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**A CRITICAL INVESTIGATION OF
LITERARY AND LINGUISTIC STRUCTURES IN
THE FICTION OF ZORA NEALE HURSTON**

presented by

Karla Francesca Clapp Holloway

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A CRITICAL INVESTIGATION OF
LITERARY AND LINGUISTIC STRUCTURES
IN THE FICTION OF
ZORA NEALE HURSTON

By

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ABSTRACT

A CRITICAL INVESTIGATION OF LITERARY AND LINGUISTIC STRUCTURES IN THE FICTION OF ZORA NEALE HURSTON

By

Karla Francesca Clapp Holloway

Zora Neale Hurston has demonstrated that knowledge of a literary text may be expanded through the use of the structures of the Black dialect in her fiction. She has reminded her reading audience that language is a reliable and constant illumination of truth. It can reveal character in ways that no narrative commentary could because the deep structure understanding that man holds of himself is illustrated in the structure and intent of his language.

Hurston's fiction, by using the Black dialect, asserts the use of the dialect as a conscious choice. It is the character's method of verbally clarifying his spirit, and the artist's method of indicating that this clarification is important.

The assertion of this dissertation is that the critical reader who is prepared to make a linguistic judgement as well as a literary one will find that the structures of the dialect, in both semantic and syntactic categories, provide additional insight into the significance of the text. I have illustrated in this thesis how deep structure competence is a feature of the Black dialect. Certain aspects of the

dialect make this competence far more visible to the linguistically informed reader. These aspects include syntactic structures as well as what Hurston described as the "adornment" of Black language.

By including dialect usage in her fiction, Hurston has further distinguished the standard narrative voice from the voice of character. The distinction between narrator and character is, however, diminished as the characters of her fiction journey towards poetic self-awareness. This original distinction and the gradual blend which is achieved by these voices are the subject of careful analysis from two perspectives, literary and linguistic.

The result of the analysis emphasizes the accuracy of literary criticism which utilizes in its investigation a knowledge of a linguistic system. Because the system belongs both to the character's speech as well as to his cognitive self, surface structures and deep structures remain linked when a dialect is preserved. It is the linguistic deep structure which provides the clues to consciousness. When an author makes his own consciousness subject and object of his literature he becomes, like Hurston who was a speaker of the dialect as well as creator of the literature, both mirror and lamp. By the application of current linguistic theory and structural approaches to literature, I have documented Hurston's successful illumination of her people's language, thought, culture and action.

For Russell and Ayana, sustaining.

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Joan Hoffman of the Yale University Library was particularly helpful in supplying me with manuscripts and correspondences of and about Hurston during my research at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library in New Haven.

Finally, I also thank my parents, Claude and Ouida Clapp, who not only were very helpful and critical editors of this manuscript, but who have unfailingly provided the guidance and inspiration which brought me to this point of my life.

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is an investigation into language and character in the work of twentieth century novelist, anthropologist and folklorist Zora Neale Hurston. The assertion of this study will be that the special nature of the Black dialect, in structural and morphemic aspects, permits further investigations into components of fiction than Standard language structures traditionally allow. It therefore functions as an additional critical mechanism which may be used to assess the form and intent of Hurston's fiction.

Because of Hurston's investigations into language and culture in Black America, I will investigate the premise that this novelist's attitudes and training in a specific school of structural and descriptive linguistics, which during the 1920's had not been linked to the field of literature, were purposefully integrated into her literature with a degree of skill and artistry not before appreciated.

This thesis will concern itself with the life and works of Hurston and the sociolinguistic activity within her writings. The exploration of the interaction between language and character will formulate the basis for this study. Some attention to Hurston's backgrounds in literature and linguistic anthropology is necessary to assess accurately this author's novelistic skill in relation to the proposed thesis.

The extension of character into linguistic activity is an area

of study only recently developed. It has been necessary for this study to outline the areas of concern in linguistic science and literary criticism which make the analogies drawn in this thesis valid. That a man's language is reflective of his thought is the theoretical basis of Benjamin Whort's collected essays in Language Thought and Reality which date back to 1927. It has taken America linguists as long a period to come up with convincing evidence that a language, although reflective of thought, is not an adequate measure of thought. The distinction between the mirror and the lamp, or the visual image and the mechanism which illuminates that image, is the distinction which is important when investigating the structures of a language or dialect. This distinction mediates the kinds of conclusions which may be drawn when illustrating the patterns of language and the novelistic activity they provoke. The distinctions which this study has found to be important are mainly concerned with levels of dialogue -- that is, the level at which a language in a particular work can be extended into the character's personality, his mental activity. Therefore, it has been necessary to devote some time to narrative as a form and as a tool for Hurston's varied voices.

The status of research into Black language, or the Black dialect, is still in formulative stages. There is still as much speculation about the actuality of the dialect as there is definitive statement on its form. The actuality of the Black dialect will be assumed in this investigation and corroborated with illustration of appropriate evidence for this assumption. What remains to be established by researchers in linguistics and dialectology are the

guidelines for study of this dialect as a formal science with the structures and appurtenances of linguistic science as a standard. There have been many investigations into Black language. The nature of the investigations have often been too heavily weighted by the social implications of dialect study for educational purposes, for valuable and accurate linguistic information to emerge.

The study of minority languages and literature in this country has only recently, within the past fifteen years, been voiced as a concern of teachers in public schools, universities, and colleges. For this reason, the discipline has been weighted by social and political concerns and less attention to this language and literature as a science has been possible. We find in consequence that Black language has been studied less for its linguistic relativity than for finding its niche in the scheme of recent political and social revolutions.

This paper will not voice the cause or concern of the Black dialect as a political issue. Rather, its interest will be with the in-group usage of this language as an expression of culture, and the novelist's use of this language as a tool for extended characterizations and proving psychological backdrops for characterizations.

For this reason, it has been necessary to devote some time to the structure of the dialect as well as to analysis of the forms appearing in Hurston's texts which indicate most extensive use of the nuances of language and culture.

CHAPTER I

"GREAT AND SUDDEN GROWTH"

Much of Zora Neale Hurston's background reflects her training and interest in sociolinguistics. Her tutelage under Dr. Franz Boas of Columbia University between 1925 and 1927 developed so intimate an academic relationship that she referred to him as "Papa Franz." It was Dr. Boas who arranged the Rosenwald Fellowship in 1935 for Hurston to study for a Ph.D. in anthropology and folklore at Columbia.

Hurston was a member of the American Folklore Society, for which she published a document on Negro folklore and Voodoo practices.¹ She also belonged to the American Anthropological Society at a time when this organization paraded the important role of descriptive linguistics in field methods. These memberships, as well as her training under Dr. Boas, familiarized her with the then current attitudes of linguistic investigation.

Dr. Boas, as one of the descendants of the neo-grammarians, began a new tradition in American linguistics by his innovative approaches to language study. He was an anthropologist who believed in the diffusion of anthropology and the unity of cultures -- an indication of belief in the theories of cultural relativism and equality in the ability of expression within each culture.² In the 19th and early 20th centuries of America the linguistic/anthropologic emphasis was on discovering genetic relationships in American Indian

languages. Boas' 1911 classic publication of the descriptive view is the introduction to the Handbook of American Indian Languages. He gave field work the primary place in his linguistic investigations. Therefore, with Boas shaping Hurston's academic background, it should not be surprising that her own field research was as interested in documenting the anthropologic/social world of her informants as it was in accurately recording their linguistic worlds.

One can only speculate, with her letters and autobiography as evidence, on her own sociolinguistic attitudes. The following considerations are important, however, in forming an educated guess about this matter.

1. Given her training under Dr. Boas, Hurston probably felt that the language of a people is as important an indication of their culture as are other behavioral manifestations.

2. Each of her novels, as well as her autobiography and short fiction, seems to be a careful attempt to record accurately the phonologic, morphologic and graphemic characteristics of the dialects of the voices in these books. On various occasions, she "translates" some vocabulary items that may be unfamiliar to her audience.

3. In her novels, where she delves into character and analysis, a pattern emerges which will be the subject of investigation in this paper. So careful and accurate a pattern is this -- connecting a character's personality, activity and his knowledge of self with his linguistic activity -- that I cannot dismiss it as accidental. It seems, rather, to be a deliberate effort to show the twentieth century's descriptive-linguistic view as it relates to the

anthropologists' query. It is because of this pattern, and other patterns connecting language and culture, that we can speculate that her own attitudes on these subjects spring from a careful review of the theories of her studies, and how these theories relate to her own culture.

The research to date on Zora Hurston has been in the following veins:

Biographical

Robert Hemenway, in October, 1977, published the most comprehensive biography of Hurston to this date. Zora Neale Hurston, A Literary Biography (hereafter referred to as HB and noted parenthetically in the text), draws on manuscripts at the Beinecke Library at Yale University, and the University of Florida Library, as well as correspondence with writers of the Harlem school who knew Hurston. Hemenway constructs a valuable text which blends biographical data and informed analysis of her literature.

His text begins at the end of her life, when she writes a letter "in painful longhand" requesting the editors of Harper and Brothers to review her manuscript of "Herod the Great." From this point, Robert Hemenway flashes back to the earliest parts of her life to investigate what kinds of events would lead a woman who was a "graduate of Barnard College, the author of four novels, two books of folklore and an autobiography, more than fifty short stories and essays; who had received honorary doctorates, published in national magazines, been feature on the cover of the Saturday Review, invited to speak at major universities, praised by the New York Herald Tribune

as being in 'the front rank' of all American writers" to have to send unsolicited manuscripts by mail from the confines of a welfare home in St. Lucie County, Florida (HB 4).

He covers, in the next 350 pages, the absorbing story of Zora Hurston, skillfully combining information from at least one hundred different sources and piecing together obscured bits of her life and works until his account of this enigmatic woman begins to fall into place. Hemenway's research is absolutely thorough, which reinforces the critical analysis within the text.

Most analyses attempt to draw a link between the events of her life and their fictive results. Zora Hurston never could escape herself through her writing, whether it was folktale, drama or fiction. The events of her own life and attitudes lie curled between the lines. This cultural and personal mirror is often the result in Black art, and Hemenway seems to understand this artistic tendency. His conclusions about Zora Hurston are based on a sensitive understanding of her as a woman, Black and a writer. Whether his analysis is looking at her in all three roles, or scrutinizing her in one of them, it is a judicious and careful treatment of a writer who has gone too long ignored in American letters.

His stated intent was to present a "new, closer examination of the unusual career of this complex author." It seems to me that in three very crucial areas he succeeded very well.

1. Biography

There is not a period in Hurston's life when Hemenway does not offer some information. This is remarkable because her

autobiography was written almost twenty years before her death and because in that twenty years some of the most significant moments in her life were to occur. Hemenway is at his best during his discussion of the Harlem Renaissance, a movement which he had written about previously. Indeed, much of the section of his biography concerning the Renaissance, parallels the structure and content of his essay "Zora Neale Hurston and the Eatonville Anthropology" contained in Arna Bontemps' The Harlem Renaissance Remembered. This essay is hereafter referred to as EA and noted parenthetically in the text.

However, in his biography, Hemenway spends more time with the critical theories and attitudes of men like W.E.B. DuBois and Alain Locke, both of whom had a considerable effect on the artistic politics of the Renaissance. He carefully traces the influence of Locke, whom Hurston first met while a student at Howard University, and Locke's relationship with Hurston which eventually deteriorated into an artistic squabble. She had once actively sought his advice and counsel, but the end of their relationship is illustrated by an article she wrote for Opportunity which they wisely chose not to publish. In this article, which lambasted Locke for not understanding her style and themes, she calls her former mentor a "malicious, spiteful snot."³ Because Hemenway fills in her character and personality, the reader of his biography is led to understand the motivations of Zora Hurston's lower moments, as well as the higher ones.

2. Academics and Folklore

At the end of "Zora Neale Hurston and the Eatonville

Anthropology," Hemenway hypothesizes that "one reason Zora Neale Hurston was attracted to the scientific conceptualization of her racial experience during the late twenties and early thirties was its prima facie offering of a structure for black folklore" (EA 212). Hemenway has used his biography to offer evidence which supports that early hypothesis. Although Hurston has been dealt with critically, most reference to her had been as a writer of folktales and four novels. No one sought to make that vital connection between her academic training and the structures of her fiction. Although Hemenway does not actually suggest a model which connects the two aspects of Hurston, social scientist and author, he does suggest, with a great deal of evidence to back him up, that that model is possible to create.

She was faced, however, with a scholarly problem: what was her responsibility in explaining the lore? What stance should she take in relation to the folk? How could she make others see this great cultural wealth (HB 159)?

Hemenway suggests that she found the final answers within the form that her Mules and Men collection finally took. In this text, she was able to blend the scholar and the folklorist and answer the questions posited above. Hurston was fervently interested in letting others experience the culture of her people. The dramatic performances of folk songs, dance and stories, which took up a great deal of her time during her career, was vitally important to her. This was a way, she felt, of allowing her research to do more than decorate some scientific journal. Hemenway has underscored this expressed interest

of Hurston as being the method she created for the blending of her careers. Although this is evidence which is indisputable, it is also incomplete. Hurston's novels were also a platform for this blend. Although she did not identify it as such, in the same manner in which she expressed her desire that the folklore speak for her people, the evidence of the blend also exists within her novels. It is the effort of this dissertation to illustrate the results that Hurston's academic training had in the structures of her fiction.

3. Politics

Although little attention has been given to Zora Hurston's political efforts, they make up the bulk of the latter part of her life, and perhaps suggest a reason why she ended up destitute in a welfare home in Florida. Hemenway attempts to steer clear of the thinking which implicates the morals scandal of 1948 as the reason for her literary demise. Indeed, he says that she did not stop writing after this incident, as some have suggested. But she produced very little fiction, and instead turned to such articles as "I Saw Negro Votes Pedaled" and "Why the Negro Won't Buy Communism." The articles had a very definite political intent. Hemenway suggests that:

Zora's problem came when she attempted in the late forties and early fifties to transfer her cultural perceptions to the political arena. If she could have found a political outlet for her cultural theories, she might have altered the premises of the American racial dialogue (HB 333).

There were some efforts at writing the kind of fiction which had given her so much success in earlier days. They were largely unsuccessful, or unfinished, or as in the case of the "Herod the

Great" manuscript, rejected.

Poverty, poor health, and a diminishing of her great talent led to the unhappy circumstances of her final years and her death. Hemenway writes that the manuscript which Scribner's rejected "suffers from poor characterization, pedantic scholarship, and inconsistent style; the whole performance touches the heart by revealing a talent in ruins" (HB 345).

The Hemenway biography does much to uncover the tracks of this writer in the years after the publishing of her autobiography. But more importantly, it projects a reasonable and qualified assessment of the circumstances which led Zora Hurston to such a zenith of publicity and renown, and then back down again, just one of the crowd in a destitute and lonely welfare home.

Her ending is very similar to one she wrote for her character John, in Jonah's Gourd Vine. She explained the theme of this novel in a letter to Carl Van Vechten as "great and sudden growth, one act of malice and it is withered and gone."⁴

Her growth, as a novelist, folklorist and anthropologist, was not great and sudden for her as an individual, but for Hurston as a Black novelist, folklorist and anthropologist, and Black woman, the growth was quite sudden. She sprang up, like Jonah's gourd vine, almost overnight. The act of malice? Perhaps it was the misunderstanding of her intent, or her inability to bring the American public to the point where it understood race and culture the way she felt it should. Many events in her life and career indicate her confusion over issues which seemed to be clear to her but placed her

at odds with the majority of her community, scientific, literary, or social. Some of the malice must have extended from her arrest on the morals charge -- this led her to question seriously American justice, a system she had been almost too willing to have faith in.

Critical

We find that most short articles and essays on Hurston are biographical rather than critical. In the 1976 issue of the Morgan Magazine, Ruth Sheffey documented Hurston's connection with Morgan State University.⁵ Sheffey used as her primary resource Hurston's autobiography, Dust Tracks On A Road. Ellease Southerland and Mary Helen Washington have also studied Hurston's works. Although Southerland identifies her subject as a Novelist-Anthropologist, she investigates her work mainly as a novelist and folklorist in the August 1974 edition of Black World.⁶ This essay gives no attention to the linguistic aspects of her anthropology. Washington's essay on Hurston, in this same edition of Black World, is directed toward her women characters as they exemplified the "Black women's search for identity."⁷ This is a very dominant theme in Hurston's novels and although our appetites are whetted by this essay, we catch only a glimpse of the pervasiveness of this theme in the few pages allotted Washington's discussion.

It is unfortunate that Hurston is not more frequently anthologized. We find some of her short stories in the larger collections of Black American literature. Darwin Turner's text, Black American Literature comments that her short story "Sweat" indicates three major emphases of her work: "skill in presenting the

picturesque idiom of Southern Negroes, credible characterizations and her absorption with love and hatred in interfamilial relationships."⁸ This is a revealing and accurate analysis, but it is left for the reader to discover the examples and interplay of these emphases in the short sample which follows his analysis.

In Cavalcade, Davis and Redding also present a short biographical statement about Hurston before reprinting a folktale from the Mules and Men collection. They mistakenly credit her with a novel in 1945, Voice of the Land, which is not among her works, but are otherwise accurate enough, though they offer no critical comment.⁹

June Jordan writes of Hurston's novel of "Black Affirmation" (Dust Tracks On A Road) in Black World. She comments in this article that "Until recently no one had ever heard of her, certainly no one read her books. . . . The fact is, we almost lost Zora to the choose-between games played with Black Art."¹⁰

Robert Hemenway's very detailed and analytical essay about Hurston appeared in Arna Bontemps's text, The Harlem Renaissance Remembered. "Zora Neale Hurston and the Eatonville Anthropology" is the best and most thorough analysis of Hurston prior to the publication of Hemenway's own biography.¹¹

Their Eyes Were Watching God is one of the novels which Robert Bone discusses in The Negro Novel in America. He makes an accurate appraisal of the novel's theme "the dramatic tension between the sound business instincts of Janie's two husbands and her own striving for a full life" and offers some interesting insights into the form of its fiction: "the first half of the novel deals with the

prose of Janie's life, the latter half deals with its poetry."¹²

Jordan's comment about the "games played with Black Art" assesses the primary state of affairs of most contemporary attention to Black artists. In our choosing between, Hurston has not been chosen, except to be briefly anthologized or essayed. The recent concern with her is, I suspect, a by-product of the concern for women writers. The Black movement too, has its women in literature, and the recent articles and essays about Zora Hurston, especially the attention to her novel Their Eyes Were Watching God, is owing in great measure, to this movement. Unfortunately, as with most fads, there is little time to give in-depth studies of the heroes or heroines of the moment. Therefore, we find only cursory and expected essays about Zora Neale Hurston.

One of the more interesting articles to be recently published was Alice Walker's "In Search of Zora Neale Hurston," in the March, 1975, issue of Ms. Magazine. In it she narrates an actual journey she took into the area of Eatonville, Florida, the novelist's home, and the interviews she held with people who knew Hurston. This is an interesting and lively sketch of Hurston's personality, especially in her later years, but offers no new critical or biographical comment and relies heavily on previously published information.¹³

It is my opinion that there is much more here to be researched. She not only stands out among present day Black artists, but strongly outdistances her own contemporary Black women artists. It may be important here to explain the theory which governs my comprehension of Hurston in relationship to Black writers, without the comparison to the total spectrum of American writers.

The crucial aspect in the development of Black American literature as a political expression is that our literature has been mainly an expression of our culture. Sometimes it is a literature of statement -- as a careful analysis of Richard Wright will indicate. Often it is a literature of preservation. The careful documentation of Black Life in America, in its external and internal (psychological) manifestations, works to preserve accurately the activities of our culture as history. Fiction writers pull beneath the skins of external reality to draw intimate psychological portraits of our internal selves.

For these reasons, Zora Hurston's works must be evaluated critically within the Black aesthetic. For she too was a creator of internal drama. A judicious analysis of her technique would discuss how she functioned in comparison with other Black writers of her period. Her unique perspective as a Black woman demands an even more specific picture of her in comparison to some of the more prominent Black women writers of the Renaissance and beyond.

Nella Larsen wrote two short novels in the last years of the Renaissance. Quicksand was published by Knopf in 1928 and Passing was published a year later. Both these novels are tragic melodramas depicting a Black woman who is light enough to pass into white society as a white woman. It is an early theme in Black literature. William Wells Brown deals with it in his late 19th century novels. Larsen explores the theme with great sensitivity. The romantic triangles of her novels are complicated by an intricate racial knot but are resolved by death -- a fairly easy out. Her statement for the Renaissance

seemed designed to remind her readers that the difficult restrictions of class and race in twentieth century America became a more serious problem for Blacks who could "pass." DuBois' haunting prophecy of 1903 in Souls of Black Folk that the "problem of the 20th century would be the problem of the color line" is documented in Larsen's novels.

Ann Petry, writing in the late 40's and early 50's found some of her best subjects within her own culture. Her 1946 novel, The Street, revealed the difficulties of a Black woman trying to raise a child alone. It is a novel of a naturalistic school, and finds its closest kinship to Hurston's final novel, Seraph on the Suwannee (1948). They are both stories of women who must salvage their selfhood amid the odds of society's unequal afflictions and tortuous inner conflicts. Petry went on to greater fame than Hurston was able to achieve.

It was far easier to find Black women writing poetry than the longer forms of fiction during the Renaissance years and immediately beyond. Jessie Fauset wrote both poetry and longer fiction and is, ironically, little remembered for either. Her poetry attracted the attention of DuBois and began her alliance with the Crisis Magazine staff. During this period, she published four novels. A constant theme of hers is the recurring problem of color and class. Her self-assumed literary mission was to document the fact that Blacks were no different from the "best" class of white Americans. A strong undercurrent of her fiction is her own upbringing in an upper class Black family in Philadelphia. She sought to remind readers of her

Renaissance novels that Blacks do not have the negative and primitive characteristics thrust on them by racism by creating Black characters of an "obviously upper economic class." In that era it also meant a class with much lighter skins. She taught her readers by teaching the characters in her books through their contacts with poorer and darker Black families that class and color are mainly a mental phenomenon. The didacticism was often overwhelming in Fauset; however novels such as There is Confusion succeed in documenting the consciousness of the period.

Along with her male literary counterparts, Hurston lived the paradoxical Renaissance existence of being both exploited and the exploiter. She found herself tempted with financial rewards for promoting the stereotyped picture her white sponsors held of the Black man, but also drew heavily upon and illustrated clearly the complex ramifications of deprivation and racism in Black America. Perhaps unconsciously, but more likely because they wrote from their hearts, these writers and Hurston unfolded a chronicle of joy, sorrow, love, anger and humanity in Black America. Their pictures were colored by their color. As a contemporary Black America we who cherish the chronicle as a vital part of our history are grateful for these imaginative and creative symbols of truth and faith.

CHAPTER II

"SHIPS AT A DISTANCE"

When Hurston was a child, a scene she describes as twelve "searing stereopticon visions" etched their way into her mind and became a permanent fixture of her soul. She insisted that these visions were prophecies of her future, and only after the scene of each vision became a reality did they disappear, one by one, from her waking and sleeping dreams. As a young child Hurston perceived that her restless spirit would face many difficult conflicts. These scenes, like clearcut slides, gave her a feeling of terrible aloneness. "I stood on a soundless island in a tideless sea" she wrote, and looked across the fabric of her fate, already woven by those visions (DT 67).

With phrases resonant with the poetry of the deep South where she was born and raised, Zora Neale Hurston describes the series of events which placed her in the mainstream of American novelists and researchers.

Reverend John Hurston, a Black Baptist minister who was also a landowner and a principal in the governing of the Black township of Eatonville, Florida, raised his children into a tradition which embodied strong religious discipline. Perhaps it was the restriction of this discipline which led Zora Hurston's adult life into such unorthodox expressions of her individuality. It could have been the

exhortation of her mother, constantly repeated for all the Hurston children to "Jump at de sun and you at least might catch holt to de moon," which caused her to strive continually for very unique forms of self expression. Her father, a physically and emotionally powerful figure in the Hurston household, was a frequent image in her later writings. He may also have been a frequent image for the woman who could never extricate herself long enough, or fully enough, from her career to allow herself the commitment of a permanent relationship with any man. In her autobiography, Hurston uses a seemingly detached voice to describe, with the precision of a scientist, the dissolution of her brief marriage to Herbert Sheen; and uses another voice, full of heartbreak and strength to describe the difficulties with the brief relationship she had with another man. She lost both relationships because she was unable to detach herself from her studies and interests as was demanded of her (DT 257-73). Her voices, often found themselves in conflict. Many of Hurston's personal and professional difficulties were indirectly a result of this duality of her professional needs and her individual needs.

