. 47).

### 2.2.4 Black

The "Black Power" movement (1966) urged Negroes to discontinue the usage of the term because of its strong connection to the enslavement period. The newly used term was supposed to be a source of empowerment, unity and self-definition on their way to achieve equality (Smitherman, 2000, p. 48).

### 2.2.5 African American

The end of the twentieth century brought the contemporary term African American. This term empowers the African heritage, but also shows the contribution of generations of Black people to creating the American culture and history (Smitherman, 2000, p. 50).

### 2.3 Origin Theories

Two main theories exist that explain the origin of AAVE. Linguists are still not able to reach agreement on one of them exclusively. According to Rickford (1998) the fundamental question is whether a significant number of the Africans who came to the United States between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries went through processes of pidginization, creolization and (possibly) decreolization in acquiring English - the creolists' position, or whether they learned the English of British and other immigrants fairly rapidly and directly, without an intervening pidgin or creole stage - the dialectologists'/Anglicist position (p. 157).

Rickford (1998) also mentions a divergence issue which is concerned with whether AAVE is currently becoming more different from white vernacular dialects in the US (p. 155).

### 2.3.1 Pidgins

A pidgin is sharply restricted in social role, used for limited communication between speakers of two or more languages who have repeated or extended contact with each other, for instance through trade, enslavement, or migration (Rickford, 1998, p. 157).

When African people were enslaved and brought to the New World they all spoke different African languages and had to establish a new way of communicating with each other. They created a new auxiliary language which was a mixture of all their
native languages - pidgin language (Dillard, 1973, p. 74). These restricted pidgins have limited vocabulary, less complicated morphology, and a more restricted range of phonological and syntactic options. But there still are some extended pidgins which serve as primary languages and are quite complex. These are for example Tok Pisin in New Guinea, Sango in the Central African Republic, Nigerian Pidgin, Cameroonian Pidgin and others (Rickford, 1998, p. 156).

### 2.3.2 Creoles

Rickford (1998) refers to a creole definition by Hall (1995): "A creole is a pidgin that has acquired native speakers, usually, the descendants of pidgin speakers." Creoles have more extensive vocabulary and more complicated grammar than pidgins (p. 156). These are a combination of a given European language with the grammatical and pronunciation patterns of African languages and they were reflecting systems, syntax and communicative style that were not found in the European languages (Smitherman, 2000, p. 33).

There still are creole languages used by this day. The most significant of these is probably Gullah, which is a language spoken on the islands off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia (Rickford, 1998, p. 154). This variety of American English is closely related to West African varieties. French Creole (Haitian French Creole) can serve as another example of such language. It is spoken in Louisiana and Southern Texas. Gullah and French Creole (Haitian French Creole) are related to Caribbean creoles (Dillard, 1973, p. 6).

### 2.3.3 Anglicist Theory

The second theory about the origin of AAVE is a dialectologist/Anglicist theory. Defenders of this theory state that "the characteristic patterns of AAVE are found in other varieties of English, especially in Southern varieties and earlier stages of English". Data collected from speech communities in Nova Scotia and Samaná in Dominican Republic showed that the settlers in these parts probably used the same variety of English language as Africans who came to America (Green, 2002, p. 9).

Smitherman (2000) explains this theory as follows: "Africans in enslavement picked up their English from white immigrants from places like East Anglia, that is, from whites
speaking various dialects of the British Isles, who had settled in the South during the Colonial era in US history" (p. 30).

In deciding between the two theories linguists have to take in consideration sociohistorical conditions under which Africans came to and settled in the United States (Rickford, 1998, p. 157). But the main problem is the lack of evidence during the early period: 1619-1620 until the Revolutionary War era (Smitherman, 2000, p. 31).

### 2.4 Historical Development and Evidence

In the early period (1620-1700) in the history of AAVE there unfortunately is not much evidence regarding the state of the language, however a little direct evidence in the form of letters and journal entries survived. These pieces of evidence usually come from slaves (Dillard, 1973, p. 77).

Parallel pieces of evidence from this period can be found in Pidgin French and Indian Pidgin English. These pidgins show the relation with African Pidgin English that was spreading in that phase of time as these two pidgins did. Established African Pidgin English was evident by the year 1715 (Dillard, 1973, p. 78). It was also possible to encounter it in literary works of Daniel Defoe specifically in novels: The Life of Colonel Jacque (also known as Colonel Jack) and Robinson Crusoe. Dillard (1973) mentions this sentence as an example:
"Yes, yes ... me know, me know but me want speak, me tell something. O! me no let him makee de great master angry" (Defoe, Colonel Jaque, 1810, p. 230).

By the early eighteenth century there were three established varieties of language used by Africans - West African Pidgin English, Plantation Creole and Standard English (Dillard, 1973, p. 85). The use of these varieties depended mostly on social factors within the slave community (Dillard, 1973, p. 86).

In the late eighteenth century Negroes usually spoke "good" English and were easily understood. However, their speech still included some pidgin or creole characteristics such as unmarked verb forms. Nevertheless, some of the slaves were not able to communicate with their masters at all (Dillard, 1973, p. 87).

Frequently it was possible to encounter Pidgin English with elements from African vocabulary and from phonological features the enclitic vowel in words such as workee (Dillard, 1973, p. 89).

One of the most important and treasured pieces of evidence from the early stages of AAVE are Ex-slave narratives also called Ex-slave recordings. These are recorded interviews with a number of former slaves talking about their lives. They demonstrate an authentic picture of the language, even though specialists claim that these recordings are not sufficient for systematic quantitative studies.

