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Linguistic form and social function: A discourse analysis of rhetorical and narrative structure in oral and written African-American folk narrative texts

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Linguistic Form and Social Function: A Discourse Analysis of Rhetorical and Narrative Structure in Oral and Written African American Folk Narrative Texts

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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Abstract

Linguistic Form and Social Function: A Discourse Analysis of Rhetorical and Narrative Structure in Oral and Written African American Folk Narrative Texts

by

Akua Duku Anokye

Adviser: Professor William A. Stewart

This study is a performance based linguistic analysis of some African American folk narratives from the John and Master genre. The analysis is based on two sources of data: a previously unknown manuscript that includes field notes and stories, "Negro Folk-Tales from the Gulf States," collected by Zora Neale Hurston from 1927-1929 and housed at the Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institute; and live recorded performances of folktales from the WPA's Hurston-Lomax-Barnicle Expedition of 1935 housed at the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress.

Beginning with a performance based transcription of the live recordings, the study analyzes the discourse structure of the folktales and illustrates

that the prosodic structure, which organizes these performances, underlies comprehension in the oral texts. It is the prosodic structure along with syntactic and semantic features which chunk the discourse into cohesive interpretable rhetorical units.

This analysis also examines the linguistic forms and social functions of these narratives and demonstrates the impact of audience interaction on the structure, theme, and performance. Through analysis of lexical, thematic, syntactic, phonological and paralinguistic choices made by John Davis, the study infers information about the social context of the communicative event. The study demonstrates also that by examining underlying cultural presuppositions contributing to the meaning of the stories one can more fully appreciate and understand the event and the culture out of which the stories operate.

The final piece of the study is a comparison of three versions of a John and Master tale "John and the Coon" told in the Gulf states from 1927-1935 and illustrates that there is an underlying narrative structure for that sub-genre whether oral or written tales. Study of these tales also provides insights

about customary African American speech and language style and the perceived notions about appropriate and inappropriate African American speech and language behavior.

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of

Nana Yao Opare Dinizulu

and

Essie and Finus P. Harris, Sr.

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Now that I am faced with the task, I think writing these acknowledgements is as difficult as writing the manuscript itself. Along the way I have had so much support and encouragement that I must first thank the Gods and Ancestors who have truly blessed me.

Next, I turn to my committee. I have heard so many horror stories about the troubles doctoral students have had with their committees until I wonder why am I so blessed. Why was it that my committee, Profs. William A. Stewart, Edward Bendix and Sally McLendon, was always there when I needed them? How could they know so much and share it so willingly? Their guidance and support were sometimes astounding. I want to be for my students what they have been for me.

I fondly refer to Bill as the "Renaissance Man" because he can always bring a story that goes right to the heart of **any** subject. He taught me to always question and be critical of what I read and hear. Ed was always the practical guide. He kept me grounded reminding me that I need to look for the connections between my intuitions and what I see. Finally,

everyone should have a Sally McLendon on her committee. The calls at midnight to reassure; the hours of meetings figuring out "what the heck" John Davis was saying on that horrible tape; the discovery she insisted I must take credit for. These are teachers par excellence. I will always be grateful to my committee.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the study to refer to frequently mentioned collections from which the research was drawn.

AFS	American Folklife Center, Library of Congress
APS	American Philosophical Society Library
JYJYale	James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection, Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Yale University
MSRC	Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University Library
NAA	National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 This Study

Study in linguistics, anthropology, folklore, and discourse concerning African Americans has often been controversial. So much so, that at times the research has been perfunctory. If anything, for example, more attention has been given to classifying folklore (Aarne & Thompson 1928; Thompson 1966) than analyzing it. As a result the area of African American verbal art as a performed event has been under researched, and in particular the situation in which an African American storyteller produces a folkloric text in the presence of a specific audience has been little studied.

Ethnographic performance-based research such as that done by Dell Hymes, however, has brought together techniques from folklore, anthropology and linguistics which can answer important questions about the social function of language and its impact on linguistic form. In this study I intend to apply performance-based research to African American discourse. The purpose of the analysis is to add to the increasing body of literature on discourse analysis, poetics, and performance of oral texts in the tradition established

by Toelken 1969; Tedlock 1971, 1983; Hymes 1975, 1981; McLendon 1977, 1979, 1982; and Gumperz 1982.

This project provides a linguistic analysis of a performance based transcription and translation of folk narratives as told by John Davis in an original recording of folk narratives collected in Georgia during the 1935 Lomax-Hurston-Barnicle Expedition part of the Works Project Administration (WPA). In the study I am concerned with the examination of linguistic forms of the narrative in order to understand meaning and function in the communicative event. This analysis offers insights into how prosody, and audience contribute to the well-formedness of narrative structure from which I can infer social context and behavior.

It is McLendon's work on Eastern Pomo with written forms of oral texts using prosody as a fundamental marker which frames this study (1979, 1982). Oral folk narratives, I believe, should be transcribed in such a way as to maximize and capture the essence of the total original performance including context. It should capture the paralinguistic patterns of cohesion and disjunction especially in African American oral

narratives where these factors are of basic importance and are major. Tone, for example, has semantic and phonemic significance in many West African languages and today, some prosodic elements in the speech delivery of African Americans carry heavy semantic value, aspects of African American communication which were neglected in many transcriptions and translations over the years. Tape recorders and now video recorders have so improved the transcription and translation process that poetics now may easily become an integral part of analysis if the researcher chooses. The trend to include performance and poetics in linguistic analysis, facilitated today by technological devices, allows for prosodic as well as socio-cultural detail important to be included in order to understand social function and meaning of linguistic form.

Halliday and Hasan (1976) focus only on written texts and exclude oral ones. This study intends to add to the literature on cohesion in oral narrative by examining prosodic cohesion in Davis' tales. My study hopes to provide a means for isolating and demonstrating the idea units used by the narrator in the oral folk narratives which will be examined. It

will illustrate how speech is chunked into cohesive rhetorical units, how it is signaled, where and how grammatical structure is used to segment information, and how paralinguistics (such as pause, pitch, stress, etc.) give shape to the idea units.

Work by Gumperz (1982, 1984 et al) demonstrates that contextual analysis and focus on prosody can illustrate the premise that social context strongly affects linguistic form.

Secondly my study will examine hypotheses which exist about some folktales of the "John and Master" genre commonly found within the African American narrative tradition. These oral and written John and Master tales constitute an important segment of the African American narrative tradition and the Hurston collection of these tales illustrates notable evidence for the claim that structural parallelism often exists between variants of a genre. Study of these John and Master tales provides insights as to how customary African American speech and language style contribute to understanding not only the narrative style of the tales, but also provides insights into the social conditioning under which African Americans live and

operate.

In sum, this study will seek to illustrate that, in order to understand many texts, one needs to examine not only the syntactic, lexical and phonological characteristics, but especially in the case of an oral text, one must also utilize the paralinguistic markers which chunk the text into comprehensible units. These characteristics, syntactic, lexical, phonological and paralinguistic, together contribute to the total meaning of an oral narrative. In addition, the performance-based study hopes to demonstrate that one can also examine the social context of an event by examining the cultural presuppositions contributing to its meaning that aid one in fully appreciating and understanding the event and the culture in which it operates (McLendon 1977). Finally, there is an underlying narrative structure which is expected and contributes to the overall comprehension of a certain sub-genre of "John and Master" folktales known as the "John and the Coon" tales.

It is my intention that this performance-based analysis of the folk narrative will not only account for the speech event, the audience, and the social

context which are important organizing principles, but it will provide some insights into the behavior and beliefs of African Americans during the early part of the twentieth century.

1.2 Definition of Terms

1.2.1 Performance Approach

It was Dell Hymes who first identified folklore as a verbal symbolic interaction of a performing kind (1975). This discussion was brought forth in 1975 when he introduced and explained a new form of presentation that he had used on a previously collected Chinookan Indian text. He used the "performance" approach which is also known as the "contextual" approach because it attempts to integrate scientific and humanistic aims. The performance or contextual approach focuses on social interaction, communicative competence, and communicative event (Ben-Amos 1982). Performance-based research, when used today, is initiated in the context of an interest in broader contemporary questions than those simply to be found in the words, and provides a frame of reference within which the entire communicative process may be studied (Hymes 1975, 1981; Bauman 1983, 1986; Dundes 1980; Lomax 1968). The

performance approach was established by a shift from the analysis of texts to the analysis of texts in contexts. The working assumptions underlying use of the performance approach include seeing performance as an aesthetic mode of communication, integrally related to a particular event that is culturally specific and cross-culturally variable. A particular performance may range from a full to momentary breakthrough which frames the communicative act.

In the case of folklore, generally, the performer knows a set of rules, a system of communication, a "grammar" that transforms symbols and metaphors, styles and structure, themes and forms in response to the social variables of a situation in which the relationship between the attributes of verbal messages and the social-cultural reality are in constant interplay (Hymes 1975; Bauman 1983). By studying performance one may observe language structure and the roles it plays in social life.

The performance approach has had a significant effect on linguistics. It has served to expand the approach to language embodied in the transformational generative linguistic schemata which centered on an

abstract idealized competence. The performance approach not only permits study of language, but it also illustrates social functions which give additional and significant shape to linguistic forms (Hymes 1975, 1981; Tedlock 1970, 1983).

1.2.2 Poetics and Ethnopoetics

The move toward performance marked notation has established a place within linguistics for poetics, the study of which will require an evenhanded attention to not only lexical elements but also to stylistics and referential functions. Kinesics, paralinguistics, proxemics and other communicative codes, all poetic devices, are now being noted in recording in order to give accurate renditions of performance-based texts. Dennis Tedlock's study, (1970), for example, of Zuni narrative is presented with a textual representation of the verbal art wherein he uses a typography and layout which permits him to record the style and performance features of the narrative. His notational marking of such paralinguistic features as pause, voice quality and loudness lead to a much richer capacity to interpret the communicative process.

The use of ethnopoetics and style for linguistic

analysis of oral narrative is somewhat in contrast to the Boas school, one of the earliest, where typically valued translations were "direct" or "close" or "literal" and the subtleties of poetics, which have a potential for radically altering surface meanings, were usually ignored. Interlingual and intersemiotic (Jakobson 1960; Nida 1945) translation of the spoken art into printed texts even within the same language group present cross linguistic, poetic, and cultural problems. According to Elizabeth Fine (1984), linguists in the early part of the 20th century were primarily concerned with the grammatical structures and the denotation of words. The transcriber/translator sometimes eliminated archaic language, for example, or tended to embroider the tales with explanatory material which may have been moralistic. Collected texts from that time usually had few descriptions of performance, audience, or context, not to mention such specifics as social, cultural, or cognitive factors. Stylistic features such as opening and closing formulae, ideophones, archaic phrases were omitted, and the paralinguistic or kinesic features, were rarely noted.

Before the advent of sophisticated recording

technology, style was usually seen as untranslatable and left unnoted. Nevertheless, Sapir and members of the Prague School contributed to the development of ethnopoetics and performance while many other linguists still believed that poetics was only to be concerned with the aesthetic use of language. Malinowski, as he developed his theory of functionalism, suggested that the whole nature of performance, voice, mimicry, stimulus and response of audience meant as much to the native as the text (1926). Therefore, he believed that when the scholar jotted down tales without being able to evoke the atmosphere in which they flourished, he gave "but a mutilated bit of reality" (Malinowski 1926).

1.2.3 Context, Text, and Contextualization

Language use always occurs in some context and is always context sensitive (Schiffrin 1987). These contexts have a great range. They may be cultural, where speakers and listeners incorporate contexts of shared meanings and world views. The contexts may be social, contexts through which definitions of self and situation are construed. Or the contexts may be cognitive in the sense that they deal with contexts of

past experience and knowledge. To speakers and listeners as well, meaning conveyed by a text is meaning which is to be interpreted by them invariably based on their inferences about the cultural, social or linguistic cognitive propositional connections underlying what is said.

To fully analyze a folkloristic context, the folklore must be viewed in terms of the individual, social and cultural factors that give it shape. The social context, cultural attitude, rhetorical situation and individual aptitude are all variables which produce distinct differences in structure, text and texture of the folklore narrative (Abrahams 1972; Labov 1972; Fasold 1978; Ben-amos 1982; Tannen 1984). Because all linguistic meaning is conditioned by cultural and social context, an analyst must ask what is the information one needs to know about the culture and the community in order to understand the content, the meaning, and the point of the narrative (Becker 1979; Bauman 1983). Continuing in this vein, one must concede that the context vis a vis situational factors, only some of which are derived from politics, religion, kinship, economy, family and community social

life play important roles in the basic frame of reference of the folk narrative.

According to Gumperz (1977) it is important to keep a balance between concern for context and concern for textual detail. That is why there now is an important move in performance analysis away from simply the analysis of text to an emphasis upon context and now to contextualization. This move to contextualization aids us in seeing how performers and audiences use poetic patterning, for example, to interpret the structure and significance of discourse. Contextualization involves the active processing of surface features in the message that the speaker signals and the listener interprets during the activity. It is a process of negotiating during discourse based on conventionalized expectations between content and style that the use of the performance-based approach facilitates. Through contextualization it becomes apparent that form, function and meaning of verbal art can not be understood apart from context. Thus, in the process of translating discourse from its oral form to a text, aspects of its context must appear which carry some

components of its history and contextualization with it.

1.2.4 Rhetorical Structure

McLendon (1982) suggests that something besides cohesion which may be a text-forming component is the rhetorical system, exactly that which is largely ignored by linguists. The rhetorical system is that which actually establishes the relations among sounds, lexical items and grammatical patterns in a text. This rhetorical structure comprises the manipulation of the material in such a way as to allow the speaker to communicate the message be it through the prosodic features or the choice of words. It is through this rhetorical filter that one notices features such as pause and elongation which permit one to organize a message into recognizable units. The rhetorical system clearly plays an important role in that it aids to establish textual cohesion and disjunction in texts.

Rhetorical devices most commonly studied by rhetoricians are those which establish cohesion such as repetition, alliteration, rhyme in the sound system, and parallelism in the grammatical system. The cohesive devices, in fact, are not unlike those

patterns of continuity discussed by Halliday and Hasan (1976). While written discourse has punctuation and indentation to reflect rhetorical organization, oral discourse, the actual delivery of the text, has pauses, junctures, and pitch changes which combine with patterns of grammatical and lexical cohesion and disjunction such as repetition, pronominalization, anaphora, lexical implicature, clitics, and particles to organize the text into a coherent whole.

1.2.5 Cultural Presupposition

Cultural presuppositions are those which are shared by a social/cultural group and usually are not stated, but must be recognized to understand discourse and the specification of discourse in all languages (McLendon 1977). It is these cultural presuppositions which underlie meaning and provide connections between the speaker and the audience.

When discussing cultural presupposition one must also recognize the three aspects of social information that have an impact: there is information and beliefs that are currently held about the era from which the narrative comes; there are stereotypes of the speakers and audience at the time the narrative is told; and

there are ideas about how social conditions are now. While there are problems substantiating what the audience and narrator believed, the stories analyzed probably closely represent the historical reality. Therefore, although there is no foolproof way of knowing what the narrator or audience believed, one can infer from the texts themselves.

1.2.6 African American Narrative Style

African American oral communication and narrative style fundamentally hinge on an oral tradition. Ong (1982) cites some general psychodynamics of orality that may help us understand the African American mode of communication. For instance, a speaker knows what he or she can recall so that mnemonics such as rhythm, balanced patterns, repetitions, antithesis, alliteration, assonance, epithetic and other formulary expressions are frequently employed. Oral style is often aggregative rather than analytical and clusters of terms or phrases or clauses, parallel terms, and epithets are common. There is redundancy which helps continuity as well as a focus which is kept close to a human lifeworld. The oral style is agonistically toned which situates knowledge within a context of struggle,

combat, challenge and praise. It is as well empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced, situational rather than abstract. The courses of action and attitudes toward issues depend on effective use of words. All of the general features of orality are to be found in African Americanoral discourse.

Both Kochman (1972) and Smitherman (1977) discuss African American communication style. They found that in African American communication style often there are overt demonstrations of sympathetic involvement through movement and sound from the audience which demonstrates total involvement of the participants. The African American mode tends to be animated, interpersonal, and confrontational. Procedures for turn-taking and claiming the floor allows African Americans to come in when they can to argue a point or introduce a new one, and African American argumentation tends to be anecdotal and rhapsodized with a tendency to personalize by incorporating personal pronouns and references to self. In sum, the communication style of the African American is metrical, formulaic, repetitive, agonistic, rhapsodic, metaphoric and active.

The African American doe not separate performance from audience, speaker from hearer. There is an interactional call and response relationship that contributes to the structure of the performance. The emphasis is on shared knowledge and interpersonal relationship. Instead of emphasizing the communicative function, African American style is expected to elaborate the metacommunicative where the words themselves are used to convey something connotatively about the relationship between the communicator and audience. African American oral style narrative tends to use fixed ways (formulaic expressions) for saying what is meant. Like others coming from an oral tradition, African American narrative often speaks in terms of personal experience and incorporates internal evaluation. There is a tendency to avoid explicitly expressing the point (Kochman 1972). Especially prominent in the African Americanoral traditional narrative style is the use of paralinguistic and kinesic features which build on shared sociocultural knowledge and redundancy of channels so that it is the paralinguistic channel and emotional or interpersonal dynamics that get elaborated.

2 Review of Literature

In this literature review I hope to establish a theoretical basis for the present study. This analysis of African American folk narrative requires theory from discourse analysis, folklore, and performance which leads to an anthropological linguistic approach. Of course, from the early part of the 20th century, anthropologists used linguistic study to understand the culture of Native Americans. It is in that tradition that I undertake my own study following the work of Boas, Hymes, Tedlock, McLendon and many others.

2.1 Translation, Transcription, and Poetics

It was an anthropological linguistic tradition from the days of Boas, Kroeber and Sapir that the collection and analysis of texts were absolutely essential parts of linguistic fieldwork. Oral language, whether it was from Indian or other indigenous sources, was recognized as consisting of connected discourse. Texts which were originally oral were transcribed and transmitted in the written medium using various phonetic alphabets. There was a tendency, however, to impose English-based categories on linguistic data from other cultures. Caution was

raised by Boas, and much later by Hymes and other experts in transcription and translation of Indian folklore for assigning these categories to cultural material (Boas 1911; Kroeber 1911; Sapir 1949; Hymes 1971, 1980; Sherzer 1983).

It is a tendency of humans to see things chiefly in terms of their own existing categories and to classify data in their own terms. This phenomenon is culturally myopic and leads to distortions. To illustrate the distortions commonly made, Toelken (1969) discusses several features of Navaho culture about which many investigators have been naive, a naivete that has led to misinterpretation. For instance the Navaho view of information and how it may be transmitted differs from that of American mainstream in that sometimes an attitude may be communicated in a statement which is technically false but which uses humor as a vehicle; other examples involve seeming aloofness or unwillingness to be impressed which is communicated by statements designed to make the listener seem stupid or to imply he has missed the point; while another example has to do with information which ritualistically must be specifically requested

four times or it will not be given. One who fails to perceive these cultural differences will miss many opportunities to understand the use of language in that society. The need to be aware of these differences is also important in observing language of subcultures of America, such as the African American community.

Tedlock's (1971) work with Zuni storytellers also attacked the notion that oral narratives of non-Western peoples had little or no literary value, and that what value they did have was untranslatable or had been poorly translated. In earlier works on Zuni narrative, the stories were "simply put into familiar idiom, with restraint and good taste, and in some cases purged of the insistent repetitions and cluttering details that primitive people often stuff into their stories for ulterior motives.[1] On the other hand Tedlock's close scrutiny of expressive features of pitch, loudness, rhythm, timbre, and pause in the oral narrative translation strongly pointed to a poetic structure in the Zuni stories.

Hymes (1975, 1980, 1981) focused not on features

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[1]Comment made by Oliver La Farge in the preface to Theodora Kroeber's The Inland Whale.

of live performance, but rather on patterns that could be observed in published texts--the ways in which vocabulary, word formation, syntax, and semantics were used to create literary structures. He used these structures to divide Chinookan texts that had been transcribed and published years earlier into verse or poetry. His transcription was defined not by meter or rhyme, but by other structural features such as sentence-initial particles, line, grammatical and semantic parallelism, scene and act. The analysis of the poetic organization of the Chinookan narratives remains in the tradition of Boas, Sapir and Whorfian anthropological linguistics. Bright (1979) in his work on the Karok Indians of California used both the Tedlock and Hymes approaches and found that they coincided 90 percent of the time in their identification of basic units.

Ladd (1980) experimented with contrasting syntactic and lexical approaches to intonation. His conclusion that intonation contours had semantic force independent of the grammar of the system was in much the same vein as Pike's early conclusion that the special function of intonation was to express the

speaker's attitude. More recently intonation is spoken of in terms of a specific pragmatic function of illocutionary force which signals violation, suspension, etc. of Grice's conversational postulates.

Sherzer (1982) worked with Kuna narrative which involved a magical chant that the people used to grab a dangerous snake and to raise it in the air. His examination of the chant, from phonological details to overall narrative organization of this single narrative used by the Kuna Indians of Panama revealed a constant and dynamic interplay and intersection of structure and function. The analysis of the narrative required recognition of its poetic properties. It revealed a complex web of relations within Kuna language, culture, and society which involved the strategic importance of snakes in Kuna culture; the relationship between humans and animals and plants; the use of language and speech to display knowledge, respect, and control; the relationship between the world of humans and the world of spirits, mediated by the poetic-rhetoric of memorized oral chants; the role of grammar, parallelism, metaphor, and narrative structure in the poetic rhetoric; and the belief in the power and

ability of language to solve specific problems.

It was with her work on Eastern Pomo that McLendon developed the rhetorical structure framework for transcription and analysis of written forms of oral text using prosody as a fundamental marker (1979). Her proposal that the rhetorical system is an important aspect for organizing the text and establishes the relationship between sounds, lexical items, grammatical patterns, and discourse units, giving the discourse structure, and signaling organization and meaning was based on examining actual oral texts, unlike the work of Hymes, and reproduction of those oral texts in written Eastern Pomo, unlike the work of Tedlock. Anthony Woodbury (1980) has also used line and verse format to reflect rhetorical structure indicated in prosodic as well as syntactic features on a series of Inuit oral narratives he converted to written form.

2.2 Cohesion

Halliday and Hasan (1976) use the concept of cohesion to indicate those ties or relations by means of which texture is evidenced in a suprasential stretch of language. Texture becomes the sum of those features of text, distinct from its structure, which make it a

text and not a random sequence of sentences. Cohesion occurs when the tie or relation between two elements is such that one assumes at least partial dependence on the other for interpretation. As a semantic relation, cohesion is expressed through the multiple stratal organization of language, and the ties are the particular mechanisms of structural binding expressed partly through the grammar and partly through the vocabulary. Coherence, on the otherhand, connotes the mental processes that allow a total discourse to be sensible and understood by the participants.

Tannen (1984) defines cohesion as the surface level ties that show relationships among elements in the text and coherence as the underlying organizing structure making the words and sentences into a unified discourse that has broad cultural significance for those who create, transmit, or comprehend it.

Cohesive ties include the linguistic devices used to signal speech activity; to chunk information so as to highlight certain parts of communication and background others; to signal topic shifts; and to establish and maintain perspective in a topic. While spoken cohesion is largely believed to be established

through tone of voice, intonation, prosody, facial expression and gesture, written cohesion is organized through lexicalization, complex syntactic structures which make connectives explicit and show relations between propositions through subordination and foreground or background, and paragraphing, capitalization, and punctuation (Collins & Michaels 1986).

2.2.1 Disjunction

McClendon (1982) proposes if one discusses cohesion or continuity in discourse, one must also look at its opposite, disjunction. She says cohesion, which involves devices for establishing continuity only takes on significance when contrasted with various types of breaks in continuity, breaks which signal disjunction of some sort. Disjunction, just as cohesion, can be signalled by pauses, junctures, phrase, clause and sentence boundaries as well as by other devices which may signal larger narrative units. Consequently, if we are concerned about what shapes text, we must look both at cohesion and disjunction.

2.3 Performance, the Oral Tradition, and Folklore

There have been basically two types of structural

analyses in folklore. Propp (1968) attempted to discover linear sequential structure through plot structure. In the alternate approach by Levi-Strauss (1955), the folkloristic data was arranged by the analyst. Dundes (1971) found fault with any structural analysis which reordered (re-structured) the data since it ran the risk of distortion resulting from the forcible intrusion of analytic categories. Dundes, concerned with the textural features of an item of folklore such as its linguistic characteristics and poetic attributes like metrical or rhyme schemes, concluded while text could be translated from one language to another, texture could not. Therefore assonance, alliteration and onomatopoeic features would be lost. By 1980 he had come to believe that one could analyze texture, the linguistic features, text, a version or a single telling of a tale, and the context, the social situation in which particular items are actually employed. All, he concluded could be subjected to structural analysis with emic and etic units distinguished at each level.

Maranda and Maranda (1971) proposed three rules in structural analysis of oral tradition: rejection of

eclectic data in favor of a total corporal and holistic approach; mappings and transformations, one on the level of performance which could be called surface structure and the inherited plots or experiences which were transformed to the deep structures of the culture; and a basic tenet that units had to be found in the corpus itself. Their purpose was to demonstrate that the structural analysis must not be an end in itself, but a means to gaining an understanding of concrete human behavior and thought from which folklore is an exemplary part.

Other folklore scholars in the past several decades have begun to shift focus to the contextual analysis of the oral tradition. They believe that in the oral tradition words are convenient tools used to signal already shared social meaning. The meaning is in the context. Knowing in oral tradition is achieved through a sense of identification with the speaker or the characters in the spoken discourse and understanding is subjective (Ong 1967; Olson 1977; Havelock 1977).

Folklore contributes to a systematic theory of language with respect to concepts of performance and

genre. Performance came into prominence through folkloristic research. Early on Malinowski (1926) emphasized the cultural and interactional context of language using the verbal arts. Lord (1960) and Parry (1971) placed emphasis on the role of audience in oral composition. Jakobson (1960) and later Hymes (1962, 1974) illustrated the conceptualization of the communicative event. This research fostered a shift in orientation to performance situation while linking structural event to stylized behavior (Lomax 1968; Abrahams 1968; Ben-Amos 1972). Performance in folklore emphasized a social event as a situation in context unfolding or arising within that context. It was creative, realized, achieved not in the Chomskian framework of an overt behavior, likely an imperfect representation of underlying knowledge, but the realization of known traditional material. Here knowledge and performance of tradition are interdependent.

A methodology which emphasizes performance, item and audience uses insights from the functional school of anthropology and sees folklore in its contextual frame (Abrahams 1968). While structuralism focused on

the text itself, communicative studies of folklore performance are concerned with the interrelationship between texts and situations within the constraints of particular genres. Elizabeth Fine (1984) postulates that folklore text can remain central to the study of folklore if a rigorous practice of treating text as a systematic record of a performance-a record which includes non verbal and contextual features is adopted. This relationship between performance and text is critical.

2.4 Discourse

A general theory for discourse strategies began by specifying the linguistic and sociocultural knowledge that had to be shared if conversational involvement was to be maintained. The strategies including prosody, code-switching and contextualization cues dealt with what it was about the nature of conversational inference that made culture, subculture and situation specifically interpretable (Gumperz 1982). Goffman (1974) defined an interaction in terms of a frame or schema which was identifiable and familiar, but Bartlett (1932) had originated the term schema as an organizing principle in interpreting events. Gumperz

refers to an activity type or activity which does not determine meaning but constrains interpretation by channeling inferences so as to "foreground" or make relevant certain aspects of background knowledge and undeplays or "backgrounds" others. He suggests coherence is achieved through situated interpretation of contextual cues that are verbal (prosodic, phonological, morphological, syntactic and rhetorical) and noverbal (kinesic, proxemic). Coherence depends on shared access to culturally defined repertoires of verbal and nonverbal devices situated in and reflexive of the interactional frames (1982, 1984).

The close formal discourse analysis in recent years of organization of texts, and the devices of cohesion have been assisted by ethnopoetics, comparative analysis of parallelism and the analysis of folklore genres. Prosody, for example, is one of the important perceptual features enabling the conversationalist to chunk the stream of talk into basic message units which underlie interpretation and control turn taking ... idea units (Halliday 1967; Chafe 1980). While prosodic conventions vary cross-culturally Gumperz focused on the semantic and cohesive

functioning of tone grouping, accent placement and paralinguistic signs (1982). Researchers using prosody for analysis have focused on such semantic, rhetorical and coherent devices as tone grouping, accent placement and other paralinguistic signs (Gumperz 1982; Hymes 1975; Tedlock 1971; Bright 1982; McClendon 1977, 1982; Halliday 1967; Chafe 1980; Woodbury 1980; Collins and Michaels 1986). This focus has broadened the base of linguistic analysis and acknowledged the impact of non verbal performative devices.

2.5 The African AmericanCommunication and Narrative Style

The ability of a person to use active and copious verbal performance to achieve recognition within his group is widespread in the African American community having its roots in African verbal art. Among the Limba of Sierra Leone, individuals are not identified as Limba unless they learn to speak Limba well (Finnegan 1977); the ability to speak well, to "Have mouth," is often equated with intelligence and success among the Igbo of southeastern Nigeria (Uchendu 1965); in Central Africa, one of the most important personal qualities of the Barundi people is ubgenge (successful cleverness) which is demonstrated by "intellectual-

verbal management of significant life-situations" (Albert 1964); among the Fang of Gabon individuals achieve highly respected positions as a result of their oratorical powers (Fernandez 1975).

Mitchell-Kernan (1972) illustrates that there is a diverse terminological system for referring to verbal skills in Black culture.[2] She addresses the value of signifying and marking as communicative strategies, an indirect means to getting a point across relating choice of linguistic code to content and function. For the African American community the artistic component of language is significant. The way in which something is said, the style of the speech act is a dominant theme.

Abrahams (1972, 1983) analyzed the speech behavior among African Americans on St. Vincent Island in the Caribbean. He defined community by its voices and expanded upon this in his discussion of formal and informal communicative events where the assertion of involvement or "community-ratifying noise," was a critical means of signifying individuals' participation in the community. This notion embraces the performance

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down, [2] [illegible] running it

tradition which is found throughout the African diaspora and involves performer and audience (call and response), physical dramatization, strong voice, persuasion, personalization, active verbalization to intensify, word contests (ie. signification), repetition for emphasis, narrative sequencing, and tonal semantics (Herskovits 1941; Abrahams 1964, 1970, 1973; Smitherman 1977; Jarrett 1984). The communication style of the African American remains metrical, formulaic, repetitive, agonistic, rhapsodic, metaphoric and active.

Michelle Foster (1989) in her ethnographic work conducted in the classroom of a Black woman teacher in an urban community college revealed two distinct but culturally appropriate ways of speaking. Foster drew upon performance theory in order to analyze two speech events that allowed her to determine that artful African American teachers use a style of communication filled with rhythmic language, rapid intonation, and encouraging gestures, all characteristics of African American communication style. Foster's analysis of transcripts from the study revealed a number of stylistic structures in the verbal interaction between

the teacher and the students which included: repetition, alliteration, call and response, use of rhythm, variation in pace, and creative language play.

From the work of many others (Waterman 1949; Abrahams 1970; Kochman 1970; Mitchell-Kernan 1971; Smitherman 1977; Heath 1983; Davis 1985) we learn that these features are commonly found in the stories and playsongs of African American children; in the sounding, rapping, toasts, and verbal art of African American adolescents and adult males; in African American music; and in African American preaching style.

Research on African American oral sermons finds that, although there are theological differences, these differences are not manifested in the narrative structure of the sermons. In each instance of African American narrative performance the performer and the audience is locked into a dynamic exchange which is traceable to African culture. This dynamic and inventive performance whether secular or sacred does not allow for passive hearers (McGhee 1969; Twining 1970; Rosenberg 1972; Vaughn-Cooke 1972; Davis 1985). The Black preacher uses the best folk storytelling

techniques working out elaborate characterizations and details which give the audience many ways to identify with and learn from the experience of the character in the story (Mitchell-Kernan 1972; Davis 1985). Rosenberg (1975) found the utterances in the oral sermon were broken up into metrically consistent units. The sermons were also found to be repetitive at the lexical and syntactic levels with formulation of stalls nearly automatic giving the performer time to think. This characteristic is a very significant stylistic feature of oral narrative.

Ruth Finnegan discusses some aspects of oral literature in Africa that have counterparts in the African American narrative tradition. In many stories the characterization of both leading and secondary figures may appear slight, but can be delivered by visible means such as the speaker's gestures, expressions and mimicry. The performer has license to be innovative with known motifs, use stylistic devices, as well as exploit and be exploited by the audience. In fact, the performer of an oral piece can be said to be more involved in actual social situations than the writer in more familiar literate traditions (1970).

Other research supports the belief that orality is the fundamental mode of expression in the African American community. No where is it better demonstrated than in the oral narrative style. The storytelling tradition is strong among African Americans and abstract observations about life, love, and people are rendered in the form of concrete narrative sequence which may seem to meander from the point and take on episodic frames. This is a linguistic style which causes problems with American mainstream speakers who want to get to the point and be direct. Nancy Ainsworth-Vaughn (1987) offers the observation that this style is in keeping with the African American verbal system. It is more "topic associative" in the language of Michaels and Collins. It takes on a broader chronological focus than American mainstream narrative style which is more "topic-centered". Dorson (1983), for example, describes an African Americannarrator, James Suggs from Calvin Township, Michigan whose style involves a swift recap of the story or its final episode and a moralizing past with commentary which sometimes points up an opposite incident that comes from his own personal knowledge.

His style reflects the episodic personalization found amongst many African American narrators.

A framework for analysis of the African American narrative was provided by Labov (1972) based on stories told to him by Black teenagers. The speaker's main objective in telling a story is to make it clear what the point of a story is in answer to the question "So What?" This meaning or point of the story is conveyed through evaluation either internal or external. External evaluation involves an obvious stepping outside of the story to announce what the point is. Internal evaluation on the other hand is not obvious. It is denoted by differing levels of verbalization like expressive phonology, change in pace, repetition, lexical choice, direct quotation, etc. Labov suggested that middle class white speakers tended to use more external evaluation and Blacks used more internal evaluation. He also concluded that internal evaluation made a better story. This strategy builds on interpersonal involvement to create the sense of identification, or involvement with characters, and tellers of stories that is linked to oral tradition. By not telling the point straight out the teller

capitalizes on shared background.

Wolfson (1982) adding to Labov's framework identifies performance features that characterize dramatized reenactments used to describe particularly involved and dramatized oral narrative. They include direct speech, asides, repetition, expressive sounds, sound effects, motions and gestures, and conversational historic present which alternates with narrative past tense.

Finally, in African American discourse style paralinguistics carry the bulk of textural cohesion. African American oral texts present problems due to the heavy influence of an expressive performance style, use of stating and counterstating, the role of acting and reacting, and the pattern of testing the performance as it develops, all of which are habitual dynamics in African American communication (Abrahams 1970).

Review of some of the previous work in the area of linguistics, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and folklore reveals there is considerable more work to be done on African American discourse. The performance approach and poetics will assist in this work.

3 The 1935 Expedition - A Live Recorded Performance

3.1 The Setting

There is a chain of low, wooded, fertile islands along the coast of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia which are separated from the mainland by sea marsh and mangrove swamp. These, then as now, were known as the "Sea Islands." In the days of slavery the islands to the south, near Charleston, Savannah and Brunswick particularly, were the sites of large, extremely rich rice plantations, among which the slave system reached its peak (Lomax 1961). The major islands along this portion of the Confederate coast were seized early in the Civil War by Union troops. Later the slaves were freed and much of the land was turned over to them (Johnson 1930). The former slaves then formed independent communities, which remained reasonably isolated until the 1960's when the islands were overrun by developers.

In June, 1935, Alan Lomax, folklorist and musicologist, Zora Neale Hurston, African American folklorist and anthropologist trained at Barnard, and Mary Barnicle, professor of ballad at New York

University went to collect folk music for a Works Progress Administration (WPA)[1] sponsored project. They took their expedition to an isolated community on St. Simon's Island[2] off Brunswick, Georgia where Hurston had previously travelled and collected folklore.

At the time of the expedition Lomax observed, "This community is a settlement of Negroes that has remained practically static since the days of slavery" (1935). While there the group sent out a call for folk singers to visit them in a little shanty off in the woods. The first evening the front yard was crowded, largely thanks to Hurston's invitation to Mr. John Davis, the then primary mover and shaker on St. Simon's Island. In a week's time, they had made nearly forty

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[1]The Works Project Administration was founded in 1935 by Franklin D. Roosevelt and was renamed the Work Projects Administration in 1939.

[2]St. Simons Island, itself, has an interesting past being the site of Fort Frederica which was built by General James Oglethorpe in 1736. Fort Frederica went on to become one of the most important fortifications in America. It was here that the quarrel between Spain and England over Caribbean trade rights exploded at the Battle of Bloody Marsh in 1742. Aaron Burr sought refuge here after his duel with Alexander Hamilton; Fanny Kemble Butler wrote many of her antislavery letters, and John and Charles Wesley, the founders of Methodism, preached.

records of children's game songs, both traditional and indigenous; chanteys of the sort sung by African Americans while loading the ships in Charleston, Savannah and Brunswick; ring shouts, probably the earliest form of the Negro spiritual; "jooking" on the guitar which furnished rhythm for the one-step, the slowdrag and other dances at saloons; and a miscellaneous set of spirituals, ragtime songs, ballads and, lastly, a few folktales which are now preserved in the American Folklife Center, Archive of Folk Culture, Library of Congress.

3.2 The Collectors

The three collectors involved in this expedition were a White male Texan, Alan Lomax, a White female from New York who by some accounts Zora Neale Hurston had convinced to blacken her face Mary Barnicle, and Zora Neale Hurston, an African American native of Eatonville, Florida, the first incorporated Negro township in the U.S.

Hurston who would publish **Mules and Men,** a collection of African American folktales and remedies this same year, was soon to be hearaled as the most important collector of Afro-American folklore in the

country. Having grown up hearing the folk tales of Central Florida on the porch of the general store and from family and neighbors, she was encouraged by Franz Boas during her study at Barnard from 1925-27 to collect the folklore of the South. She was later funded by a patroness to continue her work of collecting African American folklore in the South from 1927-1933. Even before attending Barnard she had become known as a fine writer of short stories and had been published in Phylon, a Howard University publication as well as Opportunities, a publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It was because of her writing and an award she had won from Opportunities magazine that she came to New York. As a contemporary of Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen and a prominent writer during the Harlem Rennaisance, she collaborated on several projects with Hughes that culminated in a folk play "Mule Bone." According to her biographer, she was intent on capturing "the music and speech, energy and wisdom, dignity and humor of the black rural South" (Hemenway 1977).

Alan Lomax, son of John Lomax, by this time was

well on his way to becoming one of America's most dedicated and well versed experts on music and dance style of "folk" Americans. Though only twenty years old at the time of the expedition he was the principal collector responsible for the expedition.

Mary Barnicle, a musicologist on her first recording venture, later became an expert on traditional Appalachian culture. She had met Hurston around the same time Barnicle and Lomax were planning the expedition to the South. Hurston had become enthusiastic about joining the trip in order to give Lomax and Barnicle an inside view of Black folklore.

The three met in Brunswick, Georgia and from there weeks of productive field recordings followed in St. Simons Island, in Eatonville, Florida, and among Bahamian migratory labor camps on Lake Okeechobee in Florida. Lomax ran the recording machine, Barnicle filled her notebooks with observations[3] and Hurston worked with the singers and storytellers, whom she already knew, taking field notes which she later

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[3]The original list of songs with performers, places and dates can be found in the Project File of the collection under Barnicle's name in the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress.

transposed into literature.

3.3 The Storyteller

John Davis, the storyteller, had many occupations. He was a seaman, a fisherman, a longshoreman who had also worked on railroad gangs, and a farmer on his own land as was the custom in the area for former slaves and their descendants since the Civil War. He was worldly and well-travelled, intelligent and according to Lomax, "larger than life." Davis was highly regarded in his community for his many talents and activities: singer, dancer, spiritualist, good-timer, and patriarch. Lomax tells an especially informative story about a time when he and John Davis visited a bar together. John Davis looked across the room and saw two young people who were especially amorous. He excused himself from Lomax and walked over to the couple. After a short serious conversation with the two he came back to Lomax' table and Lomax observed the couple had moved apart. Lomax said when he asked John Davis what he had said to the couple, Davis confided, "I told them, I am the father of you both" (Lomax, personal communication).

3.4 The Folk Narrative Collection

Around thirty-five years old at the time of the expedition, John Davis' music was published in several recordings done by Lomax. However, little attention has been given to the five spontaneous folktales he told during the sessions in the little shanty in Frederica, Georgia. The stories were told over two evenings out on the porch with people coming and going from porch to kitchen in the process of having a good time, the traditional setting for storytelling sessions. These stories, one of the earliest folk narrative collections of actual performance were recorded on aluminum disc, along with the other items from the Lomax-Hurston-Barnicle Expedition and are housed at the Archive of Folk Culture, Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.

The aluminum disc recorder was a new, not yet sophisticated technology, first experimented with by the Library of Congress in 1933. It was the first time Lomax had used the equipment and he later explained that he was so very enthused with the situation (John Davis, Zora Neale Hurston and the setting) that he did not pay as close attention to the recording as he later learned to do (Lomax, personal communication). The

quality of the recording suffered. Factors such as considerable background noise e.g. movement, conversation, and sounds of people having a good time; distance between the storyteller and the microphone (although the participants were aware they were being recorded, the microphone was inside the house behind the screen door); changing of the disc from one side to the other (only 12-13 minutes of recording time per side) all added to distortion. When the recordings were copied on to magnetic tape at the Library of Congress, no effort seemed to have been made to enhance the original recordings. In fact, the process was a fairly routinized mechanical one which in at least one case resulted in one disc being copied out of sequence from its original order in the recording sessions. These narratives as early historical records of African American folk narrative style deserve to be recopied with care from the original aluminum discs using the most recent technological advances available.

Five stories were collected from John Davis. They are catalogued as follows in the American Folklife Center, Archive for Folk Culture.

AFS 347 -	No. 38		Lomax-Hurston-Barnicle Expedition, Frederica, Ga. June 1935
	I	1	John and Old Mistis' Nightgown, old story told by John Davis Negro
		2	John and His Rival, old story told by John Davis
	II		Frog Went a-Courting And He Did Ride (Mr. Frog), ballad, sung by a group of little Negro girls led by Drusilla Davis
AFS 348	No. 39		Lomax-Hurston-Barnicle Expedition, Frederica, Ga. June 1935
	I	1	John Whips the Giant, old story told by John Davis, Negro.
		2	John and the Bear, old story, John Davis
	II	1	John and the Bear (concluded)
		2	John and the Coon (first part) told by John Davis
AFS 349	No. 40		Lomax-Hurston-Barnicle Expedition, Eatonville, Fla. June 1935
	I	1	Rise Sally Rise, game song, group of little Negro girls

In reviewing the tapes I discovered the catalog was misnumbered with two stories out of sequence from their actual presentation. According to the AFS catalog John and the Giant was in the middle of the sequence of stories. However, this story apparently

was told first, based on comments made by John Davis himself during the storytelling session. As copied it is in two parts marked by a break in the recording and distortion noise in the middle (presumably marking the end of one aluminum disc and beginning of a second). The story "John and the Bear" which follows "John and the Giant" on disc 39 side I part 2, is interrupted by another break in the recording (presumably ref;ecting the end of one disc and beginning of another), and continues on side II part 1 of disc No. 39. It was performed second in the sequence instead of fourth as indicated by the AFS catalog.

The third story, "John and the Coon", cited in the catalog as having only the first part found on disc 39 side II part 2, has no break and apparently starts at the very beginning of the story, unlike the first two stories which appear to be missing the first few lines. This and subsequent stories were probably told on the next day of recording. The end of "John and the Coon," as copied by AFS moves directly into the beginning of the next story "John and Ol' Mistis Nightgown," which is found on disc 39 side II part 2. The catalog fails to indicate this. The AFS catalog implies the story

begins on disc 38 side I part 1, when it is, in fact, continued on disc 38 side I part 1. Although there was, once again, a break in the recording as Lomax changed from one disc to another, the break is minor and does not appear to interfere with interpretation. The stories actually conclude with "John and His Rival" which thematically is probably the most outspoken.

Another clue that the sequence was copied out of order is found at the end of the story "John and His Rival" on disc 38 side II. In the middle of the recordings of tales, there is a ballad sung by a group of little Negro girls. On disc 40 side I there are game songs also led by a group of little Negro girls. This suggests that the texts on disc 39 containing "John Whips the Giant" "John and the Bear" and "John and the Coon" were performed preceding disc 38 containing "John and Old Mistis Nightgown" and "John and His Rival." If the order of AFS 38 and AFS 39 were inverted it would suggest that the first ballad "Frog Went a-Courting And He Did Ride" which the catalog says was recorded in Frederica, Georgia and the game song "Rise Sally Rise" that the catalog says was recorded in Eatonville, Florida, were recorded from the same group

of girls and that the recordings took place in one of these two places rather than both.

One additional problem for researchers is the discrepancy in identifying reference numbers between the written catalog and the tapes themselves. The reference on the tape is, for example, 347 A 1 and 2 which corresponds to 347 No. 38 side I parts 1 and 2. This non-identical numbering leads to further confusion.

The discovery that the numbering does not reflect the actual order of performance is important to the interpretation of the stories and discussions on cohesion. With the actual sequence of performance recognized, a very concrete thematic progression apparent. I recommend that these tapes be recopied from the original aluminum discs to restore the original sequence as well as technologically enhance them.

3.5 "John and Old Master" Stories

The stories told by John Davis were of the Old Master and John trickster variety. John W. Roberts (1989) in his book **From Trickster to Badman: The Black Folk Hero in Slavery and Freedom** claims the precise

point at which John as a human trickster tales were performed can not be determined for a number of reasons. There was little or no collection of Black folklore in the South prior to the Civil War and for some years thereafter. However, it is believed that the traditions upon which most post-bellum songs, stories and activities were based extended well back into slavery time.

The earliest published reference to a John and Master story appears to be in the Southern Workman (1896), a monthly publication of the then Hampton Normal & Agricultural Institute. Students and former students of Hampton had been collecting folklore and ethnology from different parts of the South since November, 1893. Versions of John and Master stories were collected: in Virginia in the late 1800's by the Hampton graduates, A. M. Bacon, whose collection was published in 1922 with E. C. Parsons an early student of Boas, but had been completed nearly twenty years earlier as a part of the Hampton project, and another Hampton graduate, Portia Smiley in 1919; in Louisiana by Arthur Huff Fausett from a New Orleans railroad man; in the Sea Islands by Portia Smiley, E. C. Parsons, and

others; in South Carolina by Portia Smiley, E. C. Parsons, and others; in Florida by E. C. Parsons, Hurston, and others; in Alabama and Mississippi by Fausett; and as far north as Michigan by Dorson (Smiley 1919; Fauset 1927; Hurston 1935; Botkin 1945; Brewer 1932, 1946; Dorson 1953; 1968).

The tales were in some ways anecdotes of slavery and versions appear in many slave narratives. Usually "Old Master," the plantation owner, and "John," the slave are the main characters of this genre which depicts the relationship between slave and master and African Americans and Whites. One story in the John Davis collection that I will analyze was a very popular John and Master tale appearing throughout the folkloric literature. In fact, this celebrated story of John and the Coon appears in nearly every collection cited. Charles Perdue has it as "Coon in the Box," a version in a slave narrative told by Tissie White born in 1843 in Newport News, Virginia and told between 1937 and 1939 (1976). This story provides an opportunity to take a swipe at White Southern usage of terms of racial aspiration (Fausett 1927).

In some stories the name of the character "John"

may have been changed to "Jack" or "Toby." Frequently recorded stories were "The Deerstalker," "The Lord and Toby" or "John Praying," and "Master Disguised" or "Master Gone to Philanewyork." A story told in New Orleans to Fausett resembles one of the stories in Appendix A told by John Davis. It concerned giants who pulled up trees and a strong man who challenged and tricked the giants.

John's tricks were not reserved for the Master alone. At times fellow slaves or workers were the dupes. John himself did not always win. Both John and Master could engage in acts ranging from clever trickery to numbskullery to outright villainy (Dickson 1974).

Whether John wins or loses, he is still admired. In the stories told by John Davis this admiration is enhanced by the oral telling of the story as will be demonstrated in the analysis.

3.6 Transcription Method

Many linguists and anthropologists have struggled with a method for visually recording oral texts (Bright 1979; Chafe 1980; Hymes 1976, 1977, 1980 a, b, 1981; McLendon 1977 a, b, 1978, 1979, 1982; Tannen 1989;

Tedlock 1977, 1978, 1979; Woodbury 1980, 1982;). Following in the tradition of these linguists I am using a visual presentation that is intended to make the prosodic features of the text easier to hear while at the same time make clear the patterns of cohesion and disjunction through such features as lines and prosaic blocks. My notation style attempts to make some of the audible features connected with long and short strings of sound amid long and short silences visible. Spacing is used in the text to make the rhythm and sound more apparent. I chose not to use a phonetic transcription because the technicality would lose much of the powerful effect of orality. My aim in this transcription was to produce a performance-based orthographic reflection of the structure of oral narrative that could be read by a lay person who would then be able to conceptualize to some degree the effect of the oral delivery. To this end, I did not want the style to be so complex as to slow the eye of the reader.

John Davis' narratives are organized into spurts of speech, narrative action units and scenes. The organization of text can be described in a variety of

ways. Units of narrative discourse have been analyzed using a variety of terms which frequently refer to the same phenomena. There are three ways to chunk speech into discourse units, by prosodic spurts, syntax or by some larger semantic unit. There are sentences, segments, actions and episodes or acts, scenes, stanzas, verses, and lines. The basic discourse unit as defined by Chafe (1980) and adopted from Kroll's idea unit (1977) is "spurts of speech." Others have also dealt with a framing system proposing "information units" (Halliday 1967), "information blocks" (Grimes 1975), or "tone units" (Crystal (1975). By Chafe's definition spontaneous speech is produced in a series of brief spurts of language which are linguistic expressions of focuses of consciousness. Eventhough the boundary markers were sometimes ambiguous, when one listens to the recording of John Davis' stories, one hears stretches of speech that vary in loudness and pitch and are separated by pauses. Line breaks are used to indicate ordinary and suppressed pauses (McLendon 1982). The resulting chunks are rarely equal to syntactic sentences, but rather are parts of sentences.

Spurts of speech are combined into narrative action units which represent the elaboration of a single point in the narrative. These are the median level units found in the narratives by John Davis. The beginning of these units was often marked syntactically as with the introduction of a full noun, a shift from singular to plural, by longer pauses, or separated by tag words which not only helped to organize the discourse but contributed to textual cohesion as well. Narrative units are indicated by double spacing between units.

A series of two or three narrative action units are combined into scenes. These scenes were often semantically marked by shifts in temporality, character, location, and/or topic. Stories frequently begin with references to evening or night while scenes within the stories are characterized by temporal markers like "next morning" "One day," and "meanwhile." The boundaries of some scenes are marked by direct quotes others are marked by the use of different voice and still others by very disjunctive lines of text which highlight the shifts. In other cases while the quotative may be absent, the scene

begins with dialogue that heightened the dramatic effect. Each scene is marked by a Roman numeral.

Other noteworthy features of the transcription deal with the variety of pauses, pitch contours and performance notes. John Davis uses a glottalization at the end of some words to mark juncture (Similar to the glottal stricture identified by McLendon (1982) in Eastern Pomo). It draws attention to the cohesion between the two phrases on different lines separated by the stricture. Longer pauses in the text are indicated by a series of periods (.) on a separate line.

Rising and lowering intonation and pitch change are demonstrated by raising and lowering the words on which the inflection occurs in a line of text. In the transcription, punctuation represents intonation more so than grammatical conventions. Together these features represent intonation units and capture in print the natural chunking achieved in speaking by a combination of intonation, prosody, pausing, and verbal particles like discourse and hesitation markers.

A very important feature used by John Davis is asides in which he plays the role of conversationalist directly addressing the audience. These asides,

accompanied by lowering of pitch, are marked by parentheses ( ).

A final convention in the transcript that needs noting is the perfomance notes found to the left of the transcript. These notes serve a multi-purpose function to distinquish voice quality, character, pacing, volume, and other dramatic markings. Through this visual transcription style, one can project the dominant patterns of discourse within an oral text while making the literature available to a wider audience.

I chose to avoid what some sociolinguists have called eye dialect (e.g. wus/was, keerful/careful, ketch/catch) conventions because of the negative impression it leaves on the reader. Wolfram suggests this eye dialect is a literary convention that is willing to take unwarranted liberties with the spoken reality of language variation (1990). John Davis' dialect is a fairly sophisticated variety of Southern Black English that would suffer an injustice if transcribed using the eye dialect conventions which often lead to linguistic and social stereotyping. Also the study of Vernacular Black English is not the

crucial focus here as it has been in other studies using WPA texts (e.g. Brewer 1974, Bailey & Maynor 1985, 1987, Schneider 1989). This particular study is more concerned with the description of performance style and discourse structure. Therefore, I to avoid the nonstandard spellings unless they demonstrate some important prosodic phenomena.

Because of the poor tape quality and distortion, unclear passages were phonetically transcribed. The phonetics reproduce as closely as possible what was heard on the tape. In some cases only the number of syllables uttered could be transcribed and they too are enclosed in phonetic brackets. Ultimately, since the quality of the tape interfered with clear definition of some words and phrases, there are instances where semantic reference is obscure.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

' after a word indicates a glottal stricture and pause

. indicates longer pauses

Line Break indicates ordinary pauses

Three spaces are used between lines for new episodes or scenes also marked by Roman numerals

[ ] unintelligible speech is written in phonetic symbols

Italics indicate audience interactions usually at the end of the line or underneath it

Performance notes in left margin - note voice quality, character, dramatic tones of voice, and pacing

Raising and Lowering the words for intonation/pitch change

CAPS indicate loudness

Double or triple vowels indicate vowel lengthening

' on the vowel of the word indicates overstress

" " direct speech or dialogue which is also indented

< > indicates sound effects

Lines numbered in right margin

Staggered lines for spurts of speech continuing through two or more lines

ZNH = Zora Neale Hurston

AL = Alan Lomax

JD = John Davis

John and the Coon

as told by John Davis

I

John know 1

rapid delivery — whóle lot of things 2

softer, raised intonation, lowered pitch — (John didn't know múch) 3

•

John had done 4

two or three items around <*chuckle*> here
so that' 5

softens voice confidential tone — Marsa kinda taken a liking to John 6

But he---John didn't know nothing
you know. 7

Só. 8

Well he taken a líking to John
you know. 9

John going around [h n]
you know, 10

John almost like dead, 11

nóthing.
He didn't know 12

II

	Marsa went and got a bíg párty you know 'n	13
	•	
	They went out hún ting that night see,	14
singing, rhythmic delivery falling, rising,falling pitch	S'áll only be able to catch óne coon.	15
	•	
emphatic	They say the coon can't make'	16
	nó bódy know what to thínk of	17
	and just sitting messing around,	18
rapid	'n thinking of first one thíng 'n ánother you know,	19
	coming back off the húnt.	20
Big, hard bluffing voice	"You wanna git something you [ ] bet on	21
	bring the coon back alive	22
	we gon'" ---	23
	(Sóme'	24
	some fella had dissention.	25
lower pitch	Whérever you gó	26
softer	there's something like that.)	27

Marsa he joined in. 28

•

high creaky tight voice — "By God I gotta old darkie home 29

starts with rising pitch then falling intonation — "I'll bétche he could tell you 30

just what we caught tonight." 31

Awww that gonna arouse a bét here. 32

They betting up a plantation 33
you know

and a 34

softer — [dayl] a money--- 35

ány
lower pitch — (Couldn't count money how 36
matter of fact.)

tight creaky Marsa voice — "By God 37

I'll bétche two three plantation." 38

suppressed pause at end

faster — Now they put a big bet 39

that John gon tell' 40

whát they caught that night 41

lower pitch — (but they put it under the túb 42
you know.)

III

slightly conspiratorial rapid lower pitch	Next morning here come John and [ ] ,	43
	coming on up here.	44
Big blustering, voice slow halting	"Well John uh,	45
	I got a bíg bet on this morning	46
	and a	47
	don't cause me to lóse now."	48
Slower hesitant subdued voice	"No Marsa	49
	I' ---	50
	uh uh	51
	you can't lóse."	52
	Say:	53
Commanding, slow,deliberate with confidence (like in a poker game bluff)	"Jóhn now	54
	we want you to téll us	55
	what's that under that túb."	56
hesitant soft moan	"Uh"	57
	<chuckle> soft laugther	
	<chuckle>	
loud, commanding, prodding	ón "Come John" *<chuckle>*	58
hesitant soft moan	"Yéeaah sir" *laughter, woman says: "Go on.*	59

		65
	One old fella had his bet on	60
	he go'	61
	•	
impatient higher pitch, raspy, fast authoritative	"By God come on darkie	62
	quíck."	
lowered pitch	and tell us what's under the tub	63
	Stream of laughter from JD & audience	
	He say':	64
very slow hesitant	"Maarsa"	65
	Say':	66
slow, drawn out	"The cóoon done run a loóng time	67
lowered pitch	but fiinally you cátch 'm.	68
Fast, excited	Marsa didn't let John say nothing	69
	Say:	70
master's voice loud shout	"By God I told you gentlemen that <- - - - - ->	71
rhythmic moderately fast	John didn't know what in the world was under the tub	72
	strong laughter	
	bét	
continuous laughter, JD raises voice to be heard over laugther	but John done won the you know,	73
	hím	
	John thought they catch	74
lowered pitch	and yóu know who they cátch.	75
	loud raucous laughter	

I V

Marsa say': 76

Jóhn lóong
raised pitch "But how come you wait so 77

'for yúuh 78

tell 'em what's under the tub?" 79

Say: 80

soft, polite "Marsa I want you to bét some more. 81
confident tone *low exhausted laughter*
understated, ingratiating

He didn't know whát it was 82

hím
John thought they catch 83
you see.

he couldn't lóse!
ends on high pitch But he 84
ZNH-He musta been telling fortunes before hand

John and Ol' Missus Nightgown

Immediately follows "John and The Coon" with prompt from ZNH "He musta been telling fortunes beforehand

as told by John Davis

I	Yeah Marsa'	1
low, conspiratorial whisper	Then one night, you know,	2
lowering of voice	Uh,	3
	•	
rapid, low conspiratorial	You know John told Marsa	4
louder	John was getting féver again boy	5
	Say Marsa didn't	6
	Think'	7
	"Well I just try John"	8
soft conspiratorial whisper	"Oh here he come." <*soft chuckle*>	9
II	Say John	10
	John tell Marsa	11
soft, low	John show Marsa that chicken	12
soft	John tell Marsa:	13
louder	"Marsa"	14

<snap>
Say: 15

rhythmic chantlike bragging, daring
"I bet you, 16
I'll cóme in here toníght 17

<snap>
steeáal
'n the gown off your wífe 18

<snap>
'n you sleeping right there 19

'n you won't know what I got." 20

Say: 21

"Shé wouldn't know what I got." 22

naive + eager creaky, high voice
"Oh by God 23

reserved for ol' Marsa
if you do that,"--- 24

"then what'll you do for that (John or gown)" 25

lower voice
"I could'" 26

soft hesitant
loud, decisive
"Give 'im the múle, 27
"that's right."

ríde
faster
He would let John the mule, 28
you know,

lower pitch
that wasn't none of John's mule. 29

jokingly explanatory aside remark
(It's all right if you be defensive 30
with your own toys.) *laugther* *31*

	It wasn't John's mule, you know.	32
	But he say he gíve John that mule	33
softer,lower pitch	if John'd get it.	34
soft	All right	35

III

	John made him	36
slow, methodical	giíve 'm a little artificial mán, you know	37
	<clap>	
	'n go in the chícken house	38
	'n sét it right í n the door you know,	39

Break in recording picks up at 347 A1 + 2

Missing rest of frame for action,but continues apparently part of same scene

soft	That old chícken	40
loud + fast	[GWAA GWA GWA GW GW]	41
	And John'd	42
	<steps>	
	• • •	

	Púll on it agaín	43
	O'er in the yard just	44
	[GWÃÃ GWÃ GWÃ GW GW]	45
	n '	46
conspiratorial softer	John let it down again,	47
	OK	48
I V	Marsa:	49
slightly higher pitch	"Wonder what in the	50
	wórld is that	51
	worrying my chickens?"	52
soft	Old lady:	53
slightly falsetto	"You best go óver there	54
	'n sée what it ís,"	55
	•	
soft + low	U h	56
	•	
	Johnlíke that.	57

V

soft + conpirational	All at once	58
	púll on it agín	59
	•	
	[GWÃÃ GWÃ GWÃ GW GW]	60
methodical rhythm for this unit, moderate pace	Marsa <steps> júmp <steps>	61
	•	
	<steps> slip on his shhoes	62
	<snap> gó on out the door.	63
	Goon'	64
	chicken coop	65
	'n look all around the chícken,	66

V I

	There stood John	67
	<snap> sitting there, you know	68
	There was crówing 'n all the ruckus.	69
faster	Then he say:	70
	"Yeah."	71
soft conspiratorial	"Ol lady,	72
	I just cut me up some chícken.	73
excited, fast	"Gimme gówn right quick."	74
same rhythm lower pitch	"Gimme gówn right quick."	75

rapid listing of actions	She'	76
	<shuffling feet> shuffled through	77
	went for her bureau	78
	<snap> <snap> take it to John.	79
	He's góne out the door	80
lower pitch	góne out the door.	81

VII

softer, slower lower pitch for unit methodical	Marsa he round'	82
	the chicken coop lóoking you know.	83
soft, lower pitch	all around the chicken coop,	84
	he didn't see any	85
	roóom come back in the	86
	BÉD. go on drag in	87

•

soft, low — Now 88

She waiting for' 89

soft — to see if uh 90

say something about the gówn, 91
you know

she knew he had take 92

úp
the gown on there, 93
you know. *chuckling*

•

soft — You see 94

faster paced listing — He fiddle with gown 95
ZNH-laugther

she in bed near bout to freeze 96

he fiddle with that gown. *long laugther* 97

•

Say: 98

high falsetto — "Old mán 99

Say: 100

"Where's my gówn?" 101

soft +quick — Say: 102

louder, high pitch, intolerant — "I 'on't know nothing about it 103

what gown?" 104

	Say:	105
	"Didn't you come in here just nów	106
	'n told me to'	107
	Marsa say:	108
Creaky, sing-song rhythm falling, rising, falling pitch	"GOD	109
	DANG	110
	JOHN'S	111
	soul	112
	he find	113
	nóth a er one. *loud laughte*	114

VIII

	John---	115
	that boy	116
	gone off whistling	117
	and John is a' <whistled tune> *laugther*	118
	•	
	Say:	119
teasing, sing song rhythmic	"I got a múle?"	120
ends on rising *pitch*	"I got a mule now or what?" *laughter including JD*	121

John and His Rival

as told by John Davis

continuation of 347 A1+2

I

	[- - - - -]	1
soft	'is evening you know	2
	'n uh	3
run-together in fast string of discourse	John 'n 'em óther boys in the shop	4
	they 'n John was getting along good you know	5
soft muttering	[- - - -] the shop. *um hum*	6
	•	
slow paced	But there was ANOTHER OLD GUY	7
	around there',	8
	for the cléan up *um hum*	9
	See	10
	Hé wanna be shóp guard *that's right, yes sir*	11
	Anythíng John would do	12
	this fella'd kinda, you know	13
	• •	
	hé <snap> that fella'd dó it.	14
	•	

faster	Be so close that he'd gó up a wall. *yeah*	15
softer, confidential slow	John gotta get ríd of him. *I call, I call Yeah I'm getting rid of him.*	16
soft, low, thoughtful slow faster	John say: "If I don't get rid of him make him stóp."	17 18

•

II

soft, conspiratorial-	One day	19
	John go along	20
	'n uh <clears throat>	21
	'n uh	22
	see one uh	23
	u h	24
	missus uh	25
	underskirt hanging on the line you know	26
whisper	Don't budge o' nothing.	27
	John up there	28
	took a minute 'n looked	29
whisper	up under it	30
	'n went on back to the hóuse. *humph*	31

III

	He just telling 'm	32
	Say:	33
	"Boy you know what I done today?"	
bragging sing-song		34
challenging tone	"What's that?"	35
	Say:	36
	"I wént	37
	'n lóoked under Missus blóomer skirt."	
lower pitch		38
disbelief, rising intonation, higher pitch	"You did?"	39
	Say:	40
	"Yeah." *snickering*	41
disbelief	"She didn't knów nothing?"	42
	Say:	43
	"No"	44
	• •	
low, softer	"I'm gon try." *laughter*	45

I V	Meanwhile on out in the yard *snickering* <JD laughs>	46
	he sees Missus	47
	standing there in the yárd	48
	he just went right there	49
Pacing picks up	'n just púll up the underskirt	50
	'n just look up *laughter*	51
	'n Marsa beat his head flát as a dollar. *loud laughter*	52
	• •	
V	Hé cóme báck	53
rival speaking	"I thought you say?"	54
	•	
sing song falling intonation	Just couldn't warn him that's all.	55
	Marsa	56
	béat him out of the breath.	57
questioning disbelief	"I thought you said	58
	that you looked under Missus underskirt."	59
softer, explanatory	"Oh thát one was hanging on the líne	60
lower pitch	what I looked under." *everyone laughs*	61

VI

He going dówn the alley 62

pulling up dresses to look up under *laughter* 63

rising intonation at end but laughter masks the remaining dialogue

4 Performance Style - Discourse Analysis of the John Davis Stories

4.1 Discourse Units and Markers

4.1.1 Pause and Juncture

John Davis' use of pause is the foundation around which his discourse is organized. Through his consistent and ordered use of pause, the audience is able to follow the organization of the information and give it meaning.

Recognition of discourse units and boundaries was complicated due to poor tape quality and distortion, but clearly John Davis used several types of pauses to organize the spurts of speech into comprehensible discourse. Sometimes brief pauses were needed when he was deciding where the narrative was going and when deciding what words to choose. These pauses and suppressed pauses were represented in the transcription by line breaks (McLendon 1982). Davis also used a glottal stricture which served both as a chunking device and cohesive tie in his delivery. In addition to the brief breaks at the ends of spurts of speech there are longer pauses which segment the text. The most common pause, of course, follows the prosodic drop

of pitch at the end of sentences. This dropping of pitch at the ends of syntactic units accompanied by a pause is common in this text.

Pauses follow the tag words "you know" and introduces sound effects such as the sound of the chicken or the steps of Marsa in "Nightgown." In the final story "Rival" John Davis sometimes uses elongated pause near or immediately before a new scene. The next scene then has a temporal marker like "one day" or "meanwhile."

There are pauses also following the hesitation "uh," and interestingly pauses following the end of syntactic units closing with raised pitch.

Ex. 1 "Nightgown" Scene IV lines 54-56

Commanding, slow,deliberate with confidence (like in a poker game bluff)	"Jóhn now	54
	we want you to téll us	55
	what's that under that túb."	56
hesitant soft moan	"Uh"	57

The pause in this case follows the raised pitch of the syntactic unit and precedes a hesitation word "Uh" suggesting that Davis was involved in some decision-making process. Since both the pause and the

hesitation follow raised pitch, we might make the case that he knew attention would be called to the next statement by his stalling. He may not have intended to move the story along so quickly and wanted to take time to reorganize the next narrative action and scene. In fact, this particular story, "Nightgown," seems uncharacteristically long having eight scenes to the other stories' four or five. The addition of two scenes for framing or setting the stage of the action and the many hesitations may suggest indecision on Davis' part or concern about how the topic would be received and explain the length and many pauses found in that story.

John Davis used glottal stricture in the middle of syntactic phrases but not at their end. This glottal stricture generally functioned as an emphatic juncture marker indicating some syntactic or semantic tie between the beginning and ending of the phrase. The following example comes from a story "John and the Giant" found in Appendix A.

Ex. 2 "Giant" Scene I (Appendix A)

He took

a'

ʼawl that' bore 'm a

BIG HOOLE on through the tree,
don't you see.

In example 2 the glottal stricture occurs following the determiner of a noun phrase and is an emphatic marker. The glottal stricture again occurs following the demonstrative reference "that" which highlights or serves as a verbal pointer emphasizing the action "bore" that took place. Use of these juncture markers highlights significant considerations in the story. The hole in the tree which was mechanically introduced is an important factor in understanding the method by which John was able to fool not only the giant but Marsa as well.

In another example from the same story Davis uses glottal stricture following the discourse marker "well." The storyteller is marking an episodic break while at the same time introducing a new character.

Ex. 3 "Giant" Scene II (Appendix A)

Well'
sense
Giant din' have enough
To see out of a hole
going in the tree,
see

This is the first time the giant has been introduced in the story therefore the glottal stricture emphasizes the fact that a new discourse unit is beginning by foregrounding the discourse chunker "well" and puts the word "giant" at the beginning of a phonological phrase in a position of prominence.

Examples of glottalization serving as syntactic and semantic markers abound in the text. In many of the cases, the glottal stricture follows a verb and serves as an additional marker along with voice change and the quotative to signal a switch to direct quotation.

Ex. 4 "Coon" Scene III lines 61-62

	One old fella had his bet on	60
	he go'	61
	•	
impatient higher pitch, raspy, fast authoritative	"By God come on darkie	62

Ex. 5 "Coon" Scene III lines 64-65

	He say':	64
very slow hesitant	"Maarsa"	65

Ex. 6 "Coon" Scene IV lines 76-77

I V		
	Marsa say':	76
raised pitch	"But Jóhn how come you wait so lóong	77

In the examples below what occurs on the left of the glottal stricture is syntactically distinct from what occurs on the right.

Ex. 7 "Nightgown" Scene I line 7

	Say Marsa didn't	6
	Think'	7
	"Well I just try John"	8

Ex. 8 "Nightgown" Scene II line 26

lower voice	"I could'"	26
soft hesitant loud, decisive	"Give 'im the múle, "that's right."	27

Ex. 9 "Nightgown" Scene VII line 107

"Didn't you come in here just nów 106

'n told me to' 107

Marsa say: 108

In example 7 stricture occurs where one would expect a quotative, in example 8 it occurs between a modal and its main verb, and in example 9 it marks the interruption of Missus by Marsa. It appears that glottal stricture marks an interruption in the flow of speech which does not occur at a terminal boundary for a discourse unit.

4.1.2 Quotatives and Direct Quotes

Quotatives and direct quotes operate together to permit the narrator to act out the narrative and connote social meaning as well. The quotative "say" is used in three contexts. One context is with a preceding subject.

Ex. 10 "Nightgown" Scene VI line 70

faster Then he say: 70

"Yeah." 71

soft conspiratorial "Ol lady, 72

More frequently we find the quotative say without a preceding subject.

Ex. 11 "Coon" Scene III lines 53-56

	Say:	53
Commanding, slow,deliberate with confidence (like in a poker game bluff)	"Jóhn now	54
	we want you to téll us	55
	what's that under that túb."	56

A third context for say is when the subject follows the quotative.

Ex. 12 "Nightgown" Scene I line 6

	Say Marsa didn't	6
	Think'	7

Ex. 13 "Nightgown" Scene II line 10

II	Say John	10
	John tell Marsa	11

These previous two examples, 12 and 13, present an interesting case and perhaps are influenced by the Gullah spoken in the area of that era.

Examples 14 and 15 have to do with the absence of a quotative preceding direct quotes that are accompanied by a perceptible change in voice to one associated with a particular character.

Ex. 14 "Coon" Scene II lines 16-23

emphatic	They say the coon can't make'	16
	nó bódy know what to thínk of	17
	and just sitting messing around,	18
rapid	'n thinking of first one thíng 'n ánother you know,	19
	coming back off the húnt.	20
Big, hard bluffing voice	"You wanna git something you [ ] bet on	21
	bring the coon back alive	22
	we gon'" ---	23

Ex. 15 "Coon" Scene II lines 32-38

	Awww thät gonna arouse a bét here.	32
	They betting up a plantation you know	33
	and a	34
softer	[dayl] a money---	35
lower pitch	(Couldn't count money ány how matter of fact.)	36
tight creaky Marsa voice	"By God	37
suppressed pause at end	I'll bétche two three plantation."	38

These instances are associated with distinct voice qualities identifying either one of the White planters or Marsa, but others are associated with John.

Ex. 16 "Coon" Scene III line 45-52

Big blustering, voice slow halting	"Well John uh,	45
	I got a bíg bet on this morning	46
	and a	47
	don't cause me to lóse now."	48
Slower hesitant subdued voice	"No Marsa	49
	I' ---	50
	uh uh	51
	you can't lóse."	52

Sometimes quotatives function in a way as to identify shifts from one speaker to the next, but it is inconsistent. There are many shifts between speakers unmarked by a quotative. Moreover, in one speech of John's a quotative is used twice.

Ex. 17 "Nightgown" Scene II lines 15-22

	<snap>	
	Say:	15
rhythmic chantlike bragging, daring	"I bet you,	16
	I'll cóme in here toníght	17

<*snap*>
steeáal
'n the gown off your wife 18

<*snap*>
'n you sleeping right there 19

'n you won't know what I got." 20

Say: 21

"Shé wouldn't know what I got." 22

In the final story "John and His Rival," John's speech is always introduced by a quotative except for the punchline "Oh that one was hanging on the line what I looked under." The speech of John's rival in the story was never introduced by a quotative.

Ex. 18 "Rival" Scene III lines 32-44

III

He just telling 'm 32

Say: 33

todáy?"
bragging "Boy you know what I done 34
sing-song
challenging tone "What's that?" 35

Say: 36

"I wént 37

blóomer
lower pitch 'n lóoked under Missus skirt." 38

disbelief, rising intonation, higher pitch "You did?" 39

Say: 40

"Yeah." *snickering* 41

disbelief "She didn't knów nothing?" 42

Say: 43

"No" 44

Davis' leaving off the quotatives from the rival's response made for a more dramatic effect. In "John and His Rival" a distinct message is conveyed. Since only John's speech was marked by the quotative, each exchange made John the dominant character. It was possible to understand the rival's speech only through John's speech. Foregrounding in this way kept John in control.

John Davis used other prosodic markers such as drop in pitch, or use of pause to precede direct quotes that lacked a quotative.

Ex. 19 "Coon" Scene III lines 53-58

Say: 53

Commanding, slow,deliberate with confidence (like in a poker game bluff) "Jóhn now 54

we want you to téll us 55

what's that under that túb." 56

•

hesitant soft moan "Uh" 57

<chuckle> soft laugther

Ex. 20 "Coon" Scene II lines 35-37

softer	[dayl] a money---	35
lower pitch	(Couldn't count money ány how matter of fact.)	36
tight creaky Marsa voice	"By God	37

The impact of the audience can also be observed in the use of quotatives. When there was laughter John Davis did not use a quotative even though he was shifting from one speaker to another.