The anecdotes of her youth, captured in the first section of her autobiography, are a rich collection of the beacons of her childhood. What strikes me most though, is the intimate account of the spiritual side of this author, the mental quests she embarked on and their often poignant conclusions. She was a child characterized as a dreamer who captured nature for her personal playmate and became the commanding officer in her games with the moon or the stars or the earth. She had a mentor-type relationship with the old white man who helped birth her

and who called her "Snidlits." Most importantly, she had an almost fanatical desire to see whatever lay down the dusty road which wound past her father's farm.

Within the tales of a young girl who played better with the boys than with the girls, and whose dolls "caught the devil" from her, is the absorbing tale of the first time her "visions" came to her. They began, she wrote, around her seventh year. She recalls that:

Soon I was asleep in a strange way. Like clearcut stereopticon slides I saw twelve scenes flash before me. . . . There was no continuity as in an average dream. Just disconnected scene after scene with blank spaces in between. I knew that they were all true, a preview of things to come, and my soul writhed in agony and shrunk away (DT 65).

After this experience, which was to repeat itself into her adulthood until each "slide" was replaced by its reality, she knew her fate. As soon as one vision was fulfilled she wrote, it ceased to come. But their initial occurrence, and her precocious understanding of an inner soul that would find both fulfillment and heartbreak marked her as a child who always "stood apart within." "A cosmic loneliness," she wrote, was her "shadow" (DT 68).

It was this same child who allowed a "primeval" hatred for the woman her father married after her mother's death to drive her from this home of her youth and lead her down that road past her father's house. She took on a collection of jobs, usually domestic work, which eventually allowed her to finish an often interrupted education. While working in Baltimore, she became acquainted with Dr. Dwight Oliver Holmes, who served as president of Morgan University (then

Morgan Academy). This influential English teacher encouraged her to enroll in the high school department of Morgan. Later, financial assistance offers from Washington enabled her to attend Howard University in 1919 then considered the "capstone of Negro education in the world" (DT 164).

After two years at Howard, "Drenched in Light" a short story she had written under the direction and encouragement of Professor Alain Locke, who later became a major figure of the Harlem Renaissance, was noticed in a New York City literary circle headed by the editor of Opportunity Magazine, Dr. Charles S. Johnson. At the time he wrote to Hurston, she was out of school because of a lack of money, and she decided that New York might be a place she could begin a profitable writing career. In January, 1925, Hurston was in New York City. The friendship which formed between her and the Johnsons, and also with Fannie Hurst, paved the way for Hurston to enter Barnard College on scholarship. She was the second Black woman to enter that institution. This year was to be the turning point of her life and career. The friends and acquaintances she made in New York were to follow her for the rest of her life -- even when she lost contact with them and went into literary and social isolation. The literary circle which befriended her became some of the better known artists of the Harlem Renaissance. Hurston was to become one of this circle and offer a unique contribution to its literature.

The most important relationships she had during this period were with the Carl Van Vechtens and with the woman known to her as "Godmother," Mrs. R. Osgood Mason.

Godmother was the patron of Black and minority arts for many New York artists. Her original interests had been in the arts and culture of the Southwest Plains Indians. When she was younger, she had lived among them for many months.¹⁴ But in New York, she saw what she considered to be an untapped field of art, that of the American Negro. This was the age, as Langston Hughes so aptly termed it in his autobiography, that the "Negro came into vogue." It was considered fashionable for New Yorkers to be concerned in some way with the "New" Negro. The age of America known as the "Jazz Age" gave America's leisure class the spare time to devote some of their interests to their own personal visions of the "noble savage." Therefore we find the vogue consisted of such activities as white New Yorkers streaming to after-hours night spots in Harlem to gyrate to the "primitive tones" and "jungle rhythms" of Black music. Those who could afford it, took a far more definitive step towards their involvement with the Negroes. People like Godmother, the Van Vechtens, and even Fannie Hurst, who became Hurston's employer for a number of important years, helped Black art by financial sponsorship of Black and minority artists such as Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, Hurston, Miguel Covarrubias, Richmond Barthes and others. The sponsorship of these artists was New York's own form of a "peculiar institution." The financial backing constituted an implicit contract, where the writers and artists would continue to make their work reflect the distorted perceptions that these writers had concerning Blacks. Therefore, in many cases, Black artists were forced to reinforce the stereotype; to contribute, however unwittingly, to the well-being of the inferior

and comic Black stereotype that white America held. Of course the sponsors did not feel this way. The art, they felt, was the surging of the primitive in these "cultivated" Black Americans, the "Emperor Jones" in them all. The Blacks found themselves being able to write for profit, to be published and known in New York literary circles and publishing houses. After some years of sponsorship, these artists, who were simultaneously growing in their crafts and in their independence from these sponsors, found they could create their own audiences. Partly in consequence of this growth they rejected the restrictions placed on their crafts by sponsors and ventured out into the artistic world alone. Langston Hughes describes a traumatic separation from Mrs. Mason in his autobiography, The Big Sea. He had been under the impression that their relationship transcended the limited realm of employer-employee and felt that when it came time for him to tell her that she could no longer dictate the subject or content of his writings, but that he would always respect her and consider her a friend, she would reciprocate with a similar sentiment. He was mistaken and left her apartment on that day, feeling dejected, with many of his delusions broken.¹⁵ All Black artists did not suffer the same way in their declarations of independence, but most did feel themselves to be working under a yoke. Langston Hughes describes Hurston as being a very "spirited and lively girl" and that her backers "felt that she should be very quiet and studious while preparing her manuscripts." Hughes noted that these restrictions made her restless and moody and caused her to work in a very nervous manner.¹⁶

But generally, this was a creative and positive age for the Black artists. Few of the writers of the period who gathered in New York were native New Yorkers. Many of them had formal educations and it is therefore not surprising that this group came to represent an image of success for middle class Black America. Their varied backgrounds led to the great diversity in the writings of the Renaissance. The discussion of the artistic themes reflected in Renaissance literature can be disturbing to those who have carefully studied the period. The outward restrictions of patronage, although reflected in their art, was not definitive of the output of these writers. Those who thought of them as "exotic-primitive" were nearsighted. The noble savage theme was not characteristic of the art of the period in which Hurston found herself involved. This was the age of Countee Cullen's first volume of poetry, Color (1925). This volume indicates his mastery of sophisticated and traditional forms. It sings with a lyricism that fits well into the molds of his "god" John Keats and "goddess" Edna St. Vincent Millway. It was the age when Jean Toomer presented the literary world with the masterful Cane, a series of poignantly written insights and stories centered first in the fields of his native Georgia and then in the urban sprawl of Washington, D.C. It was also the age when a young Langston Hughes published the searching poem "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" and Nella Larsen published Quicksand, a tragedy which details the psychological toll that 'passing' could exert on a woman who straddled the color line. Hurston won the short story prize of the Opportunity Awards for Fiction with "Spunk" during the Renaissance. It was a story of a

tragic love affair based in her home town of Eatonville. Her play "Color Struck" won the second prize in the drama division the next year that the awards were given out. The fiction of this period was diverse -- a collection of the backgrounds and experiences of Black writers across the United States who had come to New York with little but the promise of being able to practice their craft in the company of others. They took full advantage of white publishers who sought to commercialize the latest fad of Jazz Age America and managed to pave a very solid foundation for the generation of Black writers who were to follow them.

Hurston felt that her relationship with Godmother was "curious." She described a psychic bond which existed between them. Perhaps the background for this bond may be discovered in an unpublished portion of her autobiography. The publishers felt that her chapter on "Friendship" was too lengthy and involved; they may also have felt that the detailed descriptions of some personalities may eventually have made their firm liable for its content. Whatever the reason, this chapter, much to Hurston's chagrin, was never published. In this section, she delves into much greater detail about her relationship with Mrs. Mason than she does in the published portions of her autobiography.

She writes that it was "decried [sic] in the beginning of things" that she and Mrs. Mason should meet. This woman had appeared in the last of Hurston's prophetic visions from the first moment of their coming. The scene she describes on meeting Mrs. Mason is the same scene she had seen hundreds of times.

There were two women, just as I had always seen them but in the dream their faces were misty. Miss Cornelia Chapin was arranging a huge bowl of Calla Lillies as I entered the room. These were the strange flowers I had always seen (DT JWJYale).

Hurston writes that she had been "sent" to Mrs. Mason to get the key to certain phases of her life which had been placed in the hands of Godmother. She was indebted to her, not only for material help, but for spiritual guidance.

Later critical analyses of Hurston suggest that she was not as involved with the spiritual guidance of Godmother as she suggested in her autobiography. Hughes suggests that she felt inhibited by the restrictions on her lifestyle and that these inhibitions made her nervous and difficult to work with. Wallace Thurman points out in his caricature of Zora Hurston, "Sweetie Mae Carr" in Infants of the Spring, that the relationship with Godmother may have been an instance of Hurston's taking advantage of the many kinds of assistance available to Negroes who were "in vogue." Thurman suggests that her acceptance was an example of her being out to get all that she could, for as long as it was available.¹⁷

Whether or not it was with gratitude or deception that she accepted the financial rewards of being popular and Black and female; she certainly managed to produce the bulk of her writing during these years and the twenty years following the Renaissance. The years which followed her sponsorship were critically attached to the years which preceeded it because it was during these earlier years that the inroads with her major publishing house, J.B. Lippincott were made.¹⁸

Another important relationship which Hurston made and nourished during her career was with Carl Van Vechten and his wife, Fania. The Van Vechtens, too, were sponsors of many Black artists, making connections for them with publishers and sponsors and contributing to the success of the Renaissance years. Carl Van Vechten also contributed to the collection of literature about Black America with his highly criticized Nigger Heaven. His closest friends, including Hurston and Hughes as well as Fannie Hurst, were quick to come to the artistic defense of this novel which seemed, to the larger audience of Black middle class America, to exploit the exotic "singularities" of Black life. Sterling Brown, in The American Negro: His History and His Literature, comments that the novelist Van Vechten seems to be partial to scenes which were selected to prove "Negro primitivism."¹⁹ But Van Vechten's role as a friend to the Harlem "niggerati," as Hurston coined the term, was by far the more important of his contributions.

The letters in the Van Vechten collection at Yale University's Beinecke Library are touching testimonies of the intimate and at times curious relationship nurtured by these Black artists for the Van Vechtens. Hurston's letters are incredibly revealing of the depth of her feelings for him, as well as her excitement and pride in the accomplishments of her career. They also reveal the basic insecurities and need for encouragement that lay just under the surface of most of her relations and professional activities. It seems that it was when these insecurities were allowed to surface that Hurston led herself into difficult and entangling relationships.

Van Vechten's hobby was photography. His photographs of the Harlem artists, which have appeared almost whenever an anthology which contains pictures of Hughes or Locke or Cullen or McKay or Hurston has been published, are poignant reminders of the spirit of these writers. He took a series of pictures of Hurston around Thanksgiving, 1934. She was in Chicago at the time, and when she got the photographs, which show her in moods which range from smiling to serious to seductive in a fur trimmed coat and saucy hat, she wrote him a note of appreciation. "Carl," she said, "I am conscious of the honor you do me and feel flattered that you wanted to photograph me." She writes that "the pictures look swell, I love myself when I am laughing, and then again when I am looking mean and impressive. You are a tall angel with the 'Balsm [sic] of gilead' in your hips. I am wearing out my loud singing symbol talking about you."²⁰

Hurston wrote Van Vechten on almost every important occasion of her life. Her letters reflect the joy and not a little pride at Lippincott's liking her books (Jonah's Gourd Vine and Mules and Men). They describe her chance meeting with Langston Hughes in Charleston, South Carolina in August of 1927 and how "they rolled into this town tonight, tired, but happy." She relates unashamedly what some might consider to be an embarrassing incident. "Somehow the back of my skirt got torn away so that my little panties were panting right out in public," as well as telling him her plan for more writing: "I wish to work out some good nigger themes and show what can be done with our magnificent imagery instead of fooling around with bastard drama that can't be white and is too lacking in self respect to be gorgeously

Negro."²¹

Her letters also reveal a feeling, at least on her part, that seems to transcend the bonds of simple friendship yet not quite to cross the boundary of requited love. In December, 1944 she wrote Van Vechten and said:

What can I say to put form to my feelings?
I have thought and thought. I love you
very dearly. If in my struggle with life
and the press of the moment I seemed to be
indifferent to you, it was less than a
mist on the surface of things.²²

Van Vechten too, obviously felt this closeness with his friends and with Zora Hurston. He was very confused and hurt about her silence. The letters between him and Fannie Hurst, on the occasion of Hurston's death, reveal some of these feelings. Hurst wrote him back and said that "I have often wondered why Zora chose to disconnect herself from our deep interest and friendship."²³

This disconnection was, though, not uncharacteristic of Hurston's flighty personality, and seemed to distress many of those who knew her.

The relationship between Hurston and Fannie Hurst grew from an employer-employee relationship. As a student at Barnard University she found it necessary to work. She originally became a secretary to Hurst, but her position gradually became more that of a member of the household and friend than that of a professional secretary. Hurst eventually "fired" her for her lack of secretarial ability, but she continued to live in the house and be a companion to Hurst. In a memorial essay to Zora Hurston, Fannie Hurst wrote:

She walked into my study one day, carelessly, handsome and light yellow with no show of desire for the position of secretary. We 'took a shine' to one another and I engaged her on the spot. What a quaint gesture that proved to be. Her shorthand was short on legibility, her typing hit or miss, her filing a game of find the thimble. Rebuke bounced off of her. "Get rough with me if you want results. I've been kicked around most of my life that your kind of scolding is duck soup to me."²⁴

It was Hurst's opinion that the "inescapable conclusion persists that Zora remains a figure in bas relief, only partially emerging from her potential into the whole woman. She lived laughingly, raffishly, and at least in the years I knew her, with a blazing zest for life."²⁵

Hurst's opinion is unfortunately the opinion of many who knew Hurston. It is possibly based on the fact that Hurston let few see her whole self -- she would emerge half-cloaked with most of her friends and acquaintances. It is only through the medium of her novels that we can begin to glimpse the whole woman -- author, free spirit, researcher, voodoo priestess, and, as she conferred upon herself, "Zora, Queen of the Niggerati."

Her association with Hurst as secretary, companion, and chauffeur and as a student of Franz Boas are perhaps the better known aspects of her life and works. Under Boas' guidance she became a researcher and anthropologist who trekked through the south, visited the Bahaman Islands, Haiti and South America and who recorded the folklore of these islands and ceremonies in Tell My Horse.

Hurston's research in Hoodoo was an insider's view into these

mystic practices. In New Orleans, the "sympathetic magicians" initiated her into its practices with an intricate ceremony. She left Louisiana, fully a member of the 'sympathetic magicians' community, for the Bahaman Islands. There she collected hundreds of songs, stories and "tunes" which she resolved to make known to the world. In 1932 Hurston introduced the music from the sojourns in the form of a concert at the Harold Golden Theatre in New York City. She undertook this production with a great deal of criticism and very little cooperation from the people she had gone to for help. When she wrote a letter to Dr. Thomas E. Jones, the president of Fisk University requesting a position in their drama department, she explained the difficulty she had had with this concern.²⁶

She wrote that she returned to New York City from the Bahamas and began to see the "pity of all the flaming glory of being buried in scientific journals. . . ." She felt that Hall Johnson, a Black lyricist and composer, would help her arrange the tunes for presentation. He held the music she gave him for six months and then returned it saying that the world was not ready for Negro music "unless it were highly arranged." She felt that she knew better than this and attempted to present a concert with singers and dancers from the West Indies. Hall Johnson only hindered her effort by promising to show up for rehearsals and then reneging on those promises. She finally presented her concert, with great success (the New School of Social Research requested a performance) and was convinced that she had given significant voice to the research she had conducted. This concert was presented at other points of her career, often in the

South, in different forms and with different groups of performers.

The difficulty she had in arranging the concert was but one minor instance of the many personality clashes throughout her career. She was, as Hughes describes her, a strong-willed woman, and often ran into trouble when trying to impose this will on others. She also found that her massive sense of self-righteousness gave her trouble in personal relationships. One further example of this spirit proved to be the break-up of a long and very close relationship with Langston Hughes.

Between 1927 and 1931 she was almost totally involved in her research. Mrs. Mason, who had been funding her with two hundred dollars a month for those years, extended her grant through another year and allowed her to collect even more data. Some of this data was eventually used as a thematic base for a play on which she and Langston Hughes collaborated. The play was called "Mule Bone" and it was never published because of a dispute which grew out of its authorship. At the date of this dissertation, the play remains in litigation due to the continuation of the authorial dispute. "Mule Bone" is an illustration of her feeling that Black culture is preserved in the beauty of its folklore and language. Her letters to Hughes indicate that she had had enough training in linguistic anthropology to recognize some "laws in dialect" as well as its creativity and capacity to contain the most subtle variation of thought and revelations of cultural concerns. Hurston and Hughes had worked on "Mule Bone" together until Hurston's research called her away on another field tour.²⁷ It was when Hughes was in Cleveland in

1931 recuperating from a tonsillectomy that he had an opportunity to speak with the director of the oldest Black theatre group in America, Rowena Jelliffe. She had received the play from Samuel French publications and was under the impression that the rights of ownership belonged to Hurston, who had finished the play under her own power, and with a few changes (which annoyed Hughes) sent it to Carl Van Vechten. Van Vechten sent the play to French who sent it to Jelliffe without Van Vechten's knowledge. At the point when Jelliffe spoke to Hughes, the play was already scheduled for production. After many frantic phone calls to Hurston and a flurry of distressing letters to Van Vechten, Hughes and Hurston finally met in Cleveland. Hurston had told Hughes in a letter that "yes, she had finally sent the play to her agent because she felt that if the play were ever produced he would only take his half of the money and spend it on a girl she didn't like." She also told him that she considered the "story to be her story, the dialogue her dialogue, and the play her play -- even if he had put it together, and that she did not want him to have any part in it."

Hughes wrote Van Vechten that he had done the plot, the construction and guided the dialogue toward the necessary situations and climaxes and that Hurston had only supplied the "little" story about the trial of a man who hit another with a mule bone and gave the dialogue its southern flavor and many of the wise cracks. He was very unhappy that she had submitted such an "unfinished, messed up version" and that the result of her actions were a grand tangle. He also wrote that that was Zora's common problem, "no order at all."

Although he was not angry with her actions because "she has always been strange in lots of ways" Hughes did get some legal advice and found that with the proof he had, Hurston could do nothing about publishing or consenting to have the play produced, without his permission.

The result of their meeting in Cleveland was a great argument, with Hurston storming out of the room, angering Hughes, his mother, and embarrassing the Jeliffes who had come hoping to straighten out the situation. Somehow it finally emerged that Hurston had been jealous of Hughes' stenographer and when she saw that the girl was in Cleveland with Hughes, withdrew any attempt at mediation.

This conflict of Hurston and Hughes reflects a part of her personality that becomes visible on many other occasions and is indicative of the tension I have mentioned between her professional and personal worlds. Their stormy meeting in Cleveland marks the demise of what had been a very intimate relationship between Hurston and Langston Hughes.

Hurston was a displaced spirit, both socially and professionally. Her frequent job changes, and mood changes from happiness to deep despair, which she described once to Van Vechten as being a "horrible period of grim stagnation" were characteristic of the breadth of her moods and the reactions they drew from those who were associated with her.

Between 1930 and 1942 she published most of her novels and folk collections as well as her autobiography. She was never to exceed that volume of publication again, and after 1948 wrote only

occasional political articles for magazines with relatively little public attention. She published Mules and Men in 1935 -- a collection which was the result of her forays into Black culture in the southern rural United States. Her second folk collection was published in 1938. A fairly large contribution to Nancy Cunard's anthology, Negro (1934), has received little attention but holds some good information on her interests in the linguistic aspects of Black culture. Two Guggenheim fellowships sponsored the research which she continued sporadically for ten years. She also found herself in such varied occupations as a staff writer for Paramount Studios in Hollywood, director of Drama at Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach Florida and, shortly before she died, a librarian and sometimes maid for a white woman in Florida. In 1948 she published her last novel which received mixed critical response. It may have been that the subject of the text, which concerned the demise and rejuvenation of a white family's relationships, was not truly representative of her skill, though the book received favorable reviews. The Saturday Review noted that:

Miss Hurston's wonderful ear for the vernacular for the picturesque phrases and the poetical turn of words that so often is a part of the conversation of the unlettered, makes the novel one that may be read with constant surprise and delight, somewhat aside from its intrinsic merits as a piece of fiction. . . . All Miss Hurston's fiction has had warmth of feeling a happy combination of lustiness and tenderness that gives it an appeal too often missing from much of the day's bloodless writing, which is sexless in spite of its frequently overwhelming sexiness.²⁸

As usual in the reviews of her fiction, she is praised for her insight into language. But what her audience enjoyed about the language in her fiction, and the message Hurston was attempting to convey, were thoughts very far apart.

The anniversary of the critical acceptance of this novel is also important for the other anniversary it notes. In September, 1948, Hurston was arrested on a morals charge involving relationships with three (it was later found that there was only one alleged relationship) young boys in a New York city apartment building. A New York paper quoted portions of the reviews of her latest novel in an attempt to further sensationalize the story. The review they quoted read: "Miss Hurston shuttles between the sexes, the professions and the races as if she were a man and a woman, scientist and creative writer, white and colored."²⁹

Her arrest, and the charge of sodomy against her received much publicity in the Black press. From Baltimore to New York and Chicago this story was paraded, sometimes with headline publicity. The Baltimore Afro-American was one paper which headlined the story and noted that the review of the latest book she wrote included a character who was "hungry for a knowing and a doing kind of love."³⁰ That Hurston wrote so poignantly and sharply about intimate relationships was not to her advantage during this time of trial. Many of the more sensuous scenes from Seraph on the Suwannee were pinpointed throughout the news articles as if they illustrated some of the character of the novelist herself.

For Hurston, this was a devastating experience. She was

"prostrate and hysterical" in the courtroom, defending herself of these charges. Later, both the case and the charges were dropped because of "conflicting and contradictory stories" by the boy involved and the news that the mother of the boy had resented Hurston's advice that the child needed psychiatric care. There was also evidence that she had not been in the country when some of the charged were to have occurred. Fannie Hurst, in a letter to Van Vechten commented on the incident by saying "the Zora incident -- (certainly staged, I understand) is in her find old tradition. Naughty but nice." and followed the comment with a drawing of a happy, smiling face.³¹ Whatever the truth of the story, even if it were some sort of practical joke, for which she was famous, it certainly backfired. It was surely not funny, and the histrionics in the courtroom one cannot help but believe were the frightened and angry reactions of a woman accused.

The only certainty is that after the incident Hurston cut off almost all of her communications with her friends, went into a deep but temporary depression during which she wrote a letter to Van Vechten indicating that she would kill herself, never returned to New York City, and lived and died in relative obscurity.

It was in January of 1959 that Harper and Brothers received a letter from Hurston which was, as Hemenway described, "in painful longhand." It was the first such letter she had written in ten years. She wrote to their editorial department and asked if they would be interested in "seeing the book I am laboring on at present -- a life of Herod the Great." This was possibly the same text which she had

described with such enthusaism in a letter to Carl Van Vechten some eleven years earlier. When she wrote Van Vechten, she had intended for the material to be worked into a play.³² It may have eventually become so voluminous that she gave it the title "history." The five hundred pages which were written at the time of her death were barely rescued from a fire. She died one year after writing this letter to Harper. She had had a stroke in the Welfare Home of St. Lucie County, Florida, and was buried, up until the time Alice Walker "searched" for Hurston, in an unmarked grave. In 1975 Walker left a monument at the "Garden of Heavenly Rest" in Fort Pierce with the inscription, "Zora Neale Hurston, a Genius of the South, 1901-1960, Novelist, Folklorist, Anthropologist." It sits towering over a field of scraggly bushes and weeds which choke the dusty road.

In Hurston's last years, she had gained weight, fulfilling the prophecy of Fannie Hurst who wrote of her in that memorial essay "her lust for life and food go hand in hand." She lost her lust for life, and found her last years as a maid, librarian and a school teacher a sharp descent from the zenith of the Renaissance years.