### 2.5 Phonology of AAVE

### 2.5.1 Consonant cluster reduction

AAVE chiefly differs from other varieties of English in pronunciation of final consonant groups or clusters (Green, 2002, p. 107). Consonant group or cluster, composed of two consonant sounds is reduced to a single consonant sound. This phenomenon is called consonant cluster reduction. Word final sound groups such as $n d$ or $s t$ are reduced to a single consonant $n$ or $s$. Green (2002) provides an example with words (p. 107):

| test | tes |
| :--- | :--- |
| kind | kin |
| hand | han |

According to Green (2002) there are two possible analysis theories for consonant cluster reduction (p. 108). One of them points to the West African origin of AAVE. Green (2002) claims: "Speakers have such pronunciation not because the final consonant sound is deleted in some environments, but because the languages from which AAVE originated do not have final consonant clusters." (p. 108)

The second analysis theory is based on the fact that final consonant clusters in AAVE are intact. Green (2002) explains this as follows: tes actually starts out as test, and the final $t$ is deleted under certain conditions. The word tes in AAVE has the same representation as test in mainstream English. This is purely a result of phonological process (p. 108).

Other phenomena that occur within the phonology of AAVE are word-final devoicing, change of pronunciation of th sound in final and initial position and
occurrence of $s k r$ in initial position in words, where str is situated under normal circumstances.

Word-final devoicing is a process in which final voiced consonants become voiceless, thus words ending in $b, d$ or $g$ are pronounced $p, t$ or $k$. Green (2002) provides an example (p. 116):

| cab | cap |
| :--- | :--- |
| pig | pick |
| feed | feet |

Another process commonly occurring within the sound system of AAVE is the production of $t / d$ sounds and $f / v$ sounds in words in which $t h$ sound occurs in final or initial positions in general American English (Green, 2002, p. 117). The distribution of these sounds does not appear randomly, but it is based on phonetic properties. The state of glottis determines whether the sound is voice or voiceless, the place of articulation and the manner of articulation (Green, 2002, p 117).

| Sound | State of glottis |  | Place of articulation |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Manner of articulation |  |  |  |
| t apart, | alveoral | stop |  |
| vocal folds |  |  |  |
| voiceless folds together, | alveoral | stop |  |
| d | vocal <br> voiced | vocal folds apart, <br> voiceless folds together, | labiodental |
| vocal fabiodental <br> voiced | fricative |  |  |
| v |  | fricative |  |

Green (2002) also mentions some other sound patterns. One of them is the realization of the final velar nasal $-n g / \eta /$ as alveolar nasal $n$. This involves the suffix ing in polysyllabic words (p. 123).

| walking | walkin |
| :--- | :--- |
| something | somethin |

Occurrence of $s k r$ in syllable initial position where $s t r$ is normally situated can be also encountered within the phonology of AAVE. This phenomenon is often confused with speech disorders by speech pathologists.

Green (2002) features these words as examples (p. 122):

$$
\text { skreet } \quad \text { street }
$$

| skrawberry | strawberry |
| :--- | :--- |
| skretch | stretch |
| skraight | straight |

Even though the phonological features of AAVE may seem like "lazy speech" they are all systematic and rule defined. Specific phenomena occur in specific environments (Green, 2002, p. 132).

### 2.6 Negation

There are several patterns for creating negation in AAVE. These are negative inversion, negative postposing and negating clauses and sentences with negative indicator ain't.

AAVE is a negative-concord language. This can be characterized as "the use of two or more negative morphemes to communicate a single negation" (Martin, Wolfram, 17). This phenomena is also known as multiple or pleonastic negation. The term pleonastic negation means that the extra negative element or elements do not add any additional negative meaning to a phrase or a sentence. Critics often claim that this expression of negation is illogical because two negatives make a positive but this rule does not apply on AAVE (Green, 2002, p. 77). In Standard English, only one negative morpheme can be applied (Martin, Wolfram, p. 17).

These negative morphemes "can occur in many locations, both in the main clause and in embedded subordinate clauses" but the morpheme has to appear at least in one position where it can negate the whole sentence (Martin, Wolfram, p. 19).

### 2.6.1 Negative inversion

When two sentences or clause initial elements, an auxiliary and indefinite noun phrase, are obligatorily marked for negation we talk about negative inversion. The initial negated auxiliary is followed by a negative indefinite noun phrase. The indefinite pronouns such as someone, somebody, somewhere, etc. are replaced by their negative counterparts no one, nobody, nowhere (Green, 2002, p. 78).

Can't nobody tell you it wasn't meant for you.
Don't no game last all night long.

### 2.6.2 Negative postposing

Negative postposing refers to the occurrence of post verbal negative quantifiers in isolation. This kind of negation sort of contradicts the fact that AAVE is a negative concord language, yet this type appears quite often (Veenendaal, Straatje, Zeijlstra, 2014).

I have nowhere to go.
He know nothing.

### 2.6.3 Negative indicator ain't

One of the most commonly used ways of negating a clause or a sentence in many varieties of English language is a negative indicator ain't, however the usage in AAVE and in other non-standard varieties is slightly different.

In non-standard English, ain't can only be used as a variant of present tense "be+not" and "have+not" while ain't in AAVE has a wider distribution. In AAVE ain't has three kinds of usage: it can be used for present tense "be+not", "have+not", and past tense "do+not", which is unattested in non-standard English (Veenendaal, Straatjes, Zeijlstra, 2014).

You ain't going to no hell, girl. (IAM, p. 83)
I ain't got nothing to say. (IAM, p. 101)

### 2.7 Properties of nouns and pronouns

### 2.7.1 Genitive marking

Possession is realized by possessive pronoun or by a noun phrase in a possessive function marked with possessive marker $-s$ as in Standard English, however in some cases the possessive $-s$ is either not pronounced or it is fully omitted (Mufwene, 1998, p. 74).

Mufwene (1998) describes the phonological conditions under which the possessive marker is not pronounced; it depends on whether the noun to which it is attached ends in a vowel or a consonant and whether the head noun, which follows, starts with a vowel or a consonant - it is most often omitted between two consonants (p. 74). The other option, where the possession is not marked whatsoever, is a result of applying different morphosyntactic rules which mark the possessive function usually word order (Mufwene 1998, p. 75).

Possession can be also marked by pronoun they and compound ya'll. It stands for you all, other variants possible to encounter are yall, yall's (Smitherman, 2000, p. 24).

Pronoun they is not in a possessive form their as in Standard English but remains in the form of a personal pronoun. Ya' $l l$ can have a possessive function as well as a function of a personal pronoun.

It's they right to be respected. (IAM, p. 19)
They birthright. (IAM, p. 19)

Mama say, Look like ya'll moving in! Don' it! (IAM, p. 72) possessive function
He know ya'll asses too. (IAM, p. 82) personal pronoun

### 2.7.2 Associative plural

Nem (other variations are 'n em, and nem) stands for "them" or "and them" when referring to a group of people - friends, family, associates etc. (Mufwene, 1998, p. 73).

When aunt Mavis nem didn't come... (p. 71)
I was watching Mama nem in the kitchen. (p. 74)

### 2.8 Auxiliary verbs - be, do, have

Green (2002) created an overview of the verbal system of AAVE including forms of copula verb be (p. 36).

| Present tense |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Person, number | Present | Emphatic affirmation | Negative |
| 1st, 2nd, 3rd sg, pl | eat, run, rub | DO eat, run, rub | don't eat, run, rub |
| Past tense |  |  |  |
| Past |  | Emphatic affirmation | Negative |
| ate, ran, rubbed |  | DID eat, run, rub | $\begin{aligned} & \text { din (didn't) eat, run, } \\ & \text { rub } \end{aligned}$ |
| Past tense |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | Negative ain('t) eat/ate, run/ran, rub/rubbed |
| Preterite had <br> Preterite had (Past) |  | Emphatic affirmation | Negative |
| Had ate, ran, rubbed |  | - | - |
| Future tense |  |  |  |
| Future |  | Emphatic affirmation | Negative |
| 'a eat, run, rub |  | WILL eat, run, rub | won't eat, run, rub |
| (reduced will ('a) attaches to the preceding pronoun, as in I'a, she'a) |  |  |  |
| Future tense |  |  |  |
| Person, number | Future | Emphatic affirmation | Negative |
| 1st sg. <br> 2nd, 3rd sg. pl. | I'ma eat gon eat | - | $\begin{aligned} & \text { I ain't gon/I'm not } \\ & \text { gon } \\ & \text { ain't gon/not gon } \end{aligned}$ |
| (Note: There are also variations such as I'm gonna / I'monna and you gonna.) |  |  |  |
| Present progressive (prog) (auxiliary be) |  |  |  |
| Person, number | Pres prog | Emphatic affirmation | Negative |


| 1st sg. | I'm eating | I AM eating | I'm not/ I ain('t) eating |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1st pl, 2nd sg. pl. | we, you |  |  |
| 3rd sg. pl | she, they eating | IS eating | Ain('t)/not eating |
| 3nd sg neuter | It's growing | It IS eating | it's not growing it ain('t) rating |
| Present copula be |  |  |  |
| Person, number | Present | Emphatic affirmation | Negative |
| 1st sg. | I'm tall | I AM tall | I'm not tall / I ain't tall |
| 1st pl, 2nd sg, pl | we, you, |  |  |
| 3rd sg, pl | she, they | IS | ain('t)/not tall |
| 3 rd sg neuter | it's tall | It IS | it's not tall/ |
|  |  |  | it ain('t) tall |
| Past progressive |  |  |  |
| Person, number | Past prog | Emphatic affirmation | Negative |
| 1st, 2nd, 3rd sg. pl | was eating | WAS eating | wadn't (wasn't) eating |
| Future progressive |  |  |  |
| Future prog |  | Emphatic affirmation | Negative |
| 'a be eating |  | WILL be eating | won('t) be eating |
| Present perfect (perf) |  |  |  |
| Person, number | Present perf | Emphatic affirmation | Negative |
| 1st, 2nd, 3rd sg. pl | ate, ran, rubbed | HAVE ate, ran, rubbed | ain('t)/haven('t) ate, ran, rubbed |
| Past perfect |  |  |  |
| Past perf |  | Emphatic affirmation | Negative |
| had ate, ran, rubbed |  | HAD ate, ran, rubbed | hadn't ate, ran, rubbed |
| Present perfect progressive |  |  |  |
| Person, Number | Present perf prog | Emphatic affirmation | Negative |
| 1st, 2nd, 3rd sg. pl | been eating | HAVE been eating | ain('t)/haven't been |


|  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Past perfect progressive |  | Emphatic <br> affirmation | Negative |
| Past pref prog | HAD been eating | hadn't been eating |  |
| had been eating |  | Emphatic <br> affirmation | Negative |
| Modal perfect | - | shouldn'a been eating |  |
| Modal perfect |  |  |  |
| should'a been eating |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |

### 2.8.1 Omission of copula verb be

One of the distinctive features of AAVE is the omission of copula verb be in some environments. Critics often confuse this feature with ignorance and carelessness of the speakers, however there are detailed and strict rules for omitting the copula (Pullum, 1999, p. 45). This phenomenon also occurs in other languages such as Russian, Hungarian or Arabic (Pullum, 1999, p. 47).

Pullum (1999) mentions rules for omitting the copula (p. 45):
a) if the copula bears stress for any reason, it cannot be omitted. "There already is one!"
b) copula at the end of a phrase is stressed and cannot be omitted. "Couldn't nobody say what color he is."
c) verbal marker been in phrases that express remote past: "She been married."
d) copula also cannot be omitted when it is in a past tense - forms was and were
e) negated copula cannot be omitted
f) copula in first person, present tense cannot be absent - form I am)
g) copula in an infinitival base form cannot be absent in constructions such as: "Be careful.", "You gotta be strong."
h) verbal marker be carrying the habitual meaning
i) when copula appears in initial position in an interrogative sentence and also in question and confirmatory tags.

### 2.8.2 Verbal -s suffix

In the simple present tense verbs have the same form for singular and plural, including the third person singular, which in Standard English takes the suffix -s (Green,

2002, p. 38). The difference between third person singular and plural form is neutralized (Green, 2002, p. 99). Green (2002) also states that some speakers do not apply this rule, so both variants are possible to encounter. It depends on the social environments of the speakers (p. 38).

