The Anglo-Irish Influence on The Folk Speech of Texas

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For some time now linguists have debated how much influence the speech of Anglo-Irish settlers has had on American English. One of the first people to point out aspects of American English that may have their origin in Anglo-Irish was H. L. Mencken. In The American Language he talks at length about the distinctive vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammatical features of Irish speech that are found in America. In particular, though, he mentions certain grammatical forms translated from the Irish Gaelic language into Irish English and then carried over by Irish immigrants to the United States. These translations include the use of the definite article before words that would normally not take the article, as in "the measles" instead of just "measles"; the use of intensifying suffixes and prefixes such as "no-siree" and "yes-indeedy"; and the a- prefix before certain verb forms, such as "a-running." Mencken says the latter usage is native to English, but was retained in Anglo-Irish when it was lost in most other English dialects because Gaelic has a similar construction (pp. 160-161).

Despite Mencken's evidence, linguists have apparently dismissed the idea that Anglo-Irish has had any major effect on the development of American English. A few scholars have bandied around with the idea, usually lumping Anglo-Irish in with the Scottish dialects and the dialects of northern England and making various cases for or against the influence of these dialects on American English, particularly in reference to the dialect of the Southern states.

Craigie, for example, has stated rather vaguely that "in some of the Southern States the Scoto-Irish origin of the dialect is obvious" (p. 201). Likewise, Kurath, in a review of Krapp's The English Language in America, takes Krapp to task, saying he has overlooked "clear traces of Scotch-Irish pronunciation in our rather heterogenous South" (p. 134). Brooks refutes Kurath's phonological argument, saying the diphthong variation that Kurath holds to be of Scottish origin could have come into southern American speech from the southern counties and Midlands of England (pp. 86-87).

All of these linguists have missed the boat, however, by not following up the suggestion that Mencken gave. The clearest evidence for the influence of one language or dialect on another lies in the grammatical systems of the language. If one language borrows parts of another's grammar, then that is strong evidence that the two have been in intimate contact.

A few linguists have made inroads in establishing historical connections in regard to black English. Davis points out that the use of invariant be with habitual aspect, something well-documented in black speech, is present in the speech of certain areas of Ireland. He goes on to say that a search to prove a connection between this Anglo-Irish feature and the same feature in the black creole Gullah would be "pointless," (p. 93) but he still sees fit to include in the his bibliography a report from a linguistic survey of Ireland, with the note that it is relevant because many Irish settlers in the United States were overseers on the large plantations in the deep South (p. 98).

Up to now a comprehensive study of parallels between the grammatical systems of Anglo-Irish and American English, especially in reference to Southern speech, has not been attempted. This paper represents the beginnings of such an effort, focusing only on the evidence found to connect Anglo-Irish and the speech of certain areas of Texas.

I will focus on five specific parallels between Anglo-Irish and the folk speech of Texas: invariant _be_, copula deletion, the _a-_ prefix on progressive verb forms, inceptives such as _go to_ and _get to_, and the use of _is_ for _are_. Each of these will be explained in the section describing their occurence in Anglo-Irish and Texas folkspeech.

Historical Background:

First, however, some historical background is in order, to show that Anglo-Irish speakers were indeed in Texas.

Ward writes that during the early American colonial period, before 1775, the three highest peaks of European immigration were in the 1720's, the 1740's, and the decade preceding the Revolution, 1765-1775. Ward says that Protestant immigrants from the north of Ireland dominated Irish immigration during the first two periods, while both Protestant and Catholic Irishmen surged into America during the last period (pp. 55-56). While none of these Irishmen came directly to Texas, many of them eventually ended up there.

Immigration from Ireland to the United States jumped sharply as a result of the great famine of 1845-1851. McCaffrey writes that this six-year period dumped close to a million Irishmen, fleeing from hunger, disease, and poverty, on American shores, compared with 800,000 Irish immigrants in the 25-year period preceding the famine (p. 37).

Ward notes that the period before 1850 was one of considerable internal migration. Southerners and inhabitants of the middle colonies moved southwestward, expanding towards Texas as cotton production expanded (p. 60). It is this internal migration before 1850 that is of most interest here, however, as this is when a great number of first-, second-, and third-generation Irish settled in Texas.

Jordan writes that squatters first started drifting into the then Mexican-held territory west of the Sabine River in 1818 or 1819, and by 1826 the population, centered mostly around present-day Liberty was about 500. Likewise to the north, more unorganized settlement occurred, clustered around Nacogdoches, San Augustine, Shelby, Jasper, Newton, and Angelina counties (pp. 3-5). Among these settlers who had drifted west from Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia, as well as from other eastern states, were Irishmen who had immigrated to the eastern seaboard earlier.