Ex. 21 "Coon" Scene III lines 51-57

Commanding, slow,deliberate with confidence (like in a poker game bluff)	"Jóhn now	54
	we want you to téll us	55
	what's that under that túb."	56
hesitant soft moan	"Uh"	57
	<chuckle> soft laugther	
	<chuckle>	
loud, commanding,	"Come ón John" *<chuckle>*	58

While say introduces the first speaker and the voice quality identifies him as a White man, it is the pause and change in voice following that direct quote which signals the response by John. John Davis' own chuckle

and the audience's laughter following this hesitant moan "Uh" separates the speech of one speaker from the next. Following the loud commanding speech of another speaker is another chuckle from John Davis which serves as a dramatic cue introducing John's hesitant soft moan "Yeeaah sir" which is also framed by audience laughter.

In general introduction of the direct quote was signaled in a multiplicity of ways ranging from a full subject "say" quotative, through subject alone or say alone, through say + subject, to no explicit quotative but a change in voice which was associated with a particular character. It may be hypothesized that in instances where there was heightened dramatic effect, John Davis did not wish to interrupt the flow of the drama and eliminated the quotatives. While the function of identifying direct quotes and apprising the audience of who was talking was important, this could also be done otherwise such as through pitch and voice. In situations where there was climatic drama, the quotative would sometimes interfere with the flow of the performance. In those instances the voice could be used to distinguish between characters and the quotative dropped. Thus, the quotative is a variable

in oral discourse.

4.1.3 Repetition and verbal parallelism

Repetition in discourse has the effect of casting a poetic shadow. Tannen calls repetition an essentially poetic aspect of language (1989). Whether psycholinguistic studies of young children and first language acquisition (Keenan 1977; Bennett-Kastor 1978, 1986), studies observing the network of equivalence and contrast relations in grammatical parallelism (Jakobson 1966; Levin 1973) or an examination of syntactic and phonological parallelism in poetry (Kiparsky 1973), repetition appears to be at the heart of language. The question of repetition raises fundamental questions about the nature of language, but it also provides fundamental insights.

Repetition is multifunctional. It enables a speaker to produce language efficiently and fluently while at the same time facilitating comprehension on the part of the listener. The redundancy serves to provide time enough for the listener to absorb the information. In this manner repetition is a cohesive device serving a referential and tying function (Halliday and Hasan 1976). Repetition is evidence of

the speaker's attitude and shows a contribution to the meaning of the discourse. Labov (1972) identifies repetition of phrases as an evaluation strategy in answer to the question "So what?" Because it contributes to the point, it is commonly referred to as emphatic. In sum, repetition serves in the production of discourse, its comprehension and in making connections.

Forms of repetition are numerous in the stories told by John Davis. There is a complicated pattern of repetition of lexical items, phrases, clauses, sounds, and sound effects that created parallelism in the stories told by John Davis. However, the repetitions most pertinent to this analysis are the ones that serve as boundary markers and thematic repetitions.

A pattern of repetition frequently marks a discourse unit boundary. This boundary was marked by a prosodic drop indicating sentence boundaries as well. John Davis' style is characterized by sets of short phrases that all repeat exactly almost like an echo effect. The last line repetition of the preceding line of the discourse unit creates cohesion within that unit while clearly marking the boundaries between narrative

actions or scenes. In all but one of these examples the repeated line is accompanied by lowered pitch.

Ex. 22 "John and the Giant" Scene 1 (Appendix A)

He did the soil back

and packed the soil

right back in that hole,

____see,

right back in that hole.

Ex. 23 "John and the Bear" Scene VIII (Appendix B)

"Did you catch that bear 'n

put him in there

put him in there?"

Ex. 24 "Nightgown" Scene VI lines 70-75

Then he say:

"Yeah"

"Ol' lady,

I just cut me up some chicken"

"Gimme gown right quick"

"Gimme gown right quick."

Ex. 25 "Nightgown" Scene VI lines 76-81

She'

<shuffling feet> shuffled through

went for her bureau

<snap> <snap>
take it to John.

He's gone out the door

gone out the door.

Each of these repetitions signal the boundaries of discourse units. Thus this pattern of repetition became one of the major methods John Davis used to mark discourse unit boundaries.

Thematic cohesion can be demonstrated by John Davis' use of repetition between separate scenes in "Coon."

Ex. 26 "Coon" Scene 1 lines 1-12

I		
	John know	1
rapid delivery	whóle lot of things	2
softer, raised intonation, lowered pitch	(John didn't know múch)	3
	•	

	John had done	4
	two or three items around <*chuckle*> here so that'	5
softens voice confidential tone	Marsa kinda taken a liking to John	6
	But he---John didn't know nothing you know.	7
	Só.	8
	Well he taken a líking to John you know.	9
	John going around [h n] you 'now,	10
	John almost like dead,	11
	nóthing. He didn't know	12

In Scene I of "Coon" Davis used repetition in order to ensure that the audience was aware of John's lack of knowing. There is parallelism in each of the last lines of all three narrative actions found in Scene I of "Coon." In line 3 of the first narrative action Davis states "John didn't know much." In line 7 of the next narrative action he says "John didn't know

nothing you know." Finally, in line 12 of the last narrative action in that scene he repeats "John didn't know nothing." The parallelism between the final lines of each narrative action sets up not only a dramatic effect through cohesion, but reinforces the central theme of the story. Davis achieved cohesion between the opening or framing Scene I and the closing or summary Scene IV by repeating a paraphrase of the opening claim that John didn't know much. In the last scene, Scene IV, which Davis uses to summarize the story he repeats "He didn't know what it was." This line creates thematic or rhetorical cohesion with the opening scene through repetition of the central theme.

Ex. 27 "Coon" Scene IV lines 76-84

IV

Marsa say': 76

Jóhn lóong
raised pitch "But how come you wait so 77

'for yúuh 78

tell 'em what's under the tub?" 79

Say: 80

soft, polite
confident tone
understated, ingratiating "Marsa I want you to bét some more. 81
low exhausted laughter

He didn't know whát it was 82

hím
John thought they catch 83
you see.

4.1.4 Tag Words

Stories are framed by key words and phrases that are formulaic in the Davis style. He frequently begins the telling of a story with "That night," "One evening," or some variation which specifies the time the story takes place. Davis uses formulaic or fixed expressions as repetitive cohesive markers that demonstrate his acknowledgement or recognition of the audience. He frequently used the tag "you know" accompanied by lowered pitch to back channel with the audience. "You know" along with "you see" and "see" were used at the ends of spurts of speech of summary narrative action units, but were also found in the "Rival" were there were no summary units. They provided an opportunity for the narrator to get feedback or provide backchannelled or background information. At times the "you know" tag would be used at the end of a spurt in the opening of a scene particularly if it was a framing scene. In each of these instances both the context and the vocal intonation let us know it was the narrator who was speaking. At no time in any of the stories analyzed was there a tag word found in the dialogue of a

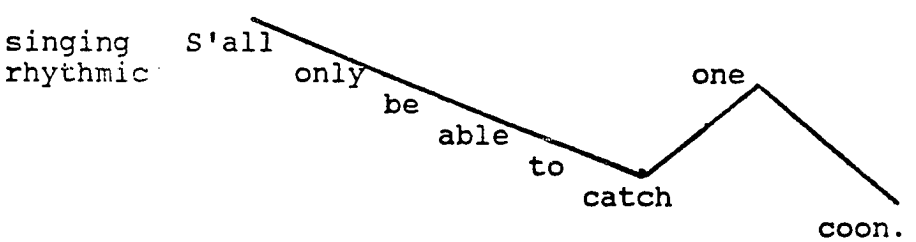
character in the story. Nor was a tag word found in the climactic or action sections of the stories.

4.2 Voice

4.2.1 Pitch and intonation contour

There are two major characteristics in John Davis' use of voice and intonation contour. The first is an intonational contour within a line of text usually characterized by falling, rising and then falling intonation that distinguishes the end of a narrative action and scene. A variation of that pattern marks the end of a story.

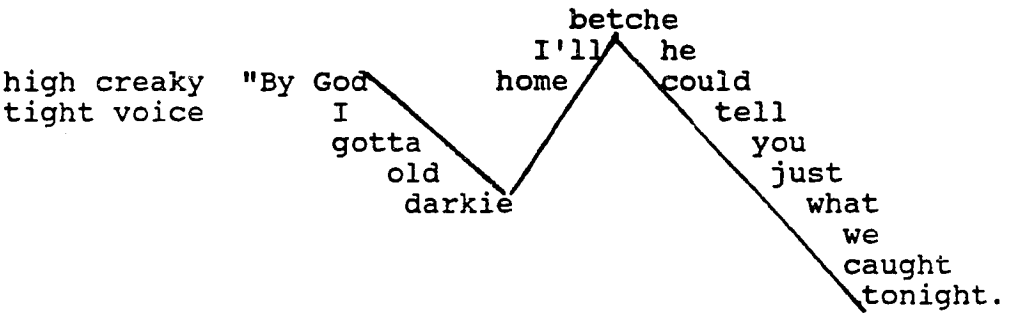
Ex. 28 "Coon" Scene II line 15



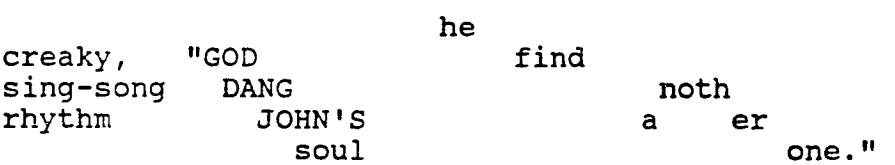
The intonation pattern in this line of text represents the rhythmic falling, rising, and then falling intonation contour which characteristically marks the end of a narrative action in John Davis' tales when he is playing the role of narrator. Other instances of

the same intonation contour can be found where John Davis is mimicking the voice of the Marsa.

Ex. 29 "Coon" Scene II lines 29-31

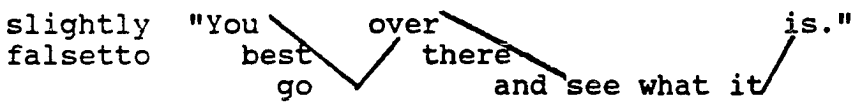


Ex. 30 "Nightgown" Scene VII lines 109-114



At other times John Davis may vary the intonation pattern at a narrative action boundary ending on a higher pitch which is concurrently accompanied by a notable pause such as when he was mimicking the Missus in example 31 or even in his role as narrator in example 32 where he is discussing the Marsa's actions.

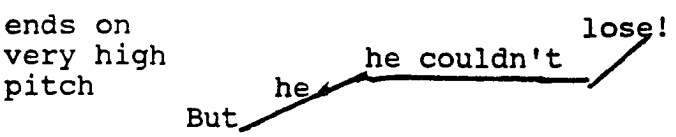
Ex. 31 "Nightgown" Scene IV lines 54-55



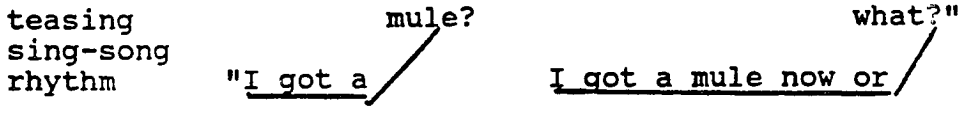
Ex. 32 "Nightgown" Scene VII lines 86-87

A variation of this intonation pattern showing a rising pitch contour at the end of the line functions as a marker for ending the story itself. This technique was used in examples 33 and 34 which are at the ends of each story. Even the final story "Rival" apparently ends this way although laughter masks the final words of the story.

Ex. 33 "Coon" Scene IV line 81



Ex. 34 "Nightgown" Scene VIII line 121



The second type of major pitch pattern in the narratives of John Davis involves the use of lowered pitch in the second of the two clauses to bind two independent clauses together. This prosodic feature consistently signals diverse syntactic and rhetorical relationships. There was a range of syntactic links. The rhetorical relationships were equally diverse.

Examples of lowered pitch as cohesive ties are found in both "Coon" and "Nightgown."

Ex. 35 "Nightgown" Scene VI lines 74-75

excited, fast	"Gimme gówn right quick."	74
same rhythm lower pitch	"Gimme gówn right quick."	75

Ex. 36 "Nightgown" Scene VI lines 80-81

	He's góne out the door	80
lower pitch	góne out the door.	81

Examples 35 and 36 are samples of repetitions/ parallelisms where lowered pitch is associated with the second repeated phrase. In both examples an action is described in the first clause and is emphasized by repetition on a lowered pitch.

Other examples of this lowered pitch pattern on the second of two clauses abound in the first story "John and the Coon." Example 37 illustrates the case of lowered pitch functioning as a cohesive marker. The lines "John had done two or three items around here" and "Marsa kinda taken a liking to John" suggest a causal relationship between lines 4 and 5 and line 6. The lowered pitch accompanies this causal relationship between the first clause and the second. The Marsa probably liked John because of the two or three "items" he had done.

Ex. 37 "Coon" Scene I lines 4-6

John had done 4

two or three items around <*chuckle*> here 5
so that'

softens voice
confidential tone Marsa kinda taken a liking to John 6

A very important example of lowered pitch tying

two clauses together can be found in the punchline of "John and the Coon."

Ex. 38 "Coon" Scene III lines 67-68

slow, drawn out	"The cóoon done run a loóng time	67
lowered pitch	but fiinally you cátch 'm.	68

The first clause found in line 67 "The cooon done run a loong time" is tied to the second clause in line 68 "but fiinally you catch him" by its lowered pitch as well as the conjunction "but." In the first clause there is a full noun "coon" and in the second clause a pronominal reference 'm. The lowered pitch might call attention to the idea that John is using "coon" to refer to himself and the 'm is syntactically anaphoric to the animal coon as well. True understanding of these two lines not only relies on understanding the syntactic relationship between coon as a full noun and the anaphoric pronominal reference "'m" which refers to coon, but it also relies on the cultural presupposition requiring shared knowledge that a derogatory term for African Americans in the South historically is "coon." The lowered pitch provides an

additional cue to the listener for accurately interpreting the meaning of the story.

Other examples serve to backchannel and reinforce the contextually referential nature of the two clauses.

Ex. 39 "Coon" Scene III lines 74-75

	him John thought they catch	74
lowered pitch	and yóu know who they cátch. *loud raucous laughter*	75

The lower pitch signals and supports the contextual clues that were already given in the text. The first clause with its full noun "John" and pronominal "him" which clearly refers to John, but the second clause pronominal "who" could have also been referring to John.

Ex. 40 "Coon" Scene I lines 1-3

I John know		1
rapid delivery	whóle lot of things	2
softer, raised intonation, lowered pitch	(John didn't know múch)	3

The first line of the story: "John know whole lot of things" is immediately followed by: "John didn't know much." The second clause is linked to the first

not only by hearing the identical subject John, and verb know, and the fact that it contrasts semantically with the first, but also by the lowered pitch on which the second clause is uttered which ties it to the first helps to emphasize and call attention to the disjunctive nature of the second clause. It calls attention to the fact that John knows a lot but doesn't know anything which is the theme of the story Davis is careful to state from the beginning. The semantic unexpectedness of the second clause coupled with lowered pitch creates a dramatic effect.

4.2.2 Volume

John Davis showed his mastery at storytelling in complex ways. He uses both low volume and loud volume in consistently different ways.

A characteristic use of volume found in the John Davis text was in associating consistently different voices with different characters. John Davis commonly used louder volume when using Marsa's voice while at no time in the text did the character John speak in what would be perceptually considered a loud voice. There is a spot in the text where there is confusion as to who is speaking John or Marsa in part because there is

a lack of identifiable voices, but changes in pronouns which suggest the presence of different speakers.

Ex. 41 "Nightgown" Scene II lines 23-27

naive + eager creaky, high voice reserved for ol' Marsa	"Oh by God	23
	if you do that,"---	24
	"then what'll you do for that (John or gown)"	25
lower voice soft hesitant	"I could'"	26
loud, decisive	"Give 'im the múle, "that's right."	27

There are mixed cues given which can lead to several interpretations. In the first line of text it is clearly Marsa who is speaking. Not only does John Davis use the high creaky voice of Marsa, but he uses the interjection "Oh by God" which he has used as a characteristic interjection for Marsa throughout the other texts. "Then what'll you do for that (John or gown)" also appears to be spoken in the same voice though the fact that Marsa is using second person begins the confusion. In fact it could be John himself saying this, prodding the Marsa to the correct prize. One could also suppose that Marsa is talking to himself, that is to say "thinking out loud." The

problem is compounded in the next line when the voice shifts to an uncharacteristically lower voice that is neither associated with Marsa, John or the narrators normal narrative voice. In lines 26 and 27 the speaker says "I could' give 'im the mule, that's right." The speech in line 26 appears hesitant but in line 27 it finally becomes loud and decisive. While the lower pitch leads to confusion as to who the speaker is, it could be concluded that it is in fact the Marsa who is determining just what he will give John if John wins the bet. This determination is based on the observation that John Davis at no other times used a loud voice for John and probably did not on this occasion either. On the other hand if Marsa always speaks in a loud voice, there is little evidence to associate the soft voice with him either. At this point it is difficult to decide exactly who is speaking which lines.

While speaking as the narrator, John Davis usually used soft volume to highlight tag words, asides, and socially taboo subjects, but he used a louder voice when he was making sound effects. He used volume disjunctively shifting from soft to louder volume when

shifting from one speaker to the next.

John Davis highlighted topics that might be considered socially taboo by his use of volume. In each story there were topics which either dealt with themes that were dangerous or taboo for African American men. In the story "John and the Coon," the theme was one in which the character, John's life, was in imminent danger if he failed to perform his assigned task. In the next story, "John and Ol' Missus Nightgown," clearly John's suggestion that he could get the Missus' nightgown was a topic that had sexual connotations which could warrant dangerous results. Finally, John's insinuation that he had been close enough to look under the Missus bloomers in "John and His Rival" was also a socially dangerous and taboo topic. In each of these instances John Davis accompanies the introduction and delivery of these topics with soft volume that heightens the dramatic impact of the circumstances. Even more interesting in the final story "John and His Rival" is the fact that when the character John is in the act of looking under the Missus bloomers, which are safely hanging on the line and not on the Missus, John Davis softens the

volume. When John's rival goes to look under the Missus' bloomers, that she is at the same time wearing, however, John Davis does not decrease the volume. This is obviously an intentional use of volume to convey John's respectful stance as to the taboos, whereas the rival does not have the necessary sense to know that looking up bloomers being worn is a bad idea. Certainly for a man to look up any woman's bloomers is a provocative, disrespectful taboo act. For a African American man to look up a White woman's bloomers brings additional taboos into play. Reduced volume in each of these instances reveals John Davis' subtle skill as a narrator.

4.2.3 Pacing

John Davis uses pacing to emphasize dramatic narrative action. Delivery is speeded up when reaching climatic action which is followed by a slowing of pace in the evaluative section of the story. This disjunctive use of pacing serves to mark or highlight the action helping the audience to focus on important pieces of information as they are revealed. Davis also uses pacing to accentuate significant characteristics of the characters as well as situations.

The entire scene III of "John and the Coon" demonstrates John Davis' characteristic use of pacing to highlight narrative action.

Ex. 42 "Coon" Scene III

III

slightly conspiratorial rapid lower pitch	Next morning here come John and [ ],	43
	coming on up here.	44
Big blustering, voice slow halting	"Well John uh,	45
	I got a bíg bet on this morning	46
	and a	47
	don't cause me to lóse now."	48
Slower hesitant subdued voice	"No Marsa	49
	I' ---	50
	uh uh	51
	you can't lóse."	52

	Say:	53
Commanding, slow,deliberate with confidence (like in a poker game bluff)	"Jóhn now	54
	we want you to téll us	55
	what's that under that túb."	56
	•	
hesitant soft moan	"Uh"	57
	<chuckle> soft laugther	
	<chuckle>	
loud, commanding, prodding	ón "Come John" *<chuckle>*	58
hesitant soft moan	"Yéeaah sir" *laughter, woman says: "Go on.*	59
	One old fella had his bet on	60
	he go'	61
	•	
impatient higher pitch, raspy, fast	"By God come on darkie	62
authoritative lowered pitch	quíck." and tell us what's under the tub	63
	Stream of laughter from JD & audience	
	He say':	64
very slow hesitant	"Maarsa"	65
	Say':	66
slow, drawn out lowered pitch	"The cóoon done run a loóng time	67
	but fiinally you cátch 'm.	68

Fast, excited	Marsa didn't let John say nothing	69
	Say:	70
master's voice loud shout	"By God I told you gentlemen that <- - - - - ->	71
rhythmic moderately fast	John didn't know what in the world was under the tub	72
	strong laughter	
	bét	
continuous laughter, JD raises voice to be heard over laugther	but John done won the you know,	73
	hím	
	John thought they catch	74
lowered pitch	and yóu know who they cátch.	75
	loud raucous laughter	

The scene begins with the narrator using rapid speech to frame the narrative action, shifts to a slow halting pace for the Marsa, goes on to an even slower pace for John, returns to the slow deliberate pace of Marsa, then to a painfully hesitant slow moan from John, returns to a fast authoritative impatient pace for one of the White planters, continues with the very slow hesitant reply from John, persists with an even slower pace utilizing elongated vowels in the speech of John as he delivers the punchline, speeds up with a fast excited pace for the Marsa, and ends with the moderately fast rhythmic recitation from the narrator. The slowness of the punchline in "Coon" deviates from climaxes of the other texts' which are fast. What, in fact, seems to occur in this story is that Davis is associating the speed of delivery with the motivations of the characters. John, who is delaying, talks slowly, the others, who are impatient, talk fast.

Davis also used a type of rhythmic, listing, chant-like intonation along with pacing to enhance the narrative action. He used this type intonation and pacing in John's speech to Marsa when he was setting up the bet in "John and Ol' Missus Nightgown."

Ex. 43 "Nightgown" Scene II lines 15-22

	<*snap*>	
	Say:	15
rhythmic chantlike bragging, daring	"I bet you,	16
	I'll cóme in here toníght	17
	<*snap*>	
	steeáal	
	'n the gown off your wife	18
	<*snap*>	
	'n you sleeping right there	19
	'n you won't know what I got."	20
	Say:	21
	"Shé wouldn't know what I got."	22

He used a different rhythmic pattern for Marsa's actions in the same story which was more methodical and slow.

Ex. 44 "Nightgown" Scene V lines 61-66

methodical rhythm for this unit, moderate pace	Marsa <steps> júmp <steps>	61
	•	
	<steps> slip on his shhoes	62
	<snap> gó on out the door.	63
	Goon'	64
	chicken coop	65
	'n look all around the chícken,	66

Ex. 45 "Nightgown" Scene VII lines 82-87

softer, slower	Marsa he round'	82
lower pitch for unit methodical	the chicken coop lóoking you know.	83
soft, lower pitch	all around the chicken coop,	84
	he didn't see any	85
	roóom come back in the	86
	BÉD. go on drag in	87

John's actions were listed with a faster and more excited rhythm.

Ex. 46 "Nightgown" Scene VI lines 67-75

	There stood John	67
	<snap> sitting there, you know	68
	There was crówing 'n all the ruckus.	69
faster	Then he say:	70
	"Yeah."	71
soft conspiratorial	"Ol lady,	72
	I just cut me up some chícken.	73
excited, fast	"Gimme gówn right quick."	74
same rhythm lower pitch	"Gimme gówn right quick."	75

On the other hand, the actions of the Missus in the

story, were listed much more rapidly than either John or the Marsa. Even when the narrator made reference to the thoughts of the Missus there was a faster listing, chant-like quality to the text.

Ex. 47 "Nightgown" Scene VI lines 76-81

rapid listing of actions	She'	76
	<shuffling feet> shuffled through	77
	went for her bureau	78
	<snap> <snap> take it to John.	79
	He's gone out the door	80
lower pitch	gone out the door.	81

Finally, the Marsa recites in a slow, sing song rhythm "God dang John's soul he find another one." Each speaker's listing of actions or thoughts was associated with a particular pace that became identified with that character. In this way John Davis was able to highlight narrative action while distinguishing character. John's sing song rhythmic rejoinder at the end of the story is characterized as

his by both pace and voice quality.

In both sets of examples each character, including the narrator, was assigned not only a particular pitch but a pace that because of its disjunctive nature in relationship to the other speakers, continuously highlighted both the narrative action and the characters' roles in that action. The disjunctive nature of each speakers pacing helped create the dramatic evolution of the scene while simultaneously developing impressions about each speakers personality. Concurrently the next scene which is the epilogue returns to a steady unhurried pace for each of its speakers, John, the Marsa, and the narrator which signals to the audience the evaluative nature of the scene.

Disjunctive pacing was frequently used to highlight differences between characters and their abilities. For example, the slow pace demonstrated in John's speech in "John and the Coon" implies indecision and fear on the part of John. The slow pace in "John and the Giant" found in Appendix A suggests that the giant is characteristically physically strong but mentally stupid. Slower pace in reciting the actions

of Marsa in "John and the Bear" in Appendix B suggests the Marsa's ineptness. In two of the stories analyzed, when any references to John or his behavior are made a faster pace is used. The exceptionally slow pace associated with John in "John and the Coon" deliberately contrasts with these to highlight the comedic circumstances and double meaning.

4.3 Voice Quality

One of the most salient features of the Davis style is his use of voice quality. The features of voice quality and dramatic tone of voice are recorded in the left margin of the transcription in the performance notes. Quality of voice provides important access to a character's personality while differentiating between characters (Gumperz 1982).

Davis uses a complicated system of voice mimicry to mark character differentiation. Davis provides characteristic voices for different actors which when used in direct quotes helps the stories come alive.

There is a quality to the tone John Davis uses when John is talking to Marsa, for example, that is neither confrontational, cynical or hostile, but in

many ways is ingratiating, charming and humorous at the same time. On the surface at least the voice is pleasant and suggests the African emphasis on eloquent verbal interactions and politeness. This quality has the effect of developing empathy from the audience for John the character. John is speaking the way one is expected in the situation whether he is playing a trick on Marsa or someone else. His placatory tone is expected, yet you are also aware when John Davis manipulates the voice of the character that John is in some ways poking fun at the system and that he will win out. John Davis manages to make John an irresistibly attractive rascal largely through voice quality.

Even when John is bragging as he does in "John and Ol' Missus Nightgown" he maintains a low modest somewhat understated tone. In this way the voice conveys an extra dimension of meaning that can not be captured in the transcription without stage notes.

On the other hand the voice qualities that John Davis uses for a White man suggest authoritative, blustering, often impatient personality traits through a high pitched, creaky and, slightly pharyngealized voice. This raising of pitch, tightness and creakiness

are reserved for Whites. The voice suggests high power energy, but also insinuates tightness, stinginess, and intoxication. In particular the voice John Davis reserves for the Marsa, high-pitched, creaky, implies naive eagerness to profit and scheme. Through the voice quality he uses for the Marsa, Davis suggests that the personality characteristics of the Marsa make him easily manipulated. This manipulability becomes believable through Davis' exploitation of voice.

It would be interesting to have a detailed acoustic analysis of voice quality and compare it to cultural/emotional content. Gumperz (1982, 1984) points out that an integrated view of coherence is achieved through situated interpretations of contextual cues which depend on shared access to culturally defined repertoires of verbal and nonverbal devices. Underlying messages are grounded in the cultural and social experience of the performer and the audience which play an important role in interprebility. In light of Gumperz suggestion one might conclude that emotional content is consequently culturally shaped. As one listens to the Marsa and John stories told by John Davis there is a distinct tendency to empathize

with John and to support his feats. It may be contended that the voice qualities which convey emotional value influence the listener/audience's willingness to identify with John.

Not only did Davis use his prosodic skills to convey emotional meaning, but he also used his voice to frame narrative situations either to introduce or conclude the units. He was especially fond of using a low, sometimes conspiratorial, soft voice to initiate a new scene in both "John and Ol'Missus Nightgown" and "John and His Rival."

There were times, however, when the poor quality of the recording and John Davis' use of voice and reduced volume interfered with interpretation. He very artfully used his voice quality and differences in volume to highlight information and focus the audience's attention, but sometimes when he did this the result was a reduced volume, soft voice, such as during asides. These asides, often comments about the text or background information, were necessary to understand the text. However, then Davis' volume was reduced and the speech became low or muttered interfering with clarity. There was rarely an audience

response to these asides either in laughter or acknowledgement so that it was difficult to determine whether the audience was familiar with the information already or also missing the significance of the remarks.

For example in John and Old Missus' Nightgown there is an aside following a change in scene which gives us background information about what is going on in either the chicken house or the Marsa's house. The line sounds like "There was [crowing 'n all the ruckus]. This line is immediately followed by John apparently telling the Missus to cut him up some chicken and give him her gown right quick. Because the aside can not now be clearly heard, it remains confusing as to where John was standing or how he was able to talk to the Missus without her detecting it was him and able to convince her to give him the gown which she did. As the background information was reduced in volume, the present listener failed to gather important data in fully interpreting the story.

The criteria I used for selecting the stories to be analyzed rested largely on the completeness of the stories and the amount of apparent distortion factors.

Out of the five original stories told, I chose three to analyze because they were the ones with the least distortion noise, the least number of soft unintelligible asides, and interruptions and therefore the most fully transcribable. Fortunately they were also told in a sequence, one right after another, so that one could examine the intra-textual connections between them.

4.4 Syntactic repair

Common in spoken discourse is the phenomena of syntactic repair. Syntactic repair emphasizes the difference between speaker competence and performance. Syntactic repair can be observed when a speaker stops and restarts speech usually changing some syntactic choice. A speaker's competence may force the speaker to stop and replace a spoken syntactic unit with a choice the speaker's competence allows as available from a list of syntactic criteria. Such repairs are usually accompanied by prosodic change. In the transcription I indicated syntactic repair with "---" following the break in speech.

In Example 48 below line 7 demonstrates a change from pronominal "he" to full noun "John." Immediately

preceding this line of speech Davis had used Marsa in the subjective case and John as the object. In the next line he realizes that by using the pronominal, he was generating a confused reference and interrupted the speech to repair/replace "he" with "John."

Ex. 48 "Coon" Scene I lines 6-7

softens voice confidential tone	Marsa kinda taken a liking to John	6
	But he---John didn't know nothing you know.	7

Another example of Davis' syntactic repair showing competence at third person reference is also shown in "Rival."

Ex. 49 "Rival" Scene I lines 12-14

Anything John would do	12
this fella'd kinda, you know	13
. .	
hé <snap> that fella'd dó it.	14
.	

Davis begins with "he" but corrects to "that fella" to eliminate confusion about the pronominal reference. In

both 48 and 49, Davis' performance of a syntactic repair illustrates his linguistic competence.

In this particular transcription I also used the syntactic repair convention to mark an abrupt interruption or semantic shift. Not only does the repair denote syntactic competence, but it also suggests a change in semantic direction. In two instances the repair convention precedes interrupting asides which provide explanatory remarks.

Ex. 50 "Coon" Scene II lines 23-26

	we gon'" ---	23
	(Sóme'	24
	some fella had dissention.	25
lower pitch	Whérever you gó	26

While this repair is clearly not syntactic, it does involve a quick switch to another communicative role that is from actor to narrator. The narrator had assumed the voice of one of the White planters, broke from the voice of the planter and spoke directly to the audience to clarify the speakers intent and role.

A similar interruption takes place in example 51

below. The narrator was speaking but interrupted the performance of the story to explain to the audience in an aside that the planters lacked a certain expected skill, that of counting money. As was the case in the first aside, Davis suspects that the audience is not fully aware of the circumstances or consequences of the story he is narrating and interrupts the flow of speech to clarify a position. These asides were marked by the symbol for syntactic repair to emphasize a shift in communicative role.

Ex. 51 "Coon" Scene II lines 32-35:

They betting up a plantation you know 33

and a 34

softer [dayl] a money--- 35

lower pitch (Couldn't count money ány how matter of fact.) 36

Ex. 52 "Nightgown" Scene VIII lines 115-117:

VIII

John--- 115

that boy 116

gone off whistling 117

Example 52 is more an illustration of the

syntactic repair convention than perhaps example 51. Here the narrator shifts from the full noun "John" to "that boy." This repair has an appositive effect and coupled with the voice quality expresses familiarity, admiration and affection for the character. It also establishes a type of distance from the character since John is no longer any actor, but is described as a person leaving the scene.

Another interruption which while not a true case of repair illustrates a shift in emphasis or focus. It, in fact, is probably appropriate speech for John's character at this point in the story. It also suggests a far deeper social message than the others.

Ex. 53 "Coon" Scene III lines 48-51:

	don't cause me to lóse now."	48
Slower hesitant subdued voice	"No Marsa	49
	I' ---	50
	uh uh	51
	you can't lóse."	52

These lines were spoken by John to Marsa. They were spoken under the pressure of an indirect threat to John's life that the Marsa had just made. This is both

an example of syntactic repair shifting from first person "I" reference to himself to second person "you" reference to the Marsa in response to the Marsa's statement, as well as a social repair shifting focus from himself to the Marsa. That the character John realizes his life is in danger is demonstrated by his first stating "I" alluding to he couldn't lose and keep his life. The second line "uh uh" is one of the few times in the stories recited by John Davis that we observe this type of hesitation in speech. These words also demonstrate the stress that John the character was facing. Finally, John changes the pronoun to "you" in recognition of Marsa's reference "...don't cause me to lose now" emphasizing that John can't win but Marsa mustn't lose. John shouldn't be seen as boasting at this point which any assurance using "I" would seem to indicate. Even when threatened with death, John is a man of words careful to couch his speech appropriately.

This example is one of the major illustrations of how John Davis' awareness of social conditions had an impact on the linguistic forms he used. Because the social message being conveyed was a serious one, the narrator reflected the stress that the character was

undergoing from the socially threatening situation by manipulating syntactic choices. His hesitation and shift from one pronominal choice to another emphasized the socially threatening nature of the situation. It appears that John Davis intentionally hesitated and changed referential pronouns to place the proper emphasis and set the proper mood for the audience. This example demonstrates both John Davis' linguistic competence and social acumen. Thus, we observe an example of social meaning influencing linguistic form.

4.5 Transcription Problems

Decisions for transcription style were complicated by the poor quality of the recording. There were many instances where words and or phrases were nearly impossible to understand.

4.5.1 Interpretation

Poor tape quality had an impact on semantic interpretation in the story "John and the Coon." In this performance John Davis indicated that John had done "two or three items" around (which may imply fortunetelling tricks) so that the Marsa had taken a liking to John. Other versions of this story, go into

quite elaborate descriptions of the fortune telling feats John had been performing for the Marsa. John Davis went on to explain that John had been going around doing something that phonetically sounded like [he' in]. It was impossible to determine whether he had been going around healing, hearing, or performing some other feat unknown to the listener. This statement is followed by the comment that John was almost like dead. It is only conjecture what the relationship is between [he' in] and being like dead or whether this is some reference to the ability to tell fortunes or engage in trickery. In addition to the problem of the poor quality of recording, several stories were incomplete due to interruptions in the recording and/or background noise which masked the words.

4.5.2 Vowels, Blends and Phonetics

The first story I began to transcribe was "John and Ol Missus' Nightgown" which was re-recorded at the Library of Congress out of sequence beginning in the middle of the story. John Davis' vowel system was still unfamiliar to me at the time, and coupled with recording distortion, I was led to several blind alleys

in transcription. Thus, although the title clearly indicated the story was about the Missus' nightgown, I transcribed the word "gown" for several weeks as "gun." In fact what was occurring was a misinterpretation of allophonic variations. The factors of non-sequential order, poor quality of tape, and differences in dialect affected the amount of contextual clues available for the listener to make semantic decisions. This allophonic warping so to speak led to the listener distorting the differences of dialect out of proportion making the dialect differences appear to be even greater than they were.

The speech of John Davis is characterized by a backing and raising of /a/ preceding nasals as in [go:n]/gown and [Jo:n]/John and a palatalization of the tr cluster rendering tree as chi. These are the most remarkable features of John Davis' speech which can otherwise be characterized as phonologically standard for Southern English. However, misinterpreting the vowel allophone led to lexical distortion and consequent semantic misinterpretation.

4.6 Impact of the Recording - The text sans prosodic markers

The transcription of this text has taken nearly a

year and a half of intense work. In that time I have come to understand and appreciate John Davis' performance. Without hearing the prosody, a reader would be hard pressed to follow or understand the text. The techniques used to mark prosody and discourse structure while ad hoc in nature, reflect information present in the original performance without which texts might be incomprehensible. As an example of how the prosodic and performance markers in the transcription aid in meaning and understanding, I present two excerpts from the text without such markers.

Excerpt 1

"Coon" Scene I lines 1-12:

"John know whole lot of things John didn't know much John had done two or three items around here so that Marsa kinda taken a liking to John but he John didn't know nothing you know so well he taken a liking to John you know John going around [he in] you know John almost like dead he didn't know nothing."

However with the performance features included in the

text the tale becomes both more readable, and more enjoyable. The above continuous prose was all spoken by one speaker the narrator. In the following text, however, where there is more than one speaker but no quotative marker the job becomes complicated.

Excerpt 2

"Rival" Scene V lines 53-63

He come back I thought you say just couldn't warn him that's all Marsa beat him out of the breath I thought you said that you looked under Missus underskirt oh that one was hanging on the line what I looked under he going down the alley pulling up dresses to look up under

Reading the excerpts above suggests that without recognizing the discourse units one is unclear of who the speaker is and what the context is. Once the discourse structure markers present in the performance are reflected in the written presentation of the narrative, the text becomes well formed.

"Rival" Scene V and VI lines 53-63

V	Hé cóme báck	53
rival speaking	"I thought you say?"	54
	•	
sing song falling intonation	Just couldn't warn him that's all.	55
	Marsa	56
	béat him out of the breath.	57
questioning disbelief	"I thought you said	58
	that you looked under Missus underskirt."	59
softer, explanatory	"Oh thát one was hanging on the líne	60
lower pitch	what I looked under." *everyone laughs*	61

The prosodic structure which organizes these performances must underlie comprehension in these oral texts. The prosodic structure chunks the discourse into interpretable units. The recordings allowed the stories to be interpreted as they were originally performed.

4.7 The narrative elements in John Davis' performance style

John Davis' stories follow a rather set pattern suggesting an underlying structure. Both the first and the third stories told, "John and the Coon" and "John and His Rival" begin with a scene which is used to frame the story and set the stage. This framing scene is followed by two scenes which develop the narrative action. Each performance ends with a scene that serves as epilogue. Each story has a punchline which is followed by some explanation. The second story "Nightgown," although longer still follows the same pattern. It differs in that it has two scenes which are framing that set the stage, followed by four action scenes and then the epilogue. In effect the first two parts are consistently doubled. Thus, there are three narrative components in John Davis' stories: framing, action and epilogue.

In each of the three stories each framing scene contains three narrative action units. In two of the three stories the epilogues contain two narrative action units. It is not clear how many narrative action units there are in the epilogue of the final

story "Rival" since the last words are inaudible because the laughter from the audience masks them. The number of narrative action units in the others scenes, however, is unpredictable.

Another characteristic of John Davis' narrative style is the summary narrative unit. At the end of each of the four scenes of the first story, "Coon," Davis provided a narrative action unit that summarized the story. This was a consistent feature in the first story "Coon." However, in the second story, "Nightgown," summary unit concluded only two scenes and was found midway through the next to last scene. In the final story, "Rival," there was no evidence of a summary narrative action unit.

4.8 Audience

An important facet of this performance analysis is the insertion of speaker/audience interaction. In a performance, the relationship and impact of the audience on the performer is important. This transcription attempts to carefully note that interaction because it is within that context we can draw some conclusions about the social function of the linguistic forms John Davis uses.

John Davis was clearly responsive to his audience. In addition, his stories, performance style, and approach to audience helped illustrate his belief about the social conditions of the era in which he lived and the necessary reactions to those conditions. Some observations about his interaction with audience and its impact on style and even selection of tales epitomizes this concept.

John Davis kept the audience informed as to what was really happening through his use of summary units, asides and tag words. The audience thus become insiders. In the story "Coon," John Davis throughout reminds the audience that John did not know anything. This causes the double entendre at the end of the story to be successful since the audience knows all along that 1) John really did not know what was under the tub; 2) John was referring to himself as the coon; 3) Marsa won the bet because John used the self-denigrating term 'coon' to refer to himself, but there really was a coon under the tub. Thus demonstrating that adherence to the norms of "correct" speech can save one even in the absence of necessary knowledge.

John Davis was also responsive to the audience as

demonstrated by repetition of ideas or lexical items when he got laughter. He seemed to choose some lexical items carefully especially when they had sexual connotations. This was an audience of men and women, White and Black. The fact that he used asides to directly address and explain situations or his philosophical position to the audience at points where he was getting little or no feedback suggests his concern and awareness of whether his audience was "with" him. Tag words, like asides, were also used to back-channel keeping the audience in touch with the story as it unfolded. John Davis seems to have used these methods to assure that the audience was keeping up with him.

The sequence of stories shows a progression from the beginning story where John seems at the mercy of Marsa to the final story in which John manipulates Marsa and gets Marsa to beat his enemy. This progression suggests that John Davis, in the storytelling event which took place over a period of two days, had come to feel comfortable with his audience which was mixed by race, class, and sex. This mixture possibly contributed to the unfolding

themes in the stories of power, relations between the sexes across racial lines, as well as Black/White relationships in general. It also suggests that John Davis was comfortable with manipulating the social conventions by which he was bound.

4.8.1 Cultural Presuppositions

Throughout the narratives John Davis appears to assume that his audience is operating on the same cultural wavelength. However, in instances where he discovers they were not providing the expected responses he backchannells using tag words, asides and other dramatic devices to help his audience make the necessary cultural connections.

The notion cultural presupposition discussed by McLendon (1977) suggests that there is information which is presupposed as well as asserted by linguistic behavior that relies on culturally shared information for understanding true meaning and function. For example, John Davis does not describe characters, or physical settings which is a characteristic of oral literature where the audience is assumed to share background knowledge.

The three collectors, Hurston, Barnicle, and Lomax

were the constant audience. Davis was certain of at least Hurston's and Lomax' southern roots which encouraged him to assume their familiarity with the John and Old Master genre. This familiarity would mean to Davis that there was no need to verbally elaborate characterizations. The relationship between John and Marsa with John as trickster and Marsa as the fall guy was a familiar one in the South. However, the first story, "Coon," requires more shared cultural presuppositions for understanding than did the other two stories. One cultural presupposition required to follow that story included the behavior of coons such as: they were only hunted at night; they were believed to have some powers that other animals didn't have; African Americans were derogatorily referred to as "coons." The threat to John's life in this story was indirect and would have been left to inference without Davis' summary of the circumstances. It is not until the latter part of scene III of this performance that the audience indicates involvement. There is soft laughter which only occurs after Davis begins to chuckle. With the amount of underlying shared knowledge required to follow this story, Davis may have

felt it necessary to provide frequent narrative summary units thus their abundant appearance in "John and the Coon." It is also possible that Davis provided the summaries quite unconsciously because he was not getting the audience reaction he expected or that was normal. He may have unconsciously attempted to spell out the cultural presuppositions so as to communicate more successfully.

Once one identifies the narrative units one can then begin to understand the significance of the form. In the final story Davis may have concluded that the audience did not need a summary unit to understand the story since their responsiveness suggested they were with him. Thus, the hypothesis for the apparent variation in number of summary narrative units in each story has to do with the relationship between Davis' desire to keep the audience informed of any cultural presuppositions that may have failed to be clearly communicated, the evidence which the audience provides of their involvement, and the form of his performance. The final text in the series of three performances at the same time, "Rival," where no summary units occur contains evidence of the most responsive audience

participation. It is also interesting to note that the audience seemed to include more than the original three collectors and was comprised of at least one other voice of apparently a Black male. It is this male voice which consistently provides the appropriate and expected feedback and involvement. This suggests that at least in the traditional call and response performance style relationship between the African American narrator and audience, the audience has an impact on the narrative by influencing the number of summary narrative units in the text. One can infer that involvement or lack of involvement on the part of the audience helps shape not only the structure of the text but the content of the text as well. This interaction is also dependent on the amount of shared cultural knowledge.

4.8.2 Asides

Davis often would break the performance using asides to directly address the audience. When he was getting little feedback from the audience, he probably suspected this explanatory information was necessary to allow the audience to catch on to the meaning of the story and the significance of its parts. At those

times he would also invariably use lowered pitch. The lowered pitch signalled the aside's function as explanatory, background or backchannelled material.

These breaks in performance tend to come at either the end of a narrative action, as a marker of change from one speaker to another, or at the end of a scene.

Ex. 54 "Coon" Scene II lines 24-27

	(Sóme'	24
	some fella had dissention.	25
lower pitch	Whérever you gó	26
softer	there's something like that.)	27

This example shows Davis breaking the performance to explain the behavior of one of his characters in the story. The character, one of the White planters who had been on the hunt for coon with the Marsa had initiated a bet. There is an underlying cultural assumption that Davis makes about White planters and their habitual betting behavior. Because he is not certain his audience is aware of this behavior, he uses the aside to break the performance and comment about this belief or cultural presupposition he holds.

Asides are used four times in the first two scenes of the first story, "Coon," one time in the second scene of "Nightgown," the second story, but not at all in the last story where there is considerable more audience interaction. The act of breaking the performance and directly addressing the audience with lowered pitch provided an opportunity for both comical and socio-cultural commentary.

The impact of the audience on the performance is demonstrated by this feature of asides. In the final story John Davis uses no asides when the audience is more responsive. One might therefore conclude that asides are necessary techniques of backchannelling to try to assure that the audience will be able to follow the story. These asides are used to inform the audience. When the audience shows that it is actively involved, Davis assumes that he and his audience are on the same cultural wavelength, there is less need for this backchannelling device, and so it is used less.

In summary, John Davis in his three roles of narrator, character and conversationalist demonstrated he was an artful and captivating storyteller. In each of these roles he manipulated prosodic features as well

as syntactic and semantic information to communicate with his audience in a performance style that was well formed, consistent, and demonstrated his awareness of social conditions and audience impact.

5 Negro Folk-tales from the Gulf States

5.1 Discovery

After a year and several months working on the transcriptions of the Hurston-Lomax-Barnicle recorded stories, a very important event took place. I discovered a 1929 manuscript "Negro Folk Tales of the Gulf States" with the name Zora Neale Hurston on it. These papers were recently recognized by James Glenn, Senior Archivist at the National Anthropological Archives in Washington, D.C., amongst the Duncan Strong papers.[1] Thanks to Professor Sally McClendon, I was able to review this document which includes manuscript and fieldnotes and verify that in fact the materials do belong to Hurston, and are based on research she did between December 1927, and March 1930. The manuscript is apparently at least one of the documents and the missing link between Hurston's fieldwork and her folklore collection **Mules and Men.** My discovery of these materials has provided an opportunity to document a very active period of Hurston's field research as well as to locate additional stories and materials as

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[1]Duncan Strong was a well known Columbia University anthropologist whose papers had been stored in Schermerhorn Hall site of the Anthropology Department.

yet unpublished.

Folk narrative demonstrates through its linguistic form the social conditions and culture of the people from whom it comes. The 1929 manuscript and the 1935 live recordings together provide data representing work done by Hurston over a period of eight years. The two collections yield information about social conditions and folklore in a centralized geographic area allowing me to better describe the social context of the stories, the underlying narrative structure, and the meaning from the perspective of that geographic area and time frame.

The authenticity of the materials in the National Anthropological Archives is testified to by correspondence[2] [3], handwriting analysis, and

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[2]These correspondences are housed in the Boas collection at the American Philosophical Society (APS) in Philadelphia.

[3]The correspondences from Hurston is found amongst her papers kept at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center (MSRC) Howard University Library in Washington, D.C. Mrs. Mason apparently became Hurston's patroness in December of 1927 and according to Hurston's biographer Hemenway (1980), this contract allowed her to return south and to collect folklore for the entire year of 1928, with the contract to be renewed for 1929 if all went well. A fifteen month extension to March 30, 1931, was also provided. In the next five years, Mason was purported to have given Hurston approximately fifteen thousand dollars for this research.

relationships between these new materials and Hurston's work in **Mules and Men.**

In a March 29, 1927 letter[4] from Jacksonville, Florida to Boas, Hurston promised to mail under separate cover the material she had been collecting which she had transcribed from pencil to ink. The manuscript was not typed because it was hard to travel with both her bag and a typewriter. One visualizes Hurston, a lone Black woman, traveling the dusty backroads of the South with valise filled with valued papers and her clothes. At one point, she purchased a car for $300 to which she makes reference in the letter. She also inquired about an inexpensive recording machine that Carter G. Woodson, African American historian and founder of the Woodson Historical Foundation, and the Association had offered to pay for if one could be located. From other sources we know that Woodson had asked Hurston to travel to Alabama in order to interview Cudjoe Lewis during this same time period. Later that summer after having completed her fieldwork and receiving her last check

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[4]Hurston to Boas from Jacksonville, Florida March 29, 1927 APS Boas collection.

from Woodson, she and Langston Hughes returned to New York from Alabama.

The reply she received from Boas dated May 3, 1927 set Hurston on a different path[5]. In this letter he acknowledges receipt of the second batch of materials, presumably the carbon/ink copy but criticized the focus of her work. The research he had hoped for her to accomplish he wrote, was to concentrate on the forms used in performing the folklore and not simply to concentrate on the content of the collected work. He wrote,

> "We ought to remember that in transmission from African to America most of the contents of the culture have been adopted from the surrounding peoples while the mannerisms have, to a great extent, been retained."

Boas had always placed an emphasis on linguistics in his efforts to understand cultures. He believed and taught to his many students that language in its natural context was important to anthropologists because as an unconscious phenomenon unself-conscious cultural meanings always crept in (Boas 1969). He taught that when one collects in context, one may avoid the observer's paradox which often affects both the

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[5]Boas to Hurston, May 3, 1927 APS.

consciousness of the narrator and changes the form of the narrative. What Boas was ultimately asking for from Hurston was a performance style annotation, which he hypothesized would be more intuitively inclusive of the actual meaning of the words used by the narrator, and thus, better evidence for how the society and culture of African Americans was organized. Hurston had been concentrating on the lexical content of the narratives and Boas insisted that she shift the focus to include performance.