She eat.
We was sitting.

Occasionally in some environments and under specific conditions verbs are marked with verbal $-s$ (Green, 2002, p. 100). Verbal -s appears as narrative present marker and habitual marker. Narrative present marker is used in narration of events. Habitual marker appears in sentences which express habituality or regularity (Green, 2002, p. 100).

I can show you some of the stuff we tesses them on.

### 2.8.3 Past verb forms

The simple past verb forms and present perfect verb forms are often identical. Simple past is usually used with both forms without using a separate participle (Green, 2002, p. 39). It is also possible to encounter the participle form in environments where simple past appears (Green, 2002, p. 95).

Then I seen where his eyes was. (IAM, p. 27)

### 2.8.4 Verbal markers - be, been, done

Green (2002) claims that verbal markers in AAVE are similar in form to auxiliary verbs in general American English, and this shared identity may cause some confusion between speakers of the two language systems (p. 44). This means that nonspeakers of AAVE expect these verbal markers to possess the same role and meaning as some auxiliary verb forms in general American English (Green, 2002, p. 44).

Be, been [bın], done [dən] are aspectual (tense-aspect) verbal markers. They occur in specific environments and indicate a certain type of meaning (Green, 2002, p. 45).

### 2.8.4.1 Habitual be

A very significant syntactic feature of AAVE is a verbal marker be. It is used to indicate the habitual or iterative occurrence of an event. This phenomenon is referred to
as habitual be and it is followed by progressive form -ing (Green, 2002, p. 35). In this case the copula cannot be omitted as it can occur in other environments. This may cause misinterpretation or ambiguity (Green, 2002, p. 47).

Green (2002) illustrates this on examples (p. 47):
Bruce run. Bruce runs on occasions.
Bruce running. Bruce is running now.
Bruce be running. Bruce is usually running.

All sentences above can have habitual meaning, but the first and second sentence can have also other readings while the third one with habitual be can only have habitual meaning (p. 47).

### 2.8.4.2 Been

Been $\left[\mathrm{b}_{\mathrm{in}} \mathrm{n}\right]$ refers to an activity or a state in remote past that started in the remote past and continues up to the moment of utterance or occurrence. Even though the spelling is the same been [bin] (stressed form) is distinguished from been [ban] (unstressed form) phonetically and semantically (Green, 2002, p. 55).

She been [bin] running. She has been running for a long time.
She been running. She has been running.
She been [bın] had him all day. She has had him all day.

### 2.8.4.3 Done

Verbal marker done is pronounced with an unstressed syllable [dən] represents an event that has ended. It precedes verbs in past participle -ed form (Green, 2002, p. 60 ).

I told him you done changed. I told him that you have changed.
I done already finished that.
I done pushed it.
I have already finished that.
I have (already) pushed it.

### 2.8.5 Preverbal markers - steady, finna, come

### 2.8.5.1 Steady

Verbal marker steady precedes progressive verbal form -ing. This verbal marker expresses an activity in an intense or consistent manner. It can be paraphrased as
constantly, strongly or hard. It cannot be used with verbs that denote states such as have, own and know. It must precede verbs that name activities. Usage with verbs which denote states is considered ungrammatical (Green, 2002, p. 71).

People be on them jobs for thirty years just steady working.

### 2.8.5.2 Finna

Finna (other variations are fenna, fixina, fixna and fitna) indicates that the event will happen in the immediate future - fixing to do something.

This form precedes non-finite verbs, which are not marked for tense and agreement (Green, 2002, p. 70). It is followed by verbs in non-finite form (Green, 2002, p. 71).

Mama say, I was fenna to leave you a note. (IAM, p. 45)
When you knew my baby was fenna die. (IAM, p. 178)

### 2.8.5.3 Come

Come as a preverbal marker expresses a speaker's attitude specifically indignation with an action or an event. It precedes verbs ending in -ing (Green, 2002, p. 73).

Don't come acting like you don't know what happened and you started the whole thing.

Don't try to act as if you don't know what happened, because you started the whole thing.

### 2.9 Lexicon

The vocabulary of AAVE can be divided into two main categories. First category consists of lexical items universally known to members of all age groups. Second category involves words and phrases used by a certain age group for example teenagers. Speakers of AAVE have access to words and phrases from the vocabulary of AAVE as well as from American English (Green, 2002, p. 19). Also the importance of social class is not of a great importance when dealing with the lexicon of AAVE (Green, 2002, p. 13).

Green (2002) states, "a study of the lexicon and semantics of AAVE should reveal information about the type of meaning that is associated with lexical items in the language system, and it should also reveal information about the unique meaning in the variety" (p. 12). The uniqueness comes from the process that gives ordinary American words different meaning in AAVE (Smitherman, 2000, p. 26).

Green (2002) gives an example of a word kitchen. This word naturally possesses the same meaning as in Standard English but it also has a unique meaning in AAVE referring to the hair at the nape of a neck (p. 20).

One of the patterns that give words from Standard English different meaning is semantic inversion. Words with negative connotations in Standard English have positive meaning in AAVE. This can often lead to ambiguity and miscommunication between the speakers of AAVE and other varieties of English (Smitherman, 2000, p. 26).

Boy, you bad. (IAM, p. 27)
Damn, her outfit sick!

Green (2002) in her publication African American English: A Linguistic Introduction compiled some essential lexical items used in the variety. Important part of the lexical entries compiled by Green is labels used to refer to people - males and females (p. 28). It shows how African Americans often address each other.

Terms for females:
bopper - woman preoccupied with material gain
dime - attractive woman
honey - pet name usually for a girlfriend
ma (also mama) - attractive woman
shorty (also shawty) - pet name usually for a girlfriend
wifey - girlfriend

Terms for males:
cuz - cousin
dawg (also dog) - common term used by males to address each other
homes (also homie) - friend
money - friend
scrub - derogatory, a male who is not self-sufficient and depends on others for livelihood

The terms for females are usually used by males to label females. The second group of names is used when males address each other. Females use more general terms such as sister (also sista) or girl (Green, 2002, p. 28).

## 3 ANALYSIS

### 3.1 Methods

The aim of this analysis is to demonstrate phenomena described in the theoretical part how they appear in use and how they follow specific rules and patterns which are not used randomly.

The source for analysis is a novel Imani All Mine by African American writer Connie Rose Porter and it is written entirely in AAVE. It was awarded the BCALA Honor Book for 1999. It tells a story of a teenage mother 15 year-old Tasha and her daughter Imani. Tasha lives in a ghetto with her mother Earlene among drug dealers and violence which in the end affects her life greatly because her daughter is killed in a drug related shooting.

I will analyze the aspects mentioned in the theoretical part as they appear in use. Excerpts were picked out manually from a printed version of the book, entered into Microsoft Word document and then divided into groups according to the kind of phenomenon appearing in them: preverbal and verbal markers, zero copula, negation, verbal $-s$, past verb forms, properties of nouns and pronouns and lexicon. The phenomenon examined is in bold.

Those terms that were discussed and explained in the theoretical part are listed. Phenomena which can be identified such as negation were subdivided. Lexical entries are explained further with their meaning.

Phenomena which were occurring frequently throughout the text but are not supported by theoretical research are also listed and described such as nam, indefinite articles and reflexive pronouns.

### 3.2 Preverbal markers - steady, finna, come

### 3.2. 1 Steady

1. His eyelashes was tickling my face and he was steady kissing me. (p. 33)
2. All the while he steady kissing me and I'm steady trying not to breathe. (p. 51)
3. ... and he's steady sweating. (p. 85)
4. While that woman steady screaming. (p. 91)
5. But it was still hard to comb, and she was steady whining. (p. 97)
6. ...he pushed the door up while he was steady saying, Wait wait wait. (p. 124)
7. Mama was screaming behind me and bullets steady hitting our house. (p. 180)
8. While I was steady screaming. (p. 181)
9. Mama was steady rocking. (p.187)
10. People was steady coming in around us and leaving around us. (p. 198)

### 3.2.2 Finna

11. Mama say, I was fenna to leave you a note. (p. 45)
12. But I say, I know what you fenna say, Miss Lovey. (p. 57)
13. They be looking at you like you stole something or fenna steal something. (p. 108)
14. I was fenna give him a tissue for his nose... (p. 129)
15. I was fenna give her one when the bottle flew out her mouth. (p. 156)
16. When we was fenna turn at the corner, a dealer walked right up to the car. (p. 167)
17. When you knew my baby was fenna die. (p. 178)

### 3.3 Zero copula

18. She say Imani Ø all mine. (p. 1)
19. Imani Ø so little. (p. 1)
20. We Ø watching whatever come on for free. (p. 3)
21. What the hell Ø wrong with you? (p. 10)
22. She Ø my baby. (p. 11)
23. Who Ø the father? (p. 11)
24. Like Imani some idea. (p. 19)
25. It was a black woman doctor and she Ø pretty. (p. 20)
26. You Ø a young girl, ...(p. 21)
27. Them other boys $\emptyset$ jealous of him, I think.(p. 25)
28. Then why Ø you crying? (p. 33)
29. Hell, she smell like she Ø dying. (p. 35)
30. Who Ø in there? (p. 35)
31. Miss Lovey Ø a good cook. (p. 38)
32. Royster $\emptyset$ old enough to be Mama daddy. (p. 46)
33. Mostly I ain't like him because he Ø married. (p. 46)
34. You Ø a good mother. (p. 71)
35. You Ø not perfect, Tasha. (p. 71)
36. No parent Ø perfect. (p. 71)
37. Frankie Ø still a baby. (p. 74)
38. ... we Ø trapped in the seventies... (p. 74)
39. Omar real fine... (p. 77)
40. ...they Ø just shooting like they usually be. (p. 79)
41. Even though he Ø married. (p. 82)
42. We Ø living it right here in these streets. (p. 83)
43. They Ø shadows to me. (p. 84)
44. He look like he Ø probably in high school. (p. 85)
45. While that woman Ø steady screaming. (p. 91)
46. She say his name Ø Mitch. (p. 96)
47. You Ø looking at a future doctor right here. (p. 99)
48. Mrs. Poole say secondhand smoke $Ø$ bad for a baby lungs. (p. 103)
49. You Ø renting him and his wife own him. (p. 104)
50. You Ø a smart girl... (p. 112)
51. Imani Ø nosey. (p. 113)
52. On account he Ø a principal. (p. 119)
53. They Ø working for Mitch? (p. 119)
54. You Ø carrying it around like it's some toy. (p. 127)
55. He say they $\varnothing$ some of the most honest women he done ever met. (p. 135)
56. She Ø sleeping already. (p. 145)
57. Not because Mama say I Ø grown (p. 146)
58. I say, This Ø Peanut. (p. 160)
59. Who Ø my daddy? (p. 171)
60. Imani Ø going to make it. (p. 187)
61. Mama say she Ø in heaven. (p. 190)

### 3.4 Verbal markers - be, been, done

### 3.4.1 Habitual be

62. When I be getting up with her at night, it be my own face looking back at me. (p.
1) 
63. I be smiling at her. (p. 1)
64. When I be crying crazy like that, all these strange noises be coming out my mouth. (p. 10)
65. ...where he be scribbling out problems and they solutions. (p. 11)
66. Maybe that's all right for boys, but don't he know what girls be having to do in the lavatory sometimes? (p.12)
67. They be shooting around here sometimes at night. (p. 15)
68. Mrs. Poole be making a good sense, the kind of sense you know be right. (p. 19)
69. Mama ain't one to brag on me much, but when she do, I be liking it. (p. 23)
70. We'd be lining ourselves up so we could end up on the same side. (p. 44)
71. These days she be putting all kinds of things in her mouth she find on the floor. (p. 46)
72. He be kissing her on the bus. (p. 48)
73. She be funny sometimes. But sometimes she be getting on my nerves. (p. 81)
74. But I don't be believing she know the men she say she do. (p. 81)
75. Mrs. Poole be making us read about a blessing. (p. 94)
76. ... they be telling you not to take them. (p. 100)
77. They be looking at you like you stole something or fenna steal something. (p. 108)
78. I still don't be seeing him. (p. 108)
79. I be looking for Peanut to come through the door. (p. 109)
80. I don't know who be putting up the memorials. (p. 122)
81. She be acting like I done slapped her, though. (p. 204)