County and city histories of early Texas settlements offer abundant evidence that a sizeable number of Irishmen were among these settlers. Nearly any history giving short biographical accounts of the earliest settlers in almost any county of Texas will mention several families who either came to Texas directly

from Ireland or migrated to Texas after a sojourn for a generation or two in one of the eastern colonies or states. Many city and county histories do not give the full history of where their families came from, but ample evidence is found in the number of surnames with the characteristic Irish Mc-, Mac-, or O'- prefixes.

In addition to these immigrations from the east, there were two Irish colonies founded during the 1820's in the coastal bend area north of present-day Corpus Christi. These were Refugio and San Patricio, the latter being named after the patron saint of Ireland. The grants for each colony were given to two partnerships of native-born Irishmen, and each partnership was charged with bringing in 100 families from Ireland to populate the colonies. The colorful histories of these immigrant families, many of whom played important roles in the gaining of Texas independence from Mexico and in the Confederacy, are detailed in the books Texas Irish Empresarios and Their Colonies, by William H. Oberste, and The Fogotten Colony: San Patricio de Hibernia, by Rachel Bluntzer Hebert.

All these immigrants brought with them their Anglo-Irish dialects. While the English language itself varied throughout Ireland, several grammatical features are relatively consistent, and among these are the five to be considered here.

Sources of Data:

At this time there is no linguistic atlas of Anglo-Irish grammar available, so the evidence for these grammatical features

in Anglo-Irish must be culled from several works on the English language in Ireland, none of which are totally complete.

One of the major books consulted was English as We Speak It in Ireland by P. W. Joyce, a rather anecdotal book that still manages to contain a wealth of information. Joyce is one of the first to recognize the Gaelic origins of many Anglo-Irish features.

Jiro Taniguchi's The English Language in Ireland was helpful, although all of Taniguchi's examples are taken from the works of Anglo-Irish writers, rather than directly from folk speakers. His thesis is that the Anglo-Irish writers study and imitate the speech of the countryside in order to make their works more authentic.

Works on the Irish language have also been consulted, particularly in reference to those aspects of Anglo-Irish which have their origin in translations of Irish-language idioms to English. Rudolf Thurneysen's A Grammar of Old Irish was particularly helpful in reference to copula deletion.

The main source for collecting examples of the items in question from Texas speech is The Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States: The Basic Materials, transcriptions from tape-recorded interviews with over 1000 informants throughout the South. The LAGS basic materials include 103 interviews from the area of Texas east of the Balcones Escarpment. This area is shown on the LAGS Regional Base Map in Appendix I. The "Basic Materials" include categorized transcriptions of selected grammatical, phonological, and lexical items from each interview, including four of the five

grammatical items to be discussed here. Each interview is transcribed in phonetics in individual books called protocols. Each item in the protocol has a reference number identical to that in all ofher protocols. To locate each instance of any particular feature in any interview, one looks under the reference number for that feature in the protocol.

With each the phonetic transcription is data on the speaker's age, race, sex, social class, and speaker type. There are five social class classifications: indigent, lower, middle, upper, and aristocratic. There are three speaker types: folk, common, and cultivated or educated. A folk speaker is one who has had no formal education beyond the eighth grade. A common speaker is one who has had some high school education. A speaker is said to be cultivated if he has had some college education. These three types are also divided into subtypes: insular and worldly. The insular subtype refers to a speaker who is relatively isolated from the rest of the world -- who probably doesn't read newspapers or keep up with current events. A worldly speaker is one who knows about national affairs and concerns outside of his home town. This data for each of the informants who used at least one of the forms being examined is collected in tabular form in Appendix IV.

The portion of Texas covered in the LAGS interviews is divided into two parts, Upper Texas and Lower Texas. I will follow this division when giving statistics for the number of forms collected from the informants. There are 60 Upper Texas informants. I will use all of the data collected from these

nine are of Hispanic origin, i.e. from Mexico, and four are of direct German ancestry. The speech of these informants would reflect the influence of their mother tongues Spanish and German, and not any Anglo-Irish influence, so these informants were left out of the survey done for this paper. After discarding any data from these informants, 30 Lower Texas informants remain.

One of the five features being examined, the use of _is_ for _are_, is not included in the categorized LAGS transcriptions. The documentation for this feature in Texas folk speech is from two papers by Bailey and Maynor on the present tense of _be_ in southern white and black speech.

Results:

Invariant Be:

Invariant _be_ refers to the use of the unconjugated form _be_ in place of _am_, _is_, or _are_ in the present tense, or in place of _was_ or _were_ in the past tense.

Joyce discusses this usage in Anglo-Irish and its origin in the Irish language. His succinct explanation of what function this form plays is worth quoting.