Boas' comments, as well as her association with Mrs. Mason whose interest was the "aboriginal sincerity of rural southern black folk," spurned Hurston on to new research for the next two years. According to the 1929 manuscript, between December, 1927 and September, 1928, Hurston collected in Alabama, Florida and then returned to Alabama. The material collected during this period was made possible by a contract she had entered into with her patroness, Mrs. Rufus Osgood Mason, whom she referred to as her "godmother." Afraid that Hurston would use her materials for commercial purposes, that is to say operas, plays, and novels, the woman agreed to pay Hurston $200 per month, and

promised to provide a motion picture camera and an automobile in order that Hurston could work as an "independent agent" to "collect all information possible, both written and oral, concerning the music, poetry, folk-lore, literature, hoodoo, conjure, manifestations of art and kindred subjects relating to and existing among the North American negroes" (Mason/ Hurston 1927)[6].

The association of the National Antrhopological Archive materials with Hurston's work is further established by letters in which she referred to the informants found in the manuscript. In a letter dated July 25, 1928 from Magazine Point, Alabama to her "godmother," Hurston specifically refers to one of her informants by his name, Joe Wiley, and confirms that he was "one of the Magazine boys."[7] Not only does the 1929 manuscript, "Negro folk-tales from the Gulf States," contain stories from Joe Wiley, but attached to the letter to her "godmother" were several more

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[6]The closing paragraphs of Mason's contract with Hurston bound Hurston "faithfully to perform her task...to return and lay before...all of said information, data, transcripts of music, etc. which she shall have obtained (Hemenway, 1980). Hurston was not to publish without her "godmother's" consent.

[7]Hurston to Mason, July 25, 1928, MSRC.

stories with a note from Hurston saying "All of these stories except the first were written out by Joe Wiley himself, hence the lack of dialect." This, too, is a revealing comment which sheds light on Hurston's conceptualization of dialect and her own usage of the Eye-dialect apparatus to be discussed later in this chapter. Other letters to Langston Hughes during 1928 document Hurston's work in Loughman, Mulberry, Pierce, Lakeland, and Eatonville, Florida as well as New Orleans all places to be found in the Gulf States Folklore manuscript. In yet another letter[8] to Alain Locke August in 1928, she contemplates the categories she might use in order to divide the material she had by then collected.

It was in December, 1928, that she next wrote Boas her mentor.[9] Over a year's time had passed since their last contact. In this vague letter she reveals she had not written because she had promised to write no one due to having accepted support money on the condition that she not communicate her findings to anyone. She explained she had found "lots of things

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[8]Hurston to Alain Locke, August, 1928, MSRC.

[9]Hurston to Boas, December, 1928, APS.

which will intrigue you."

In yet another letter to Boas, this one on April 21, 1929, from Eau Gallie, Florida, she refers to the 1929 manuscript and writes "...am through collecting and I am sitting down to write up. I have more than 95,000 words of story material... As soon as I can get the typing down I shall send you the carbons." She continues by making inferences about the observations she made during the research and ends by promising "Perhaps in a week or ten days, you shall have the materials."[10]

Another important commentary on the authenticity of the Gulf States Folklore manuscript and its association with Hurston comes from a letter to Langston Hughes April 30, 1929 in which she writes,

> "...I have to rewrite a lot as you can understand. For I not only want to present the material with all the life and color of my people. I want to leave no loop-holes for the scientific crowd to rend and tear us... I am leaving the story material almost untouched. I have only tampered with it where the story teller was not clear."[11]

A letter she writes to Boas from Miami October 20, 1929 in light of other correspondences makes it clear

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[10]Hurston to Boas, April 21, 1929 APS Boas Collection.

[11]Hurston to Languston Hughes, April 30, 1929, JWJYale.

that Hurston's contract with Mrs. Mason had to be closely kept. She wrote,

> "It is decided that the stories shall be one volume. With what I have here with me, it is complete. Conjure and religion a volume each. Unfinished. I have not quite located all that I want. I hope that you will have time to read the material soon."[12]

Phrased as this statement was, one can see she had little control over what was to happen to the material nor does it seem that Boas was responsible for the decision. Another implication in the letter is that Boas has already received the carbon and had notified her of that fact. She also writes,

> "I have tried to be as exact as possible. Keep-to the exact dialect as closely as I could, having the storyteller to tell it to me word for word as I write it. This after it has been told to me off hand until I know it myself. But the writing down from the lips is to insure the correct dialect and wording so that I shall not let myself creep in unconsciously."

These statements are especially important because they imply she has attempted to follow the advice from Boas' in 1927, eventhough her influence on performance style is also evident.

Hurston, as the end of the contract with Mrs.

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[12]Hurston to Boas, October, 20, 1929, APS Boas collection.

Mason neared, agreed to take part in a Columbia University project to be undertaken by Otto Klineberg an anthropologist there. But in mid-October, she became involved in a dispute, over her participation with Mrs. Mason and had to write Boas in that same October on the 29th, 1929 that,

> "...I thought I might drop my work and do this thing with Dr. Klineberg, but I find that I am restrained from doing anything of the sort."[13]

While she assured both Boas and Klineberg via telegram she would give them as much help as possible, she was still obligated to Mrs. Mason since the woman held the manuscript of the folktale volume **Mules and Men** in her safe-deposit box, not to mention the fact that she owned the legal rights to all the data Hurston had collected using the money and car provided by the contract. Thus, a series of letters between Hurston and Boas further intimate that Hurston had begun to take material to Boas for his advice, most likely without Mrs. Mason's knowledge[14].

As yet another proof of the association of this

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[13]Hurston to Boas, October 29, 1929, APS.

[14]Hurston to Boas April 16, 1930; Boas to Hurston, May 3, 1930; Hurston to Boas, June 6, 1930; Boas to Hurston, June 13, 1930; APS.

data with Hurston and of the authenticity of the texts, we may turn to handwriting analysis. An analysis of handwriting confirms the validity of these materials as Hurston's own. Not only does the handwritten name on the folder match other signatures known to be Hurston's, but handwritten letters, amongst them one to Boas dated August 20, 1934, offer the possibility of comparisons to handwritten notes on the document's sources page[15]. I also found that some of the more outstanding comparable letters are the capital N's, M's, I's and L's.

Most convincing, however, that these Negro folk-tales from the Gulf States were collected by Hurston and used by her for **Mules and Men** is that the names of the informants and their stories match those names found in the published work. She listed a total of one hundred and twenty two informants with biographical notes about each. This apparently is not a complete list since the name of Joe Wiley does not appear here, but he is clearly one of the most frequently quoted informants in both texts. Included among the informants

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[15]Hurston to Boas, August 20, 1934, APS Boas collection.

listed were 1) Della Lewis,described as an illiterate woman around seventy years old; born in West Florida; mother of eleven children by nine different fathers; always lived in Florida; occupation: midwife; 2) Eugene Oliver, about third grade education; about twenty in 1928; occupation: sawmill hand; 3) Julius Henry; illiterate; about fourteen in 1928; born in the neighborhood (Florida); 4) James Presley: musician, saw mill hand, about forty, born in Georgia; and 5) Larkins White: born Georgia; about forty; saw mill hand. At least seventeen of the one hundred and twenty two informants listed in the Gulf States manuscript are referred to by name in Mules and Men.

From the correspondences between Hurston and Boas, from Hurston to Mrs. Rufus Osgood Mason, and between Langston Hughes and Hurston, the handwriting analysis, and the match between informant names of the Gulf States manuscript and those found in **Mules and Men**, I am persuaded that the manuscript "Negro folk-tales from the Gulf States," is the secretly hidden folklore texts Hurston had collected and was able to show to Boas which illustrated her scholarly work. The letters and information all suggest that the document found in the

Duncan Strong papers in the National Anthropology Archives is, in fact, the secret research data which contributed to **Mules and Men**. One might speculate as to how the manuscript found its way into the archives. She presumably sent Boas the typescript of her field collections without telling her patron. He kept it with other Department files which were later stored in the basement for lack of space. Later still the Strong papers were stored there and all the stored papers transferred to the National Anthropological Archives in washington, D.C.

Discovery of this 1929 manuscript, apparently the original scholarly transcript of Hurston's work, mandated an additional analysis which provides a new dimension to this study. It demonstrates the complexity of writing down oral text, and provides me with data on which I can analyze three versions of a very popular John tale told over a period of eight years in a closely associated region of the Gulf States.

5.2 John and the Coon - A Comparative Analysis

Amongst the many stories that correspond between **Mules and Men** and the manuscript "Negro folk-tales from

the Gulf States" are several of the John and Master genre.[16] Comparison of these stories to the John and Master narratives performed by John Davis, provides an opportunity to examine performance style and pragmatic structure of the stories as told by several tellers over a period of seven years from the same Florida, Georgia, Alabama area. For example, one of Joe Wiley's stories is called in the Gulf State manuscript simply "John." In **Mules and Men** it is called "The Fortuneteller." Other versions of this plot, found in published and unpublished collections by not only Hurston, but Fausett (1927), and Perdue (1976) to name a few, are all variants of the well known John and the Coon tale of which John Davis also told a version in 1935.

Larkins White, a 40 year old sawmill hand from Georgia, and Joe Wiley, a sawmill hand from Magazine

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16 An untitled story told by James Presley in the manuscript appears to be the same text as one called Massa and the Bear in **Mules and Men** but is credited to Eugene Oliver. Although it is not one of the stories I will analyze it was also told by John Davis and its transcript can be found in the appendix. Another example of a John and Master story Hurston collected during this period is called "Ah'll Beatcher Making Money" in **Mules and Men** and corresponds to the story told by Julius Henry called "John and the Horse" in the manuscript.

Point, Alabama were two of the major contributors of John and Old Master stories to Hurston between 1927 and 1929. In her notes regarding folktales from the Gulf States she describes the Alabama sites as "a locale of saw mills, lumber camps and fishermen. Illiterate and barely literate, except some school boys who told me tales." Joe Wiley was one of the "Magazine boys" that Hurston refers to in a letter from Alabama to Mrs. Mason. Joe Wiley had traveled a good deal in and around the Gulf States including Georgia and Florida. She collected from him in both Magazine Point and Mobile, Alabama. Larkins White, Georgian born, was working in the sawmill at Loughman, Florida, one of the Florida sites in which Hurston collected. She describes these as: "Loughman saw mill, Eatonville a purely Negro village, Lakeland, Mulberry, Pierce in the phosphate mines country, Eau Gallie, a truck farm and fishing village; and Miami, a tourist town with more than half the Negro population being Bahamians."

An analysis of the narrative style in the "John and Coon" stories, collected in this area within seven years of one another, provides interesting parallels and contrasts for interpreting social climate,

expectations, and language use to convey black/white relationships and African American speech style.

The first two John and the Coon stories to be considered are taken from the manuscript "Negro Folk-Tales from the Gulf States." The last story considered is the version of John and Coon told by John Davis in 1935. Hurston's manuscript was written in straight prose. The line divisions in each of the tales are my own for purposes of clarity of reference. The verses separated by double spacing correspond to Hurston's paragraphing convention, and the punctuation and spellings are also hers.

5.3 John and the Coon as told by Larkins White from Georgia to ZNH in "Negro Folk-Tales from the Gulf States" 1929

In slavery time Ole Massa had uh nigger
an' his name wuz John.
He uster go stan' in de chimbley (chimney) corner of nights
an' listen tuh whut Ole Massa say,
den he'd go nex' day
an' tell de other niggers whut tuh do.

Ole Massa had done made 'im his foreman anyhow.

One night he heered 'im say,
"I'm gointuh have dem niggers plow dat bottom tuhmorrow."

Soon ez John got out nex' mornin'
he tole de colored folks,
"Well,

Ole Massa wants y'all tuh plow dat bottom land dis
mornin'.
Hit de grit."

In uh few minutes Ole Massa come out

tuh give de orders fuh de day
an' he said:
"Well,
John I wants you
tuh have 'em plow dat bottom land tuhday.

He says,
"Dat's jus' whut I done tole 'em."

They all looked at one 'nother
cause they couldn't understan'
how John knowed
what Massa wuz gointer say.

Massa didn't know hisself,
an' John kept on doing dat
till finally Massa ast John how he done it.

John made b'lieve he could tell fortunes
an' read de mind,
an' Ole Massa b'lieved 'im.

One day he says tuh John,
"John, looka here.

I done bet mah whole plantation on you.

Me an' one uh mah frien's got tuh arguin' 'bout you
cause I tole 'im you could tell <u>anything</u>.

He said he bet he could fix somethin'
you couldn't tell thout seein'
an' so we got it fixed.

He's gointuh be here in uh few minutes
an' if you make me lose mah plantation,
Ah'll kill yuh."

Well,
after while they called Ole John
an' they had somethin' under uh turnt-down wash-pot,
an' Ole Massa says tuh John,
"Now,
John,
you tell us whut's under dat wash-pot."

John didn't have de least idee
whut wuz under dat pot.

He walked round an' round dat pot
an' scratched his head
an' tried tuh see
if he could hear anything
tuh give 'im uh lead;
but he couldn't git de slightes' thing.

So finally he give up
an' said,
"Well,
you got de ole coon dis time."

He thought sho
he wuz gointer git killed,
but Ole Massa give uh whoop
an' kicked over de pot
and hollered:
"I wins,

I knowed he could tell.

John you gointuh git yo' freedom.

Now I got two plantations 'stead uh one."

It wuz uh coon under de pot--
but John didn't know
it.

John Swimming Boast - Larkins White
(immediately follows John and the Coon)

After Massa winned offa John,
he wanted tuh go way off on de water,
an' he wanted John tuh stay wid Ole Missus;
but John went tuh New York some way
an' so when Massa stepped offa de train,
dere wuz John waitin' fuh 'im in de station.

He ast 'im,
"How did you git here, John?"

"Ah run behin' dat train."

Massa wuz so took wid dat
he didn't whup John.

He jus' tole 'im tuh gwan back home
an' stay wid Ole Miss.

But John slipped on de boat
an' hid hisself
an' slipped off befo' Ole Massa did,
an' wuz waitin' fuh 'im on de dock.

Ole Massa's eyes nearly popped outa his head
when he saw John on de dock.

He ast 'im,
"John,
how did you git cross de water?"

"Ah swimmed behind dat ship."

Massa called all de folks roun' dere
to come see his John.
He wuz wringin' wet jus' lak he been swimmin',
but he had done wet hisself in de edge uh de water.

Whilst they wuz all talkin' an' makin' 'mirations.

John seed uh man out in de water
uh swimmin' roun'
an' cuttin' up.

John hollered tuh 'im
he said,
"How long you been in dat water?"

Man tole im' three hours.

He said tuh Massa,
"Massa, dat man can't swim none.
Git me uh stove an' some wood an' rations
cause Ah'm gointuh cook
an' eat
an' stay in dere uh month.

Uh month ain't nothin' uh tall
fuh me tuh swim."

He hollered tuh de man
an' challenged 'im tuh swim wid 'im.

De man says he'll swim wid 'im
cause he's de champeen over dere.

Den John hollered back
tuh ast 'im how much money he'd swim fuh
an' de man says two thousan' dollars.

By dat time Ole Massa b'lieves John
kin do some swimmin'
so he raises de man in de water
tuh fifty thousan' dollars
an' tole John tuh get ready
an' if he lost his money
he wuz gointuh kill 'im sho.

"Aw,

Ah ain't gointuh lose yo' money, Massa.

Jus' you git me de things Ah tole you,
an' Ah'll beat 'im."

62
63 By dat time John wuz skeered tuh death
64 cause everybody went tuh makin' preparations
65 fuh de big swimmin'match,
66 an' he couldn't swim uh lick.

67 He hollered out tuh de man in de water,
68 "Say, you betta git yo'self some vittles
69 cause dis ain't gonna be one un dem lil baby matches,
70 jus' gittin out in de water
71 an' playin' round six or seben hours.

72 Cain't hardly git wet thew in dat lil time.

73 Git yo'self some vittles tuh cook
74 cause we gointuh be swimmin' fuh months,
75 maybe uh year or two."

76 De man come out de water tuh look at John
77 and he quit.

78 He said he couldn't swim no whole day even--
79 so John winned agin fuh Ole massa on uh bluff.

5.3.1 The narrative units and structure

Analysis of the narrative structure in Larkins White's John and the Coon reveals sixteen narrative units based on the series of separate actions taking place in the narrative. They include:

1. **an historical frame** which situates the story and identifies the character John as a "nigger" during slavery time in lines 1-2.
2. in lines 3-6 we are given **an explanation of how John's trick/fortunetelling worked**; he stood in the

chimney and listened to what the Master said, then he would tell the "niggers" what to do.

3. line 8 discloses **the relationship** between John and Master where Master had made John his foreman. The implication is that John had no need to play tricks on the Master or pretend to be a fortuneteller since the Master had made John foreman "anyhow." Based on the order of the narrative action, another suggestion may be that John was made foreman because he eavesdropped and always had prior knowledge.

4. lines 9-29 provide an **extended example of John's fortunetelling** of how John used his ability to trick both the Master and the slaves into believing he could tell fortunes. First at night he overheard the Master's plan then ordered the slaves to plow the bottom land. When the Master comes to tell John what he wants the slaves to do, John has already accurately told them what to do. Of course everyone is confused about how John is able to accomplish this feat.

5. In lines 30-35 Master finally inquires about John's ability "to know" what the Master is going to say, and John **makes believe he can tell fortunes and read minds.**

6. **John and Master's relationship** is reinforced in line 35 as the teller is careful to intimate that the Master believes John.

7. Lines 36-43 relate to the **bet.** The Master makes a bet, tells John, and describes its circumstances. This bet is motivated by belief in John's boast.

8. In lines 45-46 we have a direct **threat** to John. Master makes the threat clear and explicit by stating, "If you make me lose mah plantation, Ah'll kill yuh."

9. Lines 47-53 introduce the **question/riddle.** Here the desired action John is to perform is introduced to John and the audience at the same time. Neither John nor the audience have any idea what is under the wash pot because both are only told "somethin" is under a turned-down wash-pot. This narrative unit serves to heighten the dramatic effect of the story. Lines 41 and 42 had already conveyed that the Master's friend believed he could fix something that John wouldn't be able to tell without seeing. The implication of course was that one had to be able to see this something to know what it is.

10. **John's predicament** in lines 54-55 is that because this feat was not one that he had orchestrated, he had

no idea what was under the pot.

11. John **stalls** and prolongs the action, further heightening the dramatic impact in lines 56-61 by walking around the pot, scratching his head, trying to hear something which would give him a lead. The audience is convinced he needs to see to make his fortunetelling work.

12. The **punchline** relies on verbal ingenuity in lines 64-65. These lines disclose a double entendre ("Well, you got de ole coon dis time") in which John refers to himself as an "ole coon" meaning the derogatory term often used to refer to blacks, but in reality the very "something" hidden under the wash-pot is a coon.

13. A **revelation/explanation** of John's thoughts follows the punchline in lines 66-67. He thought he was going to be killed.

14. The fact is in lines 68-74 the **Master wins** and demonstrates his pleasure by kicking over the pot and whooping and hollering making some boasts of his own that he'd won, and had had confidence in John all along. Of course had this been the case, he would not have had need to threaten John.

15. In lines 72-74 the **Master addresses John** promising

him his freedom and bragging that he now had two plantations instead of one.

16. The final narrative unit comes in lines 75-77 and is a **summary** which explains that there was a coon under the pot but John didn't know it.

This story focuses on John's ability to use trickery and pass it off as fortunetelling while the coon in this tale is underplayed. The audience finds out what is under the wash pot at the same time as John highlighting dramatic effect through a method of delay - scratching, trying to see and hear.

The episode is immediately followed by another plot involving a struggle with Master. This time Master (although he has promised freedom) leaves John with Missus while he goes on a trip by water. First the Master uses a train, and John tricks the Master into thinking he ran behind the train and swam behind the boat that the Master had taken. Eventually Master places a large bet on John when John challenges a champion swimmer. John's actions and boasting are the motivation for the bet. He wins the bet for the master, but only by bluffing.

Each time Larkins White's John is boastful, he

feels fear, but manages to bluff his way out. This story appears to be a comment about appropriate and inappropriate behavior. White's character evidently does not know the limits of good judgement. His bragging boastful way and tricks are the motivation for him being brought into each bet which he is only able to win through his verbal creativity.

Finally, there is very little dialogue between John and the Master. In fact the Master has the majority of direct speech and John's is usually reported. There are only three instances of direct words attributed to John. One is in lines 13-15 where he talks directly to the slaves giving them instructions which came from the Master. Another is when he responds to Master in line 23 assuring him that he had just given the Master's orders, and finally in lines 62-63 where he admits he is outwitted. Interestingly Larkins White does not use direct speech for John when he reports John is able to tell fortunes and read minds in lines 31 and 32. Through constructed dialogue Larkins White is able to portray John as a highly successful trickster but one that is motivated by poor judgement.

On the otherhand, the Master remains the dominant speaker in this story and his speech, usually direct and commanding, reflects this. In each of five instances of direct speech the Master's words involve several lines ranging from one and a half to ten lines. In the seventy-four lines of the story the Master was given twenty-two lines of direct speech and John only six lines. The amount of dialogue can be directly related to the amount of real power and control each character possessed.

5.4 John and the Coon as told by Joe Wiley from Magazine Point, Al to ZNH collected in "Negro Folk-Tales from the Gulf States"

In slavery time there was a colored man
by the name of John.

One day him and his Ole Master was going along
and John said,
"Ole Massa, I can tell fortunes."

Ole Massa didn't pay him no attention.

They went on to the next plantation
and he told the owner,
"I have a nigger that can tell fortunes."

He said,
"I bet you my plantation
and all my niggers against yours
that he can'tell fortunes."

So they called a notary public and signed up the bet.

John was in misery all that night
for he knowed he couldn't tell no fortunes.

Every morning John used to get up
and saddle his mule and Ole Massa's horse.

Ole Massa had to get him up that morning.

Going over to the plantation where the bet was on,
John had been riding side by side with Ole Massa;
but this time he rode behind.

So the man on the plantation had went out that night
and caught a coon
and had it sealed up in a box.

So there was a many one there
to hear John tell what was in the box.

They brought John out
and he pulled off his hat
and scratched his head
and said:
"Well, white folks,
you got the old coon at last."

He meant himself,
but everybody hollered,
"It's a coon sure enough.

John sure can tell fortunes!"

So he won for Ole Massa.

Going back home
he said,
"Ole Massa, I am not going to tell any more fortunes."

This episode continues into the next episode without a new title or break.

Massa said,
"I don't care if you don't,
because you have made me a rich man.

Now I am going to New York
and leave everything with you.

So in the fall you can sell
or keep everything until I come back."

Him and his wife left for the train,
went to the next station
and got off.

So John told what niggers that was there
to get on the mules
and one to ride three miles north,
the other one to ride three miles south,
one to ride three miles west
and the other to ride three miles east.

"Tell everybody to come here;
there's going to be a ball here tonight.

The rest of you go into the lot
and kill hogs until you can walk on them."

So they did.

He goes in
and dressed up in Ole Massa's evening clothes,
put on a collar and tie,
got a box of cigars
and put under his arm and one in his mouth.

When the crowd come that night
and begin to dance,
John told them
he was going to call figures.

So he got the big old rocking chair
an put it up in the bed
and got up in the bed in the chair
and began to call figures.

"Hands up four!

Circle right!

Half back!

Two ladies change!"

He puffed his cigar.

When he went to say "Hands up four".
Ole Massa walked in and said:
"John, look what you have done.

You have on my evening suit,
up in my bed,
done killed all my hogs,
and got all these niggers in my house.

I am going to take you out to that persimmon tree
and break your neck."

"Ole Massa, can I have a word
with Jack before you kill me?"

"Yes, but have it quick."

So he called Jack and told him,
"Ole Massa is going to break my neck.

Get these matches and get in the top
of that persimmon tree.

When I pray and ask God to let it lightning
I want you to strike the matches."

So he got to the tree.

Ole Massa had the rope around John's neck
and put it over a limb.

"Now, John, have you anything to say
before I hang you?"

"Yes, sir.

I want to pray."

"Well, pray
and pray damn quick."

"O Lord,
here I am at the foot of the persimmon tree.

If you are going to destroy Ole Massa tonight,
his wife and all he has,
I want to see it lightning."

Jack striked a match.

Ole Massa said,
"John, don't pray no more."

"Oh, yes, turn me loose so I can pray.

O Lord,
here I am at the foot of the persimmon tree.

O Lord,
here I am tonight calling on thee.

If thou are going to destroy Ole Massa tonight,
his wife and all he has,
I want to see it lightning again."

Jack struck another match
and Ole Massa started to run.

127 He run so fast
128 till it took an express train running at the rate of
129 ninety miles an hour and six months to bring him back
130 home.

5.4.1 Narrative units and structure

In Joe Wiley's John and the Coon we find fourteen narrative units.

1. The first line of the narrative establishes a **historical frame** for the story and the character, placing it during slavery time. In this version John is referred to as a "colored man," a more polite form at the time than Larkin's "nigger."