Zora Hurston's contribution to Black American literature was unique. The familiarity members of the Harlem school of artists and Black middle class held with the topics of her research was somewhat dispersed and scanty. There had not been, before this time, any interest in recording the folktales and practices which were the objects of her studies. Robert Hemenway wrote that:

. . . there seems little question that she helped remind the Renaissance -- especially its more bourgeois members -- of the

richness in the racial heritage; she also added new dimensions to the interest in exotic primitivism that was one of the most ambiguous products of the age (EA 195).

Hemenway's comment is certainly valid when we think of Hurston, along with Toomer, reminding their audiences of the richness of our rural culture. But, because most Renaissance authors explored some aspect of their culture, we find many examples reminded audiences of the "richness in racial heritage."

Of all the critics who have dealt with Hurston, only her biographer, Robert Hemenway, seems to realize the importance of her academic training in her development as a writer. He wrote that she left Barnard in 1927 a "serious social scientist" and observed that her critical and analytical tools gave her the ability to look at her culture both as "subject and object." We can forgive and understand her failure and sorrow after her first research expedition ended with her crying "huge, salty tears" in front of Papa Franz. This was the only attempt she made to erase her culture from her experience, and she found her aseptic method of interviewing "Do you know any stories?" was a miserable failure. But she understood the failure of the "stilted Barnardese" and realized that her cultural heritage held the key to the successful completion of her studies. The tools she equipped herself with at Barnard Hurston put to use as a social and linguistic scientist as well as a novelist.

Contrary to what Hemenway sees as a failure on Hurston's part to find "an expressive instrument, and intellectual formula which could accomodate her varied educational background," I do not feel

that Hurston could have felt her attempts to convert the Afro-American cultural experience into prose were total failures. Perhaps the reader who hasn't the critical equipment to make both a linguistic judgement and a literary judgement on her works may be trapped into that kind of evaluation. It is an understandable entrapment. But we must be equipped to evaluate this author on the very grounds on which her experience and knowledge were formulated. These grounds include the total experience of a woman who combined linguistic anthropology and fiction into some very compelling works.

Instead of agreeing with Hemenway that her silence was compelled by a sense of artistic failure, I feel that the critical acceptance and general praise for her works should not have led her to have any overwhelming sense of failure at this point in her career. Certainly, there were moments of anger with critics who could not share her world-view. Her attack on Alain Locke is an example of this anger. He had criticized Their Eyes Were Watching God as having "contemporary folklore" as its main point. But its humor and folklore, he wrote, kept it from "diving down deep either to the inner psychology of characterization or to sharp analysis of the social background."³³ Hurston was justifiably angry with this short-sighted criticism. She had become known as a short story collector and writer, and it was difficult for some critics to take her seriously as a novelist. Locke's evaluation of this novel as folklore is very misplaced. Her bombastic attack on his review is also an overreaction, but not out of character. The satiric article which she wrote for Opportunity said that "Dr. Locke knows nothing about editing or criticism, would

not know a folk tale if he saw one and is abstificaly [sic] a fraud."³⁴ Obviously, that was one of the occasions Hurston may have felt she was writing for an audience who could not appreciate her subject.

I do not believe that she ever felt either her folklore or her fiction would find wide acceptance in the Black community. Hemenway has suggested that her bitterness over this issue led to her literary demise. I feel, rather, that her critical success, the success of her performances and novels must have brought a very real satisfaction. But this woman, who was a sensitive and insecure writer, could not deal with the kind of publicity which surrounded her after her trial -- a publicity which mentioned her successes and skill and creativity only in the light of what the public considered to be a woman who had always, in the phrasing of Langston Hughes, "been strange in lots of ways."

The Novels: A Critical Review

Jonah's Gourd Vine (1934) is Hurston's first novel. In it beat strong reminders of her upbringing, her mother's gentility, her father's sternness and the problem of color and class which permeated Black twentieth century America. The characters John and Lucy Pitts of this novel were based on her own parents. We can better understand the tradition a preacher's child inherits through a letter Hurston wrote to James Weldon Johnson in April, 1934:

Just a word about my novel. . . . I have tried to present a Negro preacher who is neither funny nor an imitation Puritan ram-rod in pants. Just the human being and poet that he must be to succeed in a Negro pulpit. . . .

I mean the common run of us who love
 magnificence, beauty, poetry and color so much
 that there can never be too much of it. . . .
 I see a preacher as a man outside of his
 pulpit and so far as I am concerned he should
 be free to follow his bent as other men. He
 becomes the voice of the spirit when he
 ascends the rostrum.³⁵

Like Hurston's own father, the preacher of this novel fights an endless battle between the spirit and the flesh. The underlying conflict which Hurston exposes draws us much further into the cultural manifestations of being a Black man under a Judaeo-Christian cloak. This man also fights the paradox that in his African heritage there is no such spiritual/physical conflict. The weight of fighting one's natural soul and one's "ordained and Christianized soul" is the tragedy of this novel. It becomes doubly tragic because the Black preacher is God's "trombone," his personal voice to the community. Through him the spirit of the flock is buoyed up or brought down. He carries their salvation and damnation and is symbol of their heritage.

The journey towards some balancing point, a "spiritual equilibrium" as Larry Neal notes in his introduction to this novel, is indeed the theme of the text. John's eulogy, "nobody knowed 'im but God" is a fitting epitaph when we remember the God Cudjo Lewis defined in Hurston's interview with this last descendant of the African slave ships in America.³⁶ "We know it a God, you unner'stand," he explained to her. We understand that it is our spirit in conflict only with a superimposed and ever alien culture.

Their Eyes Were Watching God (1937) has become her most

popular novel. This is a novel of many women. The poignant main character, Janie, is juxtaposed against age and wisdom in the character of the grandmother who raises her; she is also compared with many other characters who personify various traits of womanhood and levels of self-actualization. Janie is determined, proud, strong, and searching for the fulfillment found by the wedding of a spiritually and physically satisfying love. The tragedy of this novel, and its irony, is that when Janie finds this lover in Mr. Vergible (Tea Cake) Woods, she is forced to murder him to save her own life. It is a powerful and tragic novel which, in our day, could be described as a novel of liberation. Janie is not afraid to balk at the conventions of culture and upbringing to follow what she feels is the best course for her life. Yet, the traps of unsatisfying marriage and economic hardship delay her, as they often do for women. The theme of this novel is that of a spiritual freedom and spiritual strength which is equal to the often cruel and demanding tasks of reality. For this reason, it has been described by Ellease Southerland as "a work of joy and love . . . positive vibrations."³⁷ Hurston knew from personal experience at that time, and was to learn even more bitterly later, that an intelligent Black woman who could write, and who felt she should reap some profit from her talent, would sometimes find herself on the outside of many circles with her credentials questioned and snickered at. When Jody (Janie's husband) says that somebody "got tuh think for women and chillun and chickens and cows" he is echoing the attitudes Hurston and other Black women fought all their lives.

As if to embody all her traditions and experiences under one

allegorical roof, Hurston presents us with Moses, Man of the Mountain (1939). It is a revelation of the affinities between Voodoo and Christianity, and an imaginative and well constructed salute to the power of human ritual and the failings of human nature. Moses, in an elaborate folktale which follows the oral tradition and is therefore an excellent record of language and character, is the Voodoo god Damballah. This god, Hurston says in Tell My Horse and again in this tale, is the supreme god whose signature is the serpent. (Her novelistic ties between Moses and this god do not seem so fictional when we remember what things Moses did with his staff in the Biblical account of this period.) Damballah's day is Wednesday, and therefore this is the day which Moses, as student of this god and chief magician for the Hebrew children, promises to return to Pharoah to collect their freedom from him. The ceremony, ritual and relationships probed in the surrounding tale of the battle of Moses are cloaked in the story of the Old Testament. Under the guise of the Moses story Hurston reveals the history of her people. It is a tale very reminiscent of the message of Paul Dunbar's preacher in "AnteBellum Sermon."³⁸

Finally, Seraph on the Suwannee marked the end (1948) of her career as a published novelist. This novel deals with the difficulties of a white woman, Arvay Henson Meserve, and her husband and family in realizing and meeting each other's demands for different kinds of love and commitments. Insecure, often sniveling and groveling, Arvay almost loses the love and security of her family. Tortured by self-guilt, repressed sexuality, and an overwhelming

feeling of unworthiness, Arvay must come to some sort of admission of her own value. In the background is the stable and secure relationships within a Black family, the model that suggests the kind of relationship which is normal and loving in a family. Arvay, in her search for a "knowing and doing kind of love" almost bypasses any chance for happiness. The symbol of her idiot son, a boy who dies after a series of tragic and criminal events, seems to remind the reader of the emptiness of her spirit. Although Arvay succeeds in winning back the affections of her husband, the reader is left with a strong sense of her failure to ever feel herself in the real depths of a knowing and doing -- a spiritual love. The final lines of this novel seem to suggest some hope for this to happen:

A breeze of dawn sprang up, and the boat rocked gently with it. The slightly increased motion made Arvay look out upon the sea. She saw that the sun was rising. It seemed to her that the big globe of light leaped up from a bed fixed on the eastern horizon and mounted, trailing the red covers of his bed behind him. . . . The sunlight rose higher, climbed the rail and came on board. Arvay sat up as best she could without disturbing Jim and switched off the artificial light overhead, and met the look of the sun with confidence. Yes, she was doing³⁹ what the big light had told her to do. . . .

CHAPTER III

"THE URGE TO ADORN"

In Hurston, language and character have an important link. This link established a dependency that is more linguistic than literary. A person's lexical knowledge -- that degree of language ability which is performative -- is dependent on his linguistic competence. Competence is a deeper structure of language than performance and is linked in some vital, but yet to be determined manner, to consciousness. The mental activity of a person's language is that area which reflects his cognitive backgrounds and therefore his cultural acquisitions. It is this grey area for which linguists offer many structural conceptions (transformational grammars, tagmemic structures, generative grammars), and in which they consider the crux of language ability to be located.

Hurston's interest in folklore illustrated not only her interest in language attitudes and customs, but reflected the kinds of information which grew from her academic association with Franz Boas. It also indicated how she, as a member of the race whose cultural deprivation was constantly being discussed by white anthropologists, sought to offer an alternative view of her culture through the medium of a literature which was concerned with language. According to Hemenway:

Hurston's folklore collections refuted these

stereotypes by celebrating the distinctiveness of traditional black culture, and her scholarship is now recognized by revisionist scientists questioning the racial assumptions of modern cultural theory (HB 330).

At the time of her studies, Boas had not been able to reconcile the now accepted sociolinguistic and anthropologic view that culture and race were related. John Szwed's essay "An Anthropological Dilemma, The Politics of Afro-American Culture" illustrates the serious misapprehension" of anthropologists who followed Boas' early assumption that race and culture were conceptually distinct.⁴⁰

Hemenway analyzes this section of Szwed's essay:

Once race and culture were separated, racial differences could be shown to be statistically insignificant. But while proving that there were no racial differences in mental capacity, anthropologists went on to claim that there were no significant cultural differences between the races. Out of a zeal to refute genetic racism, but with an ethnocentric bias, many argued that black Americans "shared essentially the same culture as white Americans, and where they differed, the differences could be accounted for exclusively as a result of environmental deprivation or cultural 'stripping,' but certainly not as the result of any normal cultural procedures." The implication grew that lower-class black Americans had no distinctive culture or subculture of their own (HB 330).

The failure on the part of Boas to realize the inherent kinship between race and culture did seem to translate itself to some of Hurston's attitudes about her race, such as various comments concerning the significance of featural differences in race and their relationship to language differences. However, they did not flaw the theory of culture and language which she was to illustrate in her

fiction. Indeed, we must give Hurston major credit for moving away from what must have been the persuasive influence of Boas on this issue as she "defiantly affirmed the cultural practices manifest in the folklore of 'the Negro farthest down'" (HB 332). Although Hemenway uses only her folklore to illustrate her rebellion on this issue, it is as clearly seen through her longer fiction. Because some of the information the characters reveal about themselves in Hurston comes from the structures of their language, we must be able to conclude that Hurston, who shared this dialect with her characters, was aware of the linguistic capabilities of the dialect.

There is another point which it is essential to recognize here. I do not propose that Hurston's choice of this style and structure was a consciously studied scientific approach. There have been many examples in her biography which suggested that Hurston's dual role as a serious social scientist (with linguistic interests) and as a novelist often conflicted. Her novels were, on many occasions, criticized by her reviewers as containing too much folklore (such as the Locke review of Their Eyes Were Watching God)⁴¹ or by other reviewers (usually white) as not containing enough. Her readers were looking for either a good narrative or a good folk story. They were not looking for scientific statement. When she was forced to organize the mass of folklore data she had collected on her various expeditions for the Mules and Men collection, her publishers pushed it into a form which represented a collection of folklore humorously narrated instead of the results of a scientific expedition which included an analysis of the form and function and intent of the folk

tale. Hurston is not blameless in this matter. She allowed her material to be used this way. Perhaps she hoped that her understanding of it as a representation of the culture of a group of Americans who were thoroughly competent in the linguistic performances of their backgrounds would also be understood by her audience. Hurston's political statement (left unstated or understated) was that she was presenting this material as evidence of a different culture in America. Her books were designed to illustrate the lack of any cultural deficiencies.

Therefore, the mixture between the scientific study and the novelistic results should not be ignored. Although Hurston never published commentary which clearly indicated her academic understandings of language and culture without also presenting the audience with a wealth of data in the guise of a highly amusing story or an absorbing novel, this does not mean that the data is not there to be analyzed, or that the data is not legitimate. Instead, to gain the most information we can about the conjunction of her academic studies and novelistic skills, it is necessary to dissect structurally that system which she recognized, a recognition verified in her correspondence. Then we can see what kinds of materials she chose to help her formalize her attitudes into the structures of literature.

The Narrative Function

The Narrator's role is the key to understanding her system.

An interesting dichotomy presents itself. Hurston, I have mentioned, could function on both the subject and object levels of her scientific studies. As a member of the culture she closely

scrutinized, she could also abandon her academic garb and become a member of the group of people who sat on the steps of Joe Clark's store in Eatonville (an image which frequently appears in her fiction) exchanging lies and telling stories with the best of them. The same spirit who, when coached by Boas or Melville Herskovits of Columbia, would prowl the streets of Harlem with calipers in hand, stopping any Black person she wished, and asked to measure the size of their skulls, would join the story telling group in Eatonville shedding the vestiges of the formal education and status. Once, to retain her membership in this group, she had to explain away a \$12.00 dress she foolishly wore (she had plenty of a less expensive variety in her suitcase) by saying it was the gift of her boyfriend. Darwin Turner tells a similar story about her doing the same thing with the car she drove to Eatonville. The dress she had bought at Macy's in New York; the car had been a gift from Godmother.

In Mules and Men she wrote:

From the earliest rocking of my cradle, I had known about the capers Brer Rabbit is apt to cut and what the Squinch Owl says from the house top. But it was fitting me like a tight chemise. I couldn't see it for wearing it. It was only when I was off in college, away from my native surroundings, that I could see myself like somebody else and stand off and look at my garment. Then I had to have the spy-glass of Anthropology to look through at that (MM 17).

She seems to perform a similar operation, which Hemenway refers to as a "dissociation of sensibility," with the narrator's role in her fiction. On many occasions the narrator is objectively scrutinizing the characters, revealing more to the reader than the

characters know about themselves. But, as the prose progresses, she allows the narrator to almost become the subject of the text. The narrative voice blends into the character's linguistic style so closely (or the character's style becomes his), that it frequently is difficult to separate the two voices.

Wayne Booth's Rhetoric of Fiction includes a discussion which describes the possibilities for the narrative voice in fiction. I have structured Booth's analysis to illustrate how Hurston's use of narrative falls outside of traditionally assigned roles and why an alternative structure must be proposed for her novels. Booth describes, using terms like "Dramatized and Undramatized, Privilege and Reliability," how each type of narration (that which occurs either inside or outside of the story) functions for the text. Hurston's narrative voice is one which functions within the story. This category of narration, for Booth, has two possibilities. The view of the narrator who is "inside" is either "dramatized" or "undramatized." Hurston's narration fits none of the explanations he offers for the "undramatized" or "restricted" narrator. She has not let the narrator be the one to whom the action happens. However, there are some categories where Restricted Narrative View, as defined by Booth, does seem to apply. The following illustration of Booth's discussion is an indication of how Hurston's narrative voice functions alongside the more traditional elements defined by Booth:⁴²

INSIDE NARRATORS			
	DRAMATIZED	RESTRICTED	HURSTON
Identity in the story	A Character	Not a Character	Not a Character
Voice	First-person	Third-person	Third-person
Access to Character's Consciousness	Access to consciousness of one character -- himself	Access to consciousness of one character or to a community of characters through whose perceptions he conveys the story.	Same, but offers perspectives of the characters which they only realize later in the story.
Presence	Dominates story; relates his own experiences or, as witness, someone else's.	Speaks in his own voice but submerges his vision into the character(s) whose perspective(s) serve as the narrative focus.	Speaks in his own voice until the perspective of character and narrator blend; then there is a single voice for the entire structure.*
Reliability	Frequently unreliable because his self-knowledge and knowledge is imperfect.	Ranges from reliable to unreliable, depending on the character(s) whose consciousness(es) he reveals and on the presence or absence of "clues" affirming or negating implicit attitudes and values.	Entirely reliable, because his task is to bring the characters to the self-knowledge he has had of them since the beginning of their stories.

*at times, the voice of the narrator slips into the voice of character. For example: if the character is using the Black dialect, and the narrator had been using a Standard English, the narrator may shift into dialect. Rather than being an error in construction, this seems to be a device to alert the reader to the approaching synthesis of narrator and character.

The disembodied status of the narrative voice gives it a sort of Faulknerian purpose; it presides over the activity of the novel, it is omniscient, and it functions as a link between the conscious and visible activity of the novel and unconscious, passive thought. The division between narrator and character can be explained using linguistic terms. The narrator, as the deep structure of the novel, is the underlying competence of a character who eventually is brought to a realization of self. The character, as the surface structure, only externally participates until this level of self-knowledge is attained. Hurston does not allow a character's underlying competence to be exhibited until, through a series of activities by which the literary areas of plot and theme are structured, he comes to a degree of self-knowledge which matches the narrative understanding of him. These activities usually seem to involve a soul-searching on the part of the character, accompanied by a linguistic silence. The narrative voice is dominant during these silences.

Because Hurston's novels are journeys toward self-awareness and actualization, the external voices of character gradually blend into the narrative structure, relinquishing themselves to its greater knowledge and finally blending into its deep structure competence. The transition is gradual, and the final marriage of voices is accomplished almost without the reader's awareness.

Why does this happen?

It could be that Hurston was unconsciously assigning to the narrator the tradition which the folk tale follows. As the folk story is orally presented, the teller of the tale relinquishes his narration

to the characters. These characters are then left with the duty of presenting the summation of the plot. It seems that her novels, using a parallel structure, also blend into a single voice which summarizes and concludes the events of the story. For someone who was trained in anthropology and who did her field work recording folk literature, it should not seem unusual for the elements of her fiction to be structurally similar to the folk tradition.

The Narrative Role in Novelistic Structures

The first sections of Hurston's novels often contain proportionately more dialogue than the final sections. This dialogue serves to establish the history and tone for the characters who are presented. In these sections, the characters introduce themselves, interact, and set a stage for the events which will occur. Sometimes, it is the task of the narrator to set this stage. But if the narrator does appear in these opening sections, it is a different voice from the commentator's. It seems to take, for this brief moment, a role similar to one Booth assigns the "Outside Narrators" except that he seems almost a person, a character standing back and making observations like the one opening Their Eyes Were Watching God:

Ships at a distance have every man's wish on board. For some they come in with the tide. For others they sail forever on the horizon, never out of sight, never landing until the Watcher turns his eyes away in resignation, his dreams mocked to death by Time. That is the life of men (TEWWG 5).

For four more paragraphs, this voice philosophizes like a distant and wise observer on the scene, and then disappears. Its re-emergence is not with this same philosophical perspective which allowed it to say

of the people who sit on the porches in late evening that they "made burning statements with questions, and killing tools out of laughs. It was mass cruelty. A mood come alive. Words walking without master; walking altogether like harmony in a song." Instead, his voice works to establish its relationship within the characters rather than outside of them.

Most frequently, the narrative relationship established with the character who is to come to the self-actualization within the course of the story, complements this character by drawing parallels between him and nature. It is a strange choice. But it functions to surround the dialogue with some measure of the truth which it will eventually come to realize. It is an African concept, and an ancient concept that truth is constant in nature. Whatever deceit may occur to obfuscate the soul, nature is a consistent symbol of what is right.

For example, Hemenway identifies what he terms a "contradiction" at the center of Jonah's Gourd Vine. "John creates poetry," he writes "perceiving the world in striking images, but he can never really understand himself. He is a poet who graces his world with language but cannot find the words to secure his own personal grace . . ." (HB 196).

But this language can be understood as a narrator speaking through him, the one who possesses the knowledge towards which the action of the novel compels John. It is significant that before John begins the sermons which prompt Hemenway's comment, he tells his congregation "When Ah speak tuh yuh from dis pulpit, dat ain't me talkin', dat's de voice uh God speakin' thru me. When de voice is

thew, Ah jus' uhnother one uh God's crumblin' clods" (JGV 197).

After the separation between the narrator's vision and the character's point of view has been established, the narrative voice works to establish a blend between its activity and the activity of the characters it has introduced. It is no longer as apparent, in this stage, where the narrative voice begins and the characters take over for themselves. Commentary is blended neatly together with comment. Hurston's first novel, Jonah's Gourd Vine, seems to bend over backwards to establish this point -- that language is a controlling element in one's life. To the reader who is not aware that an illustration of character and an explication of text can be seen through the structure of language, this book seems confusing, as it does to Hemenway who writes: "John's crisis is not important to the sermon; only his language compels, and it is this separation of confused self from inspired utterance that frustrates him" (HB 196). Her biographer also seems to feel that this separation frustrates the text. However, it seems as easy to see this separation as a tool of illustration Hurston has used to suggest the power and control of language, especially when in dialect.

The blend which the narrative voice eventually seeks between character's utterance and its own is documented very closely in the sermons of Jonah's Gourd Vine. It is because it is God speaking through John on these occasions that we cannot expect him to have the power to recognize the ambivalences between his external actions and his internal motivations, symbolized in the deep structures of his language. It is with this purpose in mind, to illustrate that John

has not yet come to the position of self-awareness, that the narrative commentary remains distinct from John's external activities and only blends the images of nature and the settings which already hold some degrees of truth. The sermons where God (truth) speaks through John are Hurston's hints to the reader of the existence of this structure. The narrative which describes the reaction of Pearson's congregation, after hearing a sermon designed to extricate himself from the accusations of adultery, artistically blends the forgiveness of the congregation (an emotion which comes from within the soul) with the symbolic nature of his position, another element which holds truth:

The church surged up, a weeping wave about him. . . . His weight seemed nothing in many hands while he was roughly, lovingly forced back into his throne-like seat. After a few minutes of concerted weeping he moved down to the communion table and in a feeling whisper went thru the sacrifice of a God (JGV 198).

The blending narration works in this way also in Their Eyes Were Watching God.

She was stretched on her back beneath the pear tree soaking in the alto chant of the visiting bees, the gold of the sun and the panting breath of the breeze when the inaudible voice of it all came to her. She saw a dust-bearing bee sink into the sanctum of a bloom; the thousand sister-calyxes arch to meet the love embrace from root to tiniest branch creaming in every blossom and frothing with delight. . . . Than Janie felt a pain remorseless sweet that left her limp and languid (TEWWG 13).

The dialogue which dominates the second portion of this novel is infused with the voice of the narrator. The early dialogue clearly separates the narrative voice from the voice of the characters. This

leads to some confusion, and has prompted some reviewers to feel that the persona of the narrator changes inexplicably towards the end of the novel (HB 233). But the purpose of this text, to indicate Janie's growth into a woman who comes to an awareness of self, could not have been better illustrated than for Janie to grow towards the same awareness the narrator has had throughout the text. Hemingway refers to Janie's growth as a "poetic self-awareness." It was. The narrative voice, especially in this text, is infused with poetry, as its opening lines have indicated. The closer Janie grows towards the narrative knowledge, the closer her voice becomes linked to its poetry. At one stage of the novel, it is difficult to tell exactly who is speaking -- character or narrator.

But here come Bootsie, and Teodie and Big 'oman
down the street making out they are pretty by
the way they walk. They have got that fresh
new taste about them like young mustard greens
in the spring. . . (TEWWG 58).

When describing the activity on the porch of Jody Stark's store, the narrator seems to instigate the action: ". . . and the young men on the porch are just bound to tell them about it and buy them some treats. . . (TEWWG 58)."