> In the Irish language (but not in English) there is what is called the consuetudinal tense, i.e. denoting

> action or existence. It is a very convenient tense, so much that the Irish, feeling the want of it in their English, have created one by the use of the word do with be: 'I do be at my lessons every evening from 8 to 9 o'clock.' 'There does be a meeting of the company every Tuesday.' ''Tis humbuggin' me they do be.' ...
>
> Sometimes this is expressed by be alone without the do; but here the be is also often used in the ordinary sense of is without any consuetudinal meaning. 'My father bees always at home in the morning': 'At night while I bees reading my wife bees knitting.' (Consuetudinal.) 'You had better not wait til it bees night.' (Indicative.) ... (p.86)

Taniguchi gives more information about habitual invariant be in Anglo-Irish, explaining how it is used with the present participle and citing examples of it in Anglo-Irish literature.

> In Irish English 'do' or 'did' placed before 'be+ing-form' expresses the idea of habit, that is, to do habuitually, to be accustomed, or be in the habit of doing. This is a direct translation of an Irish idiom to supply lacuna in the English verb.
>
> Your cow does be thresspassin' an my fields ...
>
> ... I do be sayin' me prayers for her ...
>
> ... it's a queer sort of tune you do be singing ...
>
> This idiom is not known to ordinary English speaking people (p.79).

Taniguchi continues with examples showing the same idea expressed by 'be+ verb+ing' not accompanied by do, as well as examples like Joyce's that show do be and does be used for the present tense form of be in place of is and are (pp. 79-80).

Examples of all these types of invariant be occur in the speech of Texas informants. Least common was the be with positive do support. Two examples of these were found in the LAGS data:

did be	Huntsville
it sure do be	Beaumont

Three examples of bees were in the LAGS transcriptions without enough information to allow me to tell whether they are being used as consuetudinal be or used where simply present-tense is would occur in standard dialect:

The horse bees in the middle	Beaumont
It bees weighed	Beaumont
the real thread bees on	Beaumont

These were all collected from the same informant.

There were four examples of be +verb+ing:

if I be doing something	Bay City
I be seeing you	Houston

some be plastering	Huntsville
you be joking	Pine Flat

The greatest number of invariant be forms given were simply be + a predicate adjective or adverb. Some of these were examples of consuetudinal be, meaning habitual action:

they be so prejudiced	Houston
lots of them don't be screened	Marshall
the calf be in the pen	Indian Hill

Others were examples of non-consuetudinal be meaning is or are:

there be a dip in the ground	San Antonio
they be nice sized cabbage	Huntsville
there be some of them	Belk

A total of 16 Upper Texas informants out of the 60 interviewed used invariant be, providing a total of 34 citations. Four out of 30 Lower Texas informants used invariant be, providing four citations.

Invariant be is slightly more common among male than among female informants and slightly more common among black than white informants. It is most common among lower class folk speakers above age 60. Is not at all found in the speech of the upper class and aristocratic LAGS informants.

A-Prefix:

The origin of the a- prefix in Anglo-Irish is harder to document. Mencken says that while this usage is native to English, it is much more common in Anglo-Irish than in other English dialects, where it has largely died out, on account of the parallel Gaelic form (p. 161). Mencken gives no bibliography, though, to point to an explanation of the "parallel Gaelic form," and Joyce does not mention such a form. Taniguchi makes no reference to a similar Gaelic form, but says the a- prefix is a survival from older usage (p.85).

The a- prefix occurs in front of verbs with the -ing suffix used as progressives, signifying that an action is in progress and has not yet been completed:

I'm a-thinking

The a- prefix, then, serves as a second progressive marker, in addition to the -ing.

Irish has a much more developed tense-aspect system than English, so the marking of the progressive aspect would be important to the speaker of Anglo-Irish who learned English as a second language and recognized the correlation between the Irish and English progressive. The English progressive -ing suffix might cause it to be confused with the English gerund, or verbal noun, which is also marked by an -ing suffix. The Irishman seized upon the a- prefix progressive marker as a way to distinguish the

from the gerund. This marker has been preserved in Anglo-Irish, although it has been largely lost in other English dialects.

The a- prefix on progressives is very common in Upper Texas. Twenty-six out of 60 informants used it, with the form occuring 89 times. Four out of 30 Lower Texas informants used the form, once each. Examples include

She was a-kickin' an' a-hollerin'	Texarkana
I am a-goin'	Greenville

The a- verb prefix is evenly distributed among male and female informants, but is much more common among white speakers than among black speakers. It is most common among the middle and lower classes, and is hardly found at all in the speech of the upper and aristocratic classes. It is about twice as common among each of the folk and common types as it is among the cultivated type. It is much more common among informants over 60 years of age.

Inceptives:

Inceptives are phrases such as go to and get to used with the present participle to signify the start of an action. Taniguchi gives several examples of -ing verbs used after verbs of motion such as go:

If they will go breeding themselves for slaves ...
That's the way you go suckin' to the boss ... (p. 83)

Most of Taniguchi's examples have little of the inceptive aspect about them; he chooses to emphasize the Anglo-Irish way of using verbs of motion which have become more like auxiliaries or the copula in front of the participles. Yet, his examples show the use of go in front of the present participle in a way not common in other English dialects.

There is little doubt about the use of inceptives in Texas. Twenty-two out of 60 upper Texas informants used them with a total of 40 instances, while five of the 30 lower Texas informants used them, giving seven examples total. These include

get to thinkin'	Huntsville
it's gonna go to raining	Houston
went to growlin'	Port Arthur

Inceptive forms are about two-thirds more common among male speakers than among female speakers, and are much more common overall among white informants. They are usually found among the middle and lower classes, and hardly at all among upper class and aristocratic informants. As with the previous two features examined, they are found most commonly among informants over the age of 60.

Changes in the Tense Aspect System:

Most verbs in English sentences tell two things about the action that the verb expresses: when the action occurred (past or non-past) and the state of completion of the action. These two verb qualities are called tense and aspect, respectively. English is very much a tense-oriented language; English speakers find it important to be able to say exactly when an action occurs. English has two tenses, past and non-past. The non-past is used to express actions occuring in the present and, when in conjuction with adverbs like tomorrow or with helping verbs like will, actions occuring in the future. English has only two aspects, perfect and progressive. The perfect aspect indicates that an action is completed; the progressive aspect indicates that the action is not complete, but is still in progress.

The first three features examined in this paper represent an expansion of the aspectual system in Southern speech, the adding of two new aspects and the reinforcing of one already present. To some extent invariant be provides a way of expressing in English the Irish habitual aspect, which indicates that the verb's action is continually repeated or occurs habitually through time. The go to and get to forms represent an inceptive aspect that signifies that an action is just beginning. The a- prefix, as explained earlier, reinforces the progressive aspect.

These three features together represent a major influence on Texas folk speech that has its origin in Anglo-Irish.

Copula Deletion:

Copula deletion, the fourth grammatical feature, is not the result of the expansion of the tense-aspect system but of a phonological process that reduces unstressed syllables. It is simply the ommission of any form of the verb to be from a sentece that would normally have such a form. Joyce gives examples of copula deletion in compound sentences:

> He interrupted me and I writing my letters ...
> I found Phil there and he playing his fiddle for the company ... (p. 33)

One historical source for Irish copula deletion is Rudolf Thurneysen's A Grammar of Old Irish. Thurneysen writes that the copula is often ommitted in Old Irish, especially when it would have been a form of the third person indicative. He says that such clauses do not constitute a separate class but are constructed exactly like those in which the copula is expressed (p. 494). The clearest possible source for copula deletion in English, then, is Irish.

In Upper Texas 20 out of 60 informants gave a total of 35 deleted forms of be. In Lower Texas six out of 30 informants responded with 10 deleted forms. Examples of these include

> I sure sorry to see that (am deleted) San Antonio
> You gettin' modern now (are deleted) Galveston

Copula deletion is about evenly distributed in Texas among male and female informants, but is a little more common among black speakers than among whites. It is about evenly distributed among folk and cultivated informants, but is absent from the common informants, an odd break in the continuum of the occurences of these features in the social class hierarchy. Its occurence among upper class and aristocratic informants is negligible. Again the distribution of copula deletion over the age of the informants shows that the Anglo-Irish grammatical feature is much more common among among informants over 60 years of age.

Use of Is for Are:

The last feature to be examined here also involves a peculiar use of the verb to be. This is the use of is where are would normally occur, a common subject-verb disagreement in Anglo-Irish. Taniguchi gives examples of this:

> Burial vaults is what they should be building
> Them's not mine at all (p. 110)

While the singular is occurs with a plural subject, Taniguchi says the plural are is seldom used with a singular subject in Anglo Irish (p. 110).

The LAGS data has no cataloguing of the use of is for are in Texas. Bailey and Maynor, however, discuss this usage in their

papers "The Present Tense of Be in Southern White Folk Speech" and "The Present Tense of Be in Southern Black Folk Speech." They deal with the use of is in both the plural and second singular, where are would be expected.

In their paper on Southern white folk speech they make conclusions based on the speech of ten informants. All ten of them used is for are at least once, and half of them used the form at least three times, giving a total of 59 tokens (p. 8). Their paper on Southern black folk speech shows a higher proportion of use of is for are in black speech. All of the seven black Texas informants interviewed used the form, with six of them using it five or more times, giving a total of 52 tokens (p.13).