2. Lines 3 and 4 extablish a vague **relationship** between John and Master because John was going along with his Ole Master as if this were a common occurrence and that he spent time alone with Master often.

3. Line 5 presents John's voluntary boast that he is a **fortuneteller.** This acclamation later becomes the motivation for the Master's bet.

4. In line 6 then nature of the **relationship** is again implied since Master paid him no mind. Yet the Master may have been angered that John was rash and boastful and at that point began to plan a trap for John.

5. Lines 7-9 show the **Master boasting** to the owner of

the next plantation that he had a "nigger" who could tell fortunes. This reponse of the Master contrasts with his behavior when John first boasted of his ability. This further suggests that the Master is planning to set a trap. The use of the term "nigger" contrasts with Joe Wiley's introduction of John as a 'colored man' and further indicates the Master's negative attitude toward John which is consonant with the expected attitude of many whites toward blacks at that time.

6. Lines 10-14 briefly describe the conditions of the Master's **bet.** But more than that it constitutes the **question/riddle** that John is to solve. Because John was present at the time the Master made the bet, he is aware that he is expected to tell fortunes. This type of introduction leads to John's heightened anxiety for he now realizes that it was his own boast that has brought him to this state of affairs.

7. Lines 15-22 are an extended description of John's misery over the bet. They provide background information on John's usual behavior as contrasted with his behavior in this **predicament.** These lines also serve to reveal the implication of John's failure to

comply with the Master's orders as a perceived **threat** to his well being and heightens the dramatic effect of the situation.

8. In lines 23-25 the man with whom the Master has the bet goes out at night and **catches a coon** which he seals in a box. These lines serve to inform the audience of the content so that there is less drama or surprise. Also there is a more or less naturalistic explanation for how the coon came to be the object. The implication is that it was a coon that the man was searching for because he went out to capture it at night. As a cultural presupposition one should understand that a coon is an animal which is hunted at night.

9. Lines 26-27 set the mood of the event as one in which many people were curious creating almost a festive occasion. One is reminded of a similar atmosphere created by public executions. **People came to see John tell fortunes** and possibly be caught in a trap himself.

10. Again in lines 28-30 Joe Wiley has **John stalling** but much less so than before. While there is dramatic effect involved as John pulls off his hat and scratches

his head, Wiley goes directly into the punchline without further delay because he has already prepared the audience to see John was frightened by his delay to arise from his bed on time or ride alongside the Master as he usually had.

11. In lines 32-33 the **verbal trick/punchline** is executed, "Well, white folks, you got the old coon at last." John is admitting defeat, but his artful use of language and reference allows him to escape the threat.

12. An **explanation** of the situation follows in lines 34-37. What John had meant was himself, but others thought he could tell fortunes and knew there was a coon in the box. Interestingly, the Master in this story has no comment neither in claiming a win or at being happy that John was successful. His failure to comment further validates the entrapment theory, and his hostility to John.

13. A **summary** comment in line 38 that John had won for his Old Master hints that John had lived up to his boast even if it was an accident of semantic interpretation.

14. The final narrative unit of the first episode in lines 39-48 comes in the form of **dialogue between John**

and Master. John tells the Master he's going to stop telling fortunes and the Master says he doesn't care if he does because John has made him a rich man. This dialogue serves as transition into the next plot which shows an obvious plan on the Master's part to trick John. In this episode the Master tricks John by pretending to leave the plantation in John's care and traveling to New York. He manages to catch John giving a party and plans to hang John, but he is tricked out of it by John and a friend. In fact, this particular tale has a typical tall tale hyperbolic ending with the Master running away so fast it took an express train running at the rate of ninety miles an hour and six months to bring him back home.

In the telling of the first episode, Joe Wiley focuses on the bet and John's behavior rather than on the coon. Although there is an explanation of how the coon came to be in the box, there is no explicit explanation of why it was a coon that was placed in the box. In the other two stories there are references to how the coon is something that no one can guess without seeing and hence its involvement in the bet.

Joe Wiley's John is a braggart. He doesn't know

when to stop, doesn't have good judgement, nor does he anticipate the consequences of his behavior. In this way, the story functions as a cautionary tale about what is appropriate and inappropriate behavior. John creates his own problem through his inappropriate voluntary boasting which serves as the motivation for the bet. Thankfully, what got John into trouble also got him out. His use of language to manipulate the situation provides both his trap and his escape.

In this version of the story we see a Master who tries to trick John twice. He does not care for John's boastful ways and intends to make John pay for his inappropriate verbosity. This story as much as any one story provides insights into the make up of the Southern class system and its expectations. The teller implies even when you think Whites are being good or fair it's a trick. In the second episode the Master promises to set John free, but leaves him in charge of the plantation while he goes away. The Master's intention is to trick John and provide a reason to get rid of him. Only through John's quick and devious ploy of prayer and verbal trickery is he able to be saved.

5.5 John and the Coon as told by John Davis to ZNH in 1935 in Fredericka, Ga.

John and the Coon

as told by John Davis

I

John know 1

rapid delivery — whóle lot of things 2

softer, raised intonation, lowered pitch — (John didn't know múch) 3

•

John had done 4

two or three items around <*chuckle*> here 5
so that'

softens voice confidential tone — Marsa kinda taken a liking to John 6

But he---John didn't know nothing 7
you know.

Só. 8

Well he taken a líking to John 9
you know.

John going around [h n] 10
you know,

John almost like dead, 11

nóthing.
He didn't know 12

II

Marsa went and got a bíg párty 13
you know 'n

•

hún
They went out ting that night 14
see,

singing, rhythmic delivery falling, rising,falling pitch — S'áll only be able to catch óne coon. 15

•

emphatic — They say the coon can't make' 16

nó bódy know what to thínk of 17

and just sitting messing around, 18

rapid — 'n thinking of first one thíng 'n ánother 19
you know,

coming back off the húnt. 20

Big, hard bluffing voice — "You wanna git something you [ ] bet on 21

bring the coon back alive 22

we gon'" --- 23

(Sóme' 24

some
fella had dissention. 25

lower pitch — Whérever you gó 26

softer — there's something like that.) 27

	Marsa he joined in.	28
	•	
high creaky tight voice	"By God I gotta old darkie home	29
starts with rising pitch then	"I'll bétche he could tell you	30
falling intonation	just what we caught tonight."	31
	Awww that gonna arouse a bét here.	32
	They betting up a plantation you know	33
	and a	34
softer	[dayl] a money---	35
lower pitch	(Couldn't count money ány how matter of fact.)	36
tight creaky Marsa voice	"By God	37
	I'il bétche two three plantation."	38
suppressed pause at end		
faster	Now they put a big bet	39
	that John gon tell'	40
	whát they caught that night	41
lower pitch	(but they put it under the túb you know.)	42

III

slightly conspiratorial rapid lower pitch	Next morning here come John and [ ] ,	43
	coming on up here.	44
Big blustering, voice slow halting	"Well John uh,	45
	I got a bíg bet on this morning	46
	and a	47
	don't cause me to lóse now."	48
Slower hesitant subdued voice	"No Marsa	49
	I' ---	50
	uh uh	51
	you can't lóse."	52
	Say:	53
Commanding, slow,deliberate with confidence (like in a poker game bluff)	"Jóhn now	54
	we want you to téll us	55
	what's that under that túb."	56
hesitant soft moan	"Uh"	57
	<chuckle> soft laugther	
	<chuckle>	
loud, commanding, prodding	ón "Come John" *<chuckle>*	58
hesitant soft moan	"Yéeaah sir" *laughter, woman says: "Go on.*	59

One old fella had his bet on 60

he go' 61

impatient higher pitch, raspy, fast "By God come on darkie 62

authoritative quíck."

lowered pitch and tell us what's under the tub 63

Stream of laughter from JD & audience

He say': 64

very slow hesitant "Maarsa" 65

Say': 66

slow, drawn out "The cóoon done run a loóng time 67

lowered pitch but fiinally you cátch 'm. 68

Fast, excited Marsa didn't let John say nothing 69

Say: 70

master's voice loud shout "By God I told you gentlemen that <- - - - - -> 71

rhythmic moderately fast John didn't know what in the world was under the tub72

strong laughter

bét

continuous laughter, JD raises voice to be heard over laugther but John done won the 73

you know,

hím

John thought they catch 74

lowered pitch and yóu know who they cátch. 75

loud raucous laughter

I V

Marsa say': 76

Jóhn lóong
raised pitch "But how come you wait so 77

'for yúuh 78

tell 'em what's under the tub?" 79

Say: 80

soft, polite
confident tone
understated, ingratiating "Marsa I want you to bét some more. 81
low exhausted laughter

He didn't know whát it was 82

hím
John thought they catch 83
you see.

he couldn't lóse!
ends on high pitch But he 84
ZNH-He musta been telling fortunes before hand

John and Ol' Missus Nightgown

Immediately follows "John and The Coon" with prompt from ZNH "He musta been telling fortunes beforehand

as told by John Davis

I	Yeah Marsa'	1
low, conspiratorial whisper	Then one night, you know,	2
lowering of voice	Uh,	3
	•	
rapid, low conspiratorial	You know John told Marsa	4
louder	John was getting féver again boy	5
	Say Marsa didn't	6
	Think'	7
	"Well I just try John"	8
soft conspiratorial whisper	"Oh here he come." *<soft chuckle>*	9
I I	Say John	10
	John tell Marsa	11
soft, low	John show Marsa that chicken	12
soft	John tell Marsa:	13
louder	"Marsa"	14

<snap>
Say: 15

rhythmic chantlike bragging, daring
"I bet you, 16

I'll cóme in here toníght 17

<snap>
steeáal
'n the gown off your wife 18

<snap>
'n you sleeping right there 19

'n you won't know what I got." 20

Say: 21

"Shé wouldn't know what I got." 22

naive + eager
creaky, high voice
"Oh by God 23

reserved for ol' Marsa
if you do that,"--- 24

"then what'll you do for that (John or gown)" 25

lower voice
soft hesitant
"I could'" 26

loud, decisive
"Give 'im the múle, 27
"that's right."

ríde
faster
He would let John the mule, 28
you know,

lower pitch
that wasn't none of John's mule. 29

jokingly explanatory aside remark
(It's all right if you be defensive 30

with your own toys.) *laugther* *31*

	It wasn't John's mule, you know.	32
	But he say he gíve John that mule	33
softer,lower pitch	if John'd get it.	34
soft	All right	35
III		
slow, methodicai	John made him	36
	giíve 'm a little artificial mán, you know	37
	<*clap*>	
	'n go in the chícken house	38
	'n sét it right ín the door you know,	39

Break in recording picks up at 347 A1 + 2

Missing rest of frame for action,but continues apparently part of same scene

soft	That old chícken	40
loud + fast	[GWAA GWA GWA GW GW]	41
	And John'd	42
	<steps>	
	• • •	

	Púll on it agaín	43
	O'er in the yard just	44
	[GWÃÃ GWÃ GWÃ GW GW]	45
	n '	46
conspiratorial softer	John let it down again,	47
	OK	48
I V	Marsa:	49
slightly higher pitch	"Wonder what in the	50
	wórld is that	51
	worrying my chickens?"	52
soft	Old lady:	53
slightly falsetto	"You best go óver there	54
	ís," 'n sée what it	55
	•	
soft + low	U h	56
	•	
	líke J o h n that.	57

V

soft + conpirational	All at once	58
	púll on it agín	59
	•	
	[GWÃÃ GWÃ GWÃ GW GW]	60
methodical rhythm for this unit, moderate pace	Marsa <steps> júmp <steps>	61
	•	
	<steps> slip on his shhoes	62
	<snap> gó on out the door.	63
	Goon'	64
	chicken coop	65
	'n look all around the chícken,	66

V I

	There stood John	67
	<snap> sitting there, you know	68
	There was crówing 'n all the ruckus.	69
faster	Then he say:	70
	"Yeah."	71
soft conspiratorial	"Ol lady,	72
	I just cut me up some chícken.	73
excited, fast	"Gimme gówn right quick."	74
same rhythm lower pitch	"Gimme gówn right quick."	75

rapid listing of actions	She'	76
	<shuffling feet> shuffled through	77
	went for her bureau	78
	<snap> <snap> take it to John.	79
	He's góne out the door	80
lower pitch	góne out the door.	81

VII

softer, slower lower pitch for unit methodical	Marsa he round'	82
	the chicken coop lóoking you know.	83
soft, lower pitch	all around the chicken coop,	84
	he didn't see any	85
	roóom come back in the	86
	BÉD. go on drag in	87

soft, low — Now 88

She waiting for' 89

soft — to see if uh 90

say something about the gówn, you know 91

she knew he had take 92

the gown on úp there, you know. *chuckling* 93

•

soft — You see 94

faster paced listing — He fiddle with gown 95

ZNH-laugther

she in bed near bout to freeze 96

he fiddle with that gown. *long laugther* 97

•

Say: 98

high falsetto — "Old mán 99

Say: 100

"Where's my gówn?" 101

soft +quick — Say: 102

louder, high pitch, intolerant — "I 'on't know nothing about it 103

what gown?" 104

	Say:	105
	"Didn't you come in here just nów	106
	'n told me to'	107
	Marsa say:	108
Creaky, sing-song rhythm falling, rising, falling pitch	"GOD	109
	DANG	110
	JOHN'S	111
	soul	112
	he find	113
	nóth a er one. *loud laughte*	114

VIII

	John---	115
	that boy	116
	gone off whistling	117
	and John is a' <whistled tune> *laugther*	118
	•	
	Say:	119
teasing, sing song rhythmic ends on rising *pitch*	"I got a múle?"	120
	"I got a mule now or what?" *laughter including JD*	121

5.5 John and the Coon as told by John Davis to ZNH in 1935 in Fredericka, Ga.

5.5.1 Narrative units and structure

John Davis' John and the Coon has a total of eighteen narrative units. Because it is a transcript of a live performance, several of the units involve backfilling and foregrounding which may have been eliminated in the written versions recorded by Hurston.

1. In lines 1-3 we find a **character frame** providing not information about who John is or the historical setting, but one that provides background about John's mental state. John Davis first has John knowing a whole lot of things, but in an aside informs the audience that John didn't know much. This appears to be a contradictory message but in fact is supported in the remainder of the story.
2. **Fortunetelling** is given a vague reference in lines 4 and 5. John is reported to have "done two or three items around here." The accompanying chuckle is a hint that the two or three items were probably of a deceptive nature but may be thought of as fortunetelling in some folks eyes.
3. The **relationship between John and Master** appears to

be a causal one where the Master likes John and John is almost like dead. The liking must come with a price. Implied in lines 6-7 is that the Master likes John because John had done two or three items which he may have nearly been caught at and would have lost his life had he not been successful.

4. An instance of **backfilling and summary** occurs in lines 8-12 where reference to John's knowledge or lack of it and the relationship between John and the Master is repeated.

5. In lines 13-20 the Master has a hunting party where he and his friends **catch a coon.** This event develops a naturalistic motivation for the bet rather than one instigated by a boastful character. It provides background information which fills in the cultural presuppositions about the coon, when it is hunted, and its powers to confound.

6. The following lines 21-37 describe the **bet** including interaction between members of the hunting party, their propensity for betting, the Master's specific involvement in the bet, the amount of the bet, and exactly what the bet involved.

7. Lines 38-41 serve as a **summary** of what the bet was

about and what they expected of John.

8. Lines 42-50 show that the next morning when John arrives the Master makes a subtle **threat** by telling John, "Well John, ... don't cause me to lose now." John's reply is, "No Master, I uh, uh you can't lose." This dialogue between Master and John shows the pressure placed upon John and his uncertain, cautious response to it. The repair between "I--- and "uh, uh you can't lose" highlights John's serious predicament.

9. Lines 51-54 reveal to John what exactly he is expected to do. The **question/riddle** is put to him, but the audience is already informed.

10. Lines 55-61 present John's hesitation and **stalling** through verbalizations and moans. John Davis accompanies his demonstration of John's stalling techniques by chuckling while the audience also responds with soft laughter and even urging John to go on and tell what's under the tub. In these lines the bettors are heard to urge John on and he responds with a drawn out yes sir with overstress and elongated vowels. While the white characters are placing unfriendly pressure on John the interplay between audience and storyteller serves to both heighten the

drama of the moment as well as relieve possible tension for the real danger that John was experiencing. Each time John is urged on and stalls the audience responds with laughter instigated by John Davis' own chuckling and laughter. Davis' intention must be to abate the rising tension.

11. As a result of the stalling found in the previous lines we are prepared for John's slow moaned delivery in lines 62-66 which constitute the **punchline** "Maarsa, The cooon done run a loong time but fiinally you catch'm." We are already aware of the punchline/verbal trick from the previous stories. What heightens John Davis delivery is the actual performance in which elongated vowels and slow pace provide an additional stress on the seriousness of the encounter. While John is admitting defeat, the prosody in the lines heightens our receptivity to John's predicament and how fortunate he is to have stumbled on just the right verbal response. Rather than the expected derogatory reference to himself, he has unwittingly tricked the Master.

12. Lines 67-69 show the **Master boasting** about John's ability with a fast paced delivery.

13. John Davis provides an **explanation/summary** of what is truly happening in lines 70-73. He reaffirms John didn't know what was under the tub and thought he was the one that had been caught.

14. The episode begins to conclude with **dialogue between John and Master** in lines 74-78. The Master asks John why it took so long for John to answer and this time John responds with confidence that he had wanted the Master to bet some more.

15. The last comments in the episode are a **summary** explaining John didn't know what it was, he thought he had been caught, but he couldn't lose. It was left to Hurston to bring in the context of fortunetelling in the closing words of this episode by saying "He musta been telling fortunes before hand." Untill this time a reader may have missed other hints that this too was an example of John being a fortuneteller because the early reference to fortunetelling in the beginning of the story was a vague one. It is clear that Hurston is familiar with this story and felt a need to provide closure for others who may have been less familiar with the variant.

John Davis is deliberately vague in discussing

John's fortunetelling skills. He refers to them as "Items" which again heightens the fact he was not involved in initiating the bet. The consequence for John is serious and the motivation for the bet outside of his control. This emphasis may reflect John Davis' own perception that in many situations the African American man has little control over social conditions. That is to say, in this version of the story, white people bring John into the bet without his direct involvement. John Davis' version of the story makes John a more human and sympathetic character by eliminating his responsibility for his predicament. John Davis contemplates the subject of control and or the lack of it, and he makes the fortunetelling aspect a less prominent one hence freeing John from responsibility for the bet.

Even the motivation for the coon being the object to be identified is handled in a naturalistic manner. The Master goes hunting and captures one, thus it becomes the motivation for the bet rather than something John had directly done.

In fact, John Davis focuses on the hunt for the coon as much as John's correctly identifying it without

knowing.

One of the striking features of John Davis' style is the several summaries he gave within this story. The other storytellers gave only a summary at the end. His continuous backfilling and repetition are representative of an oral narrative style which may have been interfered in the other versions in the attempt to write the story out in literary form. Another explanation may be, however, that Hurston may have collected the Gulf States versions of the stories without any audience other than herself and the performers may have received feedback from her which reduced their need to provide many summary units.

Finally, this story like the other two versions was immediately followed by another one describing a struggle with Master. The first story reveals an example of threatened random violence such as African Americans in the South risked with the KKK in the thirties. John handles the violence threatended for failure by outsmarting and being lucky and particulary by his use of language. John had no part in initiating the bet in "Coon," but in the second story "Nightgown" he does. While in the first episode John does not

create his own problem, in the second one John purposely proposes a battle of wits. In that narrative John bets the Master he can steal his wife's nightgown without either of them knowing it. The price of the bet was a mule for John. John creates a disturbance in the chicken house. While Master is attending to it, Johnhe convinces the Missus that he is the Master and needs the nightgown. As a result of his creative plan, John wins the nightgown and the mule. He outsmarts both the Master and the Missus. In this story there is no direct threat of violence, but clearly John is entering an area of a tabooed behavior. Interactions between black male slaves and their white Missus were highly constrained and intimacy of the sort involving nightgowns was punishable by death. The underlying threat is there. It is through John's ability to manipulate and outsmart that he is able to win the mule.

5.6 Underlying structure and comparison of units

There were a number of narrative units that all three versions shared which lead to a hypothesis of an underlying narrative structure for the "John and the Coon" stories. The stories' shared elements serving as

underlying structure for this particular tale include: fortunetelling, the relationship between John and Master, the bet, the threat, the question/riddle, John's stalling, the verbal trick (punch line), explanation, dialogue between John and Master, and a summary. In addition, while the order of many of these elements was left to the tellers discretion, the bet, threat, stall, punchline and explanation were consistently conveyed in the same order.

An interesting variation within the underlying narrative units of this tale is the emphasis or lack of emphasis on fortunetelling. In fact, the variation is extreme. While John Davis makes a vague reference to John's fortunetelling skills by saying "John had done two or three items around here," Larkins White not only emphasizes that John's fortunetelling is a result of trickery, but gives an extended example which ends in reported dialogue "John made b'lieve he could tell fortunes an' read de mind," in response to the Master's inquiry. In the Joe Wiley version we find John, without provocation, boasting to the Master "Ole Massa, I can tell fortunes." These contrasting styles of introducing the fortunetelling unit also reveal

fundamental ways in which the tellers can impose their personalities on the tale and structure its form and content as well as the conditions under which the stories were being told. The surely deliberately vague reference to fortunetelling in the John Davis version sets the stage for presenting John as a victim. He does not initiate or motivate his threatening circumstance. The motivation for the circumstance is more serious and outside of himself.

On the otherhand, in both the Larkins White and Joe Wiley versions, John's boast is the motivation for the bet which brings about the threatening circumstances. Larkins White goes to great length to describe just how John has brought himself to this predicament. It was John's desire to mislead over and over again and to boast about his ability that motivates the bet. Because this story focuses on John's ability to use trickery and pass it off as fortunetelling, John is not the personable or lovable character that we find in the John Davis version. However, the Larkins White characterization of John had a motivation that the Joe Wiley one did not. As foreman of his Master's slaves, it was important for

John to establish that he had skills and abilities that the other slaves did not possess in order for him to maintain the respect of the workers and the master. This desire to look good, important, and skilled, however, proved to be John's downfall by resulting in an unpredictable bet that threatened his existence.

In the Joe Wiley version, we see John from yet another angle. In this instance, John's boast of telling fortunes is unparalleled in motivation. Joe Wiley provides no insight as to why John feels compelled to share this information with his master. The conclusion is that this is a commentary on not only inappropriate behavior, but on a lack of good judgement or the ability to anticipate consequences of behavior. This Joe Wiley version, then, functions as a cautionary tale about what is and what is not appropriate behavior. Here John creates his own problem by making the motivation for the bet voluntary and entirely John's fault.

In each version there are at least two references to the relationship between John and the Master. This would be expected since the entire genre of John and Old Master tales is largely a commentary on the

relationship between African Americans and Whites in the south. Each version brings a different perspective to the complex relationship. Larkins White's version conveys a relationship between foreman and Master as well as foreman and slaves. We find John going to great lengths to keep his position secure by easedropping on the Master to stay one step ahead of him yet passing his clandestine behavior off as fortunetelling which leads to a dangerous situation. While the behavior may have been foolhardy and inappropriate, it is just the type of response many African Americans may have had to resort to for survival in the workplace. The fact that it was the play on speech that saves John from the threat of death is a statement of what is expected of a Black man in such conditions. He was expected to be humble, which John wasn't, but also he had to be able to manipulate language in such a way that he could save himself from imminent danger.

The relationship, on the otherhand, between John and Master in the Joe Wiley version provides yet another glimpse of the social climate and conditions in the South. At once their relationship is suspect.

First John makes an unsolicited boast, but more importantly, the Master does not respond. Later the Master brags to a fellow plantation owner and instigates a bet which it seems apparent he would not mind losing because it would give him the necessary excuse
to get rid of John. Just such a trap can be presumed to have transpired in everyday relationships between African Americans and Whites. Although the verbal behavior in the stories reveal there is agreement on the necessity to speak in socially acceptable non-arrogant ways, when Whites are put off by the verbal style of African Americans or observe them not to be complying with the socially acceptable norms, Whites may plot to outwit and make the arrogance cause for reprisal.

In the version of the story told by John Davis, we find yet another example of relationships between African Americans and Whites in the South. John Davis, careful to indicate a friendly relationship between John and Master, also insinuates that that friendship, or liking, came at a price for John. It is a causal relationship. Because John was able to perform certain

feats, the Master liked John. Because the Master liked John, John was almost like dead. Whether there is a relationship based on trust and liking is not the question for in the final analysis John is still in the same predicament. His life is threatened unless he is able to tell fortunes for his Master.

What impact the audience has on the telling of the story is critical. Presumably, Zora Neale Hurston was the sole collector of the stories in the Gulf States manuscript. If that is the case, the more open hostility and anger witnessed in the versions of these stories may be more understandable. On the otherhand, the 1935 version of John and the Coon was told amongst a mixed audience, a black man telling a story to a black woman, a White woman and a White man most surely had an effect on how the storyteller would deliver and shape the tale. In fact, John Davis' style is consistently respectful, amiable and humorous. Even when the story was one that bordered on taboo topics, he demonstrated his awareness of standards of appropriate behavior, and awareness of his audience in lexical selection, hesitations, and repairs which transmitted characterizations of John as lovable,

subdued at times and just the kind of character one expects an African American man to be in the South of the 1930's.