### 3.4.2 Done

82. Mama done told me... (p. 1)
83. I done had her...(p. 1)
84. What you done did? (p. 34)
85. Seem like she done already figured out the answer. (p. 42)
86. I think he done changed. (p. 48)
87. It seem like after you been with somebody, after they done been all up inside уои... (p. 48)
88. Maybe she done met some of them men. (p. 81)
89. Mama done went and got herself a white man! (p. 96)
90. I done been in love. (p. 104)
91. When this white man done had enough... (p. 105)
92. Looking to see if he done made a star out of hisself. (p. 109)
93. He used to go to Lincoln, but I guess he done quit. (p. 110)
94. She done got her hair braided... (p. 118)
95. Girl, some nigger done broke in my house...(p. 125)
96. He say they some of the most honest women he done ever met. (p. 135)
97. A whole season done changed in just a few weeks... (p. 174)
98. She be acting like I done slapped her, though. (p. 204)
99. My father done let me down. (p. 208)

### 3.4.3 Been

100. It looked like she been crying. (p. 13)
101. She been saying that for a while now,... (p. 47)
102. I been meaning to talk to you. (p. 57)
103. My baby been sick. (p. 66)
104. I been traumatized. (p. 118)

### 3.5 Verbal -s

105. She don't know. (p. 1)
106. Mama say I'm grown now because I got Imani. (p. 1)
107. We watching whatever come on for free. (p. 3)
108. He don't never leave the overhead projector... (p. 11)
109. Don't he think we might need more ... (p. 12)
110. Ain't no way a baby know what gunshots is. (p. 15)
111. My baby like that. (p. 20)
112. She like rap. (p. 20)
113. Hell, she smell like she dying. (р. 35)
114. Eboni know me real good. (p. 37)
115. It seem like after you been with somebody... (p. 48)
116. ... if it do try to climb. (р. 78)
117. I know she don't trust her. (p. 81)
118. But I don't be believing she know the men she say she do. (p. 81)
119. Mama say, He don't know me. (p. 82)
120. He look like he probably in high school. (p. 85)
121. I can't see her face at all. Her hat make it into a shadow. (p. 85)
122. Imani don't like it. (p. 91)
123. Because a baby need a blessing. (p. 94)
124. She say his name Mitch. (p. 96)
125. Mrs. Poole say secondhand smoke bad for a baby lungs. (p. 103)
126. You renting him and his wife own him. (p. 104)
127. Mitch love me. (p. 105)
128. If Mama say Mitch love her, he do. (p. 105)
129. What make they closed lips talk. (p. 109)
130. She probably want to eat. (p. 112)
131. She like to see. (p. 113)
132. How anybody know. (p. 113)
133. He say they would even do it for kibbles and bits. (p. 135)
134. ...when water run through them. (p. 149)
135. Don't no fresh air get in the room and it always smell... (p. 149)
136. Mama don't knock. (p. 157)
137. My stomach hurt, I say. (p. 157)
138. Where do it go? (p. 182)
139. Mama love him. (p. 204)
140. He want you to wait. (p. 206)

### 3.6 Negation

141. I ain't got to get up and go nowhere. (p. 1)
142. I don't care what nobody say... (p. 1)
143. I ain't want to be on no pills. (p. 17)
144. I don't care nothing about no Peanut. (p. 38)
145. They ain't going to catch nobody. (p. 41)
146. Them the kind of niggers don't care about nobody. (p. 41)
147. She wasn't nothing. (p. 43)
148. We don't mess around no more. (p. 48)
149. I don't want you to do nothing. (p. 48)
150. I ain't had nobody to talk to. (p. 49)
151. He ain't even have on no skates. (p. 49)
152. He say not to take her to no daycare. (p. 62)
153. I don't know no girl he got a baby by. (p. 77)
154. But I waited until I ain't hear no more bullets... (p. 79)
155. I don't even joke about no God, Miss Odetta say. (p. 82)
156. He ain't nobody husband. (p. 82)
157. You ain't going to no hell, girl. (p. 83)
158. ...we wouldn't even be living in no ghetto. (p. 83)
159. ... but she ain't said nam word to me about you. (p. 97)
160. I ain't mean no harm to Mitch. (p. 97)
161. We ain't got no beer. (p. 98)
162. ... your ass ain't having nam up in here. (p. 98)
163. I ain't got nothing to say. (p. 101)
164. You ain't even went out with nobody from no damn Rolling Stones. (p. 103)
165. There wasn't no clouds to keep in the heat. (p. 110)
166. He ain't in no NBA. (p. 161)

### 3.6.1 Negative inversion

167. There don't be nothing on. (p. 2)
168. He don't never leave the overhead projector... (p. 11)
169. Ain't no way a baby know what gunshots is. (p. 15)
170. Ain't none of her bussines why I have a baby. (p. 21)
171. Not having no more babies was a way to start. (p. 23)
172. She say don't nobody know what they dream about. (p. 36)
173. Wasn't never even no shooting there until that day. (p. 39)
174. They don't never be in the botom of the box. (p. 78)
175. It ain't no real church. (p. 80)
176. I don't care nothing about who preaching in there. (p. 82)
177. Can't neither one of us swim. (p.84)
178. Ain't nobody talking to you (p. 100)
179. There wasn't no clouds to keep in the heat. (p. 110)
180. Don't no fresh air get in the room... (p. 149)