The Irish-Black English Connection:

We have observed the occurrence of all five of the grammatical features being examined in the speech of black informants. Two of the features, invariant be and the use of is for are, were observed to be more common in the speech of black informants. Total statistics for the state show that when all the features are taken together as a whole, evidence for Anglo-Irish influence is strongest in the speech of black informants.

Of the 60 Upper Texas informants, 14 were black and 46 were white. Of the 14 black informants, 11, or 78%, used at least one of the five features. Of the 46 white informants, 26, or 56%, used at least one of the features.

In Lower Texas the evidence for a stronger influence of

Anglo-Irish on black speech than on white speech is even more convincing. In lower Texas six informants were black and 24 were white. Four of the six black informants, or 66%, used at least one of the features, while only nine of the 24 white informants or 37.5%, used at least one of the features.

This raises the question if there is some special connection between Anglo-Irish and black English. Remember Davis' observation that many Irish settlers were oveseers on the large plantations in the deep South? This may have some validity, as the black slaves would have had considerable linguistic contact with these Irish overseers, but there are even other ways in which blacks were in contact with Anglo-Irish in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The Irish who came to America to flee poverty and famine in their homeland were no better off economically when they stepped off the boat than when they left Ireland. Many became indentured servants in order to pay their passage.

Many Irish immigrants found themselves working side by side with blacks, both slave and free, as indentured servants or in low-paying laborers' jobs. Taylor, writing about Irish immigrant occupations, says

> Irishmen could be found digging a canal from the Mississippi to Lake Pontchartrain, laying a rail-road, working the jackscrews which compressed bales of cotton for shipment, and fighting with Negroes for New Orleans dock work (p. 174).

As the last occupation implies, all of these jobs were also commonly held by blacks.

Many Irish who could not find jobs were often no better off than slaves themselves. Woodman quotes from a nineteenth century book on social relations in the southern states:

> "Yearly there comes in of servants about fifteen hundred; most are English, a few Scotch, and fewer Irish ..." The servants here spoken of were indentured servants or paupers, who were sold pretty much like the Coolies are sold to the Cubans at the present time. They were considered as mere "goods, wares, and merchandise," to be sold publicly at places appointed by law ... (p. 156)

Phillips quotes a Louisiana agricultural history about how thousands of Irishmen were employed on the plantations digging ditches (p. 301), as well as working with slaves loading cotton on boats (p. 302).

Not all Irish emigrants came to mainland America. Many ended up in the Caribbean. Hansen writes that as early as 1643 an estimated 20,000 Irish had immigrated to St. Christopher Island (p. 41). Pitman writes that in the 1740's-50's most of the indentured servants in Bermuda were Irish Catholics (p. 54). That these Irish were in contact with blacks there is easily seen in this account by Packwood of a planned insurrection in Bermuda:

> An alliance, between Blacks and Irish indentured servants, created the next conspiracy. They plotted together, in 1661, to cut the throats of all Englishmen. The governor and council were informed ... and immediately ordered strict measures to deal with this conspiracy ... All Irishmen and slaves were to be disarmed of all weapons used in the militia training bands. Two or more Irishmen or slaves found together would be whipped ... (p. 143)

These accounts of Irishmen in the Caribbean are important in respect to the various theories about the origin of present-day black English in a Caribbean creole. There is ample evidence, both historical and linguistic, that Anglo-Irish could have had a great influence on black English.

Conclusion:

There is much linguistic evidence that Anglo-Irish has had a substantial influence on the speech of Texas, and, therefore, on the speech of all the southern United States.

Evidence to prove the common use in Texas folkspeech of such grammatical features as invariant be, copula deletion, the a-prefix on progressives, inceptives, and the use of is for are, when taken together with the historical evidence of settlement patterns, indcates that the influence of Anglo-Irish on southern folk speech is far greater than has previously been suggested.