In the act of reading this passage, if one is not interrupted, he may read it as if it were dialogue, not narration. This is an example of the blending narrative voice. When the narrative activity and the activity of the characters are so closely merged, this type paragraph is the artistic result.

This voice, in Moses, Man of the Mountain, is an even deeper blend of the character and narrator. Hurston uses little actual

dialogue here. The structure of this mid-section is primarily internal and it allows the narrator to write the thoughts of the character as if it were active voice, and to combine these thoughts and observations as if it were all a substitute for dialogue. The reading act again may lead one to think it is dialogue. But more careful examination indicates an absence of the structural marks of dialogue and the intrusive voice of commentary.

The structure of narration here gives away its commentative role. The abundance of poetic devices (symbols, simile, metaphor and personification), are appropriate for narrative comment:

The years went by with a loping gait. A
 profound calm took up in the face of Moses.
 It grew rugged like the mountain but held
 its power inside. . . . He lived on the
 mountain, in the desert, beside streams,
 feeding his mind on nature.⁴³

The thin line between description and analysis is exhibited in the preceeding paragraph. It is indicative of a blending voice which is bringing the character closer to its own knowledge.

Finally, the narrative voice succeeds in bringing the character or the external action of the novel to a realization of its truth. This stage of Hurston's fiction involves a complete departure from artistic blend and a takeover of the tone and attitude of the narrative. The concept of tone is important here. Earlier narrative voices establish for the reader the narrative point-of-view. It is not the view of either the protagonist or the antagonist because it has had deeper insight into their characters than they themselves possess. Neither can these characters comment on circumstances in the narrative manner. The intrusion of the narrative in the earliest

pages of Hurston's fiction is clear and undisguised. It is easy, at this stage, to isolate the tone and intention of the narrator.

Jonah's Gourd Vine for example, demonstrates narrative intervention which reveals the relationships which will become a part of the plot of the novel in sections like: "The children came leaping in, in tense, laughing competition." In another section of this early narrative, the voice uses events inside and outside of the home to render symbolically the feelings of animosity, and conflict within the family:

In the frenzied silence, Amy noticed that the rain had ceased; that the iron kettle was boiling; that a coon dog struck a trail way down the Creek, and was coming nearer, singing his threat and challenge (JGV 19).

The sarcastic and ironic tone of the narrator in the opening pages of Seraph on the Suwannee admonishes the reader not to take Arvay Henson seriously as it describes her peculiarities and quirks with an unsympathetic tone:

Arvay's tearful speech followed the usual pattern, and everybody said it was just fine. . . . Five years had passed since Arvay had turned her back on the world. . . . It was not too difficult for her, because the community soon put Arvay Henson down as queer, if not a little "tetched."⁴⁴

By the time the novels reach the blending voice of narration, it is possible to separate, with a little scratching beneath the surface, the distinct points-of-view -- the various character's and the narrative. Analysis of the final narrative voice reveals that the characters have submitted themselves to the more powerful knowledge of the narrator.

John, in Jonah's Gourd Vine, finally grows wise to Hattie's hoodoo and bemoans the loss of his first wife, Lucy, with the same wisdom the narrator blended into the earlier sections of the novel:

Look lak ah been sleep. Ah ain't never
meant tuh marry you. Ain't got no
recollection uh even tryin' tuh marry yuh,
but here us is married, Hattie, how come
that. . . ?
Suddenly a seven-year-old picture came
before him. Lucy's bright eyes in the
sunken face. Helpless and defensive. The
look. Above all, the look! John stared at
it in fascinated horror for a moment. The
sea of the soul, heaving after a calm,
giving up its dead (JGV 224).

It is the final stage of his awareness. The symbolic suggestion that he had been "asleep" during the events of the novel, the events which were mainly concerned with the activities of his body, suggest that he was for this time soulless. Only after he drags the depths of the sea, does he retrieve his soul. The linguistic correlation which is possible here suggests that language as a behavioral manifestation is not enough to account for motivation. We need the deeper structures of language, its soul, to understand our performances.

Each of Hurston's novels, in different fashion, enjoins a search for truth. Usually the search ends in some internal recognition of sin or weakness. The search can end in a fulfillment after rectifying this weakness. Janie finds the fulfillment of love she sought throughout the novel. In its early sections, she bends to the wishes of her grandmother, who believes stability and contentment are to be found in things like a husband who owns sixty acres of land

and a house "bought and paid for." Later, she runs away with Jody Starks and finds herself bending to his definitions of womanhood and roles. The narrative voice in each of these sections voices her unhappiness for her: "A feeling of coldness and fear took hold of her. She felt far away from things and lonely."

She had not, at these points of the novel, the strength of character nor the inner conviction to voice these fears. Her actions, as well as her dialogue, were purely superficial. But the revelations and criticisms of the narrator filled in the deep structure for her. The powerful presence of Jody Starks drove her away from these external cares into a journey within her soul. The closer she came to recognizing her own feelings, the more the spirit struggled to free itself. The conveyor of this spirit becomes the narrative voice, pushing itself to the control of all the activity and thought in the novel. Shortly before Jody's death, she began to recognize the existence of that spirit. The narrative voice tells us: ". . . the years took all the fight out of Janie's face. For a while she thought it was gone from her soul." But upon the death of her husband, she stopped "reaching outside" herself for survival "nor did the things of death reach inside to disturb her calm." She found an interior peace.

The final narrative voice in this novel is difficult to distinguish from Janie's voice. The blend of this section is the result of her internalizing her passions and desires and finding that she could control her own destiny. The dialect and marks of dialogue distinguish Janie's speech from the standard prose of the narrator. Other than this distinction, they could speak for each other. Her

language becomes poetic, as has the narrative language throughout the novel. Following the tragedy of Tea Cake's death, when Janie is forced to kill him to prevent his attacking her after he had been bitten by a rabid dog and had lost his mind, Janie rationalizes her love to her friend Pheoby:

"Dey gointuh make 'miration' cause mah love didn't work lak they love, if dey ever had any. Then you must tell 'em dat love ain't somethin lak uh grindstone dat's de same thing everywhere and do de same thing tuh everything it touch. Love is lak de sea. Its uh movin' thing, but still and all, it takes its shape from de shore it meets, and it's different with every shore" (TEWWG 158).

It is significant that Hurston does not give this passage to the narrator. She is saying that the dialect, contrary to what her contemporaries in the fields of anthropology and linguistics were saying, could hold and communicate such abstract thought, and further, this thought comes from the deepest levels of our consciousness. It appears because we allow our souls to speak for us.

Janie's wisdom is a far cry from the obedient granddaughter and wife of the early pages of the novel, and the subservient wife of Mayor Starks in the mid-section. The bond that narrator and protagonist now share has dissolved the boundary between surface structures and deep structures. Language and character can finally be synthesized.

This goal of synthesis is as apparent in Jonah's Gourd Vine. The immediate and first effects of narrative blend cause Reverend Pearson temporarily to lose his voice. It is as if internalization takes place, as it did with Janie, with a putting aside of

outward things.

John said nothing. His words had been very few since his divorce. He was going about learning old truths for himself as all men must. . . . The world has suddenly turned cold. . . . Oh for the wings, for the wings of a dove! That he might see no more what men's faces held (JGV 267).

When John is able to loose himself of the fearful burden of Hattie, recognizing at last the roots she had worked to keep him under her power, he achieves the first stage of freedom from an outward power. It remains for him to recognize his soul. The major conflict of this novel is a battle between spirit and flesh. John's ministry demands he sacrifice one for the other. Hurston defines the theme of this novel in her letter explaining the novel's title to Carl Van Vechten. She wrote:

Oh yes, the title you didn't understand (Jonah 4:6-10). You see the prophet of God sat up under a gourd vine that had grown up in one night. But a cut worm came along and cut it down. Great and sudden growth. One act of malice and it is withered and gone. The book of a thousand million leaves was closed.⁴⁵

Recurrent dreams he has about his first wife, Lucy, are significant at this stage. Lucy is the only one, other than the narrative voice, who understands John's motivation. She knows his fleshly cravings in no way obviate his belief in God. She is able to recognize the two because her outlook is more reflective of the original religion -- faith to the spirit which is whole in nature and reflected in man. She has looked upon her husband with scorn because he has not been able to reconcile the conflicts of spirit, flesh and religion.

In a letter to James Weldon Johnson, Hurston notes that John Pearson is a poet:

That is to say, one who manipulates words in order to convey to others the mystery . . . of God. But . . . he is also human and, as such, beset with the burdens and temptations of human existence. As poet his power rests in his projection of the Word. As bearer of the Word, he is both the Son of God and the Son of Man. His tragic dilemma is that he can be fully neither one nor the other; especially on the basis of some abstract morality.⁴⁶

In his preface to this novel, Larry Neal says its theme is "man's search for spiritual equilibrium." The irony of this novel is that John never really comes to an awareness that this imbalance is his problem. Language in this text serves to hold the truths for him. Only when his spirit speaks, symbolically rendered through his preaching, is John able to achieve that union of spirit and flesh which Hurston suggests is an African union. But the spiritual voice, like the narrative voice in this novel forever operates on the linguistic deep structure level, and never becomes a part of the surface structures.

At this point the reader, the narrator and John know he is fighting an unresolvable battle. His final church, the Pilgrim Rest Church, symbolizes the ending of his spiritual journey. He cannot keep out of the way of Ora, who tries to seduce him, no matter how much he has promised himself to be faithful to his newest wife. On his way back to his new home and new church, John is struck by a train and instantly killed. The conflict had to be resolved for him, because he would only try to find ways around or through the battle

without turning to the offering of truth which the spirit holds for him. Significantly, this is the only character of Hurston's fiction who dies in the end of the text, rather than reaches an understanding of self. Hurston seems to offer death as an alternative to this truth. The narrator of Jonah's Gourd Vine tells us that his funeral drum, reminiscent of that African spirit which John denied through Christianity, was the voice of Death that promises nothing, that speaks with tears only, and of the past. We are led to realize that the past was his African heritage. "He wuz uh man, and nobody knowed 'im but God" is the final pronouncement of this novel. His "access" as Hemingway defines it, to a "pre-Christian memory," that memory the narrative language evoked, was the true key to his salvation. But he was unable to surmount the cultural restraints of Christianity and meet with the deeper elements of his heritage.

Moses does achieve the poetic understanding of the omniscient narrator in the final pages of Moses, Man of the Mountain. His final ascent of the mountain is not, for the first time, at the bequest of another. First Jethro had taught him that there was magic to be learned from the mountain and begged him to go up. Then God beckoned him up there to receive His wisdom and instructions. This final ascent, as it was in a way for Janie, was at his own initiative. Once there he realized, like the narrative voice had known all along and illustrated again and again, that "no man may make another free. Freedom was something within. The outside signs were just the signs and symbols of the man inside" (313). Again, we find the narrative voice bringing us to an internal realization. It is significant to

the premise of the blending narrative voice that Moses, in his final mountain-top ruminations, realizes that in the people of Israel whom he had brought to the foot of the mountain, God "had a voice." This gift of language, the voice to express God and spirit, becomes Moses' ultimate gift to the people.

Arvay, in the last pages of Seraph on the Suwannee, realizes what her husband had been trying to accomplish with their marriage. He did not want to settle for only the outward shows of affection, care and concern without an inner devotion and commitment. Arvay could never manage to turn over her soul to the man she married. But this is not a positive statement of sexual independence; Arvay has deep feelings of insecurity and inferiority. Her doubts, fears and mistrusting nature had too firm a hold on her spirit for love, trust or independence to intrude. There is a fierce struggle between the narrative voice and Arvay throughout the novel. This voice indicates the love and intense devotion Jim (with all the chauvinism implied by his name, "Me-serve") held for Arvay. He was confused and disappointed when it wasn't returned in kind. It indicates through the symbol of the swamp (which becomes the burial ground for her idiot son), the muddled and confused field of Arvay's feelings. The snake incident (where her husband is almost killed because of her inability to act) is overwhelmingly phallic in intent, and reveals again the sexual repression suggested throughout the novel. These incidents and symbols are resolved in the blend of the final pages. Once more we find narrator and protagonist speaking for each other. Arvay realizes that:

All that had happened to her, good or bad, was a part of her own self and had come out of her. Within her own flesh were many mysteries. . . . What was in you was bound to come out and stand (309).

Narrative voice describing her feelings now is also describing her outer actions. There is no longer a battle between the two.

The symbols employed by the narrative voice in Hurston's works seems to be a conscious attempt on her part to drag us beneath the surface of the dialogue and indicate to the reader where the characters have to go to resolve the conflicts and finish the journeys they each have begin in her novels.

When Hurston labels John Pearson as a poet or "one who manipulates words in order to convey to others the mysteries" we should understand that the emphasis on poetic devices in narrative voices serves the same purpose, and that she, as author, is attempting the same thing. This voice and her writing is a key to the mysteries of the spirits of her characters. Both her readers and the major characters must reach this understanding.

The characters of Hurston's novels seem to be developed along very specific patterns. Through thoughtful blending of several elements, the total character is realized. The elements which blend to create character are (1) narrative voice, (2) setting, (3) interpersonal relationships and (4) language. Since this thesis is most concerned with the developments of language and character in Hurston, discussion of element (4), which is concerned with dialect, extends into Chapter Four.

(1) Narrative Voice

Narrative Voice has been discussed at length in the preceeding section. Because this voice often serves as spokesperson for a character who has not yet found his own voice, the narrative voice is often our first clue to character. Although the blend of elements is essential to the full character, the early voice of the narrator can reveal some important aspects of the developing character. In Moses, Man of the Mountain, the narrator tells us, as early as page 58 (when Moses was still a young prince in training) that:

He was a born trooper. . . . There was something about him that assured them he was a companion to be relied on in times of danger. They wanted to follow him into whatever escapade he thought up. He was the young men's choice for a leader (58-9).

This voice gives us reason to understand why, at a much later point of the novel, this man could convince an entire nation to follow him for years into the desert across the Red Sea.

The history of these beginning pages, although it is not analytical appraisal of the Hebrew nation, prepares the reader for the important element of setting in this text. Because the conflict between Pharoah and Moses and the Egyptian and Hebrew people is so central to this novel it is important for these opening pages to establish this tone so that the reader is prepared for the underlying conflict explored in the novel. Such lines as the following illustrate this point:

They had trampled on the proud breast of Egyptian liberty for more than three hundred years. But the gods had used the courage of the real Egyptians to conquer and expel those sheep-herding interlopers. . . . All he [Pharoah] had

required of them was that they work and build him a few cities here and there to pay back some of the wealth they had so ruthlessly raped from the helpless body of Egypt when she was in no position to defend herself (30).

The early narrative voice usually acts to describe the freedom which must be achieved by or for the protagonist in the novel. Janie, for example, in Their Eyes Were Watching God, struggles to free herself from the control of Jody Starks. Moses is learning the wizardry of Damballah to help wrench the Hebrew's freedom from the hands of Pharoah. Arvay, in Seraph on the Suwannee, is fighting the emotional reins of her idiot son as well as her many levels of guilt; John, in Jonah's Gourd Vine, is embroiled in the hypocrisy of church and flesh. The task of the narrative voice in these sections is to internalize successfully the character so they may realize their own potential and value. In these mid-sections, the complications of plot emerge and illustrate the conflicts the characters must overcome before they can be self-reliant. Here the narrative voice (as discussed in the previous section of this paper) often provides structural clues which indicate how close the characters are to reaching their individual awareness of self.

(2) Setting

The role of setting is perhaps the most poetic element of character development. This element must achieve the distinction of putting character into a situation which serves as his "leit motif." It should be like the thematic interplay of a sonata. Through the various shifts of this theme from major to minor key, from andante to

allegro tempos, the theme continues to be recognized. When it appears again in recapitulation, in its original form, it is a broader, better defined, and fuller statement because of its development. The same can be said of the development of character in Hurston. The setting which is attached to character grows fuller with each change. The final picture of character emerges, with the well-established element of setting bound into our conception of this character. For example, when Moses leaves the increasingly hostile company of the Egyptians and crosses the Red Sea for the first time, Hurston describes him as an alienated soul, no longer an Egyptian, bereft of all but the outward signs of birth and power, denied his house, facing neither friend nor enemies and "as empty as a post hole, for he was none of the things he once had been." But he was a "man sitting on a rock. He had crossed over." This rock becomes the early symbol of the mountain on which Moses was to regain all and more than he had lost by leaving the Egyptians. The power which he gleaned from this mountain became the strength of the Hebrew children. This symbolic clue, at this early point of the novel, is therefore crucial. It is carefully developed from this point on. As he travels away from the Red Sea, he catches first sight of his mountain:

He saw it at a distance, lifting its rocky crown above the world, and he was dumbstruck with awe. To him it had its being in grandeur, so it was right and proper to draw itself apart from the surrounding country and hide its mysteries in its heart. It was near; it was far. It called, it forbade. He must believe in gods again, for here was the tomb of a god a thousand greater than pyramids. No, it was not a vain thing like a pyramid. . . . It had an aura of clouds

upon its brow. This sublime earth form was surely the living-place of a god. It had peace and fury in its face (100).

This is the setting which serves as a backdrop for the most important activity of this novel. Moses and the mountain, as the title indicates, soon become synonymous.

There is setting as dramatic in Their Eyes Were Watching God. It does not become an identifiably important element until the section of the novel where the character of Janie is most fully realized. The relationships of this novel are crucial to character development, as will be illustrated shortly. But the setting of the relationship between Janie and Tea Cake plays as important a role. It is interesting that as Janie becomes more of her 'natural' self, that is, less a victim of the whims of others, the setting of the novel moves back to nature. Its movement (and Janie's) begins from the long-cultivated farm of Logan Killicks. The establishment of those surroundings was about as planned as their relationship. There is no spontaneity, no gaiety, there are no surprises. From this marriage, she moves with Jody Starks to Eatonville, a town just being developed from a clearing in Florida. As the plan of the town grows more and more developed, the relationship between Jody and Janie grows more and more artificial and strained. Jody, upon arriving in Eatonville, promptly begins to build up the town, cutting down trees for roads, putting up its first streetlamp, building his store and generally "taming" the wilderness. Eventually he becomes mayor of the town and in the process, "tames" Janie's spirit. She becomes a silent, sullen wife, the natural beauty of her hair hidden behind a cloth

handkerchief, and her self and spirit relegated to the back of the store which Jody runs. When Janie escapes this setting and takes off with Tea Cake, we find a very different kind of relationship. He is a free spirit, a sojourning man, traveling wherever work takes him. They become migrant workers, moving with the crops and not seeking to control any aspects of nature. The irony and bitter ending to this story is that untamed nature (a hurricane) initiates a chain of events against Janie and Tea Cake which eventually forces her to kill the only man she ever loved freely, with her spirit as well as her body. We get some indications of the impending tragedy during the bitter sweep of the storm:

The wind came back with a triple fury and put out the light for the last time. They sat in company with the others, their eyes straining against crude walls and their souls asking if He meant to measure their puny might against His. They seemed to be staring at the dark, but their eyes were watching God (TEWWG 131).

(3) Interpersonal Relationships

It is not unexpected that a novelist would seek to expand some of her reader's knowledge of characters by using the relationships they have with other personalities of the novels. Therefore, Hurston's use of this technique is not in the least unique or unusual. However, what is unique is the minimal but important role that this element plays in the development of her characters. The four novels under consideration here each develop a paradoxically dependent/independent relationship between main and subsidiary characters. Their dependence is usually quite literal. Arvay needs Jim Meserve to

care for her, love her and provide for family. Moses needs Jethro, who works as the human extension of the mountain, to guide him to the magic well springs of the mountain's powers. Janie needs her grandmother, Jody, Logan and Tea Cake to give her the spiritual fuel she needs to examine the quality of her own desires. John Pearson needs Lucy and Hattie to satisfy his physical needs and Lucy to vocalize his spiritual goals. The dependencies of these main characters are all quite real and binding. But their independence in these interpersonal relationships comes about because of the various dependencies. Herein the paradox. Arvay's needing Jim leads her to realize she is a woman who has something of her own to offer. Why else, she finally realizes, has her husband stayed with her and fought so hard to get her to have some sense of self-worth? Moses learns through Jethro that the secrets to all magic lie within the mountain. Once he masters these powers, his strength is greater than Jethro's, who has been his mentor. Through his learning, he becomes a teacher. Pitiful John Pearson, haunted by Lucy's truths and Hattie's mojos, takes a flight of independence away from them both. But his flight is into the hand of another protector, Sally. Finally, the ultimate act of liberation is accomplished for him -- death. The reader understands at this point that John will never come to the point of awareness on his own; death is undeniable liberation.

(4) Language

Hurston uses Black dialects, Standard usage and literary languages to fill out her characters. Each usage, whether dialect, Standard, or literary, illuminates an event she wishes to underscore

in a special manner.

Much of her dialogue between characters is within the grammar which has been defined as the Black dialect. Excluded from this dialect is the dialogue between the Hensons and the Meserves, the white characters of Seraph on the Suwannee. Therefore, her usages of dialect are both historical and illustrative. She obviously wishes to improve the historical accuracy of her novels by capturing the way folk talked. But what is more important is that through the use of dialect, Hurston reveals to the astute reader the many nuances of meaning and intention carried within its morphophonemic frame.

For example, the newly liberated Hebrews begin grumbling among themselves about the authority Moses seems to have. Moses, who is by modern-day definition bi-dialectal, chooses to speak the dialect of the Hebrews to try to settle their differences. He says; "It's no use for me to try to talk any higher court language with these people, I might as well get right down with them. . . ."47

The Hebrews are not unaware of the psychological advantage Moses is trying to claim by "talking our language just like we talk it ourselves." They also realize that what makes Moses' attempts humorous and ineffective is "he forgets . . . and goes back to talking his proper talk when he gets excited." Later, we see evidences in another novel of a character going further into dialectical usage when she gets excited. Hurston is making an observation about character here that cannot be ignored.

The author illustrates the instrumentality of language in this type of interchange, especially with someone who is bi-dialectal.

That she is aware of the social benefits and hazards of bi-dialectalism is revealed in her discussion on the origin of the hostility between the Hebrews and Moses. On a larger scale, of course, she is making a comment about those who attempt to use the dialect for subterfuge, and who do not succeed at their games.

The use of dialect also functions to deepen the level of communication between characters who share the dialect. This is illustrated by the fact that the dialect uses fewer and fewer Standard features the more deeply the characters are involved in nuance and exchanges in, for example, Their Eyes Were Watching God. Conversation on the store porch between shoppers and proprietors are usually lively and heated discussions of a variety of topics and people. They are also very deeply imbued with the phonemic and phonetic features of the dialect. They indicate that the level of involvement of the participants is full and uninhibited by what, in those days, was considered "proper" English. The implication is that "proper" English, for speakers whose native language is the Black dialect, is an escape from the depths of existence and feeling. It is the difference between language which observes and language which participates. This reasoning may also be aligned with the Standard English observations of the narrative voice, and the dialectal involvement of the characters with their lives. When Janie Starks finally loses patience with her status as Jody's silent partner, her retribution minces no words;

You big-bellies around here and put out a
lot of brag, but 'tain't nothin to it but
yo' big voice. . . . Talkin' bout me

lookin' old! When you pull down yo britches,
you look lak de change uh life (TEWWG 68-69)!

The more hotly involved she is with her diatribe, the less her language resembles the standard. Notice that "of" becomes "uh." In less heated conversations, the more standardizations we find, including the use of "of." The more emotional the exchange, the more dialectical terms are present.

This rule holds true in most of the dialect usage for Hurston. It becomes an important key to the strength and importance of the dialogue, for purposes of characterization.

The poetic prose belongs to both the narrator's usually Standard usage, and the character's dialect. It is important to note that Hurston recognizes the power of dialect to carry eloquently the poetic statement. The preacher as poet illustrates the strength of poetry in dialect in Jonah's Gourd Vine. Unfortunately, much of the strength of the sermon of pages 271-281 of this text lies in being able to imagine hearing its delivery. The rhythm and intonation of the sermon are only apparent to those who are familiar with the dialect and the form and technique of the Black sermon. But the skilled use of metaphor and imagery are possible for anyone to appreciate.

In this sermon, the personified Sun begs God to create man in its image:

De Sun, Ah!
Gethered up de fiery skirts of her garments
And wheeled around de throne, Ah!
Saying, Ah, make man after men, ha!
God gazed upon the sun
And sent her back to her blood-red socket

The moon is surrounded by the silvery images of the sea:

De Moon, ha!
 Grabbed up de reins of de tides
 And dragged a thousand seas behind her. . . .

as Jesus commands His armies:

And he arose
 And de storm was in its pitch
 And de lightnin' played on His raiments as
 He stood on the prow of the boat
 And placed His foot upon the neck of the storm
 And spoke to the Howlin' winds
 And de sea fell at His feet like a marble floor
 And de thunders went back in their vault
 Then He set down on de rim of de ship
 And took de hooks of His power
 And lifted de billows in His lap
 And rocked de winds to sleep on His arm
 And said, "Peace, be still" (JGV 271-281).

The sermon on these pages is an authentic delivery of one of God's "trombones" (Rev. C.C. Lovelace of Eau Gallie, Florida).⁴⁸ It includes the interlocutionary remarks "Ah!" and "Ha!" as further illustrations of the style of delivery. Both Hurston and James Weldon Johnson, as illustrated in their correspondence and in their literature, assign the Black preacher the role of poet for the race.

The poetry of the dialect is not only exhibited in sermons, but in dialogue as well. Before Janie begins her reminiscing with Pheoby, she explains how she has "been a delegate to de big 'ssociation of life. Yessuh! De Grand Lodge, de big convention of livin' is just where Ah been dis year and a half. . . ."

Later, after telling her story to Phoeby, Janie's mood is described by the narrator in abundantly poetic prose. Just after Janie has described her love as being like the sea "uh moving thing . . . takes its shape from de shore it meets. . . ." the

narrator, who speaks as poetically as Janie, says poignantly:

Janie mounted the stairs with her lamp. The light in her hand was like a spark of sun-stuff washing her face in fire. . . . The kiss of his [Tea Cake's] memory made pictures of love and light again against the wall. Here was peace. She pulled in her horizon like a great fish net. . ." (TEWWG) 159).

For John Pearson, the force of the narration begs for him to realize that he has sacrificed his manhood for his Christianized spirit. For Arvay Meserve, the interpersonal relationships of her familial and marital ties help lead her to self-knowledge. Janie is victim in every relationship but the final one. There, the overwhelming forces of nature finally exert their external control. But she retains her inner peace. Moses, too, finds strength and receives his knowledge and power from God-In-Nature.

All these elements of fiction work to strengthen the information which the reader receives through the narrative and dialogue structures of the text. If he has not picked up the clues that language usages offer, these elements alone convey the thematic intents of her fiction. But there is so much more insight available to the attentive reader who looks at language both externally and internally and who realizes Hurston has used both the performances and the competence of the language user to probe his consciousness and reveal the quality of his cultural possession.

By way of further explanation of the conjunction achieved in Hurston's literature between character and narrative voice, the following illustration is offered.

In the samples which follow, taken from Their Eyes Were

Watching God, I have selected portions of both dialogue and narration which illustrate the gradual movement of blend. In the earliest samples (A), the narrative voice articulates the conceptual self-awareness that the characters lack at the beginning of the novels. Samples taken from the middle sections of the novel (B), indicate the alternating voices of character and narrator. They often, in these sections, imitate each other's style. But the mid-section imitation is brief and each voice quickly regains its still distinct style.

The next chapter of this dissertation discusses some of the structural aspects which characterize the dialect. Narrative voice using these structures, which are underlined in the samples below, indicates an imitation of a style other than its own. The characters quoted in (B) are beginning to gain insight into the personality of the flamboyant Jody Sparks. They use the adorned language of the dialect to assess the mayor's personality. These heavily adorned structures are usually reserved for moments of insight. Janie uses it on these occasions also. What should be noted here is that insight is some aspect of consciousness, it is more cognitive than behavioristic. For that reason language which reveals consciousness is revealing an aspect of its spiritual being. It is the linguistic deep structure which the dialect offers on the occasions when consciousness is probed. Because whatever insight the characters may have at the middle sections of the novel is temporary and brief, adorned language is limited in this section of Their Eyes Were Watching God as well as Hurston's other novels.

In the final sections of the novel (C), we find both the narrative voice enriched by the spiritual concepts gained from the dialect, and the dialect submerged into a fully "adorned" language which is capable of expressing knowledge of self and the insight into motivation and being which it has gained. The language is now characteristic of dialect in both its structure and intent.

(A) Early Sections:

Now, women forget all those things they don't want to remember, and remember everything they don't want to forget. The dream is the truth. They act and do things accordingly (5).

There are years that ask questions and years that answer. Janie had had no chance to know things, so she had to ask. Did marriage end the cosmic loneliness of the unmated?

So Janie waited a bloomtime, and a green time and an orange time. But when the pollen again gilded the sun and sifted down on the world she began to stand around the gate and expect things. What things? She didn't know exactly (24).

Janie pulled back a long time because he [Jody] did not represent sun-up and pollen and blooming trees, but he spoke for far horizon (28).

(B) Middle Sections:

1. Narrator

A big-mouthed [my emphasis] burst of laughter cut him short (38).

. . . Joe would hustle her off inside the store to sell something. Look like [my emphasis] he took pleasure in doing it (47).

Starks left the store to Hezekiah

Potts, the delivery boy, and come took [my emphasis] a seat in his high chair (57).

Daisy is walking a drum tune. You can almost hear it by looking at the way she walks (59).

She wasn't petal-open [my emphasis] anymore with him (62).

2. Character

Folkses, de sun is goin' down. De Sun-maker brings it up in de mornin', and de Sun-maker sends it tuh bed at night. . . . let de light penetrate inside of yuh, and let it shine, let it shine, let it shine (40-41).

"You kin feel a switch in his hand when he's talkin' to yuh," Oscar Scott complained. "Dat chastisin' feelin' he totes sorter give yuh de protolapsis uh de cutinary linin'."

"He's uh whirlwind among breezes," Jeff Bruce threw in.

"Speakin' of winds, he's de wind and we'se de grass. We bend ever way he blows. . ." (44).

"Whut Ah don't lak 'bout de man is, he talks tuh unlettered folks wid books in his jaws. . ." (44).

"He's got uh throne in de seat of his pants" (44).

"Pheoby, for de longest time, Ah [Janie] been feelin' dat somethin' set for still-bait. . . . Sorrow dogged by sorrow is in mah heart. . . . Ah'm stone-dead from standin' still and tryin' tuh smile" (71).

"Listen, Jody, you ain't de Jody ah [Janie] run off down the road wid. You'se whut's left after he died. Ah run off tuh keep house wid you in uh wonderful way. But you wasn't satisfied wid me de way Ah was. Naw!

Mah own mind had tuh be squeezed and crowded out tuh make room for yours in me. . . . All dis bowin' down all dis obedience under yo' voice -- dat ain't whut Ah rushed off down de road tuh find out about you" (74-75).

(C) Final Sections:

1. Narrator

Night was striding across nothingness with the whole round world in his hands (130).

In a little wind-lull, Tea Cake touched Janie. . . (130).

The monstropolous beast had left his bed. The two hundred miles an hour wind had loosed his chains. He seized hold of his dikes and ran forward until he met the quarters; uprooted them like grass and rushed on after his supposed-to-be conquerors, rolling the dike, rolling the houses, rolling the people in the houses along with other heavy timbers. The sea was walking the earth with a heavy heel (133).

And then again Him-with-the-square-toes [Death] had gone back to his house. He stood once more and again in his high flat house without sides to it and without a roof with his soulless sword standing upright in his hand. His pale white horse had galloped over waters, and thundered over land. The time of dying was over (138).

It was the meanest moment of eternity. A minute before she was just a scared human being fighting for its life. Now she was sacrificing self with Tea Cake's head in her lap. She had wanted him to live so much and he was dead. No hour is ever eternity, but it has its right to weep. . . . the grief of outer darkness descended (52).

2. Character

"If you kin see de light at daybreak,
you don't keer if you die at dusk.
It's so many people never seen de
light at all. Ah [Janie] wuz fumblin'
around and God opened de door" (131).

"Dis house ain't so absent of things
lak it used tuh be befo Tea Cake come
along. It's full uh thoughts" (158).

"And listenin' tuh dat kind uh talk
is jus' lak openin' yo' mouth and
lettin' de moon shine down yo' throat.
It's uh known fact, Pheoby, you got
tuh go there tuh know there" (159).

Because narrator and character speak with almost identical adornment in Hurston's final section of this novel; there is little need for both voices to appear. This is the final test of the blend which has been achieved. In Their Eyes Were Watching God, narrator is the dominant final voice. But we are certain at this point that the deep structure consciousness of narrative voice and the deep structure consciousness of character are identical. This is clearly illustrated when we find in the final sentences of this novel a voice which seems to be consciousness speaking. It is neither the direct dialogue of a character nor the objective commentary of the narrator who says:

Then Tea Cake came prancing around
her where she was and the song of the
sigh flew out of the window and lit
in the top of the pine trees. Tea
Cake, with the sun for a shawl. Of
course he wasn't dead. . . . The kiss
of his memory made pictures of love
and light against the wall (159).

CHAPTER IV

"SOME LAWS IN DIALECT"

In order to more clearly understand how the dialect structures in Hurston's literature work to illustrate the consciousness of the characters, it is necessary to explain which aspects of Black language can inform literature's deep structures. Therefore, this chapter will offer a linguistic explication of the literary judgements made in the previous chapter.

Linguistic Structures

A. Dialect and Theory

In Linguistics and Language, Julia Falk points out that much of the study in dialect geography in the United States illustrates answers to the question "What do people say?" rather than to the more informative question "What do people know?"⁴⁹ Realizing that the area of competence in language ability assumes that there is an answer to this basic question in linguistics is the first reason for investigating linguistic deep structures to account for the performance differences in languages. Dialects especially could offer invaluable information about the kinds of underlying differences which exist. This is because dialects, which appear as variations of a parent language, are often indicative not only of regional differences within a population, but of cultural differences as well. Cultural anthropologists have already laid a framework for this type of study by

insisting that a person's culture is manifest on many behavioral levels, one of these levels being his linguistic performance. Psycholinguistics has moved cognitive theories into areas of language investigation. The resultant work inevitably led to the areas of linguistic deep structures and George Miller's famous summary that "the most obvious thing we can say about the significance of a sentence is that it is not given as the linear sum of the significance of the words that comprise it."⁵⁰ His use of the terms "meaning" and "reference" suggests the same line of research that Falk urges dialectologists to follow when she predicts that "the future task for the dialectologist will be to combine reference and meaning, i.e., what people say as well as what they know."⁵¹ I agree with Falk that the understanding of dialects will come from careful investigations of linguistic deep structures and the transformations which occur before they reach the surface, or performative levels. These investigations could reveal some of the underlying features of the language which, though deleted from performances, are nonetheless apparent in the underlying competence, and therefore, in conjunction with theories of psycholinguistics, as valid an indication of meaning and intent as the performance features. If the attack of transformational and generative grammarians is correct, and this study assumes that the essential direction is valid, then these operations are indicative of a psychological process of meaning and identification which to the speaker, as well as to the listener who shares these features, are contributing factors of whatever message is communicated. The speaker who does not share these features (and this is the reason why dialect

is an area which can so clearly illustrate the viability of this analysis) but who does understand the surface, or performance categories of the language, will therefore receive only a portion of the original message; the rest is lost in translation. Because a dialect is one of several different "versions" of a language, the versions must be analyzed to see what kinds of changes propelled these versions into existence. Some of the changes are linguistic; but the aspects of the changes which are cultural and social, those aspects which linguistic anthropologists like Hurston and Boas took great pains to record, offer valuable insights into the versions of meaning and intent which can only be implied between speakers of this dialect.

The Black dialect seems to fall very easily into this scheme. Historically, it is a version of English which was mixed with the various Africanisms, French, and Creole influences which Blacks brought to America as well as to the other countries in this hemisphere which participated in the slave trade. Culturally, it has operated to separate linguistically, and sometimes socially, this group of speakers from majority life in America; and in consequence to preserve certain cultural experiences which could well have been lost if this Black culture had been more thoroughly submerged in the American mainstream. But it has not been submerged in this fashion. The very existence of the dialect, in 1978, is testimony to that fact. And in 1928, when Hurston began to gather her linguistic and anthropological data, Blacks in America were even less a part of the majority culture than they are today. We can therefore expect that the 1928 language samples would reveal more than contemporary samples

about the culture of Blacks in America.

It is not enough for this paper to support the definition of linguistics as a "scientific study of language," it must offer the evidence which allows the scientific study to be also a study of the literature.

As a science, linguistics was first applied to reconstruction and comparative studies of the Indo European languages. It was natural for those interested in descriptive language behaviors to rely on the scientific nature of linguistics which suggests biological performance is an integral part of language study. But it is language as culture and language as thought which shifts the emphasis of linguistics from that natural aspect of science to areas of psychology and sociology. These areas suggest additional implications of language behavior for man and society, and further suggest that literary investigations, which serve to illustrate the behaviors of man and society, should also be a means of describing this behavior.

Therefore, the liaison of natural science and human science, the link between biological patterns and behavioristic patterns in man, function as the basis for any language assumptions of this text. They cannot be stratified; the link is vital.

Both the knowledge of language (*langue*) and performance of that skill (*parole*) is accounted for within the theory of transformational grammar. Although completely satisfactory explanations of the impetus behind the speech act have not yet been offered by linguists or psychologists, the attempt to account for these phenomena is an area of research which is being given constant

attention by these scholars. But, as Falk suggests, they seem to be overlooking an area of linguistics which could offer some enlightening information concerning these acts: dialectology.

In transformational grammar, linguists attempt to explain the operant processes of making our memory a live and shared experience. For this reason investigations into linguistic deep structures should open the door to illustrating a conceptual model of the mental processes of behavior.⁵² The area of dialectology should be fertile ground for this type of investigation. If we know that a people differ culturally, and we know further that there are linguistic differences between people who share the same geographic regions, then these linguistic differences may be a key to understanding what cultural differences exist, and further, what the relationship between language and culture includes. Knowing that the surface structures of dialects are mutually intelligible, but that some transformations take place on the deep structures which alter the patterns, should tell us that it is on the competence level where the bulk of information is to be found.

B. Methodology

To explain adequately the role of grammar and dialect in Hurston's literature, and to use this grammar to speculate on the more "literary" investigations into text, this study supports the following assumptions:⁵³

1. The Priority of the Phonic Element

Especially because the original constitution of the Black dialect was oral as is the case with any language, this section will

address seriously the possibilities for analyses based on written representation of the phonic intent. It is the phonic element which indicates, for example, that a difference from the standard structure exists. It therefore becomes necessary to understand the concept of speech as an indication of human behavior when an author such as Hurston, who was aware of this concept, takes such pains to record the speech sound as well as the speech act. She did not allow the more traditional literary cues to suggest merely that there was a speech difference between characters and the narrative structure. Because she did not, we must assume that the recording of the speech act was of importance to her text. Investigation into these textual forms must be able to suggest that there is a parallel between written surface structures and assumed deep structures, and the phonetic literary representations of these structures within the text was an intentional device on the part of the author to indicate that parallel.

2. Distribution and Functional Load

a) Distribution

The linguistic appearance of certain aspects of the dialect may be equivalent to "the notion of distribution" presented in Lyons'

Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, Lyons explains:

The term distribution is applied to the range of contexts in which a linguistic unit occurs insofar as that range of contexts can be brought within the scope of a systematic statement of the restrictions determining the occurrence of the unit in question.⁵⁴

Because Hurston's literature fluctuates between Standard and dialect usage, the element of distribution is especially important to

the literary statement which is made when dialect does occur. This dissertation is using language to make an investigative statement of the user. If there is distribution of feature or structure, then this distribution will be investigated to determine what kinds of literary conclusions are available from this linguistic clue.

b) Functional Load

The appearance of dialect features may in some situations present the occasion for analyzing the functional load. If the dialect were consistent in Hurston, less could be said about this feature. However, fluctuation between dialect and Standard usage breaks down the inter-language contrasts and sets up the potential for an intra-linguistic contrast. Not only does inter-language distribution play a revelatory role, but intra-linguistic function becomes an important investigative element.

For both distribution and functional load, frequency is the determining element for whether or not that structure or feature merits our application of it to textual investigation. Frequency for this text shall therefore be determined by the following restrictions:

1. Character type: if the element is used consistently by a character in Hurston who meets a "restrictive" classification, then its distribution will be considered contributory to that type.
2. Situation: If the element is used consistently in situations which are determined to extend from similar situations, then further analysis is indicated. These situations may be further stratified by determining whether they are a) character

provoked, b) narrator provoked, or c) provoked by some external event or force.

Lyons points out that the validity and informational capability of a linguistic unit is determined by its frequency. "The information content of a particular unit is defined as a function of its probability" (84). Probability and information content are inversely related; that is, the greater our predictability concerning a particular unit, the less the receiver of that unit would lose information if that unit did not occur. High probability predicts high redundancy. Therefore, this analysis is looking for items which are less predictable and therefore higher in informational content.

Finally, the information content of these selected features will be evaluated. Those judged sufficiently high in this content will be used as the samples which can explicate certain aspects of text. Because the volume of a wider application and investigation of these features would inversely affect the ability to evaluate their textual implications, the presentation of data will be considered sufficient proof of the validity of applying information theory to textual material. The selected explications of the data will be offered as evidence of methodology and conclusions of this theory as it applies to literary criticism.

Much of what Hurston says concerning the Black dialect does not come under the heading of "dialect" in her writings. She mentions, in various communications to Hughes some of what she has found concerning "some laws in dialect. Aspirate 'H' in certain positions. . . ." ⁵⁵ Also, in Nancy Cunard's Negro (1934) Hurston

addresses herself to the subject of dialect, mentioning again her findings about the aspirate /h/ but also saying that she can mention "only the most general rules in dialect because there are so many quirks that belong only to certain localities that nothing less than a volume would be adequate."⁵⁶ But, when writing about information she would label cultural, she does give more information about her attitudes concerning Black speech.

The primitive man exchanges descriptive words. His terms are all close fitting. Frequently the Negro, even with detached words in his vocabulary -- not evolved in him but transplanted on his tongue . . . must add action to it to make it do. So we have "chop-axe" sitting-chair" "cook-pot" and the like because the speaker has in his mind the picture of the object in use. Action. Everything illustrated.⁵⁷

Hurston continues her observation about the morphologic content of Black speech to say that the "Negro's greatest contribution to the language is (1) the use of metaphor and simile; (2) the use of the double-descriptive; (3) the use of verbal-nouns."⁵⁸ She gives several examples of each of these categories including:

(1) Metaphor and Simile:

You sho is propaganda.
Sobbing hearted.
Kyting along.
Syndicating--gossiping
To put yo'self on de ladder.

(2) Double-Descriptives:

High-tall

Little-tee-ninchy

low-down

kill dead

de watch wall

(3) Verbal-Nouns:

Funeralize

She features somebody I know.

Sense me into it.

I wouldn't friend with her.

Uglying away.

Her comment about the reasons these phrases have become apparent in the dialect are that the "stark, trimmed phrases of the Occident seem too bare for the voluptuous child of the sun, hence the adornment. It arises out of the same impulse as the wearing of jewelry and the making of sculpture -- the urge to adorn."⁵⁹

Her choices of items similar to these, to include in the dialogue of her novels and stories, serves to emphasize the point that she felt she was capturing something important about the character of the person who was speaking, as well as recording his language.

I have chosen, for this study, to illustrate one of the syntactic features which contains linguistic information in its deep structure which has no semantic equivalent in Standard English. For the features which are semantically concerned, I have taken the clue from Hurston's observations in Negro and chosen to illustrate examples from the categories of verbal-nouns, double-descriptives and metaphor and simile. Because of the cultural and dialectal use of these

items, their meaning and appropriateness can only be judged by speakers of the dialect. They have become, in many situations, idioms of the dialect. An idiom often finds that its meaning cannot be adduced by the context in which it is found, rather, its meaning lies in a deep structure lexical knowledge of the entire phrase. Hurston uses these descriptors as adornment for language which cannot be sufficiently described by the Standard within the Black dialect or the traditional adornments of the narrator's language.

My purpose in this section of the dissertation is to illustrate the method of linguistic inquiry which is possible with dialect and with writers of dialect fiction rather than to explore every feature which Hurston has presented. I have selected her two first novels for the purposes of this illustration, Jonah's Gourd Vine and Their Eyes Were Watching God. Of her short stories, I will be using those from Mules and Men. The criteria for these selections were not particularly strict. This is true because all of Hurston's fiction contained these samples, and there was not great preponderance in any. I did not use Seraph on the Suwannee because the majority of the characters of this novel are white, and their dialectal differences would reveal differences in culture not relevant to the scope of this dissertation. However, I do imagine that it would be interesting to analyze the differences between the dialect Hurston uses in this text, and the texts where the major characters are Black.

For the analysis which follows, the language may contain any

and/or all of these features. The features will be analyzed according to the methodology already discussed. The prime consideration is that the higher the frequency of a feature, the less informational content is revealed. However, the features which appear in addition to another feature will be assigned a greater informational content. For example, a language sample which includes both feature (1) and feature (4) below, will be a higher informational sample than one which simply included feature (4).

These are the features to be studied:

- (1) The language may be dialect.
- (2) The language may include an aphorism.
- (3) The language may include metaphor and simile, the double-descriptive or verbal-nouns.
- (4) The language may include the syntactic structure do <-pres>.
- (5) The language may be Standard usage of English within the structure of the narrative voice.

The following is an explanation of the criteria the language sample must meet to fit the feature specifications.

- (1) The language may be dialect:

Because the structural differences between narrative voice and the voices of Hurston's Black characters are so clear, it will be sufficient, for the purposes of this analysis, to define dialect as the language patterns of the Black characters within Hurston's fiction which differ in structure and sound from the narrative voice, and the voice of the white characters. The distinction of sound may be assumed when the graphemic representation of a dialectal item, which seems equivalent in meaning to a Standard item, is different. For

example, "Ah" is morphologically equivalent to Standard first person singular pronoun "I," but the graphemic representation and its use by a Black character, indicate it is an aspect of the dialect.

(2) The language may include an aphorism:

Aphorisms are deep structure exchanges of information on the part of the speaker and the hearer. These aphorisms may not be semantically clear to non-speakers of the dialect or to non-participants in the situations which provoked their use. An example of an aphorism is "God don't eat okra" (JGV 204).

(3) The language may include metaphor and simile, the double-descriptive or verbal-nouns -- those elements Hurston described as the "urge to adorn:"

The inclusion of the items Hurston mentions in her Negro contribution in the analysis to follow is important. They serve as the standard for defining the very dialectal items she thought important indications of the culture of her characters. If metaphor and simile, the use of the verbal-nouns and double-descriptive are indications of the "urge to adorn," then it is the analyst's task to decide why this urge is a part of the culture being expressed in Hurston's novels. It is as important to recognize that they exist. Some of the fullest expressions of these morphologic categories come within the Black sermon. Hurston uses the same explanatory footnote in Jonah's Gourd Vine and Mules and Men in reference to the sermons included in these texts. She writes:

In his cooler passages the colored preacher attempts to achieve what to him is grammatical correctness, but as he warms up, he goes natural. . . (JGV 316).

Hurston's assessment is accurate. However I also believe that there are some marks of dialect that Hurston adds in order to reinforce her idea of "adornment." The latter becomes even more visible without the syntactic structures of the Black dialect, and for an author who was interested in her audience being able to note these features, the 'stripping' serves the literary purpose as well as her own. It is interesting to note that in the dialogue of her novels and short stories which include "warmer" exchanges, that is, exchanges which have an emotional basis, the appearance of language which adorns increases. The narrator, in Standard English, also plays a part in this adornment. Although Hurston usually manages to keep the dialectal syntactic structure away from the narrative structure, there are points in her novels when the narrative voice is attempting to blend with the dialectal voice. This occurrence has been discussed in the previous chapter. The blend takes place, not through structural or syntactic sharing, but through the sharing of the "adorned" language which has been saved for the exchanges which indicate emotional intensity and/or the bond which narrator and character reach when the latter finally comes to an acceptable stage of self-awareness. Here is an example of the adorned language of emotion. In the following example from Their Eyes Were Watching God, Janie has finally been pushed too far by the crude and demeaning behavior of her husband towards her. This is her response to one of his insults

You big-bellies round here and put out a lot of brag, but 'tain't nothing to it but yo' big voice. Humph! Talkin' 'bout me lookin' old! When you pull down yo' britches, you look lak de change uh life (TEWWG 68-69)!

In another example from the same book, Janie is expressing her love for Tea Cake in the face of a hurricane she is sure will kill them both. She says:

We been tuhgether round two years. If you kin see de light at daybreak, you don't keer if you die at dusk. It's so many people never seen de light at all. Ah wuz fumblin' round and God opened de door (TEWWG 131).

The narrator matches the poetry of this type language when it says:

By morning Gabriel was playing the deep tones in the center of the drum. So when Janie looked out of her door she saw the drifting mists gathered in the west -- that cloud field of the sky -- to arm themselves with thunder and march forth against the world. Louder and higher and lower and wider the sound and motion spread, mounting, sinking, darking (TEWWG 129-30).

In the final pages, the narrative tone and style match the tone and style of Janie, who has come full circle and who feels her experience with life has been unassailable:

Ah done been tuh de horizon and back and now Ah kin set heah in mah house and live by comparisons. . . . Dey gointuh make 'miration 'cause mah love didn't work lak they love, if dey ever had any. Then you must tell 'em dat love ain't somethin' lak uh grindstone dat's de same thing everywhere and do de same thing tuh everything it touch. Love is lak de sea. It's uh movin' thing, but still and all, it takes its shape from de shore it meets, and it's different with every shore (TEWWG 158).

The narrative assessment is:

The light in her hand was like a spark of sun-stuff washing her face in fire. . . . The kiss of his memory made pictures of love and light against the wall. Here was peace. She pulled in her horizon like a great fish-net. Pulled it from around the waist of the world and draped it over her

shoulder. So much of life in its meshes! She called in her soul to come and see (TEWWG 159).

Because the structure of the short story is quite different from the novel, we do not find the same aspect of blend between narrator and character in the short story form. But the method is analogous. The narrative structure of the short story alters itself so that it can include a different structure under the following situations: (1) the actual speech of the characters, (2) the initial omniscient structure of the narrative voice and (3) the terminal blend of character's thought and action within the structure of the narrative.

The result is that the character, in situation (1) will say, "Well, Ah done de bes Ah could. If things aint right, Gawd knows taint mah fault." The initial structure of the narrative voice will continue to use third person references for (2). "She sped to the darkness of the yard, slamming the door after her before she thought to set down the lamp." And the terminal blending structure of the narrative voice in the short story will allow a structure like this one, which seems consciously to avoid the use of persona: "Hours of this. A period of introspection a space of retrospection, then a mixture of both. Out of this awful calm."⁶⁰

The structure is similar to a stream of consciousness. It is meant to suggest the type of internal monologue which that method allows.

Further examples of character adornments, lifted from their relevant structures in Their Eyes Were Watching God, indicate the kinds of structures Hurston outlines in Negro:

--An envious heart makes a treacherous ear (9).
 --Us colored folks is branches without roots (17).
 --They's a lost ball in high grass (9).
 --She . . . left her wintertime wid me (19).
 --Ah wanted yuh to pick from a higher bush (15).
 --You got uh willin' mind, but youse too light behind (34).
 --. . . he's de wind and we'se de grass (44).
 --He was a man wid salt in him (58).
 --. . . what dat multiplied cockroach told you. . . (74).
 --still-bait (71).
 --big-bellies (68).
 --gentlemanfied man (64).
 --cemetary-dead (65).
 --black-dark (74).

Within the structure of the sermon, this type of language is quite evident. Here are some examples from Jonah's Gourd Vine and Mules and Men:

--I can see him--/Molding de world out of thought. . . (MM 181).
 --. . . when y'all is passin' nations thew yo' mouf. . .
 (JGV 197).
 --I can see!./Him seize de mighty axe of his proving power (MM 81).
 --I am the teeth of time/That comprehended de dust of de
 earth (JGV 19).
 --Faith hasn't got no eyes, but she long-legged (JGV 274).
 --. . . and de white caps marbilized themselves like an army
 And walked out like soldiers goin' to battle (JGV 276).
 --I can see-eee-ee/De mountains fall to their rocky knees
 (JGV 278).
 --And then de sacrificial energy penetrated de mighty strata
 (JGV 280).
 --Two thousand years have went by on their rusty ankles
 (JGV 275).
 --And de sun . . . laid down in de cradle of eternity/And
 rocked herself into sleep and slumber (JGV 278).

Both the sermon as well as other opportunities for linguistic adornment fall into a minority status within the actual dialogue of the characters and the diction of the narrator. It can be safely assumed, with reference to informational content and Lyon's stated theory, that the informational content of these occurrences is relatively higher than the occurrences of dialect structures without

this situational adornment. It is a much less speculative task to assign various cultural interpretations to these occasions than it is to speculate about the more subtle structural forms. We have additional information on the culture through the various traditional structures of fiction which are, of course, included in Hurston's writing. The adornment which is present in the dialect on some occasions is not unlike the adornment given to literature as a genre. It has traditionally been a "loftier" language. The interesting aspect of this loftiness lies within its expected association with poetry. Hurston, in a previously quoted letter to James Weldon Johnson, said that the Negro preacher is a "poet -- one who manipulates words in order to convey to others the mystery of that Unknowable force which we call God."⁶¹ Therefore the parallel is applicable that she has found occasions when the dialect is poetry: an attempt to convey not necessarily God in a Judeo-Christian sense, but to convey self in a very spiritual sense. When the preacher gets warmer, the use of his dialect increases. When exchanges get more emotional, the use of adornment increases. When the narrative structure gets closest to that aspect of character which reveals spiritual self-knowledge and awareness, its use of adornment increases. These parallels cannot be accidental for an author who, as I have indicated, noted the existence of these features and whose novels extended those structures into characterization.

(4) The language may include the syntactic structure do <-pres> .

I have chosen to analyze a category of the dialect's syntactic structure which gives indication of tense because investigative

evidence in anthropological linguistics often reveals that the concept of time is culturally specific. One such study is Whorf's investigation of this concept in Hopi.⁶² Studies in the Black dialect, by such researchers as William Stewart, William Labov, J.L. Dillard and Arthur Smith⁶³ suggest that some correlations may be made between categories of tense within the Black dialect and some Creole dialects. Although (as Dillard is careful to point out) there have been no thorough studies of comparisons of the dialects to West African languages or forms of English, the historical connection of Black American dialects to the Caribbean Islands and West Africa makes a preliminary connection between these languages and cultures historically accurate and linguistically sound.

An analysis of do shows that within the Black dialect do will occur under the following circumstances (Figure 1). Figure 2 illustrates the parallel occurrences (or deletions) in the Standard English structures.

1.1	∅	AUX	[+modal]
1.2	*	AUX	[+final] [+perfect]
1.3	∅	AUX	[+progressive] [+copula] [+perfect]
1.4	*	AUX	[+intensive] [+copula] [+progressive] [+perfect] [+final]
1.5	∅	AUX	[+intensive] [+copula] [+habitual] [+progressive] [+perfect]
1.6	∅	AUX	[+past] [-perfect] [-progressive]

Figure 1.
Black Dialect Structures

∅	AUX	[+modal]
∅	AUX	[+perfect]
∅	AUX	[+progressive] [+copula] [+perfect]
-	NA	(Not Applicable)
-	NA	
∅	AUX	[+past] [-perfect] [-progressive]

Figure 2.
Standard English Structures

∅ - indicates the feature does not appear
* - indicates the appearance of the feature

The difference between the dialect and the Standard within the dialogue in Hurston's texts may be viewed on the historical grounds of language variations and change and/or cultural grounds where cultural distinctions mandate such differences. If we had a clearer understanding of the African origins of the dialect, the latter distinction might be easier to identify. But, because research in this area is lacking, only the following speculations seem appropriate:

First, because information theory tells us that the greater the frequency of an item, the potential for significant information decreases, it is reasonable to decide that the differences in structure of features 1.1, 1.2, 1.3 and 1.6 do not significantly alter the lexical information in the surface structure. The exception to this assumption is the category of finality, which will be discussed later.

Second, because features 1.4 and 1.5 have very low frequencies, and because variations which indicate cultural differences have, for the purposes of this study a higher informational content, these features need analysis under the literary structures of character and situation.

Finally, because in some situations do appears in the Black dialect where it cannot be generated in the Standard, some attention is necessary to the semantic construct of this feature. This analysis should reveal some differences in morphology which suggest alternative views which are culture-specific.

Feature (4) of the Black dialect has the potential to contain more information within its linguistic deep structure (DS) than is

apparent in its surface structure (SS). For this reason, it may be used to illustrate the assertion of this thesis that the Black dialect, in its competence levels, may contain information which surface structures don't immediately suggest. Further, that information may include cultural distinctions from the Standard forms.

The linguistic information reveals that do <-pres> is a feature which, in Standard English, is deleted or does not occur in the DS, under the same conditions when it appears in the Black dialect. For conditions 1.1 - 1.6, I will give illustrations of the structures where they appear, with the examples taken from Hurston's texts:

- 1.1 - . . . no varmint kin eat no house
- 1.2 - Ah done finished
- 1.3 - Us been here
- 1.4 - Uh brute beast had done cotched yuh
- 1.5 - he bes drunk
- 1.6 - the worst Ah ever knowed

It is important to note the form done when it appears in a <+perfect> structure is not the equivalent of the SE have or has in the same syntactic structure. If this were the case, example 1.3 could not occur in the dialect because the SE equivalent would be have been here (See Appendix Note #2). Examples such as these in a dialect, create a stronger case for the assertion that more than syntactic differences exist within a DS level. Further illustrations and explanations of these categories are included as an appendix.

Another interesting finding is that the intensive marker can generate, in structure 1.4 had done cotched or been done + VB. The pattern seems to be that if the subject of the intensity is a person, then the copula is used:

(our child) is done come home (MM 62)
 (we) coulda done been gone (MM 126)
 (you all) done been over in Pentecost (MM 179)

But if the subject of the intensity is a place or thing, the had or has is generated:

(Uh beast) had done cotched yuh (JGV 107)
 (a cat-fish) had done jumped up (MM 130)

Even when blending between the dialect and the Standard occur, as in "Robert's son had done been kilt" (TEWWG 18), the semantic construct of the intensive remains along with the "had" which seems to be an aspect of the Standard usage interfering with the dialect.

Jacobs and Rosenbaum, in English Transformational Grammar explain that "Knowledge of the idiosyncratic properties of words may be represented as a kind of internalized dictionary . . . a lexicon."⁶⁴

The selectional restrictions of language use come from the way a language is learned. If that language is learned via a specific culture, which has a world-view specific to that culture, then the selectional restrictions on language use within that culture may very well express that point of view. Whorf's investigations into the aspect of "time" in Hopi are illustrative of this theory. Within the Black culture, a more careful statement must be made because instead of dealing with a language difference, we deal with a dialectal difference. Therefore, the areas of distinction between the dialect and the Standard language are the areas to investigate for potential cultural differences.

For structural differences such as the syntactic distinctions between Standard English and the Black dialect with the feature do

〈-present〉, it is necessary to investigate the deep structure lexicon to indicate the understanding a particular item may convey to its user.

It is particularly important in the analysis of this feature to incorporate the use of a lexicon because Standard dialect eliminates this feature in almost all the environments where the Black dialect retains the features. In addition, the dialect seems to possess lexical environments that have no parallel in the Standard. What lexical information is the Black dialect interested not only in maintaining, through its non-deletions of do, but in creating?

The do 〈-present〉 feature of this dialect, under the conditions when it is deleted as well as conditions when it appears, gives most information to the reader when its deep structure lexicon illustrates the feature 〈+intensive〉. For the dialect speaker, the extremely common use of a lexicon which includes features such as 〈(+)(-) progressive〉 or 〈(+)(-)perfect〉 etc., indicates that the feature is well woven into the dialect and the speaker's internalized dictionary. Although some additional lexical markers for this dialect seem to appear when they do not appear for the Standard (the marker I have designated as indicating 〈+finality〉), the high frequency of its appearance means that it is less likely to carry significant information.

The list of structures included in the Appendix include representations of the forms of do 〈-present〉 which appear in Hurston's fiction, and indicate that the least commonly appearing structures are structures 1.4 and 1.5.

- (5) The language may be Standard usage of English within the structure of the Narrative Voice.

The inclusion of this final feature will allow analysis of the structures in Hurston which attempt a blend between the voice of the narrator and the voice of character. This occurrence has already been discussed. But, analysis within a linguistic framework explains the appearance of language which had been assigned to the dialect (adorned structures). Under circumstances where the distinction between the structures of narration and the dialectal structures of dialogue diminish, this type of language may easily be understood as an aspect of the language usually reserved for literature. However, within the scope of this dissertation, it is possible to see how an author can create what amounts to a third point of view by the blend of dialectal and narrative structures.

The data included in the Appendix suggests that the items which are most worthy of analysis, in view of their frequency and distribution, are the syntactic structures 1.4 and 1.5 and the morphologic descriptors included in the aphorism, the sermon, and the blending aspects of the narrative voice.

The following analyses include explications of the environments surrounding these features. They will be analyzed with reference to the specifications of situation and character already described. Because the basic structure of Hurston's novels is different from her short stories, these two forms of fiction will receive separate treatment. However, one of the results of a linguistic analysis of literary structures in Hurston has indicated that the structure of

the short fiction abbreviates the narrative structure of the novel in a way which suggests that the same authorial intent (to use these structures to give a clearer view of character) was present in both.

Jonah's Gourd Vine and Their Eyes Were Watching God

The syntactic structures which create strings similar to *"he had done got you" and *"he bes sick," seem to appear in these novels without regard to character. Zeke, John's bosom friend in the novel, is capable of producing the string: "Skeered uh brute-beast had done kotched yuh." But the situation in which this structure occurs offers more information about why the dialect possesses a category of meaning such as $\langle +\text{intensive} \rangle$. Zeke has just run down a large hill, frightened by the talk of the men at the camp that his best friend is in danger. Hurston writes: "All alarm, Ezekial leaped up and flew down the path he had seen John take" (JGV 107). The alarm in the situation caused the marker which could suggest that intensity which appears in his speech.

The semantic construct of this structure do $\langle -\text{pres} \rangle$ can perhaps best be explained by a comment that Janie's grandmother makes to her in Their Eyes Were Watching God. She tells her granddaughter that "Ah ain't gittin' ole, honey. Ah'm done ole" (TEWWG 17). It is clear that this is a category of time. But further than that, it is a category which suggests finality in a way that "I am old" could not suggest. For this reason, a string which includes an Aux (be or had) + 'done' + VB would have the additional marker on it of this finality. This semantic construct would even be more apparent in the environments which do not have semantic equivalents in the Standard

English forms.

This dialect has also found it necessary to include a semantic construct which suggests a distinction between times when something is done habitually and times when something is done occasionally. When Amy tells her son in Jonah's Gourd Vine that his stepfather "be's drunk when he keer on like dat" (JGV 80), she is suggesting to him that this is something which is habitual to Ned Crittenden. When Lucy tells her daughter Isis in this same novel not to let the women "be covering up de clock" (JGV 207) when she dies, she is indicating that this is something which habitually happens when someone dies. In her culture, that habit is fact. The ritual of death in the Black community included the notion that it was necessary to cover the faces of any clocks in the room of a dying person because if the clock was running when time ran out and the spirit looked upon the clock's face, it would be forever ruined. A person who was unaware of that myth would not understand the implications of the text. But if he were attuned to the linguistic clue that the language structure offers, at least the suspicion that there was a DS level to that string would be possible for the reader.

Neither of these structures appears frequently in her fiction. When they do appear, the clue to meaning is given entirely within that structure. Hurston did find it necessary, on many occasions, to translate dialectal items, or to offer some explanation for the behavior of her characters in footnote references. The fact that she felt this was necessary indicates that she is aware that her language can carry structures and meanings which are culture-specific.

The final statement Sop makes about Tea Cake is a true summary of the plot and theme of his life. After Tea Cake's death, Sop says that "Tea Cake had done gone crazy" (TEWWG 157). This is an example of the intensive category. Sop really means it. But more than that, Hurston indicates that that is the only assessment of his friend possible from the story. It includes the beauty of his craziness -- his taking a woman seventeen years his junior and making her his lover. In the eyes of the world "he had done gone crazy." If Hurston had not used this category of intensity at that point in the text, the sentiment could not have been the same.

The morphologic structures of these texts, which also present clues for analysis of character and situation in their use as well as their meaning, include a use of descriptive categories within the dialect and the use of these categories within the narration.

Of course it is true that all literature describes, that it attempts to paint an image with vocabulary. What happens with the dialect, and with the narrator's alignment with the dialect, is that same idea of adornment Hurston had explained in Negro. Even "literary language" was an aspect of the "stark, trimmed phrases of the Occident." If this were not true for Hurston, there would be no need for the narrator to change his commentative structure at those points of text which suggest the "blending" explained earlier. Hurston is saying that there is more room, within the semantic and syntactic constructs of the dialect for illustration; that the dialect is better able to picture the mental or DS experience. It uses double-descriptives and verbal-nouns and a wealth of poetic tools

(personification being one Hurston did not pinpoint) to underscore experiences which were spiritual. The language of both characters and narrator becomes almost metaphysical when the sermon is introduced in Jonah's Gourd Vine. Because in this novel the character never achieves that level of self-awareness which the narrative voice has of him, it is only the medium of the sermon that the language can become spiritual. John does realize this. He had told his wife, as well as his congregation that when he gets up in the pulpit it is not him speaking, it is the voice of God speaking through him. So the blend we should expect in the final pages of this novel, if the proposed narrative structure is accurate, is that John will not become "one" with the narrative voice, but that the sermon will blend with the narrative structure. That is exactly what happens.

And the preacher preached a barbaric requiem poem. On the pale white horse of Death. On the cold icy hands of Death. On the golden streets of glory. On Amen Avenue. On Halleluyah Street. On the delight of God when such as John appeared among the singers about His throne. On the weeping sun and moon. On Death who gives a cloak to the man who walked with a feeling of terrible loss. They beat upon the O-go-doe, the ancient drum. O-go-doe, O-go-doe, O-go-doe! Their hearts turned to fire and their shin-bones leaped unknowing to the drum . . . the voice of Death -- that promises nothing, that speaks with tears only, and of the past (JGV 63).

This structure, apparent at the end of the text, not only suggests that the measure of truth is found in the blend of ancestral spirit with the outwardly Christian cloak, but it also serves to explicate an earlier segment of the text.

Early in this novel, there is a celebration after all the

plantation's cotton had been picked. It is an African celebration. The narrator writes that "they danced. They called for the instrument that they had brought to America in their skins -- the drum -- and they played upon it." It was said, "He will serve us better if we bring him from Africa naked and thingless" (JGV 59). A purely literary analysis at this point of the novel, would offer two possibilities: (1) that "He" is, as the text suggests, the white man speaking of the African, Cuffy, or (2) that "He" could have an alternative intent. If it has an alternative at this point of the novel, it is quite moot. However, with the knowledge that the blending structure suggests at the text's end, that there is reason and truth lying between the African celebration and the Christian soul, this passage has a far greater significance. It could be the Black African, who has not lost his self-knowledge reasoning that his god ("He") could serve him better if he did not cloak him over with some other religion. The final message of the book is that if John had been true to his spirit as well as to his flesh, he could have survived. It is an African truth which he had lost.

Within the structures of the folk stories in Mules and Men, the literary functions of these syntactic structures becomes very evident. This is partly because the abbreviated form of this fiction allows such literary signals to play a more important role. It is also due to the fact that in this text, the narrators of the stories are themselves speakers of the dialect, so it becomes possible to make a distinction between the language of the characters within the folk story, and the language of the teller of the tale.

Simile and Metaphor; Double-Descriptives;
Verbal-Nouns

These structures are abundant. It is as if the folk tale is an opportunity to use a "special" form of language. And it is. Many of the narrators in Mules and Men "begin" their stories with something which is reminiscent of an invocation to a Muse in classical literature. On page 70, Shug says that "Ah got to say a piece of literary fust to git mah wind on," and proceeds to recite a bit of poetry to "warm him up" for the story telling which follows. The equivalent to something like "once upon a time" gives precedence to the word, or the language which is to follow and becomes in the dialect "Let me talk some chat," or "lemme spread my mess," or "Hurry up an plough up some literary, lay by some alphabets." Characters in these stories have such soliloquys as:

Ole Maker, wid de mawnin' stars glitterin in
yo shinin crown, wid de dust from yo
footsteps makin worlds upon worlds, wid de
blazin bird we call de sun flying out of yo
right hand in de mawnin and consumin all day
de flesh and blood of stump-black
darkness. . . (MM 50).

In examples such as these, personification, simile, and metaphor abound. It is interesting that the most poetic dialect in the folkstories is found in conjunction with stories which have a religious theme, or stories which in some way identify heaven for the audience. This form of story, and the language found within it, is very similar to the Black sermon, which also relies on abundantly poetic language. It is as if the "spiritual" topic demands a language which can accommodate it.

But, that language is not restricted to the story telling.

Talking about telling a story can provoke language structures as dramatic. "Let de dollars hush whilst de nickel speak" says one adult character to the others, when trying to clear the way for a young child to tell his story. Criticizing the abilities of another provoked this comment: "You mens don't draw no pay. You don't do nothin but stand around and draw lightnin." And the spirit which storytelling provokes is a competitive spirit which led the participants to challenge even the most natural descriptors within the language:

"Man, he's too ugly. If a spell of sickness ever tried to slip up on him, he'd skeer it into a three weeks' spasm."
 ". . . He ain't so ugly. Ye all jus ain't seen no real ugly. Ah seen a man so ugly till he could get behind a jimson weed and hatch monkie."
 ". . . Ah seen a man so ugly till they had to spread a sheet over his head at night so sleep could slip up on him."
 ". . . Ah knowed one so ugly till you could throw him the Mississippi river and skim ugly for six months."
 ". . . Ah knowed dat same man. He didn't die -- he jus' uglified away" (MM 94).

The important element within the storytelling environment is that within this culture, it causes such a consciousness of language abilities and patterns, that the language becomes what Hurston described as "adorned."

Hurston is indicating through the language, and through the character's consciousness of that language, that they are the story, as well as telling the story. Hemenway speculates in his biography that Hurston chose the form for Mules and Men because of a need to illustrate not only the stories which she had gathered for her sponsors, but also because of a need to illustrate the origins of

these stories. They could not have been presented outside of the cultural setting. The adornment of the language within the stories was the adornment of the story tellers. These phrases are by no means as apparent in her longer fiction. Here, Hurston has had a chance to present the perspective of a nonparticipant narrator. Within the structures of the short fiction there is no non-participation. After the stories are finished, the narrators are still so caught up in the language patterns they have been using, that they need "cooling off" in much the same way they needed "warming up." We find such terminations as:

Biddy, biddy, bend my story is end.
Turn loose de rooster and hold de hen (MM 132).

Stepped on a pin, de pin bent
And dat's de way de story went (MM 54).

Stories often begin with poems, such as the one on page 70 in

Mules and Men:

Well Ah went up on dat meat-skin
An Ah come down on dat bone
And Ah grabbed dat piece of corn-bread
And Ah made dat biscuit moan.

Adorned language within the Black dialect, is, in other words, an identification of another level of consciousness. It is a consciousness of self and the potential for creation that most language has lost. It is certainly not equivalent to a standard narrative structure, because it compels involvement of narrator and audience in the actual content of the fiction. It is this involvement and participation which distinguishes Hurston's dialectal fiction from other forms of fiction. No other forms demand an eventual merging

of character and narrator, a linguistic blend which suggests a final understanding and/or resolution. No other forms demand an audience's participation which creates a sermon between preacher and congregation, rather than a sermon from preacher. The shared aspect between speaker and listener was perhaps created from the structures of the language which connected a group of speakers in a positive way, a brotherhood which the systems of slavery and racism in this country have sought to erase. It was a means of preservation, and became a means of DS communication.

do <-pres>

Within the syntactic category of do <-pres> the short story and folk tales add to the examples present in the longer literature, and reinforce the assumptions concerning the semantic categories. The use of "done" suggests a finality not possible with the simple past, however, not completely equivalent to the SE perfect. This is illustrated in structures which permit the SE "had" in the perfect tense "dat mosquito had done cleaned up ten acres" and also "done" in the perfect tense "Ah done dropped my hammer." "Had" and "done" cannot both be perfect. The dialect indicates again, that the form carries an additional lexical marker. The "done" is a final deed. When it appears alone in a string, the finality is underlined. When it appears in addition to the perfective marker, that finality is again underlined. It is as if the speaker is indicating that no matter what accoutrements of the SE he uses, his own language must be included for semantic sense. He is communicating more than a language. He is communicating a cultural understanding. His responsibility to his

audience is to forward that message. Hurston's responsibility to her audience is to make us aware that that potential exists.

When the critical reader becomes aware of the potential for the structure of the dialect to carry such messages as intensity and finality, he is equipped to make a more accurate judgement about character. When this reader is also aware of the aspects of the dialect which adorn the language, then the judgement is further strengthened. The link between a syntactic structure such as do and the more semantic aspects of adornment is very fundamental to language. They comprise two of its three most basic elements: order and sense. The third element of language, sound, is also an extremely important aspect of dialect, but because the thrust in this thesis is towards literature, order and sense are primary. Both elements work to increase the cognitive potential for the language user and the language listener. Variations in structure can produce subtle nuances in meaning. Because aspects of meaning are often culture-specific, than any element of language which informs "sense" can give the listener (or reader, in the case of literature) who is informed of this potential more information.

When, in the conversation near the saw mill in Mules and Men the men discovered they need not have reported for work that day, Black Baby says, "We coulda done been gone. . ." (126). Hurston has italicized the done. The reader who is prepared to make a linguistic judgement on this dialectal structure would know, even without the emphasis, that Black Baby is frustrated and angry with someone. For the many times when similar structure appears which is

not italicized, the additional insight into the character's consciousness is available to a reader clued to look for dialect structures for textual explications.

John understands that his father is habitually drunk during his ragings at his son when his mother says "he be's [my emphasis] drunk when he keer on lak dat." John acknowledges this structure "Ah don't keer if he do be [my emphasis] . . ." (80). The reader who understands will not only be able to see something more of Ned Crittenden's character than is allotted in the short space of this book devoted to him, but can make a further judgement about John's reaction as well as develop some idea of the kind of background Hurston has envisioned for her characters. Dialect can be a way to fill in information, to speculate on authorial intent, and to further clarify the critical judgements we make concerning literature.

Finally, we should be able to see that dialect can do for language what poetry does to prose. In the same manner that a line of poetry loses its force and beauty and concise sense of construction when 'translated' into prose, dialect loses those same qualities when translated into the Standard. Dialect and poetry both intensify. Their adornment and 'special' structures are conscious machinations of language by their users to render their experiences as they have felt them. It is an effort to give more. An informed and critical reading audience must be both aware of the effort and equipped to receive the message of an author who specializes her language with dialect.

CHAPTER V

"FORMALIZED CURIOSITY"

Research Methods

Hurston referred to research as "formalized curiosity." Her curiosity was directed towards investigating the culture of Blacks in the southern part of America and in the Caribbean. Her methods were those of the socio-anthropologist Franz Boas, who directed her research and instilled in her the tools of a skilled linguistic anthropologist. He made it very clear that the primary tool of the researcher was a command of the language of the community he was to study. In Linguistics and Ethnology Boas stated that a "command of the language is an indispensable means of obtaining accurate and thorough knowledge."⁶⁵

Hurston was a native of that area of the United States which she researched for folklore; she was already familiar with and competent in the dialect. Although she possessed this competence as a native speaker, it was not until she made her first venture into field work that the lessons of Boas were learned for life. During her first six months she ventured into the field using what she describes in her autobiography as "carefully accented Barnardese," the result of her education in New York at Barnard College. The glamour of this institution followed her into the field and made these first attempts failures.

It is likely that Boas reminded her when she returned from the South that the same concepts he noted in his Handbook of American Indian Languages (1911) held true for her research.⁶⁶ In that book he had discussed the practical service language lends to the investigator. It gives him not only an important adjunct to a full understanding of the customs and beliefs of the people under study, but is also a means to a clearer understanding of ethnological phenomena unrelated to linguistic problems.

It was obvious when she went to the Caribbean for research that she had learned the necessity of sharing the language of her informants. She notes in the text which documents much of this research, Tell My Horse, Voodoo Gods An Inquiry, that before venturing into any gathering from which she might elicit information, she was very careful to learn the Creole dialect of the islands. Boas' theory, that a knowledge of the language enables the investigator not only to include linguistic configurations, but to see how grammatical features are evidence of cultural patterns of meaning and thought, is exemplified in the manner Hurston chooses to translate some "island sayings" in Tell My Horse. For example, she 'translates' the linguistic phrase "Rockatone at ribber bottom no know sun bot," into this formal equivalent: "the person in easy circumstances cannot appreciate the sufferings of the poor," rather than its exact Standard English equivalent. Some items of poetry and song she chooses not to translate, most likely because Boas taught her the same principle he espoused in the first chapter of his Handbook of American Indian Languages:

[for poetry] no translation can possibly be considered as an adequate substitute for the original. The form of rhythm the treatment of the language, the adjustment of the text to music, the imagery, the use of metaphors . . . can only be interpreted by the investigator who has equal command of the ethnological traits of the people and their language.⁶⁷

Her methods of inquiry were in these ways finely tuned by her experiences at Barnard with Boas. There are two major bodies of research which she explored. The first was with the rural southern Black in America, most notably around the area of Eatonville, Florida and the Gulf Coast in America (Mobile and New Orleans). The second was, as mentioned, with the Caribbean Blacks. Though we find Langston Hughes chuckling in his biography over Zora Hurston walking through the streets of Harlem stopping Negroes and asking if she could measure their skulls, we can assume that her experiences in New York were only to solidify the education she was getting at Columbia and Barnard. It was in the South that she independently began her formalized research.

Each of her regional explorations has some similarity with the other. The similarities we find were due to the shared cultural generation of Blacks on this side of the Atlantic. Africanisms have survived in varied forms among Blacks in America as well as Blacks in the Caribbean. The most interesting form of survival, for Hurston, was documented in the ceremonies and mysticisms of Voodoo or Hoodoo. In New Orleans, Hoodoo was called sympathetic magic and practiced by two-headed doctors. In the Caribbean community, less stripped of African linguistic patterns than the Afro-American communities,

Blacks remained faithful to the African pronunciation of the Dahomeyan term /vudu/.

The fact that the term is traceable to this particular African region is significant. Dahomey's port of departure of many slave ships bound for the Americas and the Caribbean was named "Ouidah." The major Voodoo god is named "Damballah Ouedo." The Rada gods of Voodoo are "good" gods who originated in Dahomey. (Evil gods are claimed by the Congo region). But Dahomean place names are included in the names of Rada deities, as Hurston points out in Tell My Horse. The Ouidah-Ouedo similarity is an example of the incidence. Many Black American women today are named Ouida/widah/, a name traceable to these African roots.

Hurston has noted that there is some conflict between the initial consonants in Voodoo and Hoodoo. She has used them interchangeably in her texts, her only comment being that in America the white pronunciation is faithful to the African and that Blacks used the term Hoodoo. If her observation is correct, then it is a puzzling issue. A possible explanation would be that the whites who traveled and traded with the Caribbean colonies used the pronunciation of the islands and that the isolated Black Americans, once the initial syllable underwent a phonetic change, continued the phenomenon. This linguistic occurrence is not unusual and is consistent with the phenomenon of linguistic change due to displacement.

The two texts in which Hurston describes and explores the religion of Voodoo are Tell My Horse, Voodoo Gods; An Inquiry, which discusses her research and findings in the Caribbean; and Mules and

Men which concentrates on practices in the Southern United States, specifically, New Orleans, which Hurston describes as the "hoodoo capital of America."

Voodoo is a religion which, like all theologies, explains creation and life. It is the worship of natural things and involves a complex use of linguistic ritual. This probably originates in the Voodoo belief that God created the world in six days of magic spells and incantations: a linguistic phenomenon. The verbal beginnings of the world in African theology, are paralleled in the Christian gospel: "In the beginning was the Word." Hurston's book, Moses, Man of the Mountain, uses a great deal of the creation theology for its text. Mules and Men begins its discussion of Voodoo with the creation story. Tell My Horse repeats this theology, but the creation stories of the Caribbean include more sensual symbology than does the Black American version. Both theologies have a large mixture of Catholicism, which Hurston explains is due to the heavy French influence in the islands and Gulf coast. The pictures of saints which are included in the practice of Hoodoo are not the Haitian gods in white face. These pictures serve instead as approximations of the Haitian Gods or Loa. It is a way to put a linguistic myth into a visual form.

These texts comprise the research on the Voodoo practices of the two countries. At times she makes comparisons between practices in New Orleans and Haiti or Jamaica, but the books largely restrict themselves to the specific regions under study.

Voodoo has been, according to Hurston, largely ignored and/or

misunderstood by ethnographers. The major area of misunderstanding is the link between Hoodoo and Catholicism. Because this link is often the only knowledge a lay person has of the practices of this religion, some attention here is appropriate.

The influence of the Catholic church has been especially strong in America in the southern regions spotted by French and Spanish settlements. This is also true of the Caribbean. Linguistically, the French influence is well documented by the Creole dialect with blends French, English and African lexica to form a special dialect of the American Black. Culturally, the French influence in Voodoo is seen through its link to the church.

God, as an anthropomorphic creation, is not restricted to Hebrew mythology. The phenomena of God-in-nature and the in-dwelling God is an ancient African theological premise. It is not surprising to see the survival of this premise in Black America and the Caribbeans. The ritual and symbolism of the Catholic church in many ways appealed to the displaced Africans whose religions involved very specific methods of worship and deification. The multitude of Catholic saints in this way became the perfect vehicles for the Africans to visualize their gods. Hurston cautions her readers not to mistake this for metamorphosis. Instead, she says, it is a method to make the ceremonies to the loa more visual. Damballah Ouedo, a Rada god of Voodoo worship, is found in the picture of St. Patrick. This cultural assimilation is expected when language and culture come into contact. Uriel Weinreich, in his book, Languages in Contact notes that what decides whether a cultural practice that is introduced to

another culture is sustained by that culture or changed by it, is whether or not it becomes a part of an organized system of ideas and sentiments.⁶⁸ Certainly the saints were part of an organized sentiment, but they were taken out of this context by Voodoo and placed into another highly organized system. Therefore, we find them retaining a Catholic identity outside of the Voodoo sect, but submerging that identity to a Voodoo loa, for those within the sect. Like so many religions of the world, the actual visualization of the deity is an impossibility. No Haitian artists, according to Hurston, have ever given an interpretation of concept of the loa. In Haiti, each houngan, or priest of Voodoo, has his own personal conception of the loa drawn into his "book of notes" and passes this concept down to those who come under him for tutelage. But here too, the concept is an approximation only.

Hurston describes Voodoo as rites and deeds which keep alive the powers of Africa. In this religion, the actual worship ceremonies are bound in secrecy. Brother and sister, husband and wife, hide their adherence to the sect from each other. The publicized versions of Voodoo ritual and magic are ridiculously exaggerated and misconceived according to Hurston. Voodoo sects confine their conversations only to "sympathetic" ears.

It is somewhat ironic that Hurston, as an initiate of the secret religion, chooses to tell all in the books under discussion. From what she describes, she is committing a very obvious sacrilege. One must assume that her commitment to linguistic and anthropological field work, as well as her allegiance to the foundations which were

sponsoring her research and who expected from publishable material to be its result, played a stronger hand than the Voodoo gods. Therefore, we have access to the remarkable journeys into this religion in Tell My Horse, and Mules and Men.

Analysis of Texts

Part Two of Mules and Men (1935) is concerned with Voodoo practices in the South. In its 1970 introduction by Darwin Turner, we find the statement that the world of Hoodoo could only have been effectively explored by a Black person. Franz Boas notes that "she has been able to penetrate through that affected demeanor by which the Negro excludes the white observer from participating in his true inner life" (MM 16).

It is interesting that Boas does not assume that Hurston, as a Black woman, also possessed that "affected demeanor" and that it is by virtue of her membership in the community she studies that she is able to gather such excellent examples of folktales and Voodoo practices. It is understandable from the view of this analysis that Hurston would (and did, as noted in previous discussions) encounter some difficulty in gathering material because of her affectations toward members of her own race. Once she abandoned these, she made valuable journalistic investigation and inquiry.

Perhaps it is because of her identification with the Southern community that Hurston does not employ the standard methods of an anthropological researcher in Mules and Men. Neither has she delved into any analytical dissection of the folk tales and practices of Hoodoo. Instead, she writes as a participant, with the polished eye

of someone who is at once sympathetic and scrutinizing. She found it necessary to earn the confidence of her informants. After all, how many of their race had before asked questions about the informal story telling of an early evening porch gathering? What had always been taken for granted among the community as a standard form of entertainment and an accepted religious practice had suddenly come under the scrutiny of a woman who seemed to be a member of that community. The statements of both Turner and Boas concerning Hurston's natural intimacy and her community's initial mistrust of her are true. It was not the first or the last paradoxical situation she would need to resolve.

In both her texts on Voodoo, Hurston follows her established pattern as a teller of folktales as well as attempting to introduce the reader to some of the political and social implications of life in the Bahamas. Her detailed descriptions of life in this area make excellent reference material for the ethnographer. In Tell My Horse, Jamaica provides the material for her sociological investigations. Her narrative reads like a travel folder written by someone who is concerned with the patterns of life in the islands. Therefore, her discussions of the rituals of the islands (birth, death and marriage, and the special section devoted to the position of women in the Caribbean) are informative pieces. Most of the discussion of Voodoo is left for the section on Haiti. This section is also the subject of her political scrutiny. With the eye and skill of a sociohistorian, Hurston uses a historical perspective to explore the nationhood of Haiti, and speculate on its future in a quasi-prophetic chapter

titled "The Next Hundred Years," before she delves into the substance of this text, "Voodoo in Haiti."

A Guggenheim fellowship enabled her to study the culture of the areas around New Orleans. After many months of visiting and questioning, Hurston decided that the student of the Voodoo priestess Marie Leveau was the most powerful and respected priest in that region. She chose him for her teacher. The story that follows her discovery of Turner (the teacher) and his reluctant agreement to take her on as a pupil is the most fascinating section of Mules and Men. With precise attention to detail she describes her initiation under Turner and the ceremony which required her to lie naked with her navel resting on a snake skin for a three day "search for the spirit." Her silent and fasting body lay still in this position for sixty-nine hours. She writes that during this period she experienced five psychic phenomena. Medically, that is not surprising. The religious practices which include fasting in their doctrines do so for very specific purposes. The psychological disorientation which results from a lack of food are the very stuff on which the religion builds testimonies for visions, miracles or other such occurrences. The Biblical experience of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane is one such incident.

The intense and specific rituals involved in Voodoo worship could have been explored by Hurston more fully. She leaves the reader who looks for more than the absorbing account of the various ceremonies and performances disappointed. The researcher who is looking for a purely scientific anthropological report would judge this section of Mules and Men as a failure. But from a sociological

perspective, she has done a remarkable job in both her texts in three ways.

First, her criteria for selection of the significant cultural and historical points to discuss and/or illustrate, are apparent and well-executed.

Second, her organization of data reveals the methodology of someone familiar with research methods.

Third, her inclusion of an appendix which functions for both texts as a glossary, a sampling of folksongs, prescriptions from the famous Root Doctors and worship songs of Voodoo, is a valuable aid to one who needs direction in these areas.

The following pages explore her selectional criteria and organization of these books.

Selectional Criteria

Her major basis for including material seems to be whether or not she has had a personal experience by which she could verify the data given her in inquiry within the Voodoo community. It should be obvious that this is an excellent way to establish credibility and objectivity. It has already been suggested that Hurston's writing as a narrator in the folk stories seems to imitate the style we would expect from a reporter. But this reporter was not content to glean her information from passers-by. Her method involved direct contact. For four months in New Orleans she asked questions and received answers but "nothing was put on paper." She followed a similar plan of attack in the Caribbean. She scientifically organized the data she collected and found the references in New Orleans seemed

to continually point to Marie Leveau. The information she collected about this woman was varied and indirect. She continued to search for a direct source and was finally able to locate the nephew of Marie Leveau, Luke Turner, who was himself a Voodoo doctor. He had been trained personally by his aunt, who was dead, and it was this man that Hurston succeeded in persuading to teach her. This is the point in Mules and Men when the detailed discussion of Voodoo practices begins. She has deleted all second-hand information received during her first months and begun with her own experience and accumulated knowledge.

A second criterion for reporting the phenomena is the use of the style of first person narration. I call this employment of persona a criterion because she seems to distinguish between her experiences with Voodoo and the conversations held during these ceremonies, and others' experiences or telling of their tales. The former is accomplished without dialogue. The point is significant because Hurston captures the sound of the dialect in her dialogue. We understand that she feels it is important not only to the authenticity of her story to remain faithful to the dialect, but to capture the flavor which the language reveals to her reader, as one more aspect of the sect she is exploring. We are privy, in a fashion, to a much keener view of Voodoo. The cures, potions and spells she and her teacher prepare for others are recorded in the style of her folktales. In this manner she tells not only the method Voodoo doctors employ in various situations, but also the story of the man who kills (using Voodoo) and his lover's husband, and the

story of the woman who seeks revenge on a man who had shot her husband. She also includes a section she labels "Conjure Stories" which illustrate the attitude of Blacks in the deep South toward this subject, as if to reinforce for the reader the effect she has already created.

Another criticism seems to be that the stories and experiences she chooses to illustrate in these texts all stem from some direct contact with a Voodoo doctor. These are not the tales of people whom she has found in her homes or at work who choose to tell her their experiences with Voodoo, but the stories of people who have come to the various doctors who taught her while she was a student, and who came to her for cures after her training under Turner was completed. The result of this selectional criteria is more accuracy and information than the style and her subject may have allowed under more relaxed investigation.

Organization

The organization of the two texts is similar. Hurston begins with a historical survey of the areas in which Voodoo has been practiced. In Mules and Men this survey's emphasis is on telling the origins of Hoodoo "the way we tell it." Testimony follows this survey and statement of origins, with her expected form of making this testimony a conversation between two neighbors. In this way, she keeps the scientific approach of having the practice of Hoodoo verified by the community, as well as salvaging the audience's interest in reading an absorbing narrative.

Following these opening formalities, Hurston tells us how she

located her teacher, Turner, and the methods of her indoctrination to the various rituals of Voodoo practices. Her detachment in these sections is amazing. Although she is narrating a sequence of personal events which must have been overwhelmingly emotional (she tells of Turner becoming ". . . more and more voluble. The animal struggled. A knife flashed and the sheep dropped to its knees, then fell prone with its mouth open in a weak cry. . ." (MM 250-1)), there is no hint in the narration of the degree of involvement on her part. Here we cannot doubt that Hurston has achieved the detachment of a "serious social scientist." I suspect, that if it had not been for the unusual and absorbing nature of her narration, that detachment would have detracted from the text's appeal to a "general" audience. As it was, this book was very successful, and satisfied both Godmother's wish for her material to be published in a "respectable" form, and Hurston's desire to let people know about her culture.

Tell My Horse, Voodoo Gods; An Inquiry is a much longer and much more detailed book. However, it still follows the general plan of organization of Mules and Men. Its opening sections are historical survey. Jamaica and Haiti are scrutinized for their cultural practices (outside of Voodoo), the status of women in the Caribbean, the speculation on their futures and nationhood, and investigations into some of their most famous political leaders.

Again, like the Mules and Men collection, the organizational plan calls for an investigation into the origins of Voodoo within the mythology of the islands. In this text, Hurston devotes some time to the Voodoo gods and their African origins. Finally, after these

preliminaries are accomplished, Hurston details her investigations into the communities which practice Voodoo, outlines some of the rituals which she has observed and in which she participated, and manages to achieve that same narrative detachment noted in Mules and Men.

Both books couple her own experiences with the larger topics of origins and practices of Voodoo. The network which joins these topics is established first by a discussion (in Mules and Men) of the history of Marie Leveau and her kin who were Hurston's first teachers. Their lessons led to contacts with clients. The contact with clients leads the reader to a larger chapter of conjure stories, told by those clients who came to her for cures.

The network of Tell My Horse is similar, but has an additional feature. Those members of the community who inform her concerning Voodoo also give her the opportunity to reflect on the effects of history within the culture of those islands.

Both these books signify a departure from the form of the novel. This departure from fiction to non-fiction is indicative of Hurston's major concern to use her writing skills to illustrate the markings of her culture. Although as a novelist she managed to create some excellent fiction, and as a researcher to capture some exciting and amusing stories, the intent in both forms was the same. Hurston was aware that by being both subject and object she could give her white reading audience a view of Black America they would not otherwise be privy to. Therefore, in addition to testifying to the diverse skills of the author, Tell My Horse and Mules and Men indicate the contemporary concern of the Black Aesthetic: that Black

Art must be a political expression and dedicated to a nationalistic view of all aspects of Black life in America. They were texts which anticipated nationalism thirty years before Black America defined it.

CONCLUSION

In March, 1973, J. Mitchell Morse wrote an article entitled "The Shuffling Speech of Slavery: Black English."⁶⁹ This article expounds a philosophy of language use and meaning, and more specifically dialect use and meaning, which Hurston sought to eradicate through the examples of her fiction. Current linguistic theory, especially psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic theories, lends no support to Morse's position. Scholars who follow these disciplines usually find themselves directly opposed to Morse.

But the difficulty which Zora Neale Hurston faced in 1928, in convincing her reading audience that a language could reflect the thought of a culture, is similar to the difficulty which scholars face today. The problem today is compounded because the notions of race in our society have made it necessary both to convince scholars that thought and language are related in some deep structure way having nothing to do with basic competence (either behavioral or cognitive), and that the dialect is a linguistic system held and used by intelligent people capable of holding and producing intelligent thought.

The comments which Morse makes in his article in College English punctuate the need for this kind of linguistic education today:

Black English is not . . . accepted as a legitimate language. . . . because it is not a satisfactory medium for the communication of precise information or the development of clear ideas. . . . It doesn't lend itself to clear expression . . . A person who has difficulty with the

agreement of subject and verb can't think clearly. . . (388-90).

It is not easy to see, with comments such as these in mind, how unclear and imprecise thought could work to create such compelling, full, and straightforward pictures of Black life in America as did the dialect literature of Zora Neale Hurston.

I began this paper with the assertion that in Hurston, language and character have an important link. That statement needs broadening. In all literature, language and character have the potential to be linked very closely. That closeness would be, or could be, the same bond which exists between language and personality, between a human's consciousness of himself and his world and his ability to translate that consciousness into a communicable form. It is one of the most basic definitions of language -- that language is man's expression of self. It should not be unusual that self-expression in life be the same expression in literature. What happens is that when a poet works at creating the poetic word, he creates an instrument. The instrument begins to function on its own power, the power of the poem, and the original creator is forgotten.

Hurston has reminded us of that primal creator.

The affirmation we find in Hurston's literature is the affirmation of self. She has superseded that old controversy between form and content by remembering that the form of a person's language is the content of his self. Translating that concept into her literature simply meant to remember that her characters were more than the artist's instruments. They were multi-dimensional. The contents of their minds had to be expressed whenever they spoke.

Therefore, she gave them spirits in the same manner which she realized her own.

Her reminder to her reading audience was that language is a reliable and constant illumination of truth. It can reveal character in ways that no narrative commentary could, and in ways that no external structure could, and can create characters who are factual representations of their culture. What is remarkable about this reminder, is that it was offered during a time when anthropological science was bent on indicating the lack of difference between cultures. It was a powerful school of thought to dispute. For a long time past the era of Boas, the anthropological assumption was that language ability is evenly distributed among all cultures, and therefore these cultures essentially have no differences. Hurston took Boas' theory to task in two very crucial areas:

First, she indicated that although Black speech was not a separate 'language,' it was a form of communication capable of holding the same levels and complications of thought as any "fully-formed" language. Boas would hardly have agreed with this view. The common assumption at this time was that the linguistic patterns of minority cultures in America was a "broken" form of the English language, an unsuccessful attempt at mimicry. It is important to note that although Hurston may not have argued with the latter part of that assumption, she did recognize enough differences in the dialect to be able to point to them as differences due to a cultural distinction, rather than a cultural deficit. In other words, Hurston could not have believed that it was because Blacks were unable to speak like

whites that the dialect emerged. If she had, there would be no explanation for her comments in Negro that the Negro uses certain words and structures for adornment, because the language of the West has such sterility. She is affirming that the Black dialect exists because of conscious, or subconscious choice. It was neither the theory of Boas, nor the theory of the then current school of descriptive linguists. Instead, it was the informed view of an artist who had been able to participate in her art both as subject and object and who therefore held the 'insider's' view when it came to writing about her subject.

As an artist who understood all the relevancies of language and culture, the 'power' she gave to her literature could not ignore linguistic power. Taking language into consideration meant she also had to think about what language meant to the person who used it, of what it was an indication. It was the ability to give so much more dimension to literature than was normally possible which creates the kinds of novels which reviewers have praised for their depth, without even knowing what kinds of depth were actually present.

When Hurston calls John Pearson a poet, and defines the poet to James Weldon Johnson as someone who manipulates words, she is also speaking of the artist who manipulates words. She is speaking of herself. In Jonah's Gourd Vine, John's tragedy is that he is never able to reconcile God speaking through him with his own speech and actions. He cannot recognize the interdependence of language and behavior. Although this theme is clear within the novel, it takes an evaluation of the form and content of her literature before it

becomes clear that Hurston feels this in a much larger spectrum. After this analysis is accomplished, it is possible to see the theory of language behavior and overt behavior working its way throughout her fiction. These behaviors were not independent, and we can see that Hurston not only realized their dependency, but that she also realized that the consciousness of their dependency was as vital as documenting its existence. This consciousness is clearly exhibited in Jonah's Gourd Vine. Because John lacks it, John dies. In Moses, Man of the Mountain, because Moses realized that what he says to the Hebrews is as important as the way in which it is stated (the dialect he used) we realize that he is aware of the power of the word. The characteristic diminishing of dialogue in Hurston's novels, when the character's internal retreats are about to bring them to some greater levels of awareness, is an indication that Hurston believed that whoever uses language, the artisan-author or the speaker outside of a literary reference, must be in control of that language, and conscious of its power. If he is not, some level of consciousness -- a deeper level -- is lost.

It was not necessary for Hurston to illustrate, as I have in this dissertation, the deep structure syntactical changes and meanings which are preserved in the surfaces of the dialect. I do not doubt that she was unaware of these structures in the forms I have offered them here. For one thing, mine is a contemporary analysis of the structures of language. For another, Hurston's contribution was a far more subtle awareness than structures which rely in transformational-grammars permit one to offer. Because she did not have the

accoutrements of modern-day linguistic theory, and because her formal education was working against her rather than for her in the linguistic theories which her literature indicates, Hurston's contribution to language/thought theories is far more valuable. It means that it was a speaker's knowledge and a hearer's knowledge of the dialect, as well as a skill for poetry (in an Aristotelian sense) that allowed her to come to the conclusions she did about language. She never made a formal denial of Boas' theory of language and culture. It is almost as if she was not fully aware that what she was doing was in direct contradiction to the lessons of her mentor. What was most important to her was not to contradict, but to affirm the validity and capability of her race in any of its behaviors, linguistic behavior, although by no means the least of them, was an aspect to use for this process of affirmation.

June Jordan's comment that Their Eyes Were Watching God was Hurston's novel of Black affirmation means even more when seen within the total offering of the novel: its language, its character, its plot, its setting, and its theme.⁷⁰ All of these elements gain more because Hurston made the effort to preserve that aspect of humanity which tells most about man - his expression. When the content of her literature drew on this linguistic potential, as it did for the preacher in Jonah's Gourd Vine, and the leader in Moses, Man of the Mountain, and the mayor in Their Eyes Were Watching God, and the various folk of her folk tales; we realize that Hurston was aware of the power of his tool to create a fictional environment which seemed to be vignettes of life. When the form of her language reinforced

that telling by the changes in narrative structures, and the blends accomplished by the voices of characters and the voices of her various narrators, and when the whole novel moves with an internal poetry as soon as the characters move to recognize their poetic selves; then we, as readers, must admit that Hurston realized that language could also be used to enforce a structural environment which underlined the message held within the content.

As far as linguistic ability is concerned, there is no void between form and content: only a very powerful and dependent structure.

When Hurston illustrates that language is a competent means of expressing thought by having her characters express that thought, and having her structure reflect it, she is issuing rebuttal to such scholars as Morse who claim that people who have difficulty with the agreement of subject and verb can't "think clearly," in at least two different ways.

First, she indicates that the structures of dialect are not necessarily structures which copy poorly or incorrectly a Standard language. Instead, dialect structures are independent of the Standard in an effort to express a thought which the Standard is not capable of carrying. The "adornment" she describes is an indication of her knowledge of this dialectal distinction. The attempt to give a language something more, in many instances, forced the Black dialect into linguistic differences from the Standard. Blacks were interested in being more descriptive, more vibrant, and in indicating more activity within the linguistic environment. This did not necessarily

cause deviation from the Standard subject-verb agreement (although on some occasions it very well could have); but I do not believe that Morse's comment was meant to be understood only in that very limited environment. Morse's comment about "clear thinking" indicates an assumption that language performance is in some way indicative of thinking ability: abstract reasoning, the power to cognate. This assumption is even further from current linguistic thought than the dialect controversy. Language is not usually an indication of thought, that is, it is not often possible, in Standard English for example, to tell what a person is thinking by what he has said. The fundamental difference between Standard English and Black language, is that an attempt is made to express more of that deep structure competence within the speech performance than a Standard speaker would expect to hear, or attempt to do. What Morse misunderstands is that the dialect speaker is not attempting to render his thoughts into the Standard, he is attempting to render his thoughts, period. Nikki Giovanni has a poem titled "My House" that reflects "English isn't a good language to express emotions with, Mostly I imagine, because people try to speak English instead of trying to speak through it."⁷¹ Giovanni has captured the essence of the intent of the Black dialect. It is an effort to express the soul through language, an attempt to make what things lie on the level of consciousness, reach the levels of performance.

What Morse should really say is that the Black dialect speakers' thoughts are not unclear, but are unclear to those who do not possess the same consciousness as these speakers. Mutual

intelligibility is one of the requirements of a language. If Morse does not understand, he only adds fuel to those who would claim that the Black dialect is more than a regional or cultural variety in a language, it is a cultural difference which leads towards its definition as a language rather than a dialect.

Hurston's second rebuttal to such thinkers as Morse is that clarity of thought has absolutely nothing to do with the adherence of one syntactic structure to another. The proof of clarity lies within the communication of the message. The proof of culture lies within the culture of the receivers of this message. If the message is not received, it is valid to suspect that the cultural difference between speaker and hearer or reader and writer have inhibited its reception, and that this cultural distinction indicates the carrying-power of language.

It is a circular argument. But it is one which should not have to be illustrated today, over and over again.

As I mentioned in the beginning of this dissertation, the concerns of the academic community with the Black dialect have been too often weighted with social, academic and political concerns for any real linguistic and scientific information to emerge. That is not the entire problem. The fact that a novelist and anthropologist and folklorist such as Hurston could be lauded as a consummate artist in her own time, featured on the cover of the Saturday Review, and gain critical acceptance and praise from the literary community of her day by using the forms of language which scholars such as Morse continue to label imprecise and incoherent says more about the

political and indeed racist limitations of that kind of scholarship than they do about the inability of linguistic scientists to get the message across. Racism is persistently the stronger undercurrent.

Much of what I have said in this dissertation may have indicated that Hurston was an opportunist. I do not mean to suggest that this is true in any negative sense whatsoever. Instead, her opportunities to explain, explore and offer an educated view as to what the situation of the Black man in America really was required her to accept the aid from Godmother with little quarrel, to accept the direction of others, and finally, to experiment with untried forms in the latter part of her life (her political era) as a sort of last ditch effort to get her point of view across to her public. Before anything else, Hurston's literature was an attempt to illustrate the difference and the lack of deficiency in her "people."

With language theories and the education of Barnard behind her, and the experience of Eatonville always with her, Hurston was on safest grounds. Although she did not consciously set out to illustrate the kinds of analyses this dissertation has offered, I believe that they would have been the next step for someone so interested in cultural nationalism that every indication of culture is also an indication of competence.

In other words, I have attempted to do what Hurston would have done. For me, that attempt means to illustrate how the deep structure competence that each speaker has, is a feature of the Black dialect. It means to indicate that this competence can give additional validity to literature that is interested in outlining, documenting,

and supporting cultural relativism. It means that, as Julia Falk points out, it is possible that dialect study will reveal what a person knows, not just how he says what he knows. I believe that Hurston knew this. My effort in this dissertation has been to indicate how this knowledge was illustrated in her fiction.

Zora Neale Hurston's writing combines those areas of her study, anthropology, folklore and sociology, into the kind of picture that one could draw only if we were subject and object. Hurston was the archetype. She was as adorned as she indicated her "people" were. She was as full of the mythology of Eatonville as the storytellers on Joe Clarke's porch steps. When she understood what her background could accomplish, as far as helping others to participate in the reality of her culture, she used those methods which were both indigenous and acquired. She was a marvelous collage.

For literature to be, in Aristotelian terms, "mimesis" -- for it to recreate life, it must be as honest with the mirror as possible. Character alone, as taken by the author through the complications of plot and situated in particular environments and woven through various themes, cannot be mimetic if it imitates some linguistic system which is not its own. Character must reflect self. When an author creates with the knowledge that language ability is rooted in consciousness, then the ability to use both deep and surface structures of language in his creation of character enables the author to give his reader an understanding of motivation and plot and circumstance which are much closer to internal characterization than literature traditionally offers. When an author makes his own consciousness both subject and

object of his literature, then the distance between consciousness and behavior is even further diminished. These are the things which Hurston wanted to accomplish in her literature in order to give a picture of her people. Because she was both mirror and the lamp, Zora Neale Hurston was successful in ways she did not even anticipate. By the application of current linguistic theory and structural approaches to literature, her success is easily documented.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

LINGUISTIC STRUCTURES

A. Sample illustrations of AUX structures 1.2 through 1.5 in Jonah's Gourd Vine, Their Eyes Were Watching God, and Mules and Men are illustrated below. Structure 1.1 is not included because it does not differ significantly from the Standard syntax or morphology between the Standard and dialectal forms (hereafter referred to as SE (Standard English and BE (Black English))). Structure 1.6 is not included because it is equivalent to SE "simple past" tense (SE "I knew it" = BE "I knowed it.")

Refer to Chapter 4 in the text for examples and further explanations of these syntactic and morphologic structures.

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------|
| 1.2 | Ah done took'im since he wuz three | (JGV 23) |
| | A big ole booger done got after me | (MM 26) |
| | All he got he done made it offa . . . us | (TEWWG 43) |
| | Ah know you done called me to preach | (MM 38) |
| | De time done come. . . . | (JGV 185) |
| | Ah done lied on him | (MM 121) |
| | Done promised tuh plow Thompson's grove | (TEWWG 49) |
| | He done forgot his weights | (MM 68) |
| | Ah done told you time and time again. . . . | (TEWWG 62) |
| | Ah done dropped my hammer | (MM 135) |
| | Ah done brought her everything. . . . | (TEWWG 65) |
| 1.3 | Ah been knowing dat ole tale | (MM 49) |
| | Just lak she been doin wid you | (TEWWG 20) |
| | Ah been keeping comp'ny wid you | (JGV 118) |
| | He been hangin round here. . . . | (TEWWG 15) |
| | How long you been 'lowin' Johnny. . . . | (TEWWG 17) |
| 1.4 | Our child is done come home. . . . | (MM 62) |
| | Skeered uh brute beast had done cotched yuh | (JGV 107) |
| | We coulda <u>done</u> been gone | (MM 126) |

A cat-fish had done jumped up. . . . (MM 130)
 You all done been over in Pentecost (MM 179)
 Robert's son had done been kilt (TEWWG 18)

1.5 He bes drunk when he keer on lak dat (JGV 80)
 Ah'll be done et mine. . . . (MM 26)
 Don't you let em . . . be coverin up de clock (JGV 207)
 You'd be done woke me up. . . . (TEWWG 28)
 Ah don't keer if he do be peepin' through his
 likkers. . . . (JGV 80)

B. The following AUX markers illustrate the possible strings
 generated from the DS AUX:

1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6
$\left[\begin{array}{l} \langle +\text{final} \rangle \\ \langle +\text{perfect} \rangle \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \langle +\text{progressive} \rangle \\ \langle +\text{copula} \rangle \\ \langle +\text{perfect} \rangle \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \langle +\text{intensive} \rangle \\ \langle +\text{copula} \rangle \\ \langle +\text{progressive} \rangle \\ \langle +\text{perfect} \rangle \\ \langle +\text{final} \rangle \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \langle +\text{intensive} \rangle \\ \langle +\text{copula} \rangle \text{"be"} \\ \langle +\text{progressive} \rangle \\ \langle -\text{perfect} \rangle \\ \langle +\text{habitual} \rangle \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\langle +\text{past} \rangle \right]$
BE - done took	been knowin	done been knowing	be knowin	took
SE - have taken	have been knowing	Ø	Ø	took

Note:

1. The addition of $\langle +\text{intensive} \rangle$ marker generates strings not compatible with any SE forms.
2. The consistency of SE $\langle +\text{perfect} \rangle$ generating in both structures 1.2 and 1.3 "have" or "has" underscores the inconsistency of a $\langle +\text{perfect} \rangle$ marker for BE structures 1.3 and 1.4. This suggests that "done" in BE is not equivalent to SE "has" or "have" and indicates that an additional lexical marker ($\langle +\text{final} \rangle$) for this word is viable.
3. The lack of consistency in the $+ \text{perfect}$ category for BE is not unexpected when languages and/or dialects are in contact.
4. The feature $\langle +\text{copula} \rangle \langle +\text{habitual} \rangle$ generates "be" - not equivalent to SE progressive because of the addition of the "habitual" marker.

Jacobs and Rosenbaum's text English Transformational Grammar

suggests an interesting way of viewing the DS AUX. They write:

What reason is there to believe that the auxiliary exists in the deep structure of such sentences in the first place? As the existence of "does" in these two sentences Does Joad like philosophy? Joad does not like philosophy. can be explained very nicely on two assumptions. First, the deep structure of "Joad likes philosophy" does contain auxiliary. Second, this auxiliary must be deleted under certain special conditions:

1. The auxiliary contains neither the feature $\langle +\text{modal} \rangle$ (since "can" in "John can go" cannot be deleted), nor the feature $+ \text{copula}$ (since "is" in "John is eating" or "John is honest" cannot be deleted), nor the feature $\langle +\text{perfect} \rangle$ (since "have" in "they have eaten" cannot be deleted).
2. The auxiliary immediately precedes a verbal segment, on one marked $\langle +\text{VB} \rangle$.

Consider the derivation of the sentences above in terms of these assumptions. For the first sentence, the interrogative transformation will move the auxiliary around the subject noun phrase. The auxiliary will not be deleted because it does not immediately precede a verbal. What then happens to the auxiliary? It is replaced by the appropriate form of "do" in this case "does" from the lexicon. For the second sentence, the negative element is placed between the auxiliary and the verbal. Thus, once again, the auxiliary is not deleted and is replaced by "does." However, in the deep structure of "Joan likes philosophy," the auxiliary ends up immediately preceding the verbal and, since the conditions stated under 1 above are met, the auxiliary is deleted. Thus, the existence of "does" in the sentences above can be taken as evidence of the existence of an auxiliary in all deep structures (126-7).

With some modification, the theory of Jacobs and Rosenbaum can be extended to cover the existence of the "do" feature in the Black dialect. It is my analysis that this feature appears on the AUX in the categories mentioned above and that it does not appear on the AUX

in SE in these categories and therefore the rules of deletion do not apply. In other words, "do" is a past tense feature or marker of the AUX in BE and is deleted under the following circumstances:

1. $\langle +\text{copula} \rangle \langle -\text{intensive} \rangle$
2. $\langle -\text{finality} \rangle$

ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the notes and text to refer to frequently mentioned books, persons and collections.

CVV	Carl Van Vechten
DT	<u>Dust Tracks On A Road</u> , Zora Neale Hurston
EA	"Zora Neale Hurston and the Eatonville Anthropology" Robert Hemenway in <u>The Harlem Renaissance Remembered</u> , Arna Bontemps
HB	'Hemenway Biography' -- <u>Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography</u> , Robert E. Hemenway
JGV	<u>Jonah's Gourd Vine</u> , Zora Neale Hurston
JWJ	James Weldon Johnson
JWJYale	James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection, Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
MM	<u>Mules and Men</u> , Zora Neale Hurston
TEWWG	<u>Their Eyes Were Watching God</u> , Zora Neale Hurston
ZNH	Zora Neale Hurston

FOOTNOTES

FOOTNOTES

¹Zora Neale Hurston, "Hoodoo in America," Journal of American Folklore, 44(Oct.-Dec., 1931), 317-418.

²C. Dell Hymes, Language in Culture and Society (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 115.

³Zora Neale Hurston, "The Chick With One Hen," (JWJYale).

⁴ZNH to CVV, Feb. 28, 1934 (JWJYale).

⁵Ruth Sheffey, "The Morgan Connection, Zora Neale Hurston," Multi-Ethnicity in American Publishing, 3(Fall 1976), pp. 3-5.

⁶Ellease Southerland, "Zora Neale Hurston, The Novelist-Anthropologist's Life/Works," Black World, 23(August, 1974), pp. 20-30.

⁷Mary Helen Washington, "Black Women Image Makers," Black World, 23(August, 1974), pp. 10-20.

⁸Darwin Turner, Black American Literature (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1970), p. 339.

⁹Arthur Davis and Saunders Redding, Cavalcade (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1971), p. 454.

¹⁰June Jordan, "On Richard Wright and Zora Neale Hurston: Notes Toward A Balancing of Love and Hatred," Black World, 23(August, 1974), pp. 4-10.

¹¹Robert Hemenway, "Zora Neale Hurston and the Eatonville Anthropology," in The Harlem Renaissance Remembered, Arna Bontemps, ed. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1972).

¹²Robert Bone, The Negro Novel in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), pp. 126-133.

¹³Alice Walker, "In Search of Zora Neale Hurston," Ms., 3(March, 1975), pp. 74-89.

¹⁴During this period she financed Natalie Curtis' collection, The Indian Book, 1907.

Robert Hemenway, Zora Neale Hurston, A Library Biography (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), p. 104.

¹⁵Langston Hughes, The Big Sea (New York: Hill and Wang, 1963), p. 321.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 320.

¹⁷Wallace Thurman, Infants of the Spring (New York: Macauley, 1925), pp. 229-230.

¹⁸Letters between ZNH and CVV in 1933 and 1934 suggest that she and Lippincott were equally excited about each other. She wrote to CVV that "Mr. Lippincott likes my book a lot. He is making some move about a movie. . . ." and that her book was "enthusiastically accepted" by this publisher. Lippincott's contacted Van Vechten about publishing this book, asking him to write a review for it after viewing galley proofs for the work. ZNH wrote CVV later about her approval of Fannie Hurst's introduction to the book but that she wished he could have done it (JWJYale).

¹⁹Sterling Brown, The American Negro: His History and His Literature (New York: Arno Press, 1969), p. 132.

²⁰ZNH to CVV, Dec. 10, 1934 (JWJYale).

²¹ZNH to CVV, 1927 (JWJYale).

²²ZNH to CVV, 1927 (JWJYale).

²³Fannie Hurst to CVV (JWJYale).

²⁴Fannie Hurst, "Zora Neale Hurston: A Personality Sketch," Yale University Library Gazette, 35(1961), pp. 17-21.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶ZNH to Dr. Thomas E. Jones, TLS, Oct. 1934 (JWJYale).

²⁷The information gathered on this incident is based primarily on this file of letters between Langston Hughes and CVV and various communications from CVV to Hughes and French at the JWJYale. Information from Hughes' autobiography was also helpful in piecing together the story concerning this play.

²⁸Herschel Brickell, "A Woman Saved," Saturday Review of Literature, November 6, 1948.

²⁹"Boys 10 Accuse Zora," Baltimore Afro-American, 11(Oct. 23, 1948). The news also received a headline "Noted Novelist Denies She 'Abused' 10-Year-Old Boy" in the New York Age, Vol. 63, No. 23, (Oct. 23, 1948).

³⁰Ibid., Baltimore Afro-American.

³¹Fannie Hurst to CVV, ALS (JWJYale).

³²ZNH to CVV. "I am working out something which I hope will be classified as a play. I am using the material around the fall of Jerusalem to Titus in 70 AD. It is a whale of a story, and its greatness lies in the fact that it is universal matter. . . ." 1945? (JWJYale).

³³Alain Locke, "Retrospective Review (and Biography) of the Literature of the Negro: 1937," Opportunity, (Jan., 1938), p. 10.

³⁴Zora Neale Hurston, "The Chick With One Hen" (JWJYale).

³⁵ZNH to JWJ, April, 1934 (JWJYale).

³⁶Zora Neale Hurston, "Cudjo's Own Story of the Last African Slaver," Journal of Negro History, 12(Oct., 1977), pp. 648-63.

³⁷Ellesee Southerland, "Zora Neale Hurston," Black World, 23(August, 1974).

³⁸Paul L. Dunbar, "Ante Bellum Sermon," The Black Poets, Dudley Randall, ed. (New York: Bantam, 1971), pp. 44-46.

³⁹Zora Neale Hurston, Seraph On the Suwannee (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), p. 311.

⁴⁰John Szwed, "An Anthropological Dilemma: The Politics of Afro-American Culture," in Reinventing Anthropology, Dell Hymes, ed. (New York: Vintage, 1974), p. 158.

⁴¹Alaine Locke, Opportunity, (Jan., 1938), p. 10.

⁴²Wayne Booth, Rhetoric of Fiction (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 149-209.

Booth's discussion in this chapter, illustrates various narrative points of view for narrators who function within the text as either first person characters or third person commentators. I have abstracted the 'definitions' for each category Booth addresses, and formulated them into the structure in Chapter 3 of this dissertation so that Hurston's narrative system may be compared to a more traditional structure.

⁴³Zora Neale Hurston, Moses, Man of the Mountain (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1939), p. 131.

⁴⁴Zora Neale Hurston, Seraph On the Suwannee, p. 4.

⁴⁵ZNH to CVV, Feb. 28, 1934 (JWJYale).

⁴⁶ZNH to JWJ, April 16, 1934 (JWJYale).

⁴⁷Zora Neale Hurston, Moses, Man of the Mountain, p. 226.

⁴⁸C.C. Lovelace, "The Sermon," as heard by Zora Neale Hurston in Nancy Cunard, Negro (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1934), pp. 35-9.

⁴⁹Julie Falk, Linguistics and Language (Lexington: Xerox Publishing Company, 1973), p. 217.

⁵⁰George Miller, "Some Preliminaries to Psycholinguistics," in Psycholinguistics and Reading, Frank Smith (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), pp. 16-17.

⁵¹Julie Falk, Linguistics and Language, p. 217.

⁵²Neither Transformational Grammar nor this study assumes the structures of such analyses illustrate actual models, but illustrate only a concept of construction within which we assume these operations occur.

⁵³John Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics (Cambridge: University Printing House, 1958), pp. 81-93.

The theoretical approach of this section is based on Lyons' discussion in the above text.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 70-71.

⁵⁵ZNH to Langston Hughes, (JWJYale).

"... some laws in dialect. The same form is not always used. Some syllables and words are long before or after certain words and short in the same position. Example: "you" as subject gets full value but is shortened to "Yuh" as object. "him" in certain positions and "im" in others depending on consonant preceding. Several laws of aspirate "H". . . ."

⁵⁶Nancy Cunard, Negro, p. 31.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 24.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 25.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰ZNH, "Sweat," Fire!!, 1(November, 1926), pp. 40-45.

⁶¹ZNH to JWJ, April 16, 1934 (JWJYale).

⁶²Benjamin Lee Whorf, "An American Indian Model of the Universe," Language Thought and Reality (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1956), pp. 57-64.

⁶³Research by these linguists concerning Black Language includes William Stewart's "Sociolinguistic Factors in the History of American Negro Dialects" in the Florida Foreign Language Reporter, (Spring, 1961): J.L. Dillard's Black English (New York: Random House, 1972): Arthur Smith's Language, Communications and Rhetoric in Black America (New York: Harper and Row, 1972): and the "Logic of NonStandard English" by William Labov in Frederick William's text, Language and Poverty. The text by Williams is itself an excellent reference for information on the Black dialect.

⁶⁴Roderick Jacobs and Peter Rosenbaum, English Transformational Grammar (Lexington: Xerox Publishing Co., 1968), p. 59.

⁶⁵Franz Boas, "Linguistics and Ethnology," in Language and Culture in Society, C. Dell Hymes, ed., pp. 15-22.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1963), pp. 5-6.

⁶⁹J. Mitchell Morse, "The Shuffling Speech of Slavery: Black English," College English, 34(March, 1973), pp. 834-43.

⁷⁰June Jordan, Black World, 23(August, 1974).

⁷¹Nikki Giovanni, My House (New York: William Morrow, 1972).

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CORRESPONDENCE:

Portions of letters referenced and directly quoted in the text of this

dissertation which either concern Zora Neale Hurston or were written by or to her, are a part of the JWW Collection of Yale University Library's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

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