### 3.7 Plural

181. Me and Mama was sitting out on the front porch. (p. 2)
182. Mama say me and other girls is spoiled. (p. 4)
183. They was soft at first ... (p. 7)
184. Just last week when we was up... (p. 14)
185. Ain't no way a baby know what gunshots is. (p. 15)
186. I think we all was. (p. 19)
187. We was all laughing. (p. 24)
188. All us girls was lined up.(p. 25)
189. We was just being dismissed.(p. 39)
190. Then I seen where his eyes was.(p. 27)
191. His eyelashes was tickling my face... (p. 33)
192. ...it seem like my tears is all dried up in me... (p. 35)
193. Niggers was getting shot before there ever was drug dealers. (p. 42)
194. ...how big my feet was. (p. 49)
195. Me and Coco was sitting together at lunch. (p. 59)
196. You sure is a good mother. (p. 63)
197. While the pies was cooking... (p. 73)
198. ...when things is marked down. (p. 77)
199. The windows is all painted over. (p. 84)
200. The twins was all dressed in long white dresses. (p. 93)
201. ... they was calling about. (p. 107)
202. There wasn't no clouds to keep in the heat. (p. 110)
203. Words I knew was lies. (p. 121)
204. These two boys was going at each other... (p. 149)
205. Aunt Mavis nem got pictures of Junior and Little Frankie from the day they was born. (p. 152)
206. Like they was shadows haunting me. (p. 182)
207. Cops was everywhere. (p. 183)
208. Tiny little worlds was spinning around me... (p. 205)

### 3.8 Lexicon

209. I needed some new kicks. (p. 9) - shoes, usually sneakers
210. stinking little ho (p.17) - derogatory, girl with loose manners, prostitute, "whore"
211. People think they hos. (p. 135)
212. bogart our jump-rope game (p. 25) - ruin
213. Yvette put some pepper to them ropes. (p. 26) - make something more difficult
214. Boy, you bad. (p. 27) - semantic inversion, negative meaning of a word bad changes into positive
215. Coco the one brung me that bone. (p. 48) - dialectal variety of brought
216. They skin ashy. (p. 86) - skin condition connected with black skin, which makes it look grey or white (color similar to ash)
217. Her hair was all napped up. (p. 97) - curly hair usually connected with African American people
218. Nappy hair (p. 98)
219. Mama kissed Mitch dead in the mouth. (p. 101) - directly in the mouth
220. Mama say, If I had money to pay the goddamn bill in the first place, we wouldn't have to bootleg (p. 3) - illegally using services (cable TV, Internet etc.) without paying
221. I tried to fix my face right (p.18) - to have a certain facial expression
222. I had my face fixed real plain ... (p. 22)
223. Then she got real still. (p. 14) - really
224. His mouth tasted real nasty. (p. 51)
225. I wasn't stutting him when I first seen him. (p. 23) - "I didn't pay attention to him when I first saw him."
226. Imani wasn't even stutting me. (p. 47) - "Imani didn't even care about me."
227. What up, dog? (p. 111) - means of addressing between males
228. I got to roll, dog. (p. 114) - "I have to go."
229. Girl, I'm going to see one of them counselors. (p. 118) - means of general addressing between females
230. Girl, some nigger done broke in my house... (p. 125)
231. Dag, Tasha, stop playing. (p. 124) - other term for "damn"
232. Not by the hair on my chinny chin chin. (p. 124) - expressing refusal, "No way!"
233. He say they would even do it for kibbles and bits. (p. 135) - originally brand of dog food, expression is also connected with drug culture meaning little pieces of crack, usually crumbs

### 3.9 Nouns and Pronouns

### 3.9.1 Genitive marking

234. It was Peanut turn then. (p. 26)
235. his daddy hand (p. 28)
236. Royster old enough to be Mama daddy. (p. 46)
237. ...me and Imani went back in Eboni room. (p. 55)
238. Miss Odetta sneakers (p. 82)
239. I trip over somebody foot. (p 85)
240. I was combing Imani head. (p. 96)
241. Mrs. Poole say secondhand smoke bad for a baby lungs. (p. 103)
242. There was a light in Mama face, too. (p. 108)
243. That's probably June Bug gun... (p. 128)
244. We got Imani name wrote on it... (p. 170)

### 3.9.2 Associative plural

245. Him and Reuben nem ain't come and join us jumping. (p. 27)
246. It's all the time some teachers nem act like they know you. (p. 36)
247. ... where the principal and secretaries nem be. (p. 39)
248. Them secretaries nem maybe never give him my message. (p. 67)
249. When aunt Mavis nem didn't come ... (p. 71)
250. I was watching Mama nem in the kitchen. (p. 74)
251. I don't see Eboni nem no place. (p. 85)
252. like me and Eboni and Coco nem used to... (p. 107)
253. The people work in the stores and security guards nem act... (p. 108)
254. My mama went to a prayer vigil his mama nem had... (p. 120)
255. heard June Bug nem pull out fast (p. 146)
256. Aunt Mavis nem got pictures of Junior and Little Frankie from the day they was born. (p. 152)

### 3.9.3 They

257. ...where he be scribbling out problems and they solutions. (p. 11)
258. It's they right to be respected. (p. 19)
259. They birthright. (p. 19)
260. they gym period, and they underarms (p. 24)
261. We let the boys have they try. (p. 25)
262. They lives be just like the white women's. (p. 36)
263. Yams roasting with they juice dripping in the stove. (p. 55)
264. You could bounce they brain against the inside of they head ... (p. 61)
265. They car was loaded ... (p. 71)
266. They daddy was supposed to be there. (p. 93)
267. ...smoking all day around they baby. (p. 103)
268. What make they closed lips talk. (p. 109)
269. They won't hold me in the center of they eyes. (p. 173)

### 3.9.4 Ya'll

270. Mama say, Look like ya'll moving in! Don' it! (p. 72)
271. He know ya'll asses too. (p. 82)
272. I know ya'll wasn't going to like him. (p. 104)
273. Don't you want to take Imani with ya'll? (p. 141)
274. Ya'll dating? (p. 160)

### 3.9.5 Reflexive pronouns

In Standard English reflexive pronouns have different form than the dialectal variations found in IAM. This phenomenon was not described in used literary resources.
275. Kente patted hisself. (p. 26)
276. He say he be home by hisself most of the time. (p. 29)
277. ...looking at theyselves (p. 35)
278. ...had he done it hisself? (p. 100)
279. Looking to see if he done made a star out of hisself. (p. 109)

### 3.10 Articles

Throughout the text words beginning with a vowel take indefinite article "a" instead of "an". At first I considered it a mistake but it appears without an exception with every word starting with a vowel. Even though this phenomenon was not discussed in theoretical part its frequent occurrence in the text suggests it is a common feature in AAVE.
280. a inch of water (p. 17)
281. put a ice-cream sandwich on my tray (p.27)
282. I got me a extra. (p. 28)
283. He say he got a older sister (p. 28)
284. What's a anther? (p. 29)
285. Right, you getting a athlete's scholarship. (p. 31)
286. to get me a excuse (p. 35)
287. Mr. Diaz had a assembly... (p. 42)

### 3.11 Past verb forms

288. I wasn't stutting him when I first seen him.(p. 23)
289. Then I seen where his eyes was. (p. 27)
290. That's why she brung me for the pills.(p. 22) - dialectal variant of brought
291. The last thing Uncle Willis brung was ... (p.71)
292. Santa the one brung it. (p. 76)

### 3.12 Nam

Nam is a kind of a negative particle used in the variety. However, these particles were not discussed in the theoretical part and were not found in any of the recourses, but as they occur quite frequently within the text I consider them quite important to be mentioned.
293. Don't be nam grain of sand in them. (p. 6)
294. ... but she ain't said nam word to me about you. (p. 97)
295. ... your ass ain't having nam up in here. (p. 98)
296. ...wearing not nam bra and a clinging black sweater dress... (p. 108)
297. Without saying nam word, Mama put the light on... (p. 128)
298. They won't hold me in the center of they eyes. Nam one of them. (p. 173)
299. I ain't say nothing. Not nam word. (p. 183)
300. But my feet ain't take nam other step. (p. 209)

All of these excerpts were taken from novel Imani All Mine by Connie Porter and they reflect the distinctive features of AAVE.

## 4 CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to show that AAVE is a rule governed language and that various phenomena appear frequently and not just as accidental errors. The analysis consists of 300 excerpts from a novel Imani All Mine by Connie Porter.

Used excerpts were manually searched for in the novel and examined. The analysis proved that AAVE really is a rule governed language. All of the phenomena listed in the practical part appear systematically not randomly and they follow language patterns mentioned in the theoretical part.

Preverbal markers steady and finna (in this text it takes the form fenna) do not appear frequently in the text. In this novel the preverbal marker come was not found at all. Steady usually has emphatic function.

Verbal markers be, been and done were all found in text done being the least frequent of them. Copula verb be follows the rules for omission so all the sentences with zero copula meet the conditions for omission. Also it appears in the habitual sense as a verbal marker. Another phenomenon connected with verbs is the verbal $-s$ and its possible omission. Without an exception verbal $-s$ is left out in all environments throughout the book in which verbs usually take the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person suffix $-s$. No narrative present marker or habitual marker was indentified.

Singular verb forms occur with plural subjects without exceptions in forms such as they was and we was.

There were also found two types of negation - basic multiple negation (usually with negative indicator ain't) and negative inversion. As described in the theoretical part negation in AAVE is often considered illogical or incorrect but it has the same pattern (multiple negation or negative inversion) in every chosen excerpt. Negative postposing was not found in the examined text also it is the least frequent pattern from all of the mentioned above.

All specific properties of nouns and pronouns can be presented on examined excerpts such as the use of $y a^{\prime} l l$, associative plural nem and distinct means of genitive marking. Possession is not marked on all nouns and pronouns listed. It is only suggested by the word order. Ya'll is used in both functions possible - in possessive function and in a function of a personal pronoun. It is used mostly in direct speech not in narration of
events. Associative plural nem was usually found in environments where several nouns are present and the author did not want to list them all.

Unfortunately, there were not a lot of interesting phenomena from the field of lexicon as was expected. Some means of addressing between the speakers could be found such as dog or girl. Also some features connected with drug culture such as kibbles and bits. The meaning of the expression stutting someone is just derived from the context as I was not able to support the meaning with a definition from literary source. One example of negative inversion was found connected with word bad. In this environment it does not have a negative meaning.

The analysis also showed some phenomena which were not discussed in the theoretical part and were also not explained or described in any reliable resource. These are the occurrence of a negative particle nam, different form of reflexive pronouns such as hisself and indefinite article "a" appearing in an environment where "an" should be present. Because of their frequent appearance throughout the text it can be assumed that it is a common feature in AAVE.

All of the phenomena examined support the view that AAVE speakers follow distinct rules. Their occurrence in the text is not accidental but rule governed.

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## Summary in Czech

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá afro-americkou lidovou angličtinou (AALA). Cílem této práce je dokázat, že AALA není standardní angličtinou s chybami a nedbalou výslovností, ale zajímavou a živou variantou jazyka, která má svá přísná pravidla, kterými se mluvčí musí řídit.

Práce se skládá ze čtyř hlavních částí: úvodu, teoretické části, rozboru úryvků a závěru. V teoretické části je popsáno pojmenování a vývoj názvů této variety jazyka, historický vývoj a teorie původu. Dále jsou rozebrány gramatické, fonologické a lexikální jevy.

Praktická část se skládá z analýzy vybraných úryvků z knihy Imani All Mine od afro-americké spisovatelky Connie Porter. Jevy popsané v teoretické části jsou demonstrovány na úryvcích, které jsou rozděleny do skupin podle druhu jevu, který se v nich objevuje.

Rozbor textu dokázal, že AALA se opravdu řídí specifickými pravidly. Jevy, lišící se od standardu, se objevují systematicky a v pravidlech většinou nebývají výjimky.