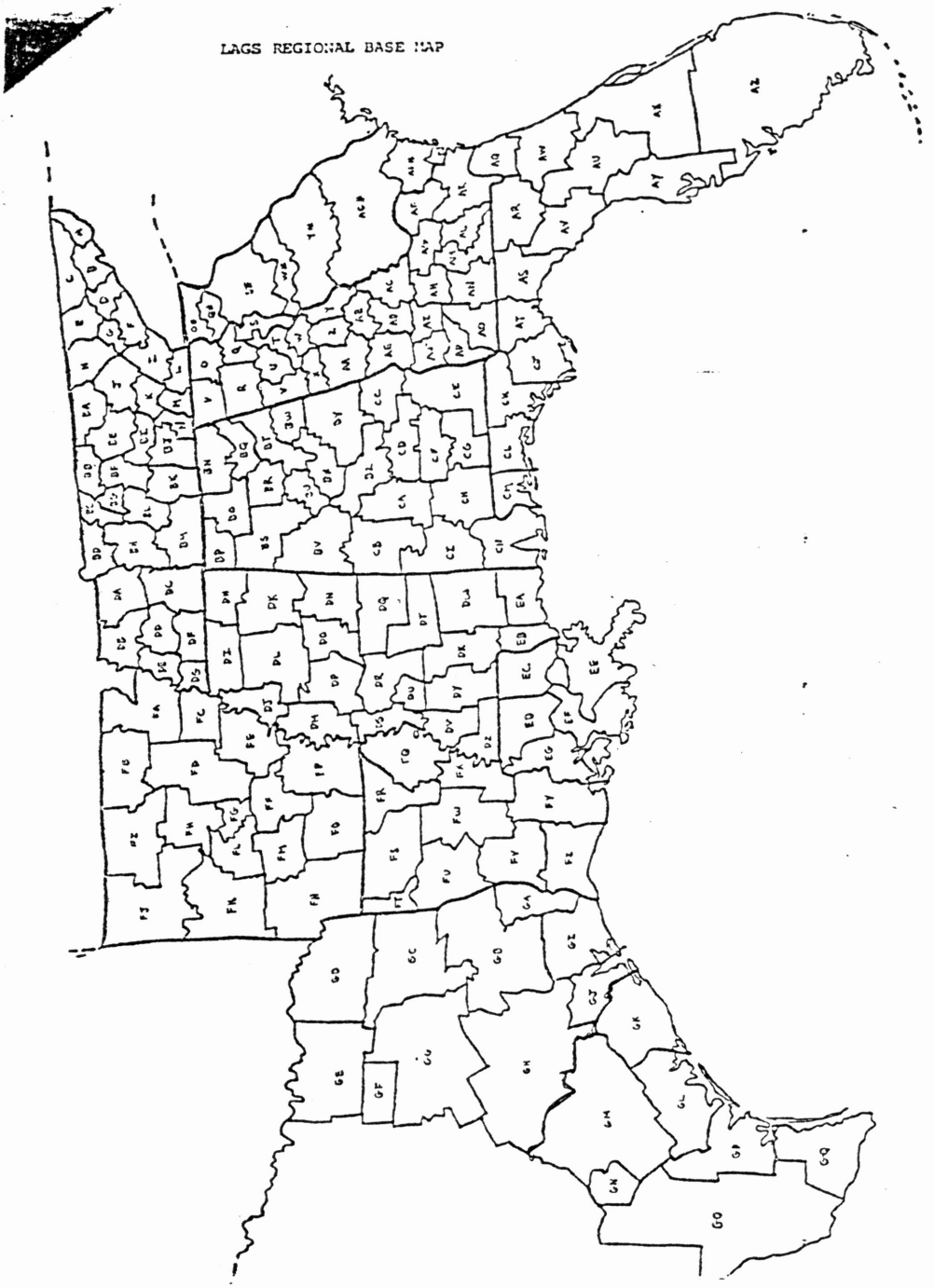
The grammatical forms examined are found mostly in the speech of lower and middle class folk informants over the age of 60. This suggests that these forms are dying out in Texas speech, possibly as a result of the standard elementary and secondary school education that the younger generations have received.

The grammatical forms relating to uses of the copula in ways outside standard accepted dialect are distributed about evenly among white and black folk speakers; the a- prefix and inceptives are much more common in the speech of whites than in the speech of blacks.

This paper represents the beginnings of what could be a very enlightening study on the influence of Anglo-Irish on southern American folk speech. It is hoped that other linguists will see how far-reaching its implications are, and begin to seriously study this important influence on American English.

Appendix I

LAGS Regional Base Map



Appendix II

Aspectual System of Texas Folkspeech

Inceptive (action beginning)	Progressive (action in progress)	Habitual (action repeated)	Perfect (action completed)

Appendix III: Instances of Invariant Be, A- verb-ing, Copula Deletion, and Inceptives in the Texas LAGS Data

Invariant be

this other daughter be forty-two in November	Dallas	F/L/B 64 2A
ask what time it be	Ft. Worth	F/L/W 70 1A
this is down be south	Denton	F/L/W 79 1A
there be some of them	Belk	M/L/W 61 1A
if you be in a car		F/L/B 67 2A
if you couldn't swim, it be dangerous	Nacogdoches	F/M/W 76 2A
it be, could be a lane	Pine Flat	F/L/B 66 1A
don't be no leaves		
the real thread bees on	Beaumont	F/L/B 69 1A
the horse bees in the middle		
it bees weighed		
if I be doing something	Bay City	F/L/B 91 1A
I be seeing you	Houston	M/L/W 72 1A
some be plastering, some be up in chairs	Huntsville	F/L/B 72 1A
you be joking	Pine Flat	F/L/B 66 1A
the calf be in the pin	Indian Hill	M/M/B 89 1A
they be so prejudiced against that	Houston	M/L/W 72 1A
they be glazed	Dallas	F/L/B 64 2A
lots of them don't be screened	Marshall	F/M/B 23 3A
there be a dip in the ground	San Antonio	M/L/B 17 2B
that be the big casings	Hondo	M/M/W 73 3B

Invariant be (Cont'd)

some people can cook it where it don't be slimy	San Antonio	M/L/B 51 1A
be it summer or what	New Braunfels	F/M/W-G 72 1B
the name be changed	New Braunfels	M/M/W-G 90 1A
when you be riding	Houston	M/L/B 15 2B
you be tired of that place		
it doesn't be as large	Beaumont	F/L/B 69 1A
it sure dc be		
there be a hole		
he be holding the plow	Huntsville	M/M/W 78 2A
they be nice size cabbage		
well, that soot be		
if it be chilly	Huntsville	M/L/W 88 1A
didn't be no such a thing		
didn't be ripe		
it be a house	Pine Flat	F/L/B 66 1A
cooks collards so they don't be tough	Dallas	M/M/B 32 3B
did be	Huntsville	M/L/W 88 1A
and I be damned	Dallas	M/M/B 32 3B
they don't be around	Dallas	F/L/B 64 2A

a-verb-ing

a-runnin'	Wiergate	MMY 70 1B
I just ain't a-gonna do it out there		
I'm not a-gonna hurt ya		
I ain't a-gonna do this		
I ain't a-gonna do it		
I'm a-goin'	Corpus Christi	FAY 72 3B
he had 4 or 5 different camps a-goin'	Encinal	MMY 74 2B
a-washing	Austin	MMY 76 1B
am a going	Tivoli	FUY 59 3B
come a-runnin'	Galveston	MMY 79 3A
not a-gonna	Houston	MLY 72 1A
they turn him a-loose	Houston	FLY 75 1A
just a-lickin'	Port Arthur	MMY 30 2B
come a-runnin'		
made money a-buyin' an' sellin'	Huntsville	MMY 78 2A
been a-livin'		
a-drillin' a well	Huntsville	MLY 88 1A
a-lookin'		
a-gushin'		
keep a goin'	Caldwell	MMY 74 1A
a-comin' up		
keep a growin'		
a-goin'	Belk	MLY 61 1A
they may be a needin'		
it smells good a-burnin'		

a-verb-ing (Cont'd)

I'm a-going to be elected	Denison	MMY 93 1A
a-movin'		
a-comin'		
a-dyin'		
a-going		
a-hunt'n'		
I am a-goin'	Greenville	FMY 86 3A
a-lookin'		
kep' a keeping		
that don't know		
what they're doin'		
they 'as a-doin'	Valleyview	MLY 74 1A
if I'm a-thinkin' right		
with the wind a-blowin'		
she's just a sett'n'		
a-settin' here		
a-settin' right out there		
didn't wanna be a-goin' too fast		
if you wasn' a-watch'n'		
is a-groi' that to you		
I'm not raising	Denton	FLY 79 1A
a-kidd'n' ya		
a-whistlin'		
a-vistin'		
see that storm a-whizzin' in the air		
a-drizzlin'		
a preacher in the pulpit a-preachin'		
I'd a-drownded		
a-drowndin'		

a-verb-ing (Cont'd)

a-lookin'	Waxahachie	MMY 68 2A
a-moppin'		
a-runnin'		
a-deliv'rin'		
a-grow'n'	Dallas	MMX 32 3B
a-standin'	Dallas	FMX 42 2B
a-raisin'	Dallas	FLX 64 2A
a-look'n'		
a-goin'	Temple	MMY 96 1A
a-watchin'	Waco	FMY 80 1B
kep' a-goin'		
they a' not a-gonna kay for it	Venus	FMY 84 2A
a-giv'n'		
a-goin'		
a-comin'		
a-cuss'n'		
I was a-gonna take some of these up to the center		
I was a-goin' to run for county commissioner	Texarkana	MMY 82 2A
a-sell'n' real estate		
she's a kickin' an' a-hollerin'		
a-burnin'	Marshall	FLX 67 2A
get so many things a-goin'	Tyler	FLY 76 2A
logs a-burnin'		
he's a-courtin' her		

a-verb-ing (Cont'd)

come up a-askin' me about the bull	Nacogdoches	FMY 76 2A
a-locking	Pine Flat	FLX 66 1A
a-selling		
a-growing		
a-rising		

Copula Deletion

they both Longfellows	Hondo	MMY 73 3B
they gonna fight	San Antonio	FMX 41 3B
you bringing in at least six gallons	New Braunfels	FMY G 72 1B
whey you really hungry	San Antonio	MLX 17 2B
they gonna quit	San Antonio	FLY 53 2A
he's gon' be called I sure sorry to see that	Austin	FMY 82 2B
where you gonna go	Schulenburg	MMY G 79 1B
you gettin' modern now	Galveston	MMY 79 3A
ya'll going	Houston	MUX 53 3B
maybe they all Oral Roberts my favorite	Houston	MLY 72 1A
I liable to run 'em you the one tha' wrong he ugly	Houston	FLX 75 1A
they all the same	Beaumont	MLY 64 2A
you not in the way	Beaumont	FLX 69 1A
they gonna be you gon'be known as the	Huntsville	MAY 67 3B
they easy to raise	Caldwell	MMY 74 1A
what we gon' do tomorrow	Temple	MMY 96 1A
you the one	Waco	FMY 80 1B
some of 'em all-right	Corsicana	MMY 69 3B

Copula Deletion (Cont'd)

the boy named	Dallas	FLX 64 2A
this one back here dry		
his name Bill	Ft. Worth	FLY 70 1A
they a funny animal	Marshall	FMX 23 3A
they building	Pine Flat	FLX 66 1A
he born		
what you talking about		
they alright		
she sick		
they fat		
you hungry		
he pleasant		
where I born at	Indian Hill	MMX 89 1A
you onboard ship	Huntsville	FLX 72 1A
my mother born here	Corpus Christi	FAY 72 3B
staples is what we using	New Braunfels	FMY G 72 1B
they is so big an' fat		
we just in there	Edinburg	FMY 75 3B
they beautiful		

Inceptives

get it to goin'	Temple	MMY 77 2B
goes to goin'	Valleyview	MLY 74 1A
goes to cookin' our eats	Valleyview	MLY 74 1A
go to itch'n'		
get to singing	Edinburg	FMY 75 3B
went to raining	Corpus Christi	MMY 84 2A
git to runnin'	Austin	MMY 76 1B
started to runnin'		
go to jumpin'		
got to playin'	Tivoli	FUY 59 3B
don't go to askin' me religion	Matagorda	MMY 67 2B
went to rainin'	Waxahachie	MMY 68 2A
go to hirin'		
go to talkin'		
ya get to talkin'	Dallas	FMY 16 2B
I tore off runnin' down there		
went to playin'	Denton	FLY 1A
went to housekeepin'		
went to callin'		
went to spankin'		
get to singin'	Greenville	FMY 86 3A
went to sell'n' estate	Texarkana	MMY 82 2A
I went to assessin' taxes		
it's gonna go to raining	Houston	MLY 72 1A

Inceptives (Cont'd)

they get to comin' up there	Belk	MLY 61 1A
I went to talkin'		
got to russin'	Houston	FLX 75 1A
got to buildin'	Temple	MMY 96 1A
then the other one gets to comin'	Tyler	FLY 76 24
they finally got to weighin' it	Caldwell	MMY 74 14
went to fightin'	Pine Flat	FLX 66 1A
git to cookin'		
went to growlin'	Port Arthur	MMY 30 2B
went to swimmin'	Beaumont	FLX 69 1A
get to thinkin'	Huntsville	FUY 41 3B
it would go to rainin'	Huntsville	MMY 73 3A
wen' to roomin'		
went to cover the house	Wiergate	MMY 70 1B
went to hitting		
go to lowin'	Huntsville	MLY 88 1A
go to clackin'		
go to talkin'		
I went to farmin'	Indian Hill	MMX 89 1A
I git to hollerin'		

Appendix IV: Distribution of Grammatical Features Invariant Be, Copula Deletion, A- Prefix, and Inceptives by Sex, Social Postion, and Age

	Invariant Be	Copula Deletion	A- Prefix	Inceptives
# informants	20	26	30	27
# forms used	38	45	93	47
male	11	12	16	17
female	9	14	14	10
White	9	15	23	23
Black	11	11	7	4
indigent	0	0	0	0
lower	14	11	10	9
middle	6	12	18	16
upper	0	1	1	2
aristocratic	0	2	1	0
Folk	11	11	12	14
Common	5	5	12	8
Educated	4	10	6	5
Insular	16	15	21	18
Worldly	4	11	9	9
above age 60	15	20	25	23
below age 60	5	6	5	4

All Texas = 90 informants 51 above age 60
39 below age 60

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