The method in which the question/riddle is handled by each teller also varies. In both the Larkins White and John Davis versions we find the Master directly addressing John asking him to tell what is under the tub or wash-pot. But in the Joe Wiley version the Master never directly addresses John or explains to him what it is he wants him to do. John knows what he is to do because he has overheard the bet. It was made in his presence. Once again, the relationship between John and Master is highlighted by the speech or lack of address to John by the Master. One suspects if the Master wanted John to win the bet he might have been more careful in explaining the task. Because Joe Wiley's Master fails to speak to John, to have a verbal exchange with him, one is led to believe in a theory of entrapment. Not only is the verbal exchange between the Master and John lacking in the Joe Wiley version, but the overt threat is also. The threat is more ominous because it is never stated. Instead Joe Wiley fully describes all the tactics John uses to stall from

failing to arise the next morning on time, to riding behind the Master instead of beside him, and the scratching of his head. Not once does the Master directly threaten John, yet the threat is apparent in every line and action. Larkins White makes the threat most clear when he has Master address John and tell him "I'll kill yuh." John Davis' Master tells John directly "don't cause me to lose now." Those words are enough to imply the consequences of losing. Each variety of threat supports the relationships between John and the Master as conveyed by the storyteller.

The contrast between methods of stalling in each of the versions relies primarily on the form the stories take, written or oral. In the John Davis version, for instance, there is verbal dramatics with Davis using elongated vowels, and a slow hesitant pace to indicate John is delaying. However, in the versions by Larkins White and Joe Wiley, we find more physical drama. John pulls off his hat, scratches his head or walks around the pot to indicate his hesitancy. Thus in one instance the drama is heightened by prosodic devices and in the others lexical choice.

One of the most significant narrative elements in

the stories is the punchline which relies on lexical choice and cultural presupposition for its meaning and impact. In lines 65 and 66 of the John Davis version we find John stating "The cooon done run a loong time but fiinally you catch 'm." In lines 30-31 Joe Wiley says "Well, White folks, you got the old coon at last." Finally, in lines 60-61 Larkins White says, "Well, you got de ole coon dis time." In each instance the punchline relies on the cultural presupposition that one knows coon is a derogatory term referring to blacks. Otherwise one would think that in fact John is a fortuneteller. While the bettors assume John is referring to the actual coon under the wash pot, he is talking about himself. He has successfully turned the threat around by belittling himself in the eyes of Whites yet tricked them by his use of language. He has in the black speech genre jived the White man by his verbal acuity.

Following the punchline of each story there is an explanation. The storytellers each want the audience to know, if they don't already, just what was tricky about the punchline. John Davis, for example, carefully explains in lines 70-73 that John really

didn't know what was under the tub. He thought that he had been caught, but the audience knew who/what had been caught. Joe Wiley shows that John meant himself, but that everyone else hollered "It's a coon. John can tell fortunes." Larkins White too gives an explanation remarking that John thought that he was going to be killed (He didn't know what was under the pot). This element of explanation appears to be a part of the canon for telling the story. This facet of the story probably most illustrates the emphasis on the importance of speaking 'correctly' or appropriately, ie. modestly and self-deprecatingly. It also emphasizes the importance of avoiding confrontation and using concilatory, even self-denigrating languages to do so. In case the audience is unaware of the tradition of referring to blacks as coons, each teller explains the predicament that John was in, how he felt and what he expected. John is able to avoid even the threat although he really did not know what was there. Through manipulation of language the storyteller eliminates confusion about the story for those who may be unaware of the double entendre and its impact.

Finally, in addition to an explanation, at or near

the end of each tale, the teller provides a summary of the events. In line 36 of the Joe Wiley version we are told that John had won for his Old Master, and it is hinted that John had lived up to his boast even if it was an accident of semantic interpretation. The Larkins White summary reveals that there was a coon under the pot but John didn't know it. John Davis, on the otherhand, provides several summaries throughout the story which is a part of his style. The final summary in his version reminds the audience that John didn't know anything, but he couldn't lose. This summary provides closure with the opening of the John Davis story where he first states "John know whole lot of things (John didn't know much)."

One narrative unit that is missing in the John Davis version which is common to the other two and most other versions of the John and Old Master tales collected by Hurston in the 1929 manuscript is the historical frame. Because the Davis version is the third in a series of five stories he tells, it is possible that it was unnecessary to repeat the historical frame since it was established earlier in the storytelling session.

Of course another explanation may also be that he assumed his audience was familiar with the genre and did not need that framing device. The most fundamental difference however, is that in the John Davis version we have a record of oral performance style, whereas the other two versions are written out by Hurston. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that Hurston at this point had altered the text, but that is a possibility. Her literary conscience may have demanded there be an historical frame whereas John Davis' oral style did not dictate one.

5.6.1 Dialogue

The use of dialogue reveals information about character. In both the John Davis and the Larkins White versions the narrators in reported speech tell what John had done in order to be involved in the bet. Both versions are narrated by the teller. The last version, Joe Wiley's, uses constructed dialogue in which he directly addresses the master. This difference also reflects the range of John as a victim. In reported speech the reference is more vague, but the version with constructed dialogue is more direct. It also appears that the characters in versions with

reported speech are more victimized than those with constructed dialogue. Although Joe Wiley's John appears to be more in control, the approach he uses to gain control lacks reasonable or socially acceptable means because his boast is without provocation or apparent design and leaves him more out of control than in.

The use of dialogue is one important way that the narrators of these three stories differ in their implicit characterization of John. A narrative unit that illustrates this difference can be found in the dialogue or speech between John and the Master near the end of the story. The Larkins White version has the Master addressing John telling him he is going to get his freedom. The Joe Wiley version has John telling the Master he is not going to tell fortunes anymore and the Master replying he didn't care if John didn't because he had been made a rich man. This exchange between John and the Master is the only one found in the Joe Wiley version. The John Davis version has a lengthy dialogue between John and the Master where Master asks John what took him so long to tell what was under the tub. John answers he was waiting for the

Master to bet some more. These exchanges reveal the narrators view of both the Master and John and their relationship. While the dialogue in the Larkins White's version suggests a relationship where the Master is willing to reward a faithful productive servant, it also demonstrates that such a promise is given but may not be fulfilled. It demonstrates the Master may mean well but can not be trusted. It also shows John to be injudicious and unable to determine appropriate behavior. The Wiley version, paints quite a different picture for the Master. The dialogue characterizes the Master as a greedy, suspicious and manipulative power. There is no relationship of trust between John and Master in this version. Not only is the Master an unlikable character, but John appears quite foolhardy and unnecessarily boastful. The lack of dialogue between the two characters demonstrates that there is no relationship nor caring association between the two. The relationship is decidedly one of nimble trickery and oneupmanship, one that John should not be able to win but does only because of his ability to use language appropriately if not some other skill. The dialogue of the John Davis version, however,

characterizes John as lovable victim turned victor through language and the Master as a dupe because he likes John for his ability to "do items." The Master is characterized as not altogether unfriendly and as not very smart as is suggested by the fact that even the threat is veiled in suggestive dialogue although no less dangerous. Altogether these characteristics are revealed through the various levels of dialogue in each of the texts.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Voice and Prosody

It is the rhetorical system which establishes relations between the sounds, lexical items and grammatical patterns in a text (McLendon 1982). In this analysis I have attempted to demonstrate that voice and prosody in an oral text provide the structure one needs to understand that text. It is the prosodic features which underlie meaning and give shape to the oral text. When one ignores voice, one leaves out important linguistic information. It is voice, for example, which provides information about pronominalization without which a narrator may seem illiterate.

Manipulation of voice quality was one of the major strategies used by John Davis to develop character personality, to differentiate between characters, and even to mark discourse and scene boundaries. Voice quality, coupled with other features of voice like pitch, volume, tempo, and intonation were all significant markers in John Davis' narrative style.

Voice and other paralinguistic features, of course, are not the only cultural markers in discourse.

Any given speaking style is characterized by semantic, lexical and syntactic markers that are also culturally dependent. One can speak about these discourse markers in terms of ideational structure, cohesive meaning or interactional movement (Schiffrin 1987). In this research the analysis of quotatives, dialogue, asides, boundary markers, intonation when combined with voice and other paralinguistic strategies led to conclusions about the narrative style and meaning. Together the discourse markers served to reinforce and augment one another so that where there was uncertainty or inconsistent usage in the Davis stories other markers were available to suggest meaning. Through John Davis' manipulation of prosodic structure, style of voice, and words the meaning of the linguistic form becomes clear.

The conclusion is prosodic structure underlies comprehension in these oral texts. The prosodic structure provides markers which chunk the discourse into interpretable units. The recordings allowed me to interpret the stories as they were originally performed. A more in-depth transcription and interpretation might be possible if the quality of the tapes were improved. It is critical that these and

other recordings in the Library of Congress be reviewed and rerecorded with state of the art equipment and care.

6.2 Narrative Structure and Style

The oral stories told by John Davis reveal a clear distinct style which is unique to Davis while at the same time culturally marked. In general a cultural style is one that is apparent at the meta-communicational level where shared patterns of identification enable culture members to calibrate and synchronize their behavior (Lomax 1974). Manifest in a speaking style are paralinguistic features such as volume, pitch, and voice that serve as culture markers. These features convey meaning in specific ways. In many African oral stories, for example, the characterization of both leading and secondary figures appear slight by literary terms but are conveyed by the speaker's gestures, expressions, mimicry, vivid ideophones, or dramatic dialogue (Finnegan 1970).

Even more striking is the relationship between the story "John and the Coon" told by John Davis, Larkins White and Joe Wiley. The comparison between these three storytellers sheds light on the linguistic

repertoires of African American storytellers during an eight year period in the Gulf States area. What was revealed was that there was an underlying narrative structure that each storyteller followed in the "John and the Coon" story. Although each teller was free to characterize the Master and John according to his own likes and observations, there was consistency among certain narrative units and in the order in which they were related. While one storyteller might characterize John as more a victim, another may show John to be boastful. However, each teller agreed where the underlying structure was concerned. John Davis' oral performance of "John and the Coon" is preserved. In it he utilized common features of oral discourse such as repetition and voice. The stories from White and Wiley were written down from oral performances by Zora Neale Hurston. There are apparent differences between a written and oral version of a story. Nevertheless, neither differences of written and oral style, nor personal narrative style interfered with the underlying structure of this sub-genre of stories "John and the Coon." The conclusion is that there is an unstated unalterable underlying narrative structure for each

tale that each storyteller is aware of and complies to.

6.3 Linguistic Form and Social Function

From analysis of the John and Old Master tales I conclude that the tales have a social function which affects their linguistic form. The stories' underlying messages provide a distinct frame of reference for understanding Black/White relationships. The stories serve as a "window on the world" so to speak by informing us about relationships, expectations, and the social taboos that regulated the society at the time of the telling. The opposition of characters in John and Master tales epitomizes the differences between power and wit, authority and cunning. The language in the stories relate a large scale response to the social process and condition of the African American during the time of slavery and immediately following up to today. The stories while sometimes appearing simply aggressive on the surface "resonate with deeper cultural meanings when considered in the light of the social etiquette of the society in which they arose" (Abrahams 1985).

Though the themes of each of these stories varied in social significance, they all conveyed various

positions and conditions of African Americans in a Southern setting during the early part of the century. As would be expected in the South at that time, the Marsa, for example, in "John and the Coon," did the majority of the talking and John spoke politely, softly and largely when spoken to. It is John, however, in the second story who suggests he can get the nightgown off Ol' Missus. These two characterizations of John are in compliance with the variety of relationships that exist between Blacks and Whites in the South. There is not only hostility and threatening situations as represented by such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan, but there is also familiarity and affection resulting from the close living conditions and reliance on one another. In a sense, even in the story "Coon" Marsa and John are allied against the other White men in the story. John was a central figure in the minds of African Americans because there was still a need to use caution in one's social relationships with Whites, and although John was a trickster, these tales were very much cautionary stories of admonishment and discretion.

6.3.1 Cultural Presupposition

There is irony in the plot construction and message which also abound with Black and White stereotypes about plantation life and conditions in general. These stereotypes consist often of certain cultural presuppositions as defined by McLendon (1977). One such Black stereotype is that whites will bet on anything. This trait is one that in the Old South, at least, was demonstrated by historians (Breen 1980).

According to Dorson (1958) for all their localized references and apparent origin in actual historical situations, the plots of many Old Master narratives issue from Europe, Africa, and the British Isles, and adapt themselves skillfully to the features of antebellum life. Emancipation and the advent of freedom failed to alter the basic relationship between Old Master, who later became Old Boss or the Boss-man, and his hired hand, who still attempted to shirk his work and fool the Boss. This is another cultural presupposition apparent in the stories told by John Davis, Larkins White and Joe Wiley.

Other cultural presuppositions abound in the story texts. These presuppositions reveal themes ranging

from victimized to victimizer. One especially outstanding theme has to do with the nature of reference and address in "John and the Coon." How one is addressed and how one addresses others in the caste bound system of the South is an underlying theme. In the three performances John was referred to by Whites as "darkie," and "nigger" and the the narrators as "colored" and "nigger." He himself turns the story by referring to himself as "coon" in the punchline. His reference to himself as "coon" suggested his understanding of the verbal caste system. On the otherhand names like "ladies" and "gentlemen" were reserved for Whites and spoken by Whites. This extended play on terms of address and reference reflects the expectations of verbal behavior in the South. There is a multiplicity of reference names which fall on a continuum from polite or respectful which "colored" and "darkie" were to derogatory such as "Nigger" and "coon." Every person is schooled on the appropriate verbal behavior and names of reference. Any abuse of this code is closely guarded. The narrators of these stories also demonstrate their awareness and willingness or unwillingness to comply to

the code. While John Davis is carefully respectful of the code, Joe Wiley is not. There may be a number of explanations for either of their behavior. One explanation, certainly, can be the type audiences each performer was addressing, but another equally feasible explanation could be one of personality and age difference. Joe Wiley appears to be an angry young man where both Larkins White and John Davis are older. John Davis also appears to be the more spohisticated of the older men having travelled widely and worked in many capacities. In any case, each narrator demonstrates an acute knowledge of acceptable verbal behavior and manipulates his language to reflect his attitude toward the social function it served.

Frequent usage of derogatory names for African Americans is systematic of the low regard with which African Americans were held in the South of the 1920's and 1930's. In fact, one can not say that this system of verbal denigration no longer exists. An example can be found in the story told by Alvin Pouissant, a noted African American Harvard psychiatrist, who found himself in the South facing a White policeman who addressed him as boy. When Pouissant referred to

himself as Dr. Pouissant, he was emotionally victimized until he acquiesced to the policeman's expectation that he was still a "boy" to him (Kochman 1972).

6.4 Audience

Ruth Finnegan (1970) examined a feature, audience involvement, found in African oral literature that is also evident in the stories told by John Davis. There is audience involvement and formulaic ways of arousing the audience. John Davis both exploited and was influenced by the audience. The interaction between audience and performer helped shape the structure of the narrative as well as influenced the content. That is why in the transcriptions it was important to note audience interaction. It assisted a reader in understanding the role audience played in John Davis' selection of lexicon, themes, and implicature.

John Davis was an artful storyteller. He consistently manipulated pitch and intonation contour to signal to his audience the discourse unit boundaries. The cues helped the audience to stay with the performer and appropriately recognize narrative actions, scenes and the completion of stories.

These stories functioned as cautionary tales

reflecting John Davis' belief about how African Americans should behave. He provided a model in which we could observe that the African American man needed to use wit, charm, speak softly, and comply with the verbal and social conventions to survive a sometimes threatening existence. These qualities and perceptions John Davis was very careful to develop in the stories. He was mindful that the audience perceived the stories cultural messages as well as the underlying social meaning through specific linguistic devices of asides, tags words, voice quality, summary, and careful lexical selection.

Whether the stories were told in the context of an audience where there was shared knowledge also had an impact on the nature of the stories and how they were told. The stories of Larkins White and Joe Wiley were told to Zora Neale Hurston. She may have been an audience of one, but in all likelihood other African American male storytellers were present. While Zora was female, she was a native of the South and had quite a few stories of her own. In this context, the storytellers, White and Wiley, were probably competitive and revealed a John that was more

manipulative and less respectful of certain social taboos and language than was later found in the Davis stories. In John Davis' case, his audience was both racially and sexually mixed. This audience, while interactive, by its nature exerted a different type of social influence on the form of the tales told. The fact that the stories told by John Davis were less hostile and the character John more placatory suggests something about John Davis the man. It also suggests as much about the audience to whom he was playing and his responsiveness to it.

In sum, this analysis has attempted to describe the performance structure and style of a storyteller, John Davis and compare it to the narrative style and structure of other African American storytellers. I conclude that it is the prosodic features in an oral text which provide form and structure in that text. Audience plays an important role in how the performer structures the narrative as well as content and theme. In addition there is an underlying narrative structure to which a storyteller defers in performing a text whether it is oral or written. Pragmatic analysis reinforces the importance of linguistic study for

understanding culture. Finally, the linguistic form of a text both reflects the social conditions of the community from which it comes and functions in a social context.

APPENDIX

Staging Notes
AFS 348 A1 +2
Volume is low

#1 Part 1 John + The Giant
Text

Introduction is missing-story begins her in the middle of a narrative action.

I He tóok

a'

áwl that bore him a

BIG HOOOLE on through the tree
don't you sée.

He did the sóil báck

and packed the soil

right báck in that hóle,
see,

faster right báck in that hóle.

Well

II Giant din't have sénse enough

to sée out of a hóle

going in the trée,
see

He din't have sénse enough to see that.

John: He desígned it,

spoken rapidly searching for words to describe

and then when he gon

he gonna uuh___unh bréak

óne próblem

Alríght

III

Conspiratorial, Calm soft + ingratiatingly sweet voice

John told Mawsa, say:

"Mawsa

Anything I do for [f] you tomorrow,"

say

right?"

you can use, be all

and Mawsa say:

navie, eagar scheming low, creaky voice

"Yeah!"

fast + fluid

Awww that giant looking at John.

John say:

fast with listing intonation

"Mawsa let me ride your horse,

you ride my mule,"

múle

John usually ride a

softer

see.

IV

Awww they looking for Jóhn [j]

rapidly spoken listing intonation

The giánt just l/raising sand,

pulling up all the stúmps

soft laughter

they could reach over for the tree [ci.], see

reaching for it

you right!

Emphatic stress

HEEAVE it over in the bushes

Oh just thrówing.

V

Way afterwhile Mawsa say:

Mawsa-creaky voice

"Time to fight now."

Say, uh:

Mawsa voice

"Where's Jóhn?"

Nó John.

láte

pace quickens

John coming

he wanna get a fíght

mán!

he's a

Alll

ríght!

VI

rapid listing intonation chantlike

Look up the dusty hill, 'n

here comes John

laying down on Mawsa's horse.

• •

HORSE

stop horse-to rein in horse

John run 'n stop

got off the horse, 'n

walked up t' Mawsa

Mawsa standing over there

had on a big bet.

VII

listing intonation

Well then!

The Mawsa haul off 'n

[POW],

slapped Mawsa down, 'n

rung of that sleeve was rubbing that tree, you know,

'n haul off 'n

[VOOP], 'n

his arm went right throught the tree, 'n

started shoot'n fell back.

Great God Almighty that giant break that tree like,

laughter

no one right on 'im

laughter

won't try to catch'im

laughter

sounds like this <Just leave him there.>

but unclear *laughter*

they didn't know how they béat 'im

that's all.

Slower pace Several line of unintelligible remarks

All of you trâck them down on it

If I lay _ --. *laughter*

Part 2 John + The Giant

follows break in recording - few lines may be missing

I That night

giant is acting- clue is voice J.D. uses a forceful lower voice for actions of gaint

stícks,

grabbed a up

grabbed all the,

you know

[VROOM] *yeah!*

not clear whether him or them probably them referring to the sticks

--, thrów im/em over in the woods

Yeah!

II	By this time in the woods.
sing-song effect with drop in pitch	John did a pile <wood all> of
Admonishing tone creaky, commanding sing-song	"Don't <wonder> about me [JD chuckles] John," you don't <won "Now der> 'bout me."
	NO!
	RIGHT! *movement + muttering*
III	
giant-forceful slower, lower voice for giant's actions	He had a bíg bóne, you know góing through the trée, you see but he's taking [CLAP] he was
sings on along no pause you know	taking trees that were coming alooong
	[CLAP]
unintelligible	<- - - - - ->

IV

giant acting
listing intonation And then he hául off, and rún,'n

suppressed pause slip through that tree root [ ].
at end of line
listing intonation And John saw that wasn't nothing but his

his=giant físt went through the tree, 'n
giant's fist may have [CLAP]
been caught in tree. followed the shoot off on his fist,

[CLAP]
and God Almighty
you know,

he = John He just leead him ON ROUND with that trée.

He = giant he couldn't break that trée.

I don't care WHAT HAPPEN,

break
he = giant he couldn't it.

But then John run his arm through that tree.

he break the ring off that tree

laughter
just break off áll *John was a man*

There was a mán *my Lord!* *laughter*
See?

VI

All them trées he done pull up, 'n

long listing chant like — everywhere' just throw

intonation — thóught he could rejoin it,

réach up for the tree, 'n

nothing but a'

bíg old stump,

so big around

he just gráab it, 'n

puil it up, 'n

• •

looka yonder
HEEAVE it on over yonder

That's right! Remind me of a book I read once.
Way looka yonder
See?

But when John come

left 'm now
he

MáN
there's a coming *ZNH- John was always powerful wasn't he?.*

yeah he told me

there's a mán coming. *AL- Well what élse did he*

do?

348 B 1+2 John + The Bear

This story immediately follows prompt "Well what else did he do?"

You know,

Some,'

I

John

you know,

He unh [clears throat]

Once,

John,

Stalling for time

You gimme just a féw more days in the week,

Just when I'm almost - - - -

He he was this,

thought of a story

John when he done this,

He was áll of thís.

He was just going out - - trying hisself

you know

collecting thoughts

Uuhhh

II

Mawsa he

bíg cornfield

had a

you know

cóme

pleading voice looking for sympathy + understanding

Bear would in maw'sa's field every nig'ht

eat Máwsa's corn,

III

Mawsa say:

Creaky-beseeching

"John?"

quality voice

Say:

"Could you stop that béar from eating my corn?"

He say:

Placating tone-sitting condition of interaction, ingratiating

"Mawsa I don't know whether I'm a stóp'm,

cat'ch
But I'll him you
for

He say:

Emphatic, assured voice

"I'll do thát!"

soft

Mawsa say:

low creaky voice

"Alright"

IV

soft conspiratorial

John go out at night just to sée

John going out yeah

Going through the corn

Gruff, commanding almost like voice of Mawsa

"Héy!"

"What you dóing in Máwsa's fíeld?"

Bear wouldn't say nothing

"Hey!"

Say:

"Whatchu doing in Máwsa's fiéld?"

• •

listing, chantlike

John rrrun up to him
you know

intonation marking narrative

and hául off, 'n

action — póp him with an ear of corn you know.

throw [CLAP]
Bear down his armful of córn, 'n

light out behind Jóhn

Jóohn and that bear báckward and fórth.

So now

V — The crib door was ópen you know,

fast paced — And John l/round and l/round, 'n

listing intonation — flipping the tail **laying** behind

and John flíp open the dóor you know

And the bear sway the way they be flipping you know

Bear júmp in, 'n

John júmp in 'n shút the door,

shut him up in there

let him - - [dai dai] *Unh huh!*

So anyway

He's
out of it
see.

soft low, conspiratorial — Now Mawsa going out

- - - door

A'lright!

VI

On the big <shun> now,

it's mórning now

Here a John

get out of there

falsetto,tight explanatory

mán

Did you cátch him for the

He's the dóor boss

you see

A´lright!

VII

Halting, hesitant less assured Mawsa voice

"John now,"

"We're going down to see the bear, 'n

we want you to uh take him out there for us."

Deep, low, slow placating voice

"Alright Mawsa."

John know

break in recording which picks up at AFs 348 B1+2

Some lines are missing

VIII

spoken rapidly

"Did you cátch that béar 'n

put him in there

put him in there?"

Bragging tone
deep voice
Mawsa voice
creaky-high
boastful
hesitant

"Yeeaah!

"Uh"

"Well uh"

"Well by Gód they say,

"If uh,

"If you put him in there,

I could take him out.

woman laughs

Old Sockey, he rún up to the door

you know

and púll the dóor open

everyone laughs

you know

when he púll the door open,

the bear jum´p right in his fáce, 'n

[STOMP]

Slower pace than when John + bear was tousling

Goódd all míghty the old

him and that bear

Almost like preparation for next line

báckward and fórth

laáying behind 'em

laughter

soft aside remarks

you know

high creaky voice

Some of the folks round there don't know how to run

Say:

"John"

"How wórld in the did you got that bear in that críb?"

John tell him say:

"Gód Đóing"

"You see how that fella over there going in that swamp?"

laughter

"_ _ _ _ _ _ _"

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