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ABSTRACT

There are three approaches to the nonstandard dialects of Negro inner-city children: eradication; biloquialism, sometimes called functional bidialectism; and appreciation of dialect differences with no attempt to change speech patterns. The essays in the present volume are all written from the biloquialist point of view, which advocates that inner-city children be taught standard English to facilitate their functioning in the greater society without being encouraged to give up their home language. Whereas most past biloquialist discussions have offered only more-or-less programmatic suggestions of philosophies and possible methodologies, the articles in this volume attempt to offer practical solutions to the language problems of inner-city Negro children. The articles, most of which are printed here for the first time, are: William A. Stewart, "Foreign Language Teaching Methods in Quasi-Foreign Language Situations"; Joan C. Baratz, "Educational Considerations for Teaching Standard English to Negro Children"; Ralph W. Fasold and Walt Wolfram, "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect"; Irwin Feigenbaum, "The Use of Nonstandard English in Teaching Standard: Contrast and Comparison"; Walt Wolfram, "Sociolinguistic Implications for Educational Sequencing" (ED 029 280); Roger W. Shuy, "Teacher Training and Urban Language Problems" (ED 030 116). (FWB)

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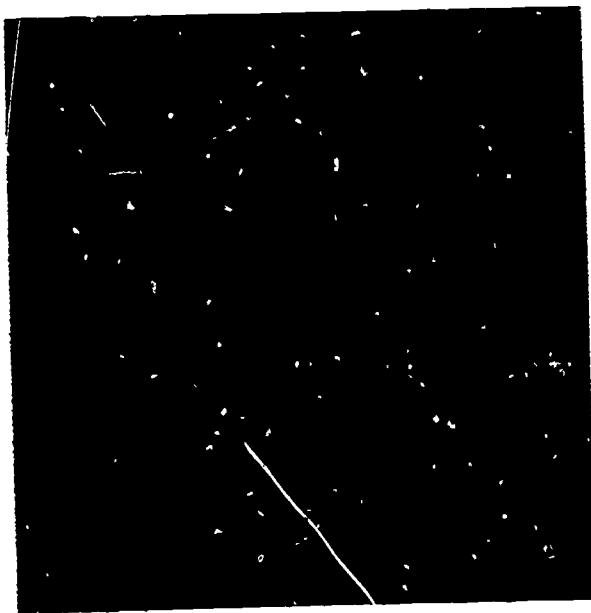
# TEACHING STANDARD ENGLISH IN THE INNER CITY

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RALPH W. FASOLD & ROGER W. SHUY

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**WALTER A. WOLFRAM**

[6]

**TEACHING STANDARD ENGLISH IN THE INNER CITY**  
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**RALPH W. FASOLD & ROGER W. SHUY**

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## INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

The Urban Language Series is intended to make available the results of recent sociolinguistic research concerned with the position and role of language in a large metropolitan area. The series includes descriptions of certain aspects of urban language, particularly English, as well as theoretical considerations relevant to such descriptions. The series also includes studies dealing with fieldwork techniques, matters of pedagogy and relationships of urban language study to other disciplines. Where appropriate and feasible, accompanying tape recordings will be made available. Specifically excluded from consideration are aspects of English as a second language or second language learning in general.

It is hoped that the Urban Language Series will prove useful to several different kinds of readers. For the linguist, the series will provide data for the study of language performance and for the development of linguistic theory. Historically, linguists have formulated theory from individual rather than group performance. They have had to generalize about what constitutes "standard" or "non-standard" from intuitive judgments or from very limited data. This series is designed to make available large portions of language data as well as analyses in order to broaden the knowledge from which linguistic generalizations may come.

For the sociologist the series will provide access to the nature of social stratification by means of language. It

is the contention of some scholars that a person's use of language is one of the most important cues to his social status, age, race or sex.

For the educator, the series will offer among other things a description of the very things which are most crucial to the classroom—the linguistic correlates which separate the accepted from the unaccepted.

Although the value of focussed attention on the special problems of urban language has been recognized for some time, relatively few substantial studies have been published. To a certain degree, this series represents a pioneering venture on the part of the Center for Applied Linguistics.

Roger W. Shuy  
Director, Sociolinguistics Program  
Center for Applied Linguistics

**TEACHING STANDARD ENGLISH IN THE INNER CITY**



## PREFACE

Recently, there has been considerable interest in the non-standard dialects of disadvantaged children, especially disadvantaged Negro children. In spite of the interest, there has been relatively little discussion of the possible ways of dealing with nonstandard dialects. Currently, there are three approaches to the problem.

1. Eradication. In an editorial in the San Diego Union (September 10, 1969), Dr. Max Rafferty, State Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of California, strongly urged the return to a pedagogical strategy of teaching that right is right and wrong is wrong with regard to the social varieties of American English:

It is precisely education's job to deal in rights and wrongs. Because a child may count on his fingers and toes at home is no reason for his arithmetic teacher to let him keep doing it at school. And because a bigoted neighborhood may revel in racism doesn't make it okay for the civics instructor to neglect teaching the Bill of Rights to youngsters who call that neighborhood home.

Neither does the fact that mom and pop say "De cat has just split" when they mean "The man has just gone" make it right, any more than my Irish great-grandfather was permitted by his American teachers to go around voicing such Old Sod barbarisms as "Shure and begorra, 'tis a foine spaleen ye are, bad cess to ye."

After his teachers had finished with him, great-grandad spoke good English, and he was thankful for it all his life. His parents went to their graves speaking brogue.

Although justifiable criticism may be made for selecting this particular representation of the eradication position, it nonetheless establishes the position very clearly.

A more scholarly position statement in support of eradication was made by Robert Green in reference to the more generally held sympathy toward biloquialism noted at the 1964 Conference on Social Dialects and Language Learning:

It was further indicated that if a person has a dialect that is peculiar to a given area and moves to another area, we should not attempt to change the dialect since it is acceptable in other parts of the United States. I would say that this point of view is not necessarily a defensible one, and I would again present the argument stressed previously—that area dialects which allow one to be identified and discriminated against perhaps should be restructured.... The very inadequate speech that is used in the home is also used in the neighborhood, in the play group, and in the classroom. Since these poor English language patterns are reconstructed constantly by the associations that these young people have, the school has to play a strong role in bringing about a change in order that these young people can communicate more adequately in our society. (Robert Green, "Dialect Sampling and Language Values," in R. Shuy (ed.) Social Dialects and Language Learning, Champaign, Ill., NCTE, 1965, pp. 122-123.)

It is not surprising that two leading educators such as these men would adopt the eradication approach with respect to the teaching of standard English to nonstandard speakers. The English teaching profession has long nourished such a position. Children are corrected in speech and writing from their earliest days in the classroom to the last rites of graduation. The anomaly of the situation is perhaps best seen in the report of Murray Wax in his observations of how English is being taught to the Pine Ridge Sioux Indians:

Teachers are trained to criticize (the local dialect) as 'bad English,' and so, no sooner does the Indian child open his mouth to speak English, than he is branded publicly as speaking incorrectly. (Murray Wax, Rosalie Wax and Robert Dumont, "Formal Education in an American Indian Community," Social Problems, Spring, 1969, p. 82.)

If it seems undesirable to produce predictable regional features such as those found among the Pine Ridge Sioux Indians, how much more undesirable it must be to produce socially identifiable features such as those found in ghetto communities. The aim of English education, it then follows, is to rid oneself of the stigma of those features by simply eradicating the features.

2. Biloquialism. A second position is easier to describe than to name. The term, functional bi-dialectalism was suggested at the Conference on Social Dialects and Language Learning as a way of identifying a person's right to continue speaking the dialect of his home (which may be nonstandard) even after he has learned a standard school dialect. Since the term dialect seems to carry such a heavy pejorative connotation these days, other terms have been suggested in place of bi-dialectalism, including the recently coined term, biloquialism. Whatever it is called, most linguists will agree that a speaker of any language will make linguistic adjustments to specific social situations. These adjustments in phonology, grammar and lexicon will range anywhere from the obvious adjustments between adults and small children to the more complicated sociolinguistic switching between school, home and playground talk. Those who encourage the adoption of biloquialism feel that the teacher's job is not to eradicate playground English--or any other kind. Instead, teachers should help children to make the switch comfortably from one setting to another.

3. Appreciation of Dialect Differences. Recently, a third position has received some attention. There are a few linguists who have publicly advocated that, instead of offering standard English to nonstandard speakers, we should not try to change the speech of nonstandard dialect speakers at all. If anything, we should attack the prejudices against nonstandard dialects which standard English speakers have. In

his review of the Roberts English Series, Wayne A. O'Neil observes:

Instead of "enriching" the lives of urban children by plugging them into a "second" dialect (... why don't we let everyone in for the fun and games; "enrich" the suburban kid with an urban dialect), we should be working to eradicate the language prejudice, the language mythology, that people grew into holding and believing. For there is clear evidence that the privileged use their false beliefs about language to the disadvantage of the deprived. One way to stop this is to change non-standard speakers into standard dialect speakers at least for some of the time, i.e. when the non-standards are in the presence of the standards, currying favor of them, jobs from them, etc. This seems to me intolerable if not impossible. Another response to language differences would be to educate (especially the people in power) for tolerance of differences, for an understanding of differences. This could be naturally done, easily done in elementary schools, but only by teachers who are themselves free of language prejudice. In many ways this is the more important kind of language study that needs to be accomplished in the schools. (Wayne A. O'Neil, "Paul Roberts' Rules of Order: The Misuses of Linguistics in the Classroom", in The Urban Review II, no. 7.)

Those who share O'Neil's position argue that a brutal frontal attack on the problem, such as the one advocated by those who encourage the development of biloquialism, will be fruitless. Arguing from this position, Thomas Kochman expresses his lack of confidence in biloquialist techniques in an article in a special anthology issue of The Florida FL Reporter devoted to problems of language and culture for education:

My second quarrel with such a program deals with what can be called its efficiency quotient. How much time and drill are required to acquire the new set of language habits necessary to produce even a mediocre and restrictive performance in standard dialect. Speech teachers tell me that with maximum cooperation it takes several months of drill to get a person to say ask to formerly said aks. My own observation tells me that the input in time and effort is prodigious and the results negligible. (Thomas Kochman, "Social Factors in the Consideration of Teaching Standard English", in The Florida FL Reporter VII, no. 1, p. 87.)

It is further argued that this is not simply another case of bonehead English, that a frontal attack will alienate non-standard speakers from education, and that indirection is likely to work better than a head-on attack since their language will change of itself as they are introduced to a wider and wider world. Furthermore, advocates of this position feel that it is as morally defensible to change the rest of the world as it is to change the linguistic behavior of the nonstandard speaker.

These three positions, then, characterize current thought on the question of what to do about nonstandard English. It will become obvious that the authors of the articles in this volume have little sympathy with the eradication approach. The premise that standard English is intrinsically better than nonstandard dialects is explicitly rejected. Eradicationist procedures have done little to improve the language of inner-city children; on the contrary, such procedures have damaged their self-confidence.

The third alternative, teaching respect for dialect differences, has much to recommend it. But there has been very little discussion and no experimentation from this viewpoint.

The essays in the present volume are all written from the second, or biloquialist perspective. Almost all biloquialist discussions of ways to deal with matters of language in the education of inner-city Negro children have offered only more-or-less programmatic suggestions of philosophies and possible methodologies. The authors of the articles in this volume attempt to go farther and to begin to answer the questions of those who are prepared to accept the assumptions and goals of the biloquialist position.

The article by William A. Stewart, a reprint of one of the earliest articles on teaching standard English to speakers of nonstandard dialects, compares the situation in American cities to bilingual and near-bilingual situations elsewhere



in the world. The relationship between standard English and the dialect of many inner-city Negroes shows striking similarities to problems in bilingual countries, a fact which may come as a surprise to people who are used to thinking of non-standard speech as merely sloppy or incorrect English.

Mr. Stewart argues that many of the techniques used to teach foreign languages are applicable to the task of teaching spoken standard English to inner-city Negro children. A pioneer in the area of linguistic analysis of Negro dialects and the author of numerous articles on the subject, Mr. Stewart is now co-director of the Education Study Center, Washington, D.C.

To a number of scholars in the fields of speech, education and psychology, the language of inner-city Negro children is severely underdeveloped, showing the effects of an oppressive social environment. As the previous article challenges similar assumptions from the linguist's point of view, the article by Joan C. Baratz serves as an introduction to the educational issues involved in teaching standard English in ghetto schools. The author also suggests a broad framework for dealing with language problems in the inner-city. Mrs. Baratz is co-director of the Education Study Center in Washington, D.C. She has published several articles on the speech of inner-city Negro children in professional speech and education journals.

The first two articles argue that nonstandard Negro dialects are not underdeveloped language, but are complete grammatical systems related to standard English in somewhat the same way that a foreign language is related to English. If this is the case, it should be possible to describe the grammar and pronunciation of Negro dialect and the rules which govern it. The article by Ralph W. Fasold and Walt Wolfram is an overview of some of the grammar and pronunciation features of Negro dialect which are considered substandard by the general

public. Each of the authors has published several works on Negro dialect and both are research associates at the Center for Applied Linguistics.

Teachers who have to face the day-to-day problem of teaching English in inner-city schools will be less interested in overviews and objectives than in more detailed descriptions of the methods teachers can use in the classroom. Drawing on considerable personal experience in teaching English to speakers of other languages and in teaching standard English to inner-city children, Irwin Feigenbaum describes and illustrates this kind of methodology in his article. At the same time, he deals with an issue which is frequently raised in this connection -- whether or not nonstandard speech forms should be used in the classroom. Mr. Feigenbaum is a project linguist at the Center for Applied Linguistics and is the author of English Now, a textbook for using the kind of techniques described and illustrated in his article.

With the linguistic features of nonstandard speech known and a method for teaching alternatives available, it is still important to have a systematic way to determine which features are more crucial than others and therefore should be given priority in a teaching program. Walt Wolfram, applying some of the theoretical results of sociolinguistic research, has developed principles for determining levels of cruciality. Mr. Wolfram is the author of A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech (Urban Language Series, 5), and several articles on related topics.

Many of the suggestions in this volume are new and somewhat controversial. The way of looking at nonstandard speech, the details of the structure of the dialect involved, and the methodology presented are all foreign to conventional teacher-training programs. The article by Roger W. Shuy outlines ways in which teacher-training should be overhauled in order to adequately prepare teachers to deal with language in the

inner-city. Mr. Shuy is director of the Sociolinguistics Program of the Center for Applied Linguistics. He has authored a number of books and articles on dialectology and applied linguistics.

Teaching Standard English in the Inner City is an attempt to take the next step toward practical solutions to these language problems. If it ultimately contributes to improved opportunities for at least some inner-city children, we shall be well satisfied.

R.W.F.

R.W.S.

Washington, D.C.

1969



## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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## FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING METHODS IN QUASI-FOREIGN LANGUAGE SITUATIONS

by William A. Stewart

If I were asked to indicate what I felt to be the most fundamental change which has taken place in the orientation of language teaching in the United States during the past fifteen or twenty years, I would point to the marked increase in realism evident in both the expressed purpose and the methodology of language teaching. Of course, what I mean by "realism" here is simply the view of language as it is rather than as it ought to be, and of the learner's need for it as a personally useful tool of social interaction rather than as a rote learned device of principally esthetic value. Yet this increase in realism has not been at the cost of a firm basis in language teaching theory. On the contrary, language teaching theory has been refined and enriched, not only through its own considerable experience, but also by drawing heavily from the knowledge which has been accumulating in linguistics, psychology, sociology, and other behavioral sciences.

It is especially the first two of these -- linguistics and psychology -- which have contributed most to the development of a number of basic theoretical assumptions about the nature of language, the way it is learned, and the most suitable methods for teaching it. One of these I would like to focus on, for it underlies the language teaching theme of this paper; I am referring to the theoretical distinction between "native" or "first" language teaching on the one hand, and "foreign" or "second" language teaching on the other.

.....  
Reprinted from William A. Stewart (ed.), Non-Standard Speech and the Teaching of English (Washington, D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics, 1964), pp. 1-15.

Insofar as language teaching in the school is concerned -- and I would like to restrict the scope of this paper to that specific situation -- it is important to note that by school age, that is, by the age of six or seven, the average, mentally normal child will already have internalized most of the basic phonological and grammatical patterns of at least one linguistic system (and indeed perhaps more, if the child has been raised bilingually). The child will also have a fairly ready command of a large number of lexical terms (less, however, than an average adult) together with a surprising amount of skill in their use or avoidance in terms of specific semantic or social contexts.

Now, if the language being taught at school is essentially the same as that already largely internalized by the child during the preschool language learning period, then it is clear that language teaching in the school will be primarily concerned with giving the child a command of such supplemental refinements as additional vocabulary, more complex or stylistically restricted syntactical patterns, and of course reading and writing skills. This, then, is "native" or "first" language teaching.

If, however, the language being taught at school is other than the one in which the child has already acquired preschool fluency (such as would be the case, say, in teaching Spanish to a child previously monolingual in English, or English to a Navaho monolingual -- or a Navaho-Spanish bilingual, for that matter), then the teaching methods must of necessity be quite different; the major task would be to impart a command of precisely those kinds of basic linguistic patterns which were already known in the native language teaching situation. Furthermore, the fact that the new-language learner has already internalized the basic behavioral patterns of another language -- patterns which differ from those to be learnt -- means that the language teaching techniques should take

special account of the ways in which the differences between the native and the new languages are liable to produce interference problems for the learner. Language teaching of this type is, of course, "foreign" or "second" language teaching.

This distinction between the two kinds of language teaching is fairly well known and accepted these days, but I have felt it worth while to review it here, since for the remainder of this paper I will be concentrating on extensions and modifications of the methodological differences which it implies.

In the process of finding out about language behavior, it sometimes happens that what has been generally accepted as a more or less uniform whole turns out -- upon closer examination -- to be in reality a conglomerate of related but empirically distinguishable linguistic systems. As is to be expected, linguists are generally more aware of such divisions than are language teachers, partly because linguists have a more refined technique for dealing with minute differences in language behavior, but also because the methodology of linguistic description is to start with discrete individual forms of speech, and to build up from them generalizations about the over-all pattern. Language teachers, on the other hand, have been part of a tradition which has started with the assumption of a more or less uniform whole, embodied, for example, in the goal of teaching "the English language" or "the French language", and which takes only exceptional note of subvarieties of speech. However, as I hope to illustrate, even for language teaching this generalized view of language as a uniform whole is better left as a goal than taken as a starting assumption. Yet even linguists have on more than one occasion found that the data, once collected, have necessitated a revision of previously held views about a particular language. An example of this would be the revised ideas about American dialects which have resulted from the research carried out in connection with the Linguistic Atlases of the United States.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps a more striking example is furnished by the pidgins and creoles spoken in various parts of the world, which were once thought to be nothing more than "corrupted" forms of certain European languages, but which subsequent analyses have shown to represent fairly independent linguistic developments, and to constitute separate languages in their own right.<sup>2</sup>

At this point, I am ready to illustrate how the linguistic characteristics of intra-language variation can have a direct bearing on the language teaching methodology distinction I mentioned earlier. Let me begin with two cases which are not really typical of the kind of situation usually found in the United States, but which have the advantage of being relatively well-defined from a linguistic point of view.

In Jamaica, standard English (based largely upon the Southern British norm) is the official language of the island, and the sole language of education. There is also a widely used, unstandardized folk speech, referred to locally as "the dialect". This designation is a purely sociolinguistic one, in that it refers to the substandard nature of the folk speech, rather than to its structural relation to standard English. For the fact is that Jamaican "dialect" is popularly regarded as nothing more than English badly spoken. Consequently, it has been traditional in Jamaican schools to teach English to country children much as it is taught to children in England -- in fact importing from there their textbooks and teaching methods. These, needless to say, are with few exceptions oriented toward first-language teaching, since most English children are native speakers of the language.

Yet even the most energetic efforts at English teaching in Jamaica characteristically meet with a general lack of success which would be most unusual in England. The Jamaican language teaching difficulties have been attributed to many causes. Some, such as the low functional literacy level of



the island's population, probably are contributing factors. However, it is now apparent to linguists that a major source of the problem may lie in the fact that the Jamaican language situation is different enough from that of England to require a radically different approach. For Jamaican "dialect" is, in its rural form at least, not linguistically a variety of English at all, but is rather an English-based creole. That is, it is an independent language with a large part of its vocabulary derived historically from English, but with a grammar which is strikingly aberrant in many ways.<sup>3</sup> For example, Jamaican Creole words like dem 'they, their, them', mi 'I, my, me', fren 'friend', etc., sound quite like English, though obviously substandard, as in:

<u>dem a mi fren</u>	'they are my friends'
<u>mi a dem fren</u>	'I am their friend'
<u>mi a go si dem</u>	'I am going to see them'

From the translations of fren occurring in the preceding sentences, it will be noted that Jamaican Creole does not indicate the pluralization of nouns where the number is apparent from the context (as it is, in the above cases, from the number distinction implied in the subject pronouns dem and mi). However, noun pluralization may be marked in cases where the context leaves number ambiguous, and dem following the noun is used for this purpose:

<u>mi a go si mi fren</u>	'I am going to see my friend'
<u>mi a go si mi fren dem</u>	'I am going to see my friends'

Thus it is apparent that there are several differences in both the form and usage of pluralization in Jamaican Creole and standard English; for the former, the marking of noun pluralization is optional, but in the latter it is with few exceptions, obligatory. Where the plural is marked in Creole, it is done by the regular device of a free morpheme (structurally the same as the third person plural pronoun) following the noun. In English, pluralization is structurally

much more complex and often quite irregular. In addition, the relation of Creole and English noun pluralization is further complicated by the fact that the Creole uses a morphological plural for a purpose achieved in English by the use of circumlocutions, e.g.:

mi fren-op Jien dem            'I made friends with Jane and  
her crowd'

A rural Jamaican, even after mastering all the complex structural correlations between Creole and English noun pluralization, would probably render the above Creole sentence as "I made friends with Janes", which of course would mean rather "I made friends with several girls named Jane" to the native speaker of standard English.

I think these examples -- and they could be duplicated from almost all areas of Jamaican Creole and English structure -- furnish convincing evidence that the teaching of standard English in rural Jamaica would benefit by a very positive shift from a native language to a foreign language teaching approach.

In Liberia, where English is also the official language (in this case, based largely upon American norms), children are taught the standard language by traditional, native language methods, with heavy reliance upon texts imported from the United States. Yet, even by the time they first enter school, most Liberian children have acquired a fairly fluent command of Liberian Pidgin English, which is widely spoken in the streets of Monrovia, along the main communication routes of the interior, by soldiers, and in inter-tribal villages and markets.<sup>4</sup>

There are a large number of structural differences between Liberian Pidgin English and standard English, and it is interesting to note that for tribal Liberians the Pidgin patterns seem to cause more interference problems in their English than do the patterns of the African vernaculars which



they speak at home and actually learn first. A few examples will serve to illustrate this kind of interference. Liberian Pidgin English marks the present tense of verbs by adding -in to the verb stem, e.g.:

ah ronin<sup>5</sup> 'I am running'

The verb stem used alone indicates the past tense in the Pidgin, e.g.:

ah ron 'I ran'

Because of this, Liberian children, when attempting to refer in English to an event in the past, will often use the verb stem alone, though of course this is actually the simple present in English. The possibility of this latter function for the verb stem in English does not occur to the Liberian child, since the meaning of the English simple present is expressed in Pidgin with le (pronounced [lɛ]), e.g.:

ah le ron 'I run'

General predication also causes problems, since Liberian Pidgin English has three separate constructions where standard English always uses the verb to be:

zero in noun adjective clauses:

dey smoh 'they are little'

biy in noun-noun clauses:

i biy teybu 'it is a table'

and dey to indicate presence or position:

shiy dey deh 'she is there'

These Pidgin patterns can often be seen to underlie mistakes Liberian school children make in attempting to produce English equivalents. Although one would expect the Liberian language situation to make it more appropriate to teach English as a foreign language than as a native language, it may come as a surprise to many that the language most likely to constitute the major source of interference is Liberian Pidgin English rather than any of the vernaculars.

Language situations similar to the Jamaican and Liberian ones in that they involve pidgins and creoles which are related to the official standard exist in other parts of the Caribbean and West Africa, as well as in certain parts of Asia.<sup>6</sup>

Here in the United States, the only language teaching situation involving an English-based creole that I am aware of is that of teaching English to speakers of Gullah. But the point of my Jamaican and Liberian examples was not solely that English-based creole or pidgin speakers need to be taught standard English as a foreign language (although I do maintain that this is the case). Rather, I intended it as an illustration of the more general fact that there may be cases where the structural relationship between standard English and varieties of speech which are sociologically accepted as mere substandard variants of it are in fact reminiscent of foreign language relationships. An example which comes immediately to mind concerns Mexican-American English.<sup>7</sup> Structurally, it is more like Spanish than English in its phonology, but more like English in its grammar and vocabulary, and in certain ways it is also syncretic and innovating. For example, since final consonant clusters of the type /-nt/ and /-nd/ do not normally occur in the dialect, the standard colloquial English contrast between can and can't is handled by a consistent stress difference; compare:

/xi kàŋ gó#/                    'he can go'

with

/xi káŋ gô#/                    'he can't go'

Note that a stress differentiation of this type for verbs is not a normal Spanish phenomenon, nor are some of the stress sequences particularly English. A certain amount of the basic structure of this dialect is clearly deviant from that of standard English, and foreign language teaching methods accordingly seem appropriate to some degree in English teaching involving speakers of this dialect.

For my last illustration, I will turn to English teaching in another American dialect situation. Although it clearly has less of a real foreign language element than the preceding one, it nevertheless involves enough structural mismatch to warrant, if not a full foreign language teaching approach, then at least one which still takes sufficient account of the fact that conflicts between different linguistic structures underlie many of the learner's difficulties. This particular linguistic situation -- itself a by-product of fundamental changes which are taking place in the American social and economic order -- offers the teaching profession one of its greatest current challenges.

I am referring to the teaching of English in many of our large northern and west coast urban communities to speakers of various substandard dialects of English which have come there primarily through migration from the southern Atlantic and Gulf states. The fact that in most such communities the majority of these dialect speakers are Negroes means that the English teaching situation -- complex enough in terms of the linguistics alone -- is further complicated by the intrusion of social, cultural, economic, and even political factors.

In their native region, dialects of this type evolved within an over-all sociolinguistic framework in which they stood in a structurally close and socially well-defined relationship to local varieties of standard English. However, migration to the North and the West Coast has taken the dialects out of that setting and brought them into direct contact with varieties of English -- both standard and substandard -- which are often structurally very different, and into a new sociological environment where the intruding dialects are regarded with much less general indulgence than they were at home. The nongradient nature of the structural relationship between the immigrant dialects and the traditional ones in the northern communities tends to emphasize

the substandard nature of the imported speech forms and, in cases where they are brought in and used primarily by Negroes, dialectal traits often acquire associations with racial identity. This can happen even though such traits may have been shared by white and Negro alike in their home territory, and in spite of the fact that in the northern communities there may be Negroes in whose speech such traits are totally absent.<sup>8</sup> No doubt in part because of this racial association of imported dialect features in the new community, Negro immigrants and their descendents may show a tendency to retain some of them. In fact, a fairly uniform in-group dialect may come into existence which, due to dialect mixing and innovation, may come to be unique to that community, even though other communities may be made up of essentially the same immigrant composition. In most such communities, there may be a further linguistic differentiation between immigrant Negro and native-born Negro, with the latter's speech being typically closer to the northern standard. But this is by no means universal, since extremely heavy migration may cause linguistic swamping, with the result that even native-born persons may come to have the same type of speech as the immigrants.<sup>9</sup>

Although the actual linguistic details of such immigrant dialect situations are currently being analyzed and described in some communities, many others still remain unstudied, and comparisons between the main characteristics of the dialect situations in various communities have yet to be made.<sup>10</sup> However, I can give a few examples of this type of language teaching problem based on personal observations in Washington, D.C. These examples may seem simple or obvious, but it is precisely for that reason that I have chosen them as isolated illustrations of what is really a vast complex of interrelated linguistic and sociolinguistic problems.

Let me begin with a case of phonological mismatch. Among the consonants used in virtually all varieties of standard English, there is a paired series of consonants which can be diagrammatically organized according to place and manner of articulation as follows:

	Bilabial fricative	Apico-dental fricative	Apico-alveolar stop
Voiced	/v/	/ð/	/d/
Voiceless	/f/	/θ/	/t/

These all occur word initially, e.g.:

/vɒt/	vote	/ðɪs/	this	/du/	do
/fʊt/	foot	/θɪŋ/	thing	/tu/	two

medially, e.g.:

/nɛvə/	never	/mʌðə/	mother	/lædə/	ladder
/sʌfə/	suffer	/nʌθɪŋ/	nothing	/mætə/	matter

and finally, e.g.:

/lʌv/	love	/brɪð/	breathe	/nɪd/	need
/tʌf/	tough	/brɛθ/	breath	/nɪt/	neat

In contrast, a diagram of the consonant phonemes covering essentially the same articulatory area for a common type of substandard Washington English would be:

	Bilabial fricative	Apico-alveolar stop
Voiced	/v/	/d/
Voiceless	/f/	/t/

Note that in this dialect there are no apico-dental fricatives, standard English /ð/ and /θ/ showing up as /d/ and /t/ in initial positions, and usually as /v/ and /f/ elsewhere. Thus the middle column of the word list previously cited would appear, for this type of English, as follows:

/dɪs/	this
/tɪŋ/	thing
/mʌvə/	mother
/nʌfɪn/	nothing
/brɪv/	breathe
/brɛf/	breath

Here, there are two teaching problems. First, the new phonemes /ð/ and /θ/ must be taught, i.e. their articulation as well as the recognition of their contrast both with /d/ and /t/ and with /v/ and /f/. Second, their occurrence in specific words must be taught, so that /d/, /t/, /v/ and /f/ are replaced in the appropriate ones, but in no others. For the first of these, the English teacher could profit from foreign language teaching techniques devised for teaching phonemic contrasts which are not in the native language of the learners.<sup>11</sup>

In standard English, both the definite and indefinite articles have two different pronunciations in unstressed position, depending upon whether the following word begins with a consonant phoneme (e.g. /bʊk/ book/ or a vowel phoneme (e.g. /ok/ oak). The variants are:

	Definite article	Indefinite article
Before a consonant phoneme	/ðə/	/ə/
Before a vowel phoneme	/ði/	/ən/

Thus most speakers of standard English say /ðə bʊk/ and /ə bʊk/, but /ði ók/ and /ən ók/.

This kind of automatic alternation in the pronunciation of the articles is incorporated into the orthography of the indefinite article, where /ə/ is written as a and /ən/ as an, e.g. a book, an oak, but it is not recognized for the definite article, both pronunciations of which are written the, e.g. the book, the oak.

In Washington substandard English, the articles are commonly pronounced /ðə/ and /ə/ both before words beginning with consonant phonemes, and those beginning with vowel phonemes. The only difference is that in the latter case the vowel of the article and the initial vowel of the following word are separated by a junctural phenomenon, usually a glottal stop, e.g. [ðə ? ok], [ə ? ok].



Now, for the standard English speaker, the spelling difference a vs. an presents no problem, since he simply writes what he says, while he can ignore his pronunciation differences for the definite article, since it has no orthographic variation. For the non-standard speaker, however, the correct selection of a or an in spelling the indefinite article may cause problems, because the variation matches nothing in his linguistic behavior.

In teaching the non-standard speaker the correct use of a and an, acquainting him with the abstract phonological rules (from a dialect which the learner does not speak) underlying the spelling variation would hardly seem to be either a realistic or an enduring solution to the problem. Nor would instruction based on purely orthographic rules, like "write a before consonant letters and an before vowel letters", since, even if understood, it could produce such unacceptable results as a honor and an use. Some purely orthographic differences can easily be handled by the simple device of memorizing word lists, representing this or that spelling. Such a solution is not feasible in this case, however, because the word lists dividing a from an would ultimately include every noun and adjective in the English language. It seems to me that the most direct and enduring solution to this particular spelling problem is simply to get the non-standard speaker to internalize the relevant phonological behavior of the standard dialect, upon which the spelling rules are based. This could be done using much the same kind of pattern drills that are used for teaching English-speaking learners of French such variations as /la/ vs. /l/.

A more complex problem of essentially the same sort is encountered in the teaching of standard English verb usage to non-standard speakers in the same dialect situation. Perhaps the most immediately apparent case of mismatch in this area involves the absence with many speakers of the third

person singular marker -s on the present tense form of standard English verbs, e.g. substandard he know for standard he knows.<sup>12</sup> Technically more serious, however, are cases where mechanisms of predication and even the overall organization of the verbal systems may be different in the two types of speech. For example, certain kinds of predication without a verb exist in substandard speech where standard English uses the linking verb to be, e.g. substandard they tired and she my sister beside standard they are tired and she is my sister. An example of more general verbal system differences is to be found in the dialect usage of some speakers who apparently have no inflectional contrast to match the preterite vs. simple present of standard English. Thus a form like he go will be used by such speakers where standard English would use he went as well as where it would use he goes. For this type of substandard dialect, the main distinction is aspectual, being between non-durative (cf. the he go construction) and durative, e.g. he goin', this last construction being roughly equivalent to standard he is going or, in some cases, he was going.<sup>13</sup>

I think that the foregoing examples are sufficient to demonstrate that, for this dialect situation, verbal usage is sometimes different from that of standard English. Furthermore, since the individual cases of mismatch may derive from more general deviations in the over-all organization of the two verbal systems themselves, it seems clear that isolated "mistakes" will not necessarily be amenable to patchwork correction. On the contrary, it would appear that the most satisfactory approach to the teaching of standard verbal usage would be of a type similar to one now being used in many of the newer foreign language teaching materials. In these, the corrective exercises are based upon a preliminary comparison of the way in which the learner's verbal system agrees with or differs from that of the language being taught.



In the four preceding English teaching case histories which I have selected to illustrate the suitability of foreign language teaching methods in what I have termed "quasi-foreign" language situations, the actual structural distance between the non-standard, English-like, pre-school speech of the learner and the standard English being taught has varied from case to case. In the Jamaican and Liberian situations, the non-standard varieties were different enough from standard English to have prompted linguists to classify them as independent languages. In the American situations the difference was less marked, although a certain amount of structural deviation from standard English was still evident. From the language teaching point of view, what was common to all of these cases was the fact that, in spite of striking structural similarities in certain areas (such as in vocabulary), structural dissimilarities in other areas (such as in grammars) have given rise to language learning problems of a type which are similar to foreign language learning problems, and hence render desirable the use of foreign language methods in English teaching.

With this conclusion established, it will be apparent that the development of more suitable language teaching materials for situations like the foregoing ones has to depend heavily upon the availability of good linguistic descriptions of those non-standard varieties of speech which are normally used by the learners of the language to be taught. Of course, the linguist will want such forms of speech described anyway -- as additional samples of human language behavior, if for no other reason.<sup>14</sup> However, the educator or language teacher, who may be tempted to look down on non-standard varieties of speech, should bear in mind that linguistic descriptions of them, far from being mere scholastic curiosities, can serve as a very useful basis for more effective teaching of the kind of language which he or she is deeply interested in getting the learner to use.

## NOTES

1. See Allen, "The Linguistic Atlases: Our New Resource". Also compare the three dialect maps of the United States given as figures 3, 4, and 5 in Bronstein, The Pronunciation of American English, which represent major revisions in linguists' interpretations of the dialectal subdivisions of American English. Incidentally, there has recently appeared an admirable interpretation for English teachers of the newer dialect data. This is Malmstrom and Ashley's Dialects -- U.S.A.
2. For an exemplary case history of one such pidgin language, see Hall, Hands Off Pidgin English!
3. By "grammar", I obviously mean the patterns of language structure rather than a set of rules in a book. This distinction between linguistic grammar and formal grammar is now widely known and accepted in the United States, but it is much less familiar to Jamaican language teachers. To most of them, Jamaican Creole "has no grammar", simply because its structural patterns have never been formally codified within the culture. For a linguistic description of Jamaican Creole, see Bailey's dissertation, "Jamaican Creole Syntax".
4. As is the case with Creole in Jamaica, Pidgin English has no independent sociolinguistic status in Liberia, and indeed is known by no specific name. Where it is referred to at all, it tends to be called "colloquial English", "bad English", or, in Monrovia, "Water Street English". An important difference between the Jamaican and Liberian situations is that while Creole is the native -- and only -- language of most Jamaicans, Liberian Pidgin English is usually a second language for tribal Liberians who are native speakers of an African vernacular such as Bassa or Kpelle. Incidentally, Liberian Pidgin English is structurally quite different from the Nigerian and Cameroun varieties of English-based Pidgin, which are closely related to Sierra Leone Krio.
5. This -in, pronounced [ĩ], is historically related to the standard English morpheme written -ing. The Liberian Pidgin English examples are given here in a tentative, quasi-phonemic spelling based on preliminary linguistic investigations which I carried out in Liberia under the auspices of Educational Services, Inc. and the Center for Applied Linguistics.
6. I am currently preparing, for the use of Educational Services, Inc. in West Africa, a language manual for primary

school teachers in countries where instruction is given in English, but where an English-based pidgin or creole is widely used outside the classroom. Its main purpose is to inform the teacher about likely language interference problems, and techniques for avoiding or correcting them. The manual is intended primarily for mathematics teachers in Liberia and Sierra Leone, but it is being written so as to also make it useful for teachers of other subjects and in other areas with a similar language situation, such as Nigeria, the Cameroun, and the British Caribbean. [Editor's Note: The above manual was never completed. However see, Language Teaching, Linguistics, and the Teaching of English in a Multilingual Society, Kingston: University of the West Indies, Faculty of Education, 1965, to which the author contributed.]

7. Here I do not refer to the kind of English which a monolingual Spanish speaker in Mexico may end up with after having taken English in school. Rather, I refer to a special dialect of American English spoken in the Southwest by a considerable number of Americans of Mexican descent, who are usually bilingual in it and some variety of Mexican or Southwestern Spanish.
8. See Raven McDavid's articles, "Some Social Differences in Pronunciation" and "The Relationship of the Speech of American Negroes to the Speech of Whites".
9. This phenomenon is certainly common in Washington, D.C., where it is easy to find cases involving second or third generation Washington Negro families in which the parents are speakers of a quite standard variety of English, but where the children's speech is much closer to that of the newer immigrants. The explanation seems to be that heavy post-war immigration has dialectally swamped much of the younger generation of native Washingtonians. This phenomenon, incidentally, seems to support the theory that children learn more language behavior from members of their own peer group than from their parents, and suggests that educator concern over the quality of "language in the home" may be misplaced.
10. Research projects for studying the sociolinguistic situation -- including urban Negro speech -- are presently being carried out in Chicago, under the direction of Raven I. McDavid, Jr., and in New York City by William Labov of Columbia University. In Washington, D.C., a program for the study of the speech of school-age children, involving the cooperation of the Center for Applied Linguistics and the District of Columbia Public Schools,

is currently in the proposal stage. [Editor's Note: The Washington, D.C. program, known as The Urban Language Study, began in October 1965, and is still in operation as part of CAL's Sociolinguistics Program.]

11. Many Washington speakers have /ð/ and /θ/ word-initially, with the standard distribution, but generally have /v/ and /f/ medially and finally. For them, the teaching problem is essentially one of bringing about sound substitutions in the appropriate places.
12. As far as the communication of meaning is concerned, this absence of verbal -s in substandard speech causes no ambiguity, since the relevant information is usually supplied by the noun or pronoun. Socially, however, its use is quite important, because the presence of verbal -s in the appropriate places appears to serve as one of the criteria distinguishing "educated" from "uneducated" speech. This is one of those many cases where, in content, substandard English is just as expressive as standard English -- the two differing primarily in form. Yet it is on the basis of just such differences in linguistic form that social judgments regarding the speaker are often made.
13. Either fortuitously or because of a historical connection of some sort, this same dominance of aspect over tense is found in certain Caribbean creole languages.
14. For an outstanding example of the kind of scientific description which can be made of substandard and socially deprecated varieties of speech, even where these may be subjugated to the norms of a closely related but standardized dialect of high prestige, see Sievertsen's Cockney Phonology.

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## EDUCATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR TEACHING STANDARD ENGLISH TO NEGRO CHILDREN

by Joan C. Baratz

It is commonplace to observe that lower class Negro school children do not speak like white children -- lower or middle class. Although there is considerable agreement on this empirical observation, there is a great deal of discussion and debate concerning its source, significance and consequence.

### The Difference-Deficit Question

The systematic research on the language of lower class Negro children has produced two general conceptual vantages concerning their verbal abilities -- one camp, composed generally of psychologists and educators, has tended to view the language of black children as defective -- i.e. the language of Negro children is underdeveloped or restricted in some way. These experimenters attribute the deficit to environmental factors, frequently observing that the mother doesn't interact with the child enough, doesn't read books to him, etc. The other camp, composed mainly of linguists, has viewed the language of lower class Negro children as a different yet highly structured, highly developed system.

For several years these two "camps" operated quite independently -- psychologists went along describing deficiencies while linguists went about detailing differences.

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Recently, however, with the advent of interdisciplinary programs, each group has developed an increased awareness of the other's position.

The question then arises as to whether a deficit model and a difference model can co-exist. Can a language be a fully developed, complex system (according to the linguists) and yet still be deficient -- insofar as it produces speakers with language and cognitive deficits (according to certain psychologists)? Or to put it another way, can these children have speech and language problems that affect inter- and intra- personal communication that are not related to the dialect? Aside from about 5% of lower class Negro children who along with 5% of the other populations of children, have speech and language deficits due to neuro-physiological or psychological difficulties, it is not possible to generally characterize the speech of lower class children as deficient.

Those psychologists who wish to believe that there is such a thing as a fully developed different system that produces cognitive deficiency rely heavily on the writings of Basil Bernstein, while not always showing that they clearly understand his work. Bernstein speaks of the language of lower class speakers as a "restricted code" as opposed to the "elaborated code" available to the middle class. For Bernstein, this distinction seems to refer to language use, with no clear indication that speakers limited to restricted code suffer any cognitive deficit; only that their orientation toward the verbal channel will be different from that of elaborated code speakers.<sup>1</sup> Many followers of Bernstein, however, have confused superficial forms with specific processes. If a form is missing in Negro non-standard, it is assumed that the process is absent as well. To show the fallacy of this, one need only point out that in Negro non-standard the conceptual scheme "if" is, under certain conditions, used without any overt representation of the form

"if". Thus while in standard English one might say "I don't know if Robert can come over tonight", in Negro non-standard the equivalent would be "I don't know can Robert come over tonight." In the standard English version a vocabulary item is used to fulfill the interrogative function; in Negro non-standard a structural shift is used. Nevertheless, both sentences (standard English and Negro non-standard) are equally capable of conveying the questionableness of Robert's availability in the evening.

The researchers who concerned themselves with applying the restricted and elaborated code thesis to explanations of cognitive impairment in young black children not only relied heavily on superficial structural differences in language production (whose relationship to cognition is not clear), but also these same researchers failed to deal with the socio-cultural variable and the role it might play in speech elicitation. For example, the task, "describe this picture", may be perceived differently by different groups in different settings. Mexican peasants, when given a picture of people engaged in an activity, are likely to "describe the picture" by detailing personality factors "she's sad", whereas lower class English boys may be more likely to describe the action that the individuals are engaged in -- "he's throwing him the ball." Middle class white Americans may feel that "to describe a picture" is to elaborate on all the details of a picture -- i.e. setting, action and feelings. This does not mean, of course, that Mexican peasants are incapable of responding to pictures by detailing the setting or the actions that are taking place. One need only define the task as such, i.e. "tell me what is happening in this picture", rather than "describe the picture."

Erickson<sup>2</sup> has illustrated that black children use both restricted and elaborated codes -- the frequency of either code being determined by the subject matter, the setting,



and to whom the individual is speaking. He has demonstrated the futility of presuming that black children do not use elaborated codes.

Perhaps of more importance than the demonstration that black children use both elaborated and restricted codes is the evidence most clearly demonstrated by Labov that one can produce highly abstract concepts while using extremely "restricted" codes.

A black teenager was asked, "Just suppose there is a God; would he be white or black?" When he responded "He'd be white" the interviewer asked "Why?" "Why? I'll tell you why. Cause the average whitey out here got everything, you dig? And the nigger ain't got shit, y'know y'unerstan'? So-um-for-in order for that to happen, you know it ain't no black God that's doin' that bullshit." The code the teenager has used is clearly non-standard and, in terms of the Bernstein classification system, can be viewed as "restricted". Nonetheless in terms of logic and complexity it is no less restricted than the elaborated standard English equivalent "I know that God isn't black, because if he were, he wouldn't have arranged the world the way it is."<sup>3</sup>

Those researchers who would feel that language styles can be hierarchically distributed with more elaborated codes indicating more complex thought will first have to deal with the matter of equivalences across codes. The absence of such discussions in the literature, along with the fact that there has been little demonstration that the presence of certain linguistic forms and usages impair cognitive ability makes it quite clear that the deficit model cannot be applied in relation to cognitive ability and language style.

Indeed, the fact that the language structure and style is different in the black community from that of the white mainstream serves only to indicate that the tests that black children are given initially cannot be used as measurements

of potential so much as evidence of what black children know about the mainstream culture. Their poor performance by white mainstream standards merely indicates that they must be taught how to negotiate in a cultural setting that is different from their own.

Nonetheless, the differences in language structure and usage can be handicapping to the non-standard speaker when he is expected to operate in a system that demands the use of standard English structure and style. This language difference will create a problem in terms of oral communication in standard English settings. But the scope is even broader. His success in school programs may be hindered because interference from his different linguistic system can cause difficulties in his learning to read and write standard English, the lingua franca of the public schools.

#### Is it Necessary for Black Children to Learn Standard English?

Given the fact that many black children do not speak standard English upon entering school (and quite frequently still do not speak it when leaving school), the question is raised: what should the school system do about this situation? Should the school system require that these children learn standard English?

There are those voices in the academic community who say no, standard English need not be taught to these children.<sup>4</sup> These critics rightly feel that the child's language system is a fully developed, totally adequate linguistic system which is no better or worse than standard English and therefore, they think, it should be accepted as a perfectly adequate substitute for standard English.

Nevertheless, there are several discrepancies, overt and implied, in the argument against teaching standard English to black children. First, although it is true from a linguistic viewpoint that all dialects (Negro non-standard, Standard American English, Oxford English, etc.) are equal, it is also

true from a social viewpoint that some dialects are considered more valuable than others in certain contexts. The linguistic relativity, then, does not take into account the social reality. Middle class individuals still rate Standard American English as more desirable than Negro speech. Pejorative ratings are associated with Negro non-standard speech despite its viability, complexity and communicativeness as a linguistic system.<sup>5</sup>

Indeed, despite the fact that various dialects may be used orally, the exigencies of reading and writing call for standard English and there are virtually no voices in the black community calling for newspapers and textbooks, to say nothing of carpenters' manuals, written in Black English.

The existence of standard English is not the result of a political conspiracy "to keep the black man down." But rather standardization is a socio-linguistic fact of life. Societies are socially stratified -- whether the organization is a clan, a tribe or a nation-state. It would be nice to think that there are complex, socially stratified societies where the spectrum of standard language is so broad as to include all the different grammars and usages of persons speaking the many varieties of that language under the label of "standard." Sad to say, human behavior just doesn't operate like that. To date, wherever research has been done -- in Europe, Asia and Africa -- this has not been the case. One variety of the language invariably becomes the standard -- the variety that has grammar books written in it, the one for which an orthography is established, the one that is studied by the populace in school. Language standardization appears to be a universal aspect of language variation in a national context -- particularly one involving literacy. There is standard English, standard Arabic, standard Yoruba and standard Hausa, just to note a few. Standardization is not a political invention of racist whites to exploit the Negro, rob him of his heritage, and denigrate his language.

The second fallacy of the "don't teach standard English" argument is the implication that in the process of learning standard English, the black child will necessarily be taught to devalue his "native tongue" -- non-standard vernacular. There is no reason to assume that a child cannot learn several dialects of English, and where it is appropriate to use them, without weakening his self-confidence, self-identity and racial pride.

Another problem with such an argument is that it overlooks the point that in refusing to teach standard English to these children we cut off even further their possibility of entering the mainstream of American life.<sup>6</sup>

And finally, not teaching the black inner-city child standard English not only further hinders his ability to ultimately compete in the mainstream of society in terms of oral skills, but also makes the child's task of learning to read considerably more difficult.<sup>7</sup>

It seems clear from the discussion above that it is necessary to teach standard English to non-standard speakers. They must know the language of the country if they are to become a part of the mainstream of that society. The need for teaching standard English to these children, however, does not rule out the use of non-standard English within the classroom. It does not contradict the call for new, more meaningful curricula for these children, nor does it exonerate past failures on the part of the school system. It simply reaffirms the goal of the school system to turn out literate citizens who can compete in and contribute to the mainstream culture. In order to do this the school must teach all children the language of the mainstream.

#### Who Should Teach Standard English to Black Children?

Once it is determined that it is necessary to teach black children standard English, the question arises as to who should do this. Who in the school system is prepared to

deal with this problem? At the present time there is no individual department in the school system that can deal with it.

Some English teachers, despite their previous training towards conceptualizing standard English as right and "God given" and all other dialects as wrong and bad, have begun to take an interest in the issue of training Negro non-standard speakers. Some speech teachers, despite their previous tradition of looking at deviance from standard language as pathology, have begun to express concern over helping black children learn to speak standard English. Some foreign language teachers with their background in comparative linguistics have also become interested in dealing with the problem of "second language learning" as it applies to black children learning to speak standard English. It is my feeling that from this cadre of interested individuals with their varied backgrounds a specialist can emerge who will be effective in coping with the language problems of ghetto youngsters. Such an interested person, however, must be well-trained. High motivation and a dedicated soul are not substitutes for competence when it comes to teaching children.

One of the first issues to be dealt with concerning the teacher is the question: Should the teacher who wishes to teach black children be black?

Many black nationalists have been insisting that the teachers of black children be black. What these same nationalists have scrupulously avoided discussing is the fact that many middle class Negroes (from which, of course, the majority of black teachers continue to be drawn) are as anti-ghetto black as the white teachers. They share the white teachers' ignorance and prejudice toward the black child and his language.<sup>8</sup> They are careful to proclaim that they never spoke dialect.<sup>9</sup> They, too, believe all the current dogma and mythology concerning the child's homelife and its consequent effect on his learning. A black teacher may surely be helpful



to these children in terms of the teacher's own experience as a black person, but that in itself does not provide any assurance that the child will learn simply because the teacher is the same color as he (surely the failure of the black school system is a testament in part to that fact). Just as high motivation and good intent are not enough, black skin per se does not insure effective teaching of black children -- competence, which is colorless, is a necessary ingredient for success.

#### Developing an Urban Language Specialist

1. The need for a specialist. What does the teacher of black children have to know? How is she to be trained?

First, a teacher who wishes to work with language and speech programs for black children must receive training concerning language. What is language? What are dialects? How do social factors influence language and language learning? What are the functions of a language? What is the relationship of spoken language to written language and reading? What is linguistic interference?

Second, she needs specific training in learning the child's vernacular. What is his language like? More specifically she should learn the dialect.<sup>10</sup> In the process of learning the dialect, I believe that the teacher will develop a greater respect for what it is she is asking of her children and what the difficulties are in learning another system, especially one which in many ways is superficially comparable to standard English. In addition, in learning the non-standard dialect, the teacher will understand that one can learn another dialect of English without "changing" or "improving" the dialect that one already speaks.

Those teachers who already know the dialect will also need some of this training so that they can reorient their notion about Negro dialect, and can specify the areas where interference from the dialect will affect performance in



standard English. Thus they will be able to anticipate problems as well as prepare lessons for teaching standard English.

Teachers will also have to learn something of foreign language teaching techniques to aid them in preparing materials for presentation to children, and some of the evaluation procedures of speech therapy (with specific adaptations in reference to dialect speakers) to help them in assessing their effectiveness and the children's progress. Training of these teachers must also include discussions of the language arts curriculum so that their new knowledge can be applied to making changes in materials and presentations that will aid in teaching reading and writing skills.

Lastly, these inner-city teachers must be familiar with the ghetto culture in addition to its distinctive language patterns. In talking about familiarity with ghetto culture one must be careful not to confuse psychological and sociological data with its emphasis on normative behavior for ethnological fact. For example, the sociological fact that there is quite often no "man in the house" does not give us much information concerning what a ghetto family really is like.. Perhaps the best example of confusing psychological data (interpreted on the basis of a false premise-deficit thesis) for reality is the history of the professional conceptualization of the ghetto child's linguistic competence.<sup>11</sup> Since most people take the psychological data on face value they presume that ghetto black children are verbally destitute and are truly amazed when they discover that verbal ability is highly regarded in the ghetto; ability to "sound" is important and that the man of words is given considerable status by his compatriots.<sup>12</sup> Black children in elementary school are busy becoming proficient in the various toasts and in playing the dozens<sup>13</sup> even if they are all but mute when it comes to dealing with standard English situations in the classroom. The teacher must be aware of the different

learning styles of ghetto youth and how they may affect the way material should be presented.<sup>14</sup>

Obviously the teacher who is to work in the black inner-city schools, and who is to institute new curricula with teaching styles suited for black children will have to be provided with a training program which incorporates the content described above. Such a specialist with this kind of training is sorely needed.

2. Programs and materials available. Granting that it is necessary for a specialist to teach standard English to non-standard speakers, and given the fact that from various disciplines an individual can be trained to work with these children what kind of program should be instituted? What does the trained specialist do? First let us look generally at what has been done in the past and then discuss what needs to be done, and what the problems are that must be overcome in order to do the job well.

Speech and language programs have been devised that focused on the language abilities of preschoolers, elementary and secondary students, drop-outs and adult "new careers" people.

The preschool programs are best represented by the intervention programs known generally as "head start." The programs were developed on a deficit model, and most program directors believed that they were teaching these children language (not a second language). These programs were generally of two types:

a. Enrichment - here it was presumed that the language of the black child was underdeveloped due to lack of stimulation, poor mothering, etc., and the program was designed to compensate for this. The children learned about neighborhood workers, the friendly policeman, colors, nursery rhymes, etc. The best of the middle class nursery school was presented to these children.

b. Academic - the now famous Bereiter and Engelmann<sup>15</sup> approach. These intervention programs were not based on under-development of skills but rather on a presumed absence of the skills. These programs attempted to teach the children language arts<sup>16</sup> and mathematic skills through formalized instruction.

Since one of the avowed purposes of these early childhood intervention programs was to "improve language skills" (tacitly defined in these programs as teaching the child to speak standard English) one would have to say the programs were a failure in that there are no data to indicate that following a preschool intervention program, these children were more proficient speakers of standard English.<sup>17</sup>

Despite the failure of these preschool programs to improve the black child's command of standard English, due largely to a lack of knowledge of what language is and how children learn language, the question still remains as to whether a child can be taught standard English as a "quasi foreign language" at the preschool level. With adequately trained teachers and special materials perhaps the question of the optimal period for teaching these children standard English can be discerned. However, the optimal period for teaching children a second dialect still remains to be determined.

The junior high and high school programs have generally been zeroed in on as "prime-times" to teach standard English as a second language to black children. The problem with many of these programs is that they use the jargon of second language teaching but actually have as their goal the replacement of what they consider a substandard system (Negro non-standard English which they give credence to as a legitimate system but to which they assign secondary status) with standard English.<sup>18</sup>

A prototype of such a program is Ruth Golden's "Improving Patterns of Language Usage." Although Mrs. Golden asserts that Negroes in low socioeconomic classes use non-standard language patterns, she goes on to say that these patterns are "antiquated and awkward in structure." Further, she indicates that Negro non-standard English is inferior since the "level of language (Negro non-standard English) which has served very well for their parents is inadequate for them (Negro students)."<sup>19</sup> Despite the fact that she says the language patterns of Negro students ought not be solely those of the Negro community (implying more than one system) she actually feels that they should be solely standard English speakers as evidence by her disappointment that "...many students who can speak well in class are not sufficiently motivated to continue in an acceptable (to her) informal pattern, but often revert to substandard as soon as they leave the classroom." Her misinterpretation of the students' appropriate use of two language systems (standard English for the classroom and Negro non-standard English for the peer group) as "insufficient motivation for using standard English" clearly indicates that her program is one of eradication of old patterns and replacement with acceptable patterns.

Mrs. Golden's program, as with most of the teaching English as a second language to Negro non-standard English speakers programs, relies on pattern practice as the modus operandi for acquiring standard English. The programs generally do not use contrastive techniques but rather rely simply on repetition of standard English patterns.

Nevertheless, programs have been initiated that genuinely respect the language of the student and that attempt to teach standard English using contrastive techniques.<sup>20</sup> The materials developed at the Center for Applied Linguistics provide one example of such a program.<sup>21</sup> This program not only implicitly recognizes the legitimacy of the students'

system but also uses both standard and non-standard constructions in instruction and drill techniques. With such a teaching system, the student learns not only what standard English is but also how and where it differs from non-standard English.

This technique is extremely important when dealing with teaching English as a "quasi-foreign language" and serves to underline one of the main differences between second language teaching and second dialect teaching. In second language teaching the language to be learned is distinct enough from the students' own system so that he knows, for example, he is speaking French, whether well or poorly, and not English. In second dialect learning this is not always so and in many instances the student does not know where non-standard English leaves off and standard English begins. Therefore he quite often may not be sure, unless he is specifically instructed, when he is using standard English and when he is using forms that appear to be standard English. For example, in Negro non-standard English he working would mean that he is working right now, whereas he be working means he is working repeatedly over a period of time. In standard English he is working can be used for cases both of immediacy and of duration. If the Negro non-standard English speaker is instructed to use he is working without explicitly discussing the different uses in standard English and Negro non-standard English, he may use he is working for immediate situations only (therefore really not speaking standard English though using standard English forms) and may hypercorrect he be working to he bees working to denote a kind of duration.

Unfortunately the Center for Applied Linguistics' materials, although based on a more sophisticated understanding of language and a quite thorough knowledge of both standard English and Negro non-standard English (like many of the "second language learning" programs for Negro inner-city children),



have not been evaluated in a teaching context. However, the Center materials have the distinct advantage of having been developed in the field situation and used in the classroom, and thus the course developers were able to get initial impressions concerning the efficiency and effectiveness of their lessons.

If we presume that materials to teach standard English as a second dialect can be developed and that specialists can be trained to teach with them and to generate more material, the question still remains how shall such a specialist be incorporated into the school system. It seems that the answer to such a question depends upon the level at which the new material is introduced.

Teaching the details of standard English in junior high and high school might well be treated as a separate course. Kenneth Johnson has indicated that teaching standard English as a separate subject as opposed to incorporating it within the existing language arts curriculum may well be the most effective approach.<sup>22</sup> Giving the specialist the role of standard English teacher with emphasis on oral language proficiency clearly denotes a function in the same way that the French teacher's role is identifiable. In the same way that the French teacher must be trained in second language techniques, French language, French culture and history, the standard English teacher must be trained in second language techniques, Negro non-standard English and Afro-American culture and history. The standard English teacher, unlike the English teacher who wishes to teach the formal aspects of a language as well as stylistic conventions--i.e. the business letter, the essay, etc.--to students who already know the language, understands her job as teaching standard English to non-standard English speakers. She does not assume they know the language she is teaching.

3. The role of the specialist. What the role of the



specialist in the preschool and elementary school should be is less clear. If we had a distinct bilingual situation here, one might suggest that the specialist actually teach the primary grades in Negro non-standard English while incorporating procedures for teaching standard English into the curriculum. However, one of the distinctions between a school which must deal with children who speak a different language as opposed to a school where a different dialect is taught involves mutual intelligibility. A class full of non-English speaking children with a teacher who speaks only English will no doubt have to resort to gestures and pictures in order to function at all. This is not true in the case of Negro non-standard English speaking children and a standard English speaking teacher. With a little bit of tuning in on both the teacher and the children's part and with a shared vocabulary the classroom is able to "function" from the very beginning although they speak differently. However, continued failure of many black inner-city schools indicates that this kind of functioning is not adequate.

The most effective use of the specialist at the primary level might be as classroom teacher. In this role she could use her knowledge of Negro non-standard English to teach the child standard English and to aid the child in his initial attempts to read.<sup>23</sup> Although she would use standard English as the medium of instruction (except when she is contrasting standard English and Negro non-standard English) she would allow the children to use Negro non-standard English in responding (except of course when she was teaching standard English) thereby not confusing knowledge of standard English with knowledge of the subject matter -- science, math, etc. to be learned.<sup>24</sup> As the child progressed through the primary grades and became more proficient in standard English, use of more standard English could be demanded within the classroom. Such an approach would allow the child to learn the expected

language response system before he was required to use it. Of course, a program such as the one discussed above is promulgated on the assumption that it is both possible and efficient to teach young children standard English using a "quasi foreign language" approach. This assumption should be tested.

#### Conclusion

This paper has attempted to deal with some of the issues involved in educating black children who do not speak standard English. Questions have been raised concerning whether these children should learn standard English, who should teach them, how a specialist should be trained and what such specialists should do. This author firmly believes that the success of black children in our public school system is very much dependent upon the teacher's recognition of the fact that these children may not speak standard English, and that if they do not speak standard English, formal instruction in the language arts cannot continue to be predicated on the assumption that all the children know standard English. The dialect of black non-standard speaking children must be incorporated into the curriculum as part of the process of teaching these children standard English skills. Only then can such a child learn a second dialect (standard English) without experiencing shame and humiliation towards his native dialect.

#### NOTES

1. Bernstein, B. Social class, linguistic codes and grammatical elements, Language and Speech, 5, 1962, 221-240. Studies have proliferated from Bernstein's writings that take his assumptions and hypotheses concerning language and categorically turn them into a taxonomy of lower class speech. For example, studies that show greater use of pronouns in lower class than in middle class speech have been erroneously interpreted to indicate greater abstraction on the part of middle class speakers. On the contrary, there is no research to indicate saying "The

big red fire engine drove through the street," is any more abstract than saying "It drove through the street." Speech style is being confused with (and substituted for) language abstraction. Bereiter perhaps is most glaring in his "bastardization" of Bernstein when he suggests that if the child "does not know the word not...he is deprived of one of the most powerful tools of our language." (Bereiter, C.E., Academic instruction and pre-school children, in Corbin, R. and Crosby, M., (eds.) Language Programs for the Disadvantaged, National Council of Teachers of English, Champaign, Ill., 1965). Although the Negro child does not use not - i.e. "this is not a book," he does use "ain't no" - i.e. "that ain't no book" which is no less powerfully logical!

2. Erikson, Fredrick, "F'get You Honky!": A new look at black dialect in school, Elementary English, 46, No. 4, 1969, 495-499.
3. Taken from Labov, W., The logic of non-standard, The Florida FL Reporter, Spring, 1969, 60-74, 169. Also printed in Alatis, J. (ed.), Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics (20th Annual Round Table Meeting), Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C., 1969, 1-45. For a discussion of the problems of employing a deficit model see Baratz and Baratz, Early childhood intervention: The social science basis of institutional racism, Harvard Educational Review, Winter, 1970.
4. Wayne O'Neil (Paul Roberts' rules of order: The misuse of linguistics in the classroom, The Urban Review, 2, No. 7, 1968, pp. 12, 17) insists that "instead of 'enriching' the lives of urban children by plugging them into a 'second' dialect...we should be working to eradicate the language prejudice, the language mythology, that people grew into holding and believing." Although I agree with Mr. O'Neil that something should be done concerning misconceptions about language in the educational establishment, I do not feel that this should be done instead of second dialect teaching but rather in addition to the second dialect training for Negro ghetto children. Learning the mainstream tongue is as important for the black child as is eradicating the misconceptions in both the white and black community concerning this original dialect.
5. The pejorative ratings of Negro non-standard English by most blacks is a factor which must be taken into account here. Negro self hate is perhaps a more potent force today than white oppression, in the denial of the worth of Negro dialect. For more information on attitudes toward Negro non-standard speech see Shuy, Roger W.,

Baratz, Joan C., and Wolfram, Walter A., Sociolinguistic factors in speech identification - Final report, MH15048-01, NIMH, 1969.

6. I do not wish to suggest that the use of standard English by black children will insure their success in middle class white America or that it will erase prejudice against Negroes, nevertheless, since standard English is the language of the mainstream it seems clear that knowledge of the mainstream system increases the likelihood of success in the mainstream culture.
7. Study after study has demonstrated that children with a different language system from that of the national language have a great deal of difficulty learning to read when taught to read in the national tongue (UNESCO Conference on World Literacy, 1953). The Negro non-standard speaker trying to learn to read with a standard English text is in much the same position as children learning to read a language other than the one they speak. For further discussion of this issue see, Baratz, J. and Shuy, R. Teaching Black Children to Read, Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C., 1969.
8. It was a Negro, Charles Hurst, Jr., who coined the now disreputable term "dialectolalia" which he defined as an abnormal speech pattern characterized by "oral aberrations such as phonemic and sub-phonemic replacements, segmental phonemes, phonemic distortions, defective syntax, misarticulations, limited and poor vocabulary, and faulty phonology. These variables exist commonly in unsystematic multifarious combinations." (Hurst, Charles, Psychological Correlates in Dialectolalia, Cooperative Research Project #2610, Communication Sciences and Research Center, Howard University, 1965.
9. At a recent talk on Negro non-standard, I noticed two Negro teachers who stood in the doorway and assured all departing whites that "they always spoke this way" (in standard English).
10. Learning a foreign language is not the same as learning a second dialect. The literature in verbal learning has indicated again and again that it is harder to learn material that is quite familiar than it is to learn two sets of distinct material.
11. See Baratz, J., The language of the economically disadvantaged child: A perspective, ASHA, 1968 and Language and cognitive assessment of negro children: Assumptions and research needs, ASHA, 1969.

12. See for example, Ulf Hannerz' Walking my walk and talking my talk, in Hannerz, U., Soulside: Inquiries into Ghetto Culture and Community, Columbia University Press, New York, 1969.
13. Playing the dozens, joining, sounding, rapping are terms for distinct verbal styles in the ghetto. For more information see Abrahams, R., Deep Down in the Jungle, Hatboro, Pa. Folklore Associates, 1964; Kochman, T., "Rapping" in the Black Ghetto, Transaction, 1969, pp. 26-34; Labov, W. et al., A study of the non-standard English of negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City, Cooperative Research Project No. 3288, Volume II, The Use of Language in the Speech Community, Columbia University, 1968.
14. Some excellent beginning work on differences in cognitive styles in different ethnic groups can be found in Lesser, G. and Stodolsky, S., Learning patterns in the disadvantaged, Harvard Educational Review, 37, No. 4, 1967.
15. Bereiter, C. and Engelmann, S., Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1967.
16. Language arts involved formal instruction in the authors' concept of oral standard English and in beginning reading.
17. Almost all of the data presented to date (see for example, Klaus and Gray, The early training project for disadvantaged children: A report after five years, Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development, 33, 1968) involve shifts (and transitory at that since they do not appear to be sustained once the child enters school) in IQ scores.
18. See for example Ruth Golden's Improving Patterns of Language Usage, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1960 or Virginia French Allen, Learning a second dialect is not learning another language, Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, 20th Annual Roundtable Meeting, Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C., 1969, 189-202, where despite using second language learning analogy Mrs. Allen concludes with an anecdote concerning the fact that the child is "worth revising".
19. Golden, R., Improving Patterns of Language Usage, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1960.
20. See for example Gladney, M. and Leaverton, L., A model for teaching standard English to nonstandard English



speakers, AERA paper, 1968, for contrastive approach with young children or Johnson, K., An evaluation of second language techniques for teaching standard English to negro students, NCTE paper, 1968, for use with older students.

21. The materials, English Now, developed by Irwin Feigenbaum are currently being published by New Century.
22. Johnson, K. An evaluation of second language techniques for teaching standard English to negro students, NCTE paper, 1968.
23. The Education Study Center is currently involved in a reading project in the District of Columbia using dialect texts as initial readers.
24. I remember being in a third grade class that was discussing the Revolutionary War. The teacher asked "Who crossed the Delaware River with troops? A young Negro boy responded "Dat George Washington" to which the teacher replied "No, that was George Washington." With such a correction the class, I am sure, was confused as to the right answer and the boy learned not to volunteer information again!



## SOME LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF NEGRO DIALECT

by Ralph W. Fasold and Walt Wolfram

There are essentially three sources of information on the features of Negro dialect.<sup>1</sup> First, there are detailed technical linguistic analyses which are difficult for non-specialists to read. Another source of information is in the form of lists which usually sacrifice adequacy in favor of simplicity. A third source of information is articles about the history of Negro dialect in which certain features are emphasized, but in which no comprehensive analysis is attempted. Our purpose here is to present the information currently available on the linguistic features of Negro dialect in non-technical language, but in sufficient detail to be useful, if not to teachers themselves, at least to those who would like to write teaching materials but do not feel secure in their knowledge of the features involved. The details of the analysis being presented are based on careful research and while no extensive references to this research are made in the course of the presentation, all the source material can be found in the bibliography.

Before discussing the features themselves, it is necessary to clarify several facts about Negro dialect. First, it should be understood that not all Negroes speak Negro dialect. There are many Negroes whose speech is indistinguishable from others of the same region and social class, and there are many whose speech can be identified as Negro only by a few slight differences in pronunciation and vocal quality. Second, Negro dialect shares many features with other kinds of

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English. Its distinctiveness, however, lies in the fact that it has a number of pronunciation and grammatical features which are not shared by other dialects. It is important to realize that Negro dialect is a fully formed linguistic system in its own right, with its own grammar and pronunciation rules; it cannot simply be dismissed as an unworthy approximation of standard English. In fact, there are some grammatical distinctions which can be made more easily in Negro dialect than in standard English. Negro dialect, then, as the term is used here, is a cohesive linguistic system which is substantially different from standard American English dialects. It is spoken by some, though not all Negroes, particularly those of the lower socioeconomic classes. Furthermore, as will be brought out in the discussion, almost all the features associated with Negro dialect alternate with standard English forms in actual speech. To avoid forming a distorted picture of how speech is actually used in the lower socioeconomic black community, this variation or alternation should be kept in mind when reading the descriptions which follow.

There are two possible reasons for the distinctiveness of Negro dialect, one being the fact that the linguistic history of the dialect is partly independent from the history of the rest of American English. It has been postulated that several of the features of the dialect are traceable, not to British dialects, but to African languages via the Caribbean Creole languages. Even if this is not the case, the persistent segregation patterns of our society are sufficient cause for Negro dialect to develop its own character. Dialects develop when speakers of a common language are separated from each other, either by geographical or social distance. The social distance between white and black Americans must be cited as a contributing factor to the maintenance and development of distinct dialect features.

## PRONUNCIATION

It is important to keep separate the two kinds of differences between standard English and Negro dialect. Some of these features, like the pronunciation of then as den, are the result of differences in the pronunciation systems of two kinds of American English. Other differences, like the use of "double" or multiple negatives, are grammatical in nature. Sometimes it is not obvious which kind of feature is involved. For example, we will see that the rule which causes speakers of Negro dialect to say He go where standard English speakers say He goes is a grammatical rule. On the other hand, the rule by which speakers of Negro dialect say He walk where standard dialect speakers say He walked is a pronunciation rule. Some of the reasons for this conclusion and for the importance of the distinction between the two types of rules will be given in the description to follow.

Word-final Consonant Clusters

1. General. Standard English words ending in a consonant cluster or blend often have the final member of the cluster absent in Negro dialect.<sup>2</sup> As we shall see, the reduction of some clusters which are formed by the addition of the -s suffix can be attributed to a grammatical difference between standard English and Negro dialect (see pp. 63, 76-78). Other types of cluster "reductions", however, do not result from grammatical differences, but are the product of pronunciation differences in final consonant clusters. In Negro dialect, words such as test, desk, hand, and build are pronounced as tes', des', han', and buil' respectively. Because of this, we find that pairs of words such as build and bill, coal and cold, and west and Wes have identical pronunciations in Negro dialect.

It is important to distinguish two basic types of clusters which are affected by this sort of reduction. First of all, clusters in which both members of the cluster belong to

the same "base word" can be reduced, as in tes', des', han', and buil'. But reduction also affects final t or d which results when the suffix -ed is added to the "base word."<sup>3</sup> In all varieties of English, the -ed suffix has several different phonetic forms, depending on how the base word ends. If it ends in d or t, the -ed suffix is pronounced something like id (e.g. wantid, countid); otherwise it is pronounced as t or d. When the word ends in a voiced sound, it is pronounced as d, so that words with -ed like rubbed or rained are actually pronounced as rubd and raind respectively. Consonants like b, n, and g are pronounced with vocal chords vibrating, that is, they are voiced. If the base word ends in a voiceless consonant, the cluster ends in t, so that messed and looked are actually pronounced as mest and lookt, respectively. Consonants such as s, k, and f are pronounced without the vibration of the vocal chord, that is, they are voiceless. In Negro dialect, when the addition of the -ed suffix results in either a voiced or voiceless cluster, the cluster may be reduced by removing the final member of the cluster. This affects -ed when it functions as a past tense marker (e.g. Yesterday he move' away), a participle (e.g. The boy was mess' up) or an adjective (e.g. He had a scratch' arm), although its association with the past tense is the most frequent. The list of clusters affected by this process and the examples of the two types of consonant cluster reduction are given in the following table: Type I represents clusters which do not involve -ed and Type II represents clusters which result from the addition of the -ed suffix.

Note that in the table, such clusters as [mp] (e.g. jump, ramp), [nt] (e.g. count, rent), [lt] (e.g. colt, belt), [ŋk] (e.g. crank, rank), and [lp] (e.g. gulp, help) are not included. The reason is that the reduction rule operates only when both members of the cluster are either voiced or voiceless. Words like mind, cold, or rained (pronounced

Table 1  
Consonant Clusters in which the Final Member  
of the Cluster may be Absent

Phonetic Cluster	Examples*	
	Type I	Type II
[st]	test, post, list	missed, messed, dressed
[sp]	wasp, clasp, grasp	
[sk]	desk, risk, mask	
[ʃt]		finished, latched, cashed
[zd]		raised, composed, amazed
[ʒd]		judged, charged, forged
[ft]	left, craft, cleft	laughed, stuffed, roughed
[vd]		loved, lived, moved
[nd]	mind, find, mound	rained, fanned, canned
[md]		named, foamed, rammed
[ld]	cold; wild, old	called, smelled, killed
[pt]	apt, adept, inept	mapped, stopped, clapped
[kt]	act, contact, expect	looked, cooked, cracked

\*Where there are no examples under Type I or II, the cluster does not occur under that category.

raind) end in two voiced sounds, n and d. On the other hand, words like jump, count, belt, crank, and help end in one voiced and one voiceless sound; m, n, l and the [ŋ] sound are voiced, while t, k and p are voiceless. Since final consonant clusters can be reduced only when both consonants are voiced or when both consonants are voiceless, these words ending in one of each kind of consonant never have reduced clusters.

In some ways, the absence of the final member of the consonant cluster in Negro dialect is like a process which can also be observed in standard English; in other ways, however, it is quite different. In standard English, the



final member of the cluster may be absent if the following word begins with a consonant, so that bes' kind, col' cuts, and wes' side are common and acceptable in spoken standard English.<sup>4</sup> In standard English, however, this reduction can take place only when the following word begins with a consonant. While col' cuts, does not violate the pronunciation rules of standard English, col' egg does. In Negro dialect, this reduction not only takes place when the following word begins with a consonant, but it may also take place when it is followed by a vowel or a pause of some type. Thus wes' en', bes' apple, or col' egg are all acceptable according to Negro dialect rules of pronunciation. Items such as Yesterday he was mess' up occur because of this pronunciation rule and not because past tense is absent in Negro dialect. In standard English it is not at all unusual to hear a sentence such as Yesterday I burn' my hand, since the potential cluster in burned is followed by a word beginning with a consonant. But a sentence such as It was burn' up, acceptable in Negro dialect, would not be acceptable in standard English since the potential cluster is followed by a word beginning with a vowel.

2. Plural formation. Related to the reduction of final consonant clusters in Negro dialect is a particular pattern of pluralization involving the -s and -es plural forms. In all varieties of English, there are several different phonetic forms for the plural suffix. If the word ends in an s-like sound (i.e. a sibilant such as s, sh, z, zh), the plural suffix is formed by adding -es; phonetically, this is pronounced something like -iz. Thus bus, bush, and buzz are pluralized as buses, bushes, and buzzes respectively. If the word does not end in an s-like sound, then -s is added; phonetically this is z after voiced sounds and s after voiceless sounds. Thus, the plural of pot, coat, bud, and pan is pots, coats, buds (phonetically budz) and pans (phonetically panz)



respectively. In Negro dialect, words ending in s plus p, t or k add the -es plural instead of the -s plural.<sup>5</sup> Thus, words like desk, ghost, wasp, and test are pluralized as desse, ghoses, wasses, and tesses. Because the p, t, and k are so often removed by the rule discussed above, these plurals are formed as if desk, test, and wasp ended in s, instead of sk, st, or sp. It is essential to understand that this is a regular pluralization pattern due to the status of final consonant clusters in Negro dialect.

Attempting to learn standard English pluralization patterns, speakers will sometimes pluralize words like desk and test as deskes and testes respectively. These forms result from the failure to eliminate Negro dialect pluralization after realizing that words like test and desk are to be pronounced with a cluster. Technically, this is known as "hypercorrection".

3. The status of word-final clusters. Because consonant clusters occur so infrequently at the end of words in Negro dialect, one might ask whether these word-final clusters can be considered an integral part of the Negro dialect system. That is, are speakers of Negro dialect at all familiar with what words may and what words may not end in clusters? This question is crucial for teaching, since clusters must be taught as completely new items if Negro dialect speakers are completely unfamiliar with them. On the other hand, if clusters are a part of the dialect and simply different from standard English because they can undergo reduction in certain contexts where reduction is not possible in standard English (e.g. when the following word begins with a vowel), the teaching problem is of a different nature. What must be taught in the latter case, is the contexts in which cluster reduction is not possible in standard English but is possible in Negro dialect, while the lists of standard English words ending in clusters must be taught as completely new items if clusters are not an integral part of the dialect.

This question can be answered most clearly by observing what happens when suffixes beginning with a vowel are added to a base word ending in a cluster in standard English. This includes -ing as in testing or scolding, -er as in tester or scolder and -est as in coldest or oldest. If a consonant cluster is present in such constructions (e.g. testing, tester), we may assume that the speaker is fully acquainted with the cluster, but that it can be reduced in places where it is not possible in standard English. For the vast majority of Negro dialect speakers in the North, this is exactly how the rule concerning consonant clusters operates. These speakers may reduce the cluster in the context of tes' program or tes' idea, but retain the cluster in tester. There is, however, also a group of Negro dialect speakers, most typically Southern children, who not only show the absence of the final member of the cluster in tes' program or tes' idea, but in teser as well. For these speakers, the teaching of standard English must start with the list of standard English words which end in consonant clusters.

We may summarize our observations about the word-final consonant clusters in the following table, which represents how standard English and the two varieties of Negro dialect function with respect to final consonant clusters. The three contexts mentioned above are: (1) the following word begins with a consonant, (2) the following word does not begin with a consonant, and (3) a suffix beginning with a vowel follows.

Table 2  
Consonant Cluster Reduction

	(1) ___#C	(2) ___#	(3) ___-V
Standard English	tes' program	test idea	testing
Negro dialect 1	tes' program	tes' idea	testing
Negro dialect 2	tes' program	tes' idea	tes'ing

On the basis of this table, we can draw some general conclusions about the social significance of consonant cluster reduction. We see, for example, that Negro dialect is very much like standard English when the following word begins with a consonant; a reduction of the cluster therefore has little social significance in this context. When not followed by a consonant, however, it is socially stigmatized. Absence of the cluster is most stigmatized when a suffix beginning with a vowel is added.

#### The th-Sounds

1. General. In standard English, the letters th actually represent two different types of sound. First, they represent the voiced sound in words such as the, they, and that (i.e. a voiced interdental fricative). Second, they represent the voiceless sound as in words like thought, thin, and think (a voiceless interdental fricative). In Negro dialect, the regular pronunciation rules for the sounds represented by th are quite different. The particular sounds which th represents are mainly dependent on the context in which th occurs. That is, the sounds for th are dependent on where th might occur in a word and/or what sounds occur next to it.

2. Word-initial. At the beginning of a word, the th in the is frequently pronounced as a d in Negro dialect, so that words such as the, they, and that are pronounced as de, doy, and dat respectively. It has been pointed out that a limited amount of d for th is also characteristic of standard English in the most casual or informal speech style. In Negro dialect, however, it is much more frequent so that the pronunciation de for the is the regular pronunciation. It is important to note here that the pronunciation of d for th in Negro dialect is not simply an error in pronunciation, but the result of a regular and patterned rule.

In the case of th in words such as thought, think or thin (the voiceless interdental fricative), th is sometimes

pronounced as t, so that thought, think or thin are pronounced as tought, tink and tin respectively. However, most Negro dialect speakers who pronounce thought as tought will also sometimes pronounce it as thought. That is, both the th and t pronunciations for thought are appropriate for Negro dialect. If th is followed by r as in throat or three still another pronunciation is possible. These words may be pronounced with an f, so that three and throat can be pronounced as free and froat respectively. This means that items such as three and free may be pronounced the same in Negro dialect.

3. Within a word. In the middle of the word, there are several different pronunciations for th in Negro dialect. For the voiceless sound as in nothing, author, or ether, most frequently it is pronounced as f. Thus, nothing, author, and ether are pronounced as nuf'n, ahfuh, and eefuh respectively. For the voiced sound, as in brother, rather or bathing, th is pronounced as y in some varieties of Negro dialect, so that these words are pronounced as bruvah, ravah, and bavin', respectively.

In addition to f and y for th in the middle of a word, several other pronunciations may occur. When th is followed by a nasal sound such as m or n, th may be pronounced as t. Thus 'ritmetic for arithmetic, nut'n for nothing or montly for monthly, are patterns frequently used in Negro dialect. There are also several items in which no consonant at all is found. For example, mother may be pronounced as muh (with a lengthened vowel) and brother may be pronounced as bruh. This pattern, however, is relatively infrequent and only takes place when the vowel sounds preceding and following th are similar.

4. Word-final. At the end of a word, f is the predominant pronunciation of th in words such as Ruth, tooth, and south, which are pronounced as Ruf, toof, and souf, respectively. Whereas most speakers fluctuate between the pronunciation of f and th in the middle of the word, some

speakers exclusively use f and v at the ends of these words. In addition to f and v at the ends of these words, several other sounds may be represented by th, dependent upon the sounds which precede it.<sup>6</sup> When the preceding sound is the nasal sound n, t may occur so that tenth and month are pronounced as tent' and mont', respectively. The stop t or d may also be used with the preposition with, so that it is pronounced as wit or wid. Next to the nasal n, it is also possible to have no consonant at all present. This means that month and tenth may be pronounced as mon' and ten'.

#### r and l

1. After vowels. The pronunciation rule for r and l in Negro dialect operates in a way quite similar to white speech in certain parts of the South. At the beginning of a word, r and l are always pronounced, as in run, lip, rub, or lamp. In other positions, however, r and l are sometimes reduced to a vowel-like quality pronounced something like uh. The most important context to recognize in discussing the so-called "loss" of r and l is when they follow a vowel (technically called "post-vocalic"). In such items as steal, sister, nickel, or bear, only a "phonetic vestige" of r or l is pronounced, so that we hear steauh, sistuh, nickuh, and beauh respectively. Preceding a consonant in a word (e.g. wart, tart) some speakers do not have any phonetic vestige of r or l; this means that help and hep and taught and torte may be pronounced identically by these speakers. In some areas of the South, Negro dialect may also reveal no vestige of r following the vowels o or u. For these speakers, door and doe, four and foe, and sure and show may be pronounced alike. Although it has been suggested that l may also be completely absent at the end of a word following o or u, there seems to be some small phonetic vestige so that toll and toe or mole and mow do not sound exactly alike in Negro dialect.



In some "r-less" American English dialects the word which follows r or l is important in determining whether or not r and l loss may take place. For example, in the r-less dialect of New England, r is consistently absent when the following word begins with a consonant, as in brothuh Mike or fouh people; when followed by a word that begins with a vowel, the r is consistently present, as in brother Ed or four apples. In Negro dialect, however, it may be absent in both types of contexts, although it is more frequently absent when followed by a word beginning with a consonant (e.g. fouh people) than when followed by one beginning with a vowel (e.g. fouh apples).

2. Between vowels. Not only may r or l be absent when followed by another word beginning with a vowel, but r absence is occasionally observed between two vowels within a word. Thus, it is possible to get Ca'ol, sto'y or ma'y for Carol, story and marry respectively.

3. Effect on vocabulary and grammar. The consistent absence of r at the end of a word has led to several "mergers" of vocabulary items. That is, because of the similarity of two words after a particular pronunciation rule has taken place, one word has assumed the function of what was originally two words. For example, when the phonetic vestige which replaces the r is removed, there is only a small difference which separates they from their or you from your. The forms they and you can be used as possessive as in It is they book or It is you book in Negro dialect as a result of this merging process (cf. Undifferentiated pronouns, p. 77).

Like r, the loss of l may have important implications for grammatical functions. The most crucial of these deals with the loss of l on a contracted form of the future modal will. We may get a sentence such as Tomorrow I bring the thing for Tomorrow I'll bring the thing, where will becomes 'll and then is lost completely. This pronunciation process accounts for use of be in Negro dialect as an indicator of future time, as



in He be here in a few minutes. The pronunciation rule for the loss of the contracted form of l takes place most frequently when the following word begins with b, m or w (i.e. labial sounds).

4. After initial consonants. Before leaving our description of the rules for r and l in Negro dialect, we must note that in certain words, r may be absent when it follows a consonant. Two main types of contexts can be cited to account for this phenomenon. First, r may be absent when the following vowel is either o or u, so that we get th'ow for throw, and th'ough for through. Second, r may be absent in unstressed syllables, so that protéct and proféssor are pronounced as p'otéct and p'oféssuh, respectively.

5. Social stigma. On the whole, r and l absence has not been as socially stigmatized as many other grammatical and pronunciation rules of Negro dialect. This is probably due to the fact that certain types of r absence are generally recognized as legitimate regional characteristics of some dialects of standard English. Because of the relatively slight stigmatization, the rule for r and l absence is often found in the speech of middle class Negroes living in regions characterized by the presence of r and l.

#### Final b, d, and g

1. Devoicing. At the end of a syllable, the voiced stops b, d, and g (and, to a lesser extent, all voiced consonants except nasals r, l, w and y) are often pronounced as the corresponding voiceless stops, p, t, and k, respectively. This means that words such as pig, bud, and cab end in k, t, and p, respectively. Before concluding that pig and pick, bud and butt, and cab and cap sound identical in Negro dialect, it is essential to note that they are still distinguished by the length of the vowel. English vowels are held slightly longer when the following sound is voiced (i.e. the vowel in bud is held slightly longer than the vowel in butt). In the

case of Negro dialect, the vowel is lengthened before sounds such as d in bud, even though the d is actually pronounced t. As a result, bud does not sound the same as butt because the u is "stretched out" a little in bud but not in butt.

In some varieties of standard English, "devoicing" can take place in an unstressed syllable, so that we can get salat for salad, hundret for hundred, or acit for acid. Negro dialect not only has the rule for devoicing in unstressed syllables, but stressed syllables as well, so that we hear mut for mud, goot for good and loat for load.

The -ed suffix, when attached to verb bases ending in a vowel, is represented by d in all varieties of English. The devoicing rule applies to this d as well as the d of mud, good, and load. For this reason, played is sometimes pronounced playt in Negro dialect.

2. Deletion of d. In addition to the devoicing rule, there are some speakers who may have the complete absence of the stop d, although this is not nearly as frequent as devoicing. This results in pronunciations such as goo' man and ba' soldier. The rule for the absence of d occurs more frequently when d is followed by a consonant than when followed by a vowel (e.g. goo' soldier is more frequent than goo' egg); d absence is most common before s or z. For this reason, the addition of an -s suffix often results in pronunciations such as kiz for kids, and boahz for boards.

d-absence is also possible when d represents the -ed suffix with verbal bases ending in vowels. It is possible to observe sentences like Yesterday he play it and He had play it the day before. However, since this rule is much less frequently applied than the rule eliminating the second member of a consonant cluster, there are many more cases of sentences like Yesterday he miss it than Yesterday he play it.

#### Nasalization

There are several different aspects of the nasals m, n,

and ng (phonetically [ŋ]) which must be discussed with reference to Negro dialect. Some of these are quite characteristic of all nonstandard English dialects, others are characteristic of southern standard as well as nonstandard dialects, and still others are unique to Negro dialect.

1. The -ing suffix. The use of the -in suffix for -ing (e.g. singin', buyin', swimin') is a feature which is characteristic of all socially stigmatized varieties of English. Because of the spelling of [ŋ] as ng this is sometimes referred to as a "dropping of the g". Although in in such words as singin', comin' and doin' occurs in all socially stigmatized varieties of American English, its frequency is somewhat greater in Negro dialect than in other nonstandard dialects. In fact, there may be some speakers who do not use the -ing form at all. This form is one of the most stereotyped phonological features of nonstandard speech in the American language.

2. Nasalized vowels. Another feature which is found in Negro dialect is the use of a nasalized vowel instead of the nasal consonant. Generally, this only takes place at the end of a syllable. In words like man, bun, or bum the final consonant is sometimes not pronounced, but a nasalization of the preceding vowel is found similar to the type of nasalization of vowels that is found in a language such as French. This means that words such as rum, run, and rung might all sound alike in Negro dialect (that is, they may all be produced as [rɔ̃] phonetically where [̃] stands for nasalization). As many other features in Negro dialect, this feature does not occur categorically. This is, there is always fluctuation between the use of the nasalized vowel and the nasal consonant.

3. The influence of nasals on i and e. Finally, we should mention the influence that nasal consonants have on the vowels i and e. Before a nasal consonant, i and e do not contrast, making words such as pin and pen or tin and ten

sound identical. This pronunciation rule of Negro dialect is quite like some standard varieties of Southern speech, and only has social significance in a Northern context.

#### Vowel Glides

In some parts of the South, the vowel glides represented as ay (e.g. side, time) and oy (e.g. boy, toy) are generally pronounced without the glide. Thus, side and time may be pronounced as sahd and tahm and boy and toy as boah and toah. This feature of some Southern standard as well as nonstandard dialects has been adopted as an integral part of Negro dialect. The absence of the glide is much more frequent when it is followed by a voiced sound or a pause than it is when followed by a voiceless sound. This means that the absence of a glide is much more likely in words such as side, time, or toy than it is in kite, bright, or fight. Many speakers never have a glide when followed by voicing but always have one when followed by a voiceless sound (e.g. they always have tahm for time but never have kaht for kite). Because the rule for vowel glides is found among middle class speakers in the South, its social significance is limited to Northern areas, where it is associated with class and race. Even in Northern areas, however, its stigmatization is minimal.

#### Indefinite Articles a and an

In standard English, when the following word begins with a vowel, the indefinite article an is used as in an apple or an egg; when it is followed by a word beginning with a consonant, a occurs as in a boy or a dog. In Negro dialect, as in some varieties of white Southern speech, the article a is used regardless of how the following word begins. With a selected group of words (of more than one syllable) which may begin with a vowel similar to a (phonetically [ə]), the article may also be completely absent (or, at least, "merge" with the vowel); this results in sentences such as He had eraser or He had erector set. Less frequently, and mostly among

younger children, this article may be absent in other types of constructions (e.g. I have pencil), but this type of absence seems to be a grammatical rather than a pronunciation feature.

#### Stress

Stress or accent in Negro dialect operates quite like the stress patterns of standard English with several exceptions. One exception can be found when standard English words of more than one syllable have their stress on the second syllable rather than the first. In Negro dialect, some of these words may be stressed on the first rather than the second syllable. This only affects a small subset of words such as police, hotél, or Júly, which in Negro dialect are pronounced as pólice, hótel and Júly.

Another difference which can be traced to stress is the absence of the first syllable of a word when the first syllable is unstressed. For example, we find 'rithmetic, 'member, 'cept or 'bout, respectively. Because this pattern results in the absence of certain types of prefixes, some speakers may occasionally "overuse" the prefix re-. This overuse of re- may result in formations such as revorce or remorial for divorce and memorial, according to William A. Stewart.

#### Other Pronunciation Features

In addition to the systematic patterns which have been mentioned above, there are several features which are quite restricted. One such feature is the pronunciation of ask as ax, so that it sounds like axe. This feature, which is quite prominent in some speakers of Negro dialect, can be related to an Old English pronunciation which has been preserved in Negro dialect as well as white Appalachian speech.

Another rule which is quite limited is the absence of s in a word which ends in x (phonetically [ks]). This pattern results in the pronunciation of box as bok and six as sik



(homophonous with sick). For the most part, this feature is limited to a few items ending in x and is more frequently found in Southern speakers of Negro dialect than it is in Northern speakers.

Finally, we may mention rules for the str clusters in such words as string and street, which may be pronounced as skring and skreet, respectively. At the end of a word, st may also be changed to sk, so that wrist and twist are occasionally pronounced as wrisk and twisk when speakers are trying to approximate a standard English norm.

There are, of course, other restricted types of differences between the pronunciation rules of Negro dialect and standard English which might be mentioned. Other examples, however, are either so limited in terms of the numbers of items affected or so unobtrusive in terms of their social significance, that it is sufficient for the teacher to have a firm understanding of the pronunciation features which we have described above. Indeed, the teacher who fully understands and respects the pronunciation rules of Negro dialect discussed here will have taken a necessary step in the effective teaching of standard English.

#### GRAMMAR

Other features of Negro dialect are due to the fact that some of the rules of Negro dialect grammar are different from grammatical rules in standard English. These rules deal with the verb system, with negation, with noun suffixes, with question formation, and with pronouns. Some of the features in the following section, however, are technically pronunciation features, but are described as grammatical features because they are usually perceived as such.

#### VERBS

Many of the most significant features of Negro dialect are to be found in its verb system. The differences in the verb structure of Negro dialect as compared to standard



American English are mainly found in the tense systems of the two dialects and in their treatment of the verb to be.

#### Past Forms

1. The -ed suffix. As we have seen already, the -ed suffix which marks past tense and past participial forms, as well as derived adjectives, is sometimes not pronounced in Negro dialect because of pronunciation rules (pp. 44 and 54). When -ed is added to a verb base ending in a consonant, as in missed, it can be removed by application of the consonant cluster reduction rule. When -ed is added to a verbal base which ends in a vowel, it can be removed by the rule for deletion of syllable-final d. As we have already pointed out, the d-deletion rule applies much less often than the consonant cluster reduction rule, so that -ed is much more frequently absent from bases ending in a consonant which is not t or d than from bases ending in a vowel.

When -ed is added to a base ending in t or d, it is pronounced something like id<sup>7</sup>, as we have mentioned before. In this form, it is rarely absent in Negro dialect. However, this id form can be reduced to d alone in Negro dialect and also in standard English by some fairly complex, but very regular rules. In casual speech, the words want and start are the most frequently occurring verbs which are eligible for these rules. If they apply, the i-sound of id can be eliminated. The verb then ends in dd or td which is simplified to d. These operations result in sentences like He stard crying (from He started crying) and He wanda go (from He wanted to go). Such sentences are common in all varieties of American English and are not considered nonstandard. In the case of stard, Negro dialect (but not standard English) has a rule for the elimination of the remaining d, especially when the verb occurs before a gerund, as in He sta crying (the r of start is absent for reasons we have already discussed). The verb started is virtually the only verb to undergo this process.<sup>8</sup>

These rules are pronunciation rules. This means that the missing -ed suffix does not reflect a grammatical difference between Negro dialect and standard English. The suffix is a part of the grammar of both kinds of English. Any attempt to teach the -ed suffix as a grammatical entity, then, will be superfluous.

Another important implication is that children who speak Negro dialect should not be required to learn the careful pronunciation of -ed where speakers of standard English usually do not pronounce it. When -ed is phonetically t or d and is the second member of a consonant cluster, and when the next word begins with a consonant, as in Yesterday I burned my hand, Negro dialect speakers should be allowed to pronounce burned as burn', the way standard English speakers do.

2. Irregular verbs. Verbs which form their past tenses in an irregular way distinguish present and past forms in the overwhelming majority of cases in Negro dialect. The occurrence of sentences like Yesterday he give it to me are rare. However, some verbs which have irregular past forms in standard English have the same form for past and present tenses in Negro dialect. There are also such verbs in standard English (They hit him yesterday; They hit him every day). A few verbs, notably say, behave like hit for some speakers of Negro dialect, giving, for example, He say it every day; He say it yesterday. In the case of say, the situation is complicated by the fact that some speakers who actually use said will be heard by speakers of standard English as having said say because the d of said has been removed by the word-final d-elimination rule.

#### Perfective Constructions

1. General. The perfective constructions in Negro dialect discussed below are first illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3  
The Perfective Constructions in Negro Dialect  
and Standard English

	<u>Negro Dialect</u>	<u>Standard English</u>
Present	I have walked	I have walked
Perfect	I('ve) walked	I've walked
Past	I had walked	I had walked
Perfect		I'd walked
Completive	I done walked	
Remote Time	I been walked	

2. Omission of forms of have. In standard American English, the present tense forms of auxiliary have can be contracted to 've and 's, giving sentences like I've been here for hours and He's gone home already. In Negro dialect, the contracted forms 've and 's can be removed, giving I been here for hours and He gone home already. Rules for removing the remnants of contraction account for at least three of the most noticed features of Negro dialect, as we shall see. The frequent operation of this rule, together with the relatively infrequent use of the present perfective tense can lead to the conclusion that have + past participle is not part of Negro dialect. It is true that the present perfect tense is quite infrequent. But the past perfect construction with had is, if anything, even more common in Negro dialect narratives than in narratives by speakers of standard American English. Sentences like He had found the money appear strikingly often in story-telling. Negro dialect speakers do not select the present perfect as often as do speakers of standard English, but they select the past perfect more often than standard English speakers. As with the -ed suffix, pronunciation rules have removed forms which are present grammatically.

3. The past participle. While it is quite clear that the tenses formed grammatically with have and had are part of

Negro dialect, it is less clear whether or not there are past participles in its grammar. In standard English, most past participles are formed with the -ed suffix and so are identical with the past tense form. But there are a number of semi-regular and irregular verbs for which the past participle and past tense are formally distinguished (e.g. came versus has come; ate versus has eaten, etc.). In Negro dialect, however, it seems that there may not be any irregular verbs for which the past tense and past participle are distinct. Sometimes the standard English past participle form is generalized to serve both functions (He taken it; He have taken it), but more commonly the simple past form is used in both kinds of constructions (e.g. He came; He have came). For a few verbs, some Negro dialect speakers generalize one form while others generalize the other (e.g. He done it; He have done it; He did it; He have did it). It is possible, then, that the Negro dialect equivalents of the present and past perfect tenses are not formed with forms of have plus the past participle, but rather with a form of have plus a general past form.

4. The completive aspect with done. Where standard American English has only two aspectual contrasts of the perfective type, Negro dialect has four. With standard English, Negro dialect has perfective tense (or aspect) constructions with have and had. In addition, Negro dialect has a completive construction and a remote time construction. The completive aspect is formed from the verb done plus a past form of the verb. Because of the uncertain status of the past participle in the grammar of the dialect, it is difficult to determine whether this form is the past participle or not. This construction occurs in sentences like I done tried hard all I know how and I done forgot what you call it.

5. The remote time construction with been. A similar construction with been indicates that the speaker conceives of the action as having taken place in the distant past. The

remote aspect is used in I been had it there for about three or four years and You won't get your dues that you been paid. Often, the been construction is used with emphatic stress to doubly emphasize the total completion of an action, although it is not always used in this way. Unlike the done construction, the been construction is used only in Negro dialect. Both constructions are rather rare, at least in Northern cities.

#### The Third Person Singular Present Tense Marker

1. General. In standard American English, the suffix -s (or -es) is used to identify the present tense of a verb if the subject of that verb is in the third person singular. The paradigm is:

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
I walk	we walk
you walk	you walk
he walks; the man walks	they walk; the men walk

In a sense, the use of the -s suffix to mark present tense with third person singular subjects is an irregularity, since no suffix is used to mark present tense with other persons.

The paradigm in Negro dialect is more regular:

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
I walk	we walk
you walk	you walk
he walk; the man walk	they walk; the men walk

It is important to realize that the -s suffix is not carelessly "left off" by speakers of Negro dialect. This suffix is simply not part of the grammar of the dialect.

2. Auxiliary don't. The verb do is used as an auxiliary in negative and other kinds of sentences. In Negro dialect, the -s suffix is absent from the auxiliary don't in the present tense when the subject is in the third person singular, just as it is from other third person singular present tense verbs. The equivalent of the standard English sentence He doesn't go,

then, is He don't go. Some other nonstandard dialects of English lack the -s suffix only with auxiliary don't. Speakers of such dialects rarely or never use sentences like He walk, but frequently use such sentences as He don't walk. The use of don't for doesn't in Negro dialect does not apply only to auxiliary don't, but is part of a general pattern involving all present tense verbs with subjects in the third person singular.<sup>9</sup>

3. Have and do. The verb have in standard English is unique in that the combination of have and the -s suffix results in has rather than haves. Similarly, when the -s suffix is added to do, the vowel quality changes and the result is does, not dos. Since the -s suffix does not exist in the verb system of Negro dialect, the verbs remain have and do with third person singular subjects in the present tense. For this reason, we observe sentences like He have a bike, He always do silly things, and I don't know if he like you, but I think he do.

4. Hypercorrect forms. The absence of the -s suffix in Negro dialect causes a real language learning problem when Negro dialect speakers come in contact with standard English. They observe that speakers of standard English have a suffix -s on some present tense verbs. But the grammatical rules restricting its use to sentences with third person singular subjects is just like a rule in the grammar of a foreign language. Like a foreign language learner, Negro dialect speakers begin to use the feature, but do not restrict it according to the rules of the new dialect. The result is that the -s subject is sporadically used with present tense verbs with subjects other than third person singular. This accounts for sentences like I walks, you walks, the children walks, etc., as well as the appropriate standard English He walks. Occasionally, the suffix is also added to non-finite forms, giving sentences like They want to goes. No Negro dialect speakers,



however, add the -s suffix to all present tense verbs with non-third person singular subjects.

The use of sentences like I walks has a quite different status from the use of sentences like He walk. A speaker of Negro dialect uses walk instead of walks with a subject like he because this is the correct form according to the grammatical rules of his dialect. He uses walks with subjects like I, not because this grammar calls for this form but because of a partial learning of the grammar rules of a different dialect.

#### Future

1. Gonna. A very frequent future indicator in Negro dialect, as in other dialects of English, is the use of gonna. The rule for deleting is and are (see below) operates very frequently when gonna follows, giving sentences like He gonna go and You gonna get in trouble. So rarely is a form of be used with gonna that it may seem that gonna is not related to standard English be going to, but is an auxiliary in its own right. However, the behavior of gonna as compared with true auxiliaries like can shows that this is not the case. In questions and in abbreviated sentences, can and gonna function quite differently (Can he go? but never Gonna he go?; He can sing, I know he can but He gonna vote for you, I know he is, not I know he gonna). As Labov and his associates have pointed out, the phonetic form of gonna can be reduced in a number of ways in Negro dialect which are different from its reductions in standard English. When the subject of the sentence is I in standard dialects of American English, gonna can be reduced to ngna (I'ngna go). In Negro dialect, there are three reductions not possible in standard English, mana (I'mana go), mon (I'mon go) and ma (I'ma go). When the subject is something other than I, Negro dialect may give the reduced form gon (He gon go).<sup>10</sup>

2. Will. The use of will to indicate future time reference is also part of both Negro dialect and standard English. As in the case of has and have, will can be contracted (to 'll). This contracted form, like 've and 's, can be eliminated, as we have seen, especially if the next word begins with a labial consonant, as in He miss you tomorrow. This makes it appear that the future is sometimes indicated by the use of the main verb alone.

#### Invariant Be

1. General. When the verb to be is used as a main verb in standard English, it appears as one of the five variant inflected forms is, are, am, was or were, depending on the verb tense and the person and number of the subject. In Negro dialect, the form be can be used as a main verb, regardless of the subject of the sentence as in I be here this afternoon and Sometime he be busy. This use of invariant be in Negro dialect has two explanations; deleted will or would and distributive be.

2. Will be or would be. Since be begins with a labial consonant, the 'll contraction of will is often absent before be. This is fairly common in Negro dialect, but also happens occasionally in standard English, giving sentences like He be here pretty soon. The contracted form of would is 'd, which can merge with the b of be or be removed by the final d elimination rule. This process is another source for invariant be and is quite common in standard English as well. A sentence like If you gave him a present he be happy is possible both in standard dialects and in Negro dialect.

It may seem that an intolerable number of ambiguous sentences would result from the removal of the remnants of contraction. But the context usually makes the intended meaning clear. The same sort of thing happens in standard English, not only in the occasional removal of 'll and 'd, but in the contraction of 'd of both had and would. The sentence He'd

come home is ambiguous by itself. But in contexts like He'd come home before I got there or He'd come home if he could, the meaning is clear.

3. Distributive or non-tense be. The other source for invariant be is very different. This type of invariant be occurs because to be is possible in Negro dialect without tense specification with a meaning something like "object or event distributed intermittently in time". This use of be, as in Sometime he be there and sometime he don't, occurs only in Negro dialect and is usually misunderstood by standard English speakers. It is common for standard English speakers to take non-tense be as a deviant form of am, is, or are, when in fact it contrasts with these forms. To say I'm good is to assert a permanent quality of oneself. To say I be good means that the speaker is good only intermittently. Unlike the cases of invariant be which are derived from will be or would be, non-tense be usage is highly stigmatized socially. Because there are three sources for invariant be in Negro dialect, any positive statement containing invariant be is potentially three-ways ambiguous. In the sentence If somebody hit him, Darryl be mad, if the use of be is taken as coming from would be, it is a hypothesis about how Darryl might act if he were hit. If will be is understood, it is a prediction as to how Darryl will react. If distributive be is the interpretation, it is a statement of Darryl's reaction to a certain kind of intermittent event. The sentence is only ambiguous because it is a positive statement. In negative sentences, contraction of will and would is not possible. The three interpretations above would each be denied in a different way. The hypothesis would be denied by Darryl wouldn't be mad, the predication by Darryl won't be mad, and the statement by Darryl don't be mad.

#### Absence of Forms of To Be

1. General. When the is or are forms of to be are expected in standard English, Negro dialect may have no form at

all. When the subject is I, and the expected standard English form is am, however, am or its contraction 'm is almost always present. For most varieties of Negro dialect, the absence of forms of to be represents the elimination of the contracted forms 's and 're of is and are, much as the contractions of have, has, will and would are removed. Just as in these cases and in the case of the -ed suffix, the to be forms are grammatically present and are known to the speaker, but have been removed by a pronunciation rule. It is not necessary to teach the present tense forms of to be to speakers of Negro dialect, but they will need to learn to contract these forms without also deleting the remnants of contraction.

2. Is. As we have seen, the absence of is is common before gonna. Some Southern dialects of English besides Negro dialect show the absence of is in this context. In Negro dialect, unlike other English dialects, is can be absent wherever it can be contracted in standard English. We observe sentences like He a man, He running to school, That dude bad, as well as He gonna go. When the subject of a sentence is it, that, or what, the next word is is, an s-sound is usually heard. This is not the 's from the contraction of is, however. The s in such sentences is the result of the following process. First, is is contracted to 's. Then, the t of it, that and what is transformed into s under the influence of the 's from is. This leaves is's, thas's, and whas's. But these forms are never heard because the 's from is is then eliminated as it almost always must be when it follows a sibilant. This leaves the pronunciations iss, thas and whas for these three words. Apparently something similar happens in the case of let's (pronounced les) even though the 's comes from us rather than is.

3. Are. The form are is present less often than the form is in the speech of Negro dialect speakers. Are is also absent in white Southern dialects of English which do not

allow the absence of is, including some which are socially standard. The English contraction rule provides for the removal of all but the final consonant of certain auxiliaries (are to 're, will to 'll, have to 've, etc.). In dialects which lack r after most stressed vowels, are has no final consonant (i.e. it is pronounced ah). Regular pronunciation rules of English reduce this ah to uh. Applying the contraction rule to this pronunciation eliminates the word are entirely, without utilizing the Negro dialect rule for removing the consonant. Because of this there are speakers who have are absence but do not have is absence.

4. Agreement with forms of to be. Some speakers show no person-number agreement when full forms of to be are used. The past tense form is was regardless of the subject, giving sentences like They was there, You was there, etc. When the full forms of the present tense form is used, is is used by these speakers for all persons, e.g. The boys is there, You is there, etc. However, some Southern speakers of Negro dialect occasionally use are or even am as the general form of the present tense of to be (There she are, You am a teacher, etc.).

#### NEGATION

##### The Use of Ain't

Due to a series of phonetic changes in the history of English, the negative forms of is, are, am, and auxiliary have and has became ain't. Although ain't is used by educated speakers in casual conversation in some parts of the country, the use of ain't in this way is one of the clearest and universal markers of nonstandard speech of all kinds. In some varieties of Negro dialect, ain't also corresponds to standard English didn't. This probably developed from rather recent phonetic changes. In Negro dialect, negative forms of auxiliary do can lose the initial d in casual speech. This gives, for example, I 'on't know for standard English I don't know. In the case of didn't, the second d can merge with the following n.



The result of these two developments is the pronunciation int for didn't. This form is so similar in pronunciation and function to the already existing ain't that the two forms merged. For speakers of Negro dialect who have this use of ain't, there are sentences like He ain't do it as well as He ain't done it (or He ain't did it) and He ain't there. The unfamiliarity of this usage to speakers of standard English often leads to misunderstanding between speakers of the two dialects. A Negro dialect speaker may say He ain't touch me which should be translated as He didn't touch me in standard English but be understood as having meant He hasn't touched me (with the -ed suffix supplied by the hearer). Ain't is often used with multiple negation, leading to sentences like He ain't nobody, He ain't did nothing and He aint' go nowhere.

#### Multiple Negation

1. General. "Double negatives" or, more accurately, multiple negation is another very common feature of nonstandard dialects. A frequent misconception about multiple negation is that it leads to misunderstanding because "two negatives make a positive". For example, it is often said of a sentence like He doesn't know nothing that the intention of the speaker is reversed because if he doesn't know nothing, he must know something. But in actual usage, sentences with multiple negatives are always understood as the speaker intends them, by other speakers of nonstandard English and usually by speakers of the standard dialects as well. The reason is that there is basically only one negative in He doesn't know nothing which is expressed in more than one place in the sentence. Standard English allows negatives to be expressed only once; nonstandard dialects have no such restriction. Yet there are strict grammar rules in nonstandard dialects of English which govern precisely at which places in a sentence a negative can be expressed.

#### 2. Three negative placement rules in standard English.

To understand these facts, it is necessary to introduce a new



concept of grammar rule. We will conceive of all sentences as starting out at an abstract level with an abstract structure which is not actually pronounced. What grammar rules do is to take this unpronounceable abstract structure and convert it, step by step, into an ordinary sentence which can actually be spoken. These rules are partly the same for all dialects of English, but partly different. These differences account for the fact that the same basic structure can be expressed in different ways in different dialects.

As an example, we will see what happens when the abstract structure of the sentence Nobody knows anything is operated on by the rules of standard English. At the abstract level, we can think of the structure of Nobody knows anything as: NOT+ANY-BODY+DOE-S+KNOW+ANY-THING. The element NOT is to be understood as denying the truth value of the rest of the sentence. All dialects of English have a rule which requires that this NOT be placed into any noun phrase containing the indefinite element ANY, if that noun phrase comes before the main verb. Because of this rule, the first rule of negative placement, there are no dialects of English which have such sentences as Anybody doesn't know anything or Anybody knows nothing. We can symbolize the fact that NOT has been incorporated into ANY by changing the first plus sign to a dash. This means that the element NOT is now part of the same word as ANYBODY. The result is: NOT-ANY-BODY+DOE-S+KNOW+ANY-THING. Since standard English allows the basic negative element NOT to be expressed only once, this is the only negative placement rule which can be applied to this sentence. Later on, there will be a rule to convert cases of NOT-ANY into no. There is another rule which removes DO in sentences like this one and attaches the -S to main verbs like KNOW. The final result is Nobody knows anything.

In the sentence He doesn't know anything, there is no ANY in the noun phrase which comes before the verb. The abstract

structure would be NOT+HE+DOE-S+KNOW+ANY-THING. Because there is no ANY before the verb, the first negative placement rule does not operate. NOT must be placed by the second negative placement rule in this sentence. This rule stipulates that the element NOT will be attached to the main verb phrase, if the first rule is not applicable. The effect on our abstract structure is: HE+DOE-S+NOT+KNOW+ANY-THING. There is a later rule which contracts does not, giving doesn't.

In formal styles of standard English speech, it is possible to use sentences such as He knows nothing. This sentence results from the third negative placement rule, which may be applied, but is not required. This rule allows a negative to be removed from the main verb phrase and be attached to the first ANY which follows the verb phrase. This rule operates on the result of the second negative placement rule. As we know, the structure which results from the application of this rule is HE+DOE-S+NOT+KNOW+ANY-THING. If the third negative placement rule is selected, the structure of HE+DOE-S+NOT+KNOW+ANY-THING is converted to HE+DOE-S+KNOW+NOT-ANY-THING. After the rules for removing DO and converting NOT-ANY to NO have been applied, HE+DOE-S+KNOW+NOT-ANY-THING becomes He knows nothing.

3. The three negative placement rules in nonstandard English. In standard English, the three negative placement rules operate under the general restriction that the negative element NOT can be expressed in the final version of any sentence only once. If the first rule applied, the second and third rules do not. If the conditions for the use of the first rule are not met, the second rule applies. In some styles of speech, it is possible to use the third rule, but if it is used, NOT is removed from the position given it by the second rule. In nonstandard dialects, the second and third rules are copying rules, not placement rules in the strictest sense. These rules make a copy of the original NOT somewhere else in the sentence,

but leave the first NOT in its original position. Let us examine the abstract structure NOT+ANY-BODY+DOE-S+KNOW+IT, which would be expressed in standard dialects as Nobody knows it. The first negative placement rule, as we have seen, operates in all dialects of English. In any variety of English, the result of the first rule is NOT-ANY-BODY+DOE-S+KNOW+IT. In standard English, the second and third rules are not allowed to operate if the first rule has been applied. In some kinds of nonstandard English, including Negro dialect, the second negative placement rule is allowed to apply to NOT-ANY-BODY+DOE-S+KNOW+IT as a copying rule. That is, it makes a copy of NOT in the main verb phrase of the sentence, but leaves the original NOT where it is. The result is: NOT-ANY-BODY+DOE-S+NOT+KNOW+IT. When the rules which convert NOT-ANY to no and contract not have been applied, the sentence comes out as Nobody doesn't know it.<sup>11</sup> At this point it is essential to keep in mind that Nobody doesn't know it comes from exactly the same abstract structure as the standard English Nobody knows it and means the same thing. The n't of doesn't is a mere copy of the no of nobody. Unlike most kinds of multiple negation, sentences to which both the first and second rules have been applied are likely to be misunderstood by speakers of standard English. Standard English speakers would not expect Nobody doesn't know it to have a negative meaning.

The third negative placement rule operates differently in nonstandard dialects from the way in which it operates in standard dialects. Like the nonstandard use of the second rule above, the third rule in nonstandard English acts as a copying rule. Consider the following structures: NOT+ANY-BODY+DOE-S+KNOW+ANY-THING+ABOUT+ANY-THING (the basis for standard English Nobody knows anything about anything), and NOT+HE+DOE-S+KNOW+ANY-THING+ABOUT+ANY-THING (the basis for standard English He doesn't know anything about anything or He knows nothing about anything). The first negative placement

rule converts NOT+ANY-BODY+DOE-S+KNOW+ANY-THING+ABOUT+ANY-THING to NOT-ANY-BODY+DOE-S+KNOW+ANY-THING+ABOUT+ANY-THING, incorporating NOT into ANY-BODY. In standard English, the second and third placement rules can never apply if the first rule applies. We have seen that the second negative placement rule can apply in some nonstandard dialects as a copying rule, even if the first rule has already operated. In most nonstandard dialects, whether or not the second rule is allowed to operate as a copying rule, the third rule is allowed to operate as such. In this form, the third rule stipulates that NOT may be copied with every ANY in the sentence, but also must be left in its original position. When this rule applies in these nonstandard dialects, it converts NOT-ANY-BODY+DOE-S+KNOW+ANY-THING to NOT-ANY-BODY+DOE-S+KNOW+NOT-ANY-THING+ABOUT+NOT-ANY-THING. After the rule about NOT-ANY and the rule about DOES have operated, the result is: Nobody knows nothing about nothing. Again it is imperative to keep in mind that the sentences Nobody knows anything about anything, Nobody knows nothing about nothing and Nobody doesn't know nothing about nothing are all equivalent in meaning. The multiple negative expressions are simply different ways of copying the one basic sentence-negating NOT.

If we take the structure, NOT+HE+DOE-S+KNOW+ANY-THING+ABOUT+ANY-THING, we notice that the first rule does not apply, since the first noun phrase does not contain ANY. If the first rule does not apply, all dialects of English require that the second rule apply, which places the NOT in the main verb phrase. The result is HE+DOE-S+NOT+KNOW+ANY-THING+ABOUT+ANY-THING. The third negative placement rule can apply, but does not necessarily have to, in standard English. If it does apply, it removes the NOT from the verb phrase and attaches it to the first ANY. The ultimate result is He knows nothing about anything. In nonstandard dialects, there are two differences. First, the rule is a copying rule, so the original

NOT remains in the main verb phrase. Furthermore, the NOT is copied with every ANY in the sentence, so that the resulting structure is HE+DOE-S+NOT+KNOW+NOT-ANY-THING+ABOUT+NOT-ANY-THING, and the ultimate sentence is He doesn't know nothing about nothing.

For some speakers of Negro dialect, the third rule must apply to every sentence with ANY after the main verb phrase. For these speakers, there are no such sentences as Nobody knows anything about anything and He doesn't know anything about anything; the grammar of this variety requires Nobody knows nothing about nothing and He doesn't know nothing about nothing. Another way of putting it is that the word any can never appear in the spoken form of a negative sentence.

4. Multiple negation in two clauses. The nonstandard applications of the second and third negative placement rules above only apply within a single clause. There is another type of multiple negation, which is possible for some Negro dialect speakers, in which negation may be marked in two different clauses. These speakers use sentences like Nobody didn't know it didn't rain meaning Nobody knew it rained. But such sentences are extremely rare.

5. Multiple negation with negative adverbs. Negation can be expressed with negative adverbs, as well as in verb phrases and by incorporation into ANY. Multiple negation can be expressed by a negative adverb and also by one of these other methods in the same sentence. The result is the utterance of sentences like He doesn't hardly come to see us any more, or more commonly, He doesn't come to see us any more, hardly. Standard English speakers who never use other kinds of multiple negation sometimes use sentences like the above. In Negro dialect, the marking of negation in the verb phrase or with ANY in sentences which contain hardly is the rule rather than the exception. Negro dialect, along with other nonstandard English dialects, also allows negation to be



multiply expressed when the same sentence contains the adverbs never and neither.

6. Negativized auxiliary pre-position. If a sentence has an indefinite noun phrase containing a negative marker (nobody, nothing, no dog) before the verb, the negativized form of the verbal auxiliary (can't, wasn't, didn't) may be placed at the beginning of the sentence. The result is sentences like Can't nobody do it, Wasn't nothing wrong, and Didn't no dog bite him. Although these sentences appear to be questions in their written form, the intonation of the spoken form in Negro dialect makes it clear that they are statements. If the noun phrase before the verb does not contain a negativized indefinite, pre-position of the auxiliary is not possible, so that a sentence like Don't the man do it will not occur as a statement.

#### -s SUFFIXES

##### Possessive

1. With common nouns. Where the 's possessive appears in standard English, Negro dialect indicates possessive by the order of the words. The phrase The boy hat corresponds to The boy's hat in the standard dialect. In Northern urban Negro dialect, apparently no one uses the zero form of the possessive exclusively; it alternates with the 's form. In Southern varieties of Negro dialect it seems possible to find speakers who do not use 's for possessive at all. There is some reason to believe that the presence of the 's possessive suffix is more common at the end of a clause (i.e. in absolute position, as in The hat is the boy('s)) than in the attributive possessive (The boy('s) hat). It has been claimed that the 's in this situation is regularly present. However the absence of the 's suffix in the absolute possessive suffix has been observed with some frequency in the speech of Northern urban Negro dialect speakers and has been found to be extremely common in Southern Negro dialect data. Pedagogically, it would



seem wise to deal with both kinds, but to emphasize the attributive construction.

2. With personal names. Because the position of the 's possessive is somewhat unstable in the grammar of Negro dialect, some speakers use the 's suffix inappropriately with personal names when attempting to speak standard English. In standard English, of course, the rule is that the 's suffix is attached to the surname when the possessor is identified by his full name (Jack Johnson's car). Occasionally, a Negro dialect speaker will attach the 's suffix to both names (Jack's Johnson's car) or to the first name (Jack's Johnson car). This feature is not part of the grammar of Negro dialect but is a hypercorrection in attempting to use standard English (cf. the hypercorrections in connection with the -s third person singular present tense marker on p. 64).

3. Mines. Some speakers of Negro dialect use the form mines for mine in the absolute possessive construction (never in the attributive construction) giving sentences like This mines. This is a regularization in Negro dialect of the absolute possessive form of the first person pronoun to conform to the other pronoun forms which end in s (his, hers, its, yours, ours, theirs).

4. Undifferentiated pronouns. Some speakers of Negro dialect use the standard English nominative or accusative forms of personal pronouns for possession in attributive constructions (he book, him book, we book, etc.). This feature, which is probably to be ascribed to the lingering influence of the grammar of Caribbean Creole languages in Negro dialect, is extremely rare in the North but apparently somewhat more common in the speech of young children in the South.

#### Plural

1. Absence of the plural suffix. The -s (or -es) suffixes which mark most plurals in standard English are occasionally absent in the speech of Negro dialect speakers. This

results in sentences like He took five book and The other teacher, they'll yell at you. The absence of the plural suffix in Northern urban Negro dialect occurs considerably less often than the absence of the possessive suffix and far less than the absence of the third person singular present tense marker.<sup>12</sup> There is no question that most Northern speakers of Negro dialect have the use of the plural suffix as part of their grammar. Much of the absence of the plural suffix is due to a difference in the classification of certain nouns in Negro dialect from standard English. A few nouns do not take the plural suffix at all in standard English (one sheep, two sheep). Words which are so classified in Negro dialect, but which take the regular -s plural in standard English include cent, year, and movie. It is possible that the absence of the plural suffix in words like cent and year is because the grammar of Negro dialect allows the optional absence of the plural marker with nouns of measure. Such a rule is also part of the grammar of a number of white regional dialects. For some speakers of Southern Negro dialect, particularly young children, the plural suffix is almost always absent and may well not be part of the grammar of their dialect at all. The occasional claim that the plural suffix may only be absent when the plural noun is preceded by a quantifier (two, several, etc.), and not otherwise, is invalid. There are a great many examples of plural nouns not preceded by a quantifier which lack the plural suffix.

2. Regular plurals with irregular nouns. Some nouns in standard English form plurals by a vowel change (one foot, two feet), or with no suffix at all (one deer, two deer). For many Negro dialect speakers, these nouns take the regular -s suffix (two foots, two deers). This is another example of a classification difference between the two kinds of English.

3. Double plurals. Where standard English forms plurals irregularly, Negro dialect may add the -s suffix to the

irregular plural (peoples, childrens). A possible historical reason relates to an earlier stage of Negro dialect in which the plural category was not part of the grammar.<sup>13</sup> In learning standard English, speakers of the dialect tended to add the -s suffix to words which were already pluralized in an irregular way. These doubly pluralized words became fossilized and are preserved to the present. Words most frequently affected are childrens, peoples, and mens.

#### QUESTIONS

##### Inversion

The form which questions take in standard English depends on whether the question is direct or indirect. If the question is direct, word-order inversion takes place, but if the question is indirect, the basic word order is retained. Inversion affects the questioned element, if any, and the verbal auxiliary or copula, transferring them to the beginning of the sentence. The statement He went somewhere can be content-questioned or yes-no-questioned. To form the content question, somewhere is replaced by where, the auxiliary did is added and both are moved to the head of the sentence, giving Where did he go. The yes-no question simply requires the insertion of the auxiliary did and its transfer to the head of the sentence, giving Did he go somewhere. The indirect question involves the transfer of the questioned element to the head of the clause only. In the case of yes-no questions, if or whether is used in the construction. Examples of the two types of indirect questions corresponding to He went somewhere would be I want to know where he went and I want to know if (whether) he went somewhere. In Negro dialect spoken in the North, the inverted form of the question is used for both direct and indirect questions and the words if and whether are not used to form indirect yes-no questions. The direct questions for He went somewhere are the same as the standard English examples given above. But the two indirect questions

would be I want to know where did he go and I want to know did he go somewhere. The Negro dialect grammar rules for question formation are more regular than the standard English rules, since they apply in the same way to both kinds of questions.<sup>14</sup> Some speakers, on the other hand, have the uninverted form for direct questions, at least in content questions. These speakers use questions like What that is? and Where the white cat is?.

A historical process something like the following may explain this state of affairs. The uninverted construction is probably the older one. As Negro dialect began to approximate standard American English more closely, its speakers noticed that the standard dialect had inverted direct questions. Since there was no distinction in Negro dialect between direct and indirect questions, inversion may have been generalized to both types.

#### The Absence of Preposed Auxiliaries

In inverted direct questions, the auxiliary or copula form of the main verb phrase is moved to the front of the sentence, as we have seen. In this position, some of these elements are especially vulnerable to deletion. This gives questions like He coming with us? (deletion of is), Where you been? (deletion of have), and You understand? (deletion of do). Although this is frequently cited as a feature of nonstandard dialects, deletion of these auxiliaries in direct questions is very common in spoken standard English. Therefore, attempting to eliminate this kind of auxiliary deletion from the speech of inner-city Negro children would be a low-priority task.

#### PRONOUNS

A number of usages involving personal, demonstrative and relative pronouns are sometimes cited as examples of non-standard dialect usage. We will discuss only two of them here.

### Pronominal Apposition

A well-known, but little understood feature of nonstandard English dialects including Negro dialect, is pronominal apposition. Pronominal apposition is the construction in which a pronoun is used in apposition to the noun subject of the sentence. Usually the nominative form of the pronoun is used, as in My brother, he bigger than you or That teacher, she yell at the kids all the time. Occasionally, the objective or possessive pronoun is used in apposition as well, as in That girl name Wanda, I never did like her or Mr. Smith, I got one F in his class one time. It was discovered in a study of Detroit speech that pronominal apposition was used by all speakers whether they were speakers of standard English or not. It seems likely that the length of the modifying material which intervenes between the noun and the pronoun has an effect on acceptability; the more intervening material, the more acceptable the pronoun in apposition. For example, pronominal apposition in a sentence like That man that I met on the train to Chicago last week, he turned out to be a Congressman is more acceptable than in a sentence such as My mother, she's here now.<sup>15</sup> But the exact restrictions on the acceptable usage of pronominal apposition have yet to be discovered. Negro dialect speakers who use the stigmatized kinds of pronominal apposition do not use it in every sentence. It has been suggested that the use of pronominal apposition is related to the entry and re-entry of participants in a narrative, but this hypothesis has not been thoroughly investigated.

### Existential It

Where standard English uses there in an existential or expletive function, Negro dialect has it. This results in sentences like It's a boy in my room name Robert and Is it a Main Street in this town? where standard English would have There's a boy ... and Is there a Main Street .... This difference in the choice of one word in a single construction,



affects the understanding of a considerable number of sentences in ordinary speech. For example, a television advertisement for a brand of powdered soup contained the line Is it soup yet? This was intended to mean something like Has it become soup yet? and was no doubt so understood by the standard English speaking audience, except possibly in parts of the South. But speakers of Negro dialect might well understand the same sentence as something like Is there any soup yet?

#### CONCLUSION

It should be clear from our approach to the features discussed here that we are not using the terms "grammar rule" and "pronunciation rule" in the traditional sense. As in the physical sciences, in which laws are discovered by observing natural phenomena and are not imposed on nature by scientists, so grammar rules and pronunciation rules are discovered by observing actual usage rather than taken as given and imposed on people's speech. For this reason, we can speak meaningfully of the grammar and pronunciation rules of a nonstandard dialect. For this reason also, some of the rules cited for standard American English will appear startling. In both cases, the rules are discovered from careful observation of usage. It is proper to refer to "rules" because in no speech (except possibly in the speech of the mentally ill or brain-damaged) are words randomly put together. Negro dialect and other nonstandard linguistic systems operate under rules just as do socially favored dialects. But the rules are different.

Because this is the nature of the rules of language, it is therefore important to uphold real spoken standard English as a model to inner-city children rather than an artificially precise language based on an arbitrary prescriptive norm of what is "correct". A good rule of thumb for a teacher to follow is to carefully and honestly reflect on his own usage in casual conversation and not to insist on any usage on the part of his pupils which he does not find in his own casual



speech. Children, and perhaps especially Negro children, are quick to detect hypocrisy and will soon lose all motivation if they see that they are being taught "better" English than their teacher actually uses himself.

The grammatical aspects of Negro dialect which have been outlined here are by no means the only ones which differ from standard American English. Yet, we have said something about all the most crucial features. Hopefully, an accurate understanding of some of the grammar of the dialect will contribute to the more efficient teaching of standard American English as an alternative way of speaking.

#### NOTES

1. We will assume throughout this article that the question of whether or not there is such a thing as "Negro dialect" distinct from white nonstandard dialects has been answered in the affirmative. Discussion of this issue is to be found in any of the articles by William A. Stewart listed in the bibliography. The use here of the term "Negro dialect" is equivalent to our use of "Black English" elsewhere and approximately equivalent to the use of "Negro Non-Standard English" by others. Unfortunately, there is no consensus about an adequate label for this variety of English, so that we have adopted the more traditional term.
2. "Consonant blends" is sometimes used by educators where we have used consonant clusters, but the meaning is the same.
3. "Base word" refers to the part of the word to which inflections may be added. For example, in the words drowned and drowns, drown is considered the base part of the word.
4. The rules which govern standard English as it is actually spoken are often quite different from the prescriptive norms that are set up in school grammar textbooks.
5. In standard English, these sequences are often pronounced by lengthening the s instead of pronouncing the full sequence (e.g. tess for tests or dess for desks).
6. In some parts of the South t or d occurs at the end of the word in Negro dialect, regardless of what precedes th. Thus we may get toot or Rut' for tooth and Ruth.

7. There are, however, two exceptions. Some verbs, like berate, end in t or d followed by "silent e". When -ed (actually only d) is added to these verbs, the pronunciation is still i.d. In the second case, English has a set of verbs ("strong verbs") like hit and cost, which never take the -ed suffix. All "strong verbs" end in t or d.
8. This seems to be a different rule from the d-elimination rule discussed in the pronunciation section of this article.
9. Teachers are sometimes doubly surprised when they hear sentences like He don't suppose to bring his books to class. Not only is the -s suffix absent from auxiliary don't, but the presence of don't instead of a form of to be is strikingly different from standard English. In Negro dialect, the word is not the participle supposed, but is a verb suppose which functions grammatically like the verb intend. Thus we get He don't suppose to bring... parallel with He don't intend to bring...
10. It is difficult to indicate the pronunciations intended by the spellings mon and gon. The on in each case is to be taken as a nasalized o-like vowel (giving [mɔ̃] and [gɔ̃]).
11. In Negro dialect, of course, the third person singular -s suffix would ordinarily not be present and this sentence would be Nobody don't know it. For simplicity in comparing standard and nonstandard sentences, we will ignore this fact.
12. This was true of studies in New York, Detroit, and Washington, D.C.
13. This statement is not to be taken as implying that Negro dialect at this or any other stage is a cognitively deficient system. Many languages in which there is an abundance of philosophical and literary works, like Chinese, also lack plural as a grammatical category.
14. There seems to be some evidence that this regularization is coming into standard English, since sentences like the last two are sometimes heard in the standard dialects.
15. Fasold once tested the sentence That man that I met on the train to Chicago last week, he turned out to be a Congressman for acceptability with a class of university graduate students and none found it ungrammatical.

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## THE USE OF NONSTANDARD ENGLISH IN TEACHING STANDARD: CONTRAST AND COMPARISON

by Irwin Feigenbaum

In the past few years, there has been an increase in the attention given to nonstandard dialects of English and to teaching the standard dialect in our schools. One methodology that has held some promise is that of teaching standard English as a second dialect in the way that English is taught as a second language. This has several labels, among which are "the aural-oral approach", "the linguistic method", "the audio-lingual method", and "pattern practice". Using this approach raises some questions about the place of a given nonstandard dialect in teaching standard English to the speakers of that dialect: Is the nonstandard a valid linguistic system that should be recognized and utilized in classroom instruction and/or in the development of pedagogical materials? If it is used, how can it be made an effective part of the instruction and not simply an interesting decoration?

### The Relative Values of Two Dialects: Appropriateness

"We should avoid the use of nonstandard English in the classroom; it reinforces wrong English." This statement expresses one of the strongest and most common objections to the use of nonstandard in teaching standard English. It is felt that "wrong English" in the classroom will decrease the quality of the instruction. But what is meant by the term "wrong English?" It probably means "wrong standard English", for, although the sentence He work hard. is incorrect standard English, it is a correct nonstandard English sentence. Similarly, He works hard. is incorrect in nonstandard but correct



in standard. We are dealing with two separate dialects. One of them is the standard. The other is different from the standard.

The term "different" does not mean "right" or "wrong". There are no linguistic criteria by which a given language or dialect of a language can be proven "more wrong" than another. Linguistics does not provide a means for determining the intrinsic "rightness" or sophistication of a linguistic system. Languages have order; they are systematic; and it is impossible to find criteria for determining the relative values of two systems.<sup>1</sup> This does not imply that any language is as good or useful as any other in every situation. What this does mean is that, linguistically, no language system can be proven more or less valid than another.

There is a criterion, however, for selecting one language or dialect for use in a given situation; that criterion is "appropriateness". This can be illustrated with an example using foreign languages. In France, the language of governmental activities is French. It is French not because of some linguistic property of the French language but because of its appropriateness. The appropriate language or dialect can be determined negatively, by eliminating the inappropriate ones. To determine appropriateness, we ask the following questions: Is the variety of language used appropriate to the social situation in which it is used? Does this variety call the least attention to itself when it is used in the given social situation?<sup>2</sup> French is appropriate in the situation described above; other languages are inappropriate. English, for example, would be inappropriate because it would not be generally understood and people would be aware of the language spoken instead of what is said in that language. The relative value of French vis-a-vis English is not based on a linguistic criterion but on a social one. French is not intrinsically better or worse than English; however, for a given situation, one but not the other may be appropriate.



We find a similar situation with standard English and a nonstandard dialect. There is no criterion for proving the linguistic superiority of one of the dialects, and, as in the case of French and English described above, there are situations in which nonstandard English may be appropriate and situations in which standard English may be appropriate. In class, standard English is appropriate. In the cafeteria or at a basketball game, a group of students may find nonstandard appropriate. Appropriateness varies with the place and the participants in the conversation. A language variety that is appropriate in one social situation may not be appropriate in another.

Because there are situations in which nonstandard is appropriate, it would be unwise to eradicate it in teaching standard English. Our objective is to provide the students with this other variety of language, so that their linguistic behavior can be appropriate when the situation requires standard English. Even if it were possible to "stamp out" nonstandard English, changing the students' language behavior completely might be detrimental to their social well-being. They may need the nonstandard for social situations in which it is appropriate.

It is reasonable to say that there are many ways of speaking English, that there are social and geographical variations within English, and that speaking a nonstandard dialect does not indicate laziness or stupidity. A teacher can make these points in the classroom without decreasing the quality of the instruction. On the contrary, discussing these ideas can be beneficial, for the students are aware of the social uses of language, both their own and others.<sup>3</sup> Stating the truth will establish a better rapport between the teacher and the students, and it will help in enlisting their cooperation in the learning task. Common sense is one of the best -- and easiest -- ways of motivating.

There is a lot to be gained by acknowledging the existence of nonstandard English as a legitimate linguistic system. The approach to the students can be direct. The inclusion of nonstandard may make the task more interesting because the students have the opportunity to investigate a portion of their own behavior, furnishing language data which they are in a special position to provide. If they understand the regularity of their own language, they may find it easier to comprehend the systematic differences between nonstandard and standard, since the differences will not be random.

Contrast and Comparison: Describing the Problems

Nonstandard English is useful in determining the standard English features that must be taught and those that need not be, and in pointing out the differences between the standard English constructions to be taught and the equivalent or close nonstandard ones. This is done through a technique from second language pedagogy, contrastive linguistics. In foreign language instruction, the difficult learning areas, as well as the areas of little or no difficulty, are determined by contrasting the grammatical and phonological systems of the student's native language with the systems of the language to be learned.

If the target language is French and the student's native language is English, the teacher and the materials writer know the following:

- (1) There will be no problem when the student uses his English [d] in French words containing the similar French sound.
- (2) The student will have some difficulty in distinguishing the French [t] and [d] at the beginning of words because, in English, he is accustomed to an additional clue -- aspiration -- found in English [t<sup>h</sup>uw] but not in [duw].
- (3) The student will need extensive work on the different forms of French adjectives. English has one form good;

French has four: bon livre; bonne amie; bons élèves; and bonnes âmes.

With the prediction of problem and non-problem areas, our teaching can be efficient: teach the problems; avoid the non-problems.

A contrastive analysis of a nonstandard dialect found in Washington, D.C., and the standard variety found there would provide the following information:

- (1) The students do not distinguish [ɪ] and [ɛ] before nasal consonants; for example, pin and pen sound alike. But, since many speakers of standard English in other parts of the United States do not distinguish them either, it may not be worth spending very much time teaching the difference.
- (2) The students often use an [f] sound at the end of words like mouth. In nonstandard, Ruth and roof sound alike, but fin and thin do not.
- (3) The nonstandard verb paradigm in the present tense has one form. The comparable paradigm in standard English has two forms: work and works. The problem is to teach the marking of verbs after he, she, Paula, etc., but to keep the students from generalizing to the paradigm I works, you works, he works.

By recognizing the existence and the legitimacy of nonstandard, the materials developer can prepare efficient lessons that deal with real problems, and the teacher can know more precisely what the students' learning problems are.

#### Contrast and Comparison: Teaching the Problems

By comparing the standard English structure to be taught and the equivalent or close nonstandard structure, the student can see how they differ. Many students have a partial knowledge of standard English, that is, they can recognize and produce it but without accurate control. The instruction should include practice in sorting out standard from non-

standard. This practice can be provided when both standard and nonstandard are used in the class. For many other students, this sorting out is the beginning of a series of steps from passive recognition to active production.

(A) Presentation

One way in which the standard-nonstandard contrast can be employed in the class is in presenting a lesson or an exercise. Two items, one standard and the other nonstandard, show the students the structure to be learned and practiced, and indicate where mistakes may occur. For example, the following two sentences may be written on the board or projected from a transparency:

He work hard.

He works hard.

The teacher would then ask how the two sentences differ and which one is standard and which nonstandard.<sup>4</sup> The teacher may wish to tell the class that the second sentence has an "s" on works and the first does not and that the first sentence is nonstandard and the second standard, but, since the students are aware of the social uses of language, they should be able to provide the answers. Asking for their observations will make the activity more interesting.

The simple activity described above takes very little time: probably not more than fifteen seconds. Yet, in this short period of time, the students have sorted out and identified standard and nonstandard, and they have indicated the particular feature that distinguishes nonstandard and standard English without an involved grammatical explanation.

(B) Discrimination Drills

A discrimination drill gives the students practice in discriminating between standard and nonstandard English on the basis of the feature being worked on. In this type of drill, pairs of sentences or words are presented to the students orally. The students indicate whether the two are the

same or different (this drill is also known as a "same/different drill"). Drill #1 is an example of this drill-type.

#1

Teacher stimulus	Student response
1. He work hard. He works hard.	1. different
2. He work hard. He work hard.	2. same
3. Paula likes leather coats. Paula likes leather coats.	3. same
4. She prefers movies. She prefer movies.	4. different
5. Robert play guard. Robert play guard.	5. same

In this drill, we make certain that the students can hear the feature that distinguishes standard from nonstandard. The only difference between the sentences in items 1 and 4 in Drill #1 is the verb ending. If the students respond correctly to the five items in the drill, we know that their attention has been directed to the feature and that they hear it consistently.

#### (C) Identification Drills

A general principle in second-language pedagogy is that production is easier for the students after they have learned to discriminate and identify what they will be called on to produce. The identification drill contributes to this pre-production work. This drill is more difficult than the discrimination drill in that the students are not presented with material to compare but are required to identify a single word or sentence without the assistance of a second item. In Drill #2, the identification is "standard" or "nonstandard".<sup>5</sup>

#2

Teacher stimulus	Student response
1. He work hard.	1. nonstandard
2. He works hard.	2. standard
3. Paula likes leather coats.	3. standard
4. She prefer movies.	4. nonstandard
5. Paula likes leather coats.	5. standard
6. Robert play guard.	6. nonstandard
7. He drive a motorcycle.	7. nonstandard
8. Mr. Brown teaches geography.	8. standard
9. She ride on the bus.	9. nonstandard
10. Robert plays guard.	10. standard

In Drill #2, the only indication of "standard" or "nonstandard" is the verb ending. If the students respond correctly, we know that they can hear the feature that distinguishes standard from nonstandard English and that they can identify the two dialects on the basis of the feature.

(D) Translation Drills

In a translation drill the students translate a word or sentence from nonstandard to standard or from standard to nonstandard. Two short examples of this drill-type follow:

#3

Teacher stimulus	Student response
1. He works hard.	1. He work hard.
2. Paula likes leather coats.	2. Paula like leather coats.
3. She prefers movies.	3. She prefer movies.
4. Robert plays guard.	4. Robert play guard.
5. He drives a motorcycle.	5. He drive a motorcycle.

#4

Teacher stimulus	Student response
1. He work hard.	1. He works hard.



- |                             |                               |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 2. Robert play guard.       | 2. Robert plays guard.        |
| 3. Mr. Brown teach English. | 3. Mr. Brown teaches English. |
| 4. She ride on the bus.     | 4. She rides on the bus.      |
| 5. He prefer movies.        | 5. He prefers movies.         |

While keeping the students' attention focused on the feature in question, these exercises give them controlled practice in producing standard English. It is assumed that the students can produce nonstandard, and one may legitimately raise the objections that Drill #3 calls for the students to practice what they already can do and that producing nonstandard is not the objective of the instruction. This drill is useful in providing a further opportunity for the students to hear the standard forms they will be called on to produce, but, if this extra help seems unnecessary, Drill #4 may be used alone.

Drill #5 illustrates another format for translation drills.

#5

Teacher stimulus	Student response
1. He work hard.	1. He works hard.
2. He works hard.	2. He work hard.
3. Paula likes leather coats.	3. Paula like leather coats.
4. She prefer movies.	4. She prefers movies.
5. Paula likes leather coats.	5. Paula like leather coats.
6. Robert play guard.	6. Robert plays guard.
7. He drive a motorcycle.	7. He drives a motorcycle.
8. Mr. Brown teaches geography.	8. Mr. Brown teach geography.
9. She ride on the bus.	9. She rides on the bus.
10. Robert plays guard.	10. Robert play guard.

In this drill, the students make one overt response, but, in reality, they make two: the first is to identify the sentence

as standard or nonstandard; the second is to translate from one to the other. This combination sub-type is more difficult than one in which the direction of translation is uniform. In some classes, it may be necessary to teach the combination translation drill after the other two (thus presenting the tasks of identification and translation separately before putting them together).<sup>6</sup> Some other classes may be ready for the combination sub-type without the two preliminary steps.

More complex translation drills can be constructed. In Drills #6 and #7, the formats and directions of translation are the same as in #3 and #4, respectively. The added complexity is the difference between the standard English verb forms with he and they. Since this difference does not exist in nonstandard, translation in either direction will be challenging (although the objections raised above still pertain).

## #6

Teacher stimulus	Student response
1. He works hard.	1. He work hard.
2. They like nylon jackets.	2. They like nylon jackets.
3. She prefers movies.	3. She prefer movies.
4. The player works hard.	4. The player work hard.
5. The men drive fast.	5. The men drive fast.

## #7

Teacher stimulus	Student response
1. He work hard.	1. He works hard.
2. They like nylon jackets.	2. They like nylon jackets.
3. She prefer movies.	3. She prefers movies.
4. The men drive too fast.	4. The men drive too fast.
5. The player work hard.	5. The player works hard.

One additional complication has appeared: it is impossible to identify They work hard. as standard or nonstandard. This

point must be clear to the students so that they do not search for a differentiating feature. No major problems should occur in Drills #6 and #7 because the direction of translation is uniform. A drill like #8 is possible only if the students understand the status of a sentence like They work hard. and know how they are to respond to it in the drill.

#8

Teacher stimulus	Student response
1. He works hard.	1. He work hard.
2. He work hard.	2. He works hard.
3. They work hard.	3. They work hard.
4. Paula likes nylon jackets.	4. Paula like nylon jackets.
5. The lady teach history.	5. The lady teaches history.
6. The man drive a lot.	6. The man drives a lot.
7. The students ride on the bus.	7. The students ride on the bus.
8. The student ride on the bus.	8. The student rides on the bus.
9. Robert plays guard.	9. Robert play guard.
10. The ladies teach English.	10. The ladies teach English.

(E) Response Drills

The standard/nonstandard contrast and comparison can be carried into freer activities, in which the students have the opportunity of speaking more naturally. The drill-types described above provide very careful control of the linguistic material the students employ: their responses are predetermined at the textbook-writing stage. Other drill-types and activities have less control and give the students the chance to approach generating completely natural English. They still constrain the students' language but differently and less rigidly.

Drill #9 is one such drill-type (in this drill, the students are to contradict the statement with an appropriate

response -- standard statement and response or nonstandard statement and response).

#9

Teacher stimulus	Student response
1. Your best friend work after school.	1. No, he don't. <sup>7</sup>
2. He gets good grades.	2. No, he doesn't.
3. The teacher doesn't give too much work.	3. Yes, she does.
4. His girlfriend chews gum all the time.	4. No, she doesn't.
5. Her boyfriend don't drive fast.	5. Yes, he do.
6. Your math teacher give good grades.	6. No, she don't.
7. The principal acts very friendly.	7. No, he doesn't.
8. She don't arrive late on Monday.	8. Yes, she do.
9. Your friend trust you with his car.	9. No, he don't.
10. William likes tall girls.	10. No, he doesn't.

In this drill, the student's attention is focused on the grammatical feature that marks standard and nonstandard. In addition, the student has an opportunity to respond more naturally than in the previous drill-types, which involve grammatical manipulation instead of conversation-like activity. We make certain that the students' response will contain do or does because of the statement to which they respond. The additional change -- negative to affirmative or affirmative to negative -- provides a further challenge. However, if this addition makes the drill too difficult, Drill #9 could be replaced or preceded by two other drills. One of the drills would require only affirmative responses and the other only negative responses.

There can be a practically unlimited gradation within the range of activities called "response drills". In #9, the

controls are still relatively tight. In Drill #10, they are considerably more relaxed because, in answering the question and adding another statement, the student is free to generate his own material:

#10

1. Do his sister go to this school?
2. Does his sister go to this school?
3. Does a boa constructor crush its victims?
4. Do your brother get good grades?
5. Does he have a brother?
6. Does your English teacher give hard homework?
7. Does a rhinoceros have a trunk?
8. Do your aardvark like big ants?
9. Does your worst enemy like the zoo?
10. Do she go there often?

The standard/nonstandard difference is still at work. To this has been added the choice of responses. The burden of speaking appropriately is on the student. Drills #9 and #10 could be made more natural and less controlled (and, consequently, more difficult) by including sentences that have plural subjects. Throughout the drills, as the controls are decreased, two objectives remain: distinguishing standard English from non-standard and speaking accurate standard English when it is appropriate.

The presentation statement and these drill-types are ways in which nonstandard English can be used to make teaching standard English grammar more effective. They can be used in teaching standard English pronunciation, too. Drills #11, #12, and #13 deal with the pronunciation of the standard English final [θ] sound.<sup>8</sup>

#11

Teacher stimulus

1. mouth  
'mouf'

Student response

1. different

2. mouth mouth	2. same
3. 'teef' 'teef'	3. same
4. cloth cloth	4. same
5. 'clof' cloth	5. different
#12	
Teacher stimulus	Student response
1. 'mouf'	1. nonstandard
2. mouth	2. standard
3. teeth	3. standard
4. 'teef'	4. nonstandard
5. cloth	5. standard
6. 'bof'	6. nonstandard
7. 'baf'	7. nonstandard
8. both	8. standard
9. 'clof'	9. nonstandard
10. bath	10. standard
#13	
Teacher stimulus	Student response
1. 'mouf'	1. mouth
2. mouth	2. 'mouf'
3. teeth	3. 'teef'
4. 'teef'	4. teeth
5. cloth	5. 'clof'
6. 'bof'	6. both
7. 'baf'	7. bath
8. both	8. 'bof'
9. 'clof'	9. cloth
10. bath	10. 'baf'

Using the Drills in Class

These drills are oral drills, meant for oral presentation by the teacher and oral responses from the students.



Writing can be a valuable aid in making a point clear or as a reminder on the board while the oral drill is in progress, but, if the goal is control of oral standard English, the instruction must provide as much practice in this medium as possible. Drills of the type shown in this paper would be conducted by the teacher, with no material for the individual students. This allows maximum control of the students' attention: the teacher can regulate the amount of explanation, skip over or repeat drills, and decide whether to introduce phonetic symbology or unusual spellings.

The drills are of moderate intrinsic interest after the initial novelty has worn off. One way to maintain interest is in the pace of teaching them. A brisk, regular rhythm works against the repetitiveness of drilling and the unnaturalness of the responses. These drills are intended for fast-paced instruction without lengthy accompanying explanations. The drilling is best conducted for brief periods of time on a regular basis: ten to fifteen minutes a class period.

It is extremely important to use and require from the students only completely natural standard English. The students are learning to recognize certain features in standard and to produce standard. They are not aided by hearing exaggerated pronunciations and slow renditions because they will not hear them in the real situations in which standard is used. Demanding that students produce very precisely pronounced standard English does not help them speak a variety that "calls the least attention to itself"; that is, a natural standard.<sup>9</sup> There is another problem in using and requiring hypercorrect language; this problem arises from the students' awareness of language and its social uses. As soon as a student realizes that he is being taught something false, he may begin to reject the premise of appropriateness, on which teaching standard English must be based.

Saying things naturally is applicable to the drills in another way. Outside of the specific grammatical or phonological content of the drill, there should be no indication of the response. It is very easy to let vocal intonation indicate whether two items are the same or different. Some teachers pause or slow down at the place in a sentence that indicates "same/different" or "standard/nonstandard". If the students are to respond accurately to normal standard, they must hear it in the classroom.

Some teachers may feel uncomfortable about using non-standard English in their classes. There seems to be a feeling that the written word or the teacher's spoken word is extremely powerful and that it will have a deep and lasting adverse effect on the student's use of English. How can there be an adverse effect when a nonstandard word or sentence will only show the students what they already know? Students do not react strongly when they encounter a sentence like He work hard., and, after the first momentary surprise at seeing or hearing nonstandard in class, they accept it as a natural part of the work.

There is a way to rescue the teacher who feels very uncomfortable about speaking nonstandard before the class: a student can lead the drill. The other students will pay close attention to what the student-leader says; the nonstandard will sound more natural; and the added interest and variety will make the exercise seem fun, with much of the drill-like atmosphere gone.

Nonstandard English can be profitably utilized in the pedagogy of standard English, both in materials development and in classroom teaching. The drills and techniques discussed in this paper do not constitute an exhaustive listing, and there is no implication that they are in themselves sufficient. There are effective drill-types in which only standard is used. The goal of the instruction is to teach a control

of oral standard English. Any drill or procedure which furthers this goal without introducing extraneous diversions or requiring a lot of time is worth trying.

## NOTES

1. If, for example, one measured the inflectional complexity of their noun systems, Latin with its many case endings would rank higher than modern English. This does not, however, prove that Latin is better or more sophisticated than English because one could just as easily claim that a sophisticated language uses the device of word order to express what a less sophisticated language must express by word endings.
2. These two questions are taken from a discussion of "appropriateness" in Irwin Feigenbaum, "The Concept of Appropriateness and Developing Materials for TESOL", TESOL Quarterly, vol. 1, no. 3, September, 1967, pp. 36-39.
3. Throughout this paper the references will be to students in junior and senior high schools, with whom the author has worked; however, there may be applications to younger students as well.
4. The use of the identifying terms "standard" and "non-standard", "school English" and "out-of-school English", etc., presupposes some discussion about appropriateness, in which these terms were presented and defined.
5. The identification could be the presence or absence of "s" (or "es") in the written forms, but this difference may not be so real and important to the students as the difference between potentially appropriate and inappropriate behavior.
6. The two steps in Drill #5 can be regarded as a combination of Drill #2 (identification) and Drills #3 and #4 (translation).
7. In a drill with several possible responses for each statement, the students should be called on individually. Statement 1 can be answered with No, he don't.; No, he do not.; No, she don't.; or No ne do not.
8. Since there is no convention for writing nonstandard pronunciation, there are three alternatives open to the

teacher and materials writer: the first is to use phonetic symbols; the second is to adapt some spelling changes; and the third is to avoid writing nonstandard pronunciations. In the following drills, the second alternative has been adopted for the teacher's copy of the drills; the third for teaching the drills to the students.

9. In the drills shown in this paper, no verb is followed by a word beginning with a sibilant because it is impossible to hear whether the verb ending is present: Robert plays center. and Robert play center. sound alike. In order to differentiate them, an unnatural extra syllable or pause would have to be inserted before center.

## **SOCIOLINGUISTIC IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL SEQUENCING**

by Walt Wolfram

Within the last several years the teaching of Standard English to Black English speakers (i.e. the variety of English spoken by lower socio-economic class Negroes) has been of growing concern to urban educators. Subsequently, materials for teaching Standard English in an urban setting have been produced, and a casual survey of these materials is sufficient to observe that there are differing philosophical and methodological approaches which characterize them. Furthermore, the features dealt with in these lessons and the order in which the lessons are presented vary significantly.

Although the different philosophical and methodological approaches underlying materials have now received some attention, one aspect of methodology for which there is no specific discussion is the order in which Standard English features should be presented. This failure may stem from the assumption that it is common knowledge which features of Standard English should be given precedence in teaching Black English speakers. However, if this were the case, one would expect that all materials would conform to a similar pattern of sequencing, a situation which does not exist.

Another possible reason for the failure to deal with pedagogical sequencing may stem from the assumption that the ordering of lessons is irrelevant, that any order convenient to the teacher is satisfactory. Several reasons can be suggested to challenge this assumption. First of all, both objective and subjective evidence (see Wolfram 1969; Shuy, Baratz and Wolfram 1969) suggest that not all features of

Black English have the same social connotations. There are some features which immediately categorize the socio-economic class of the speaker; others, however, may correlate with ethnicity but have little or no social significance within the black community. The fact that all features of Black English do not have equal social connotations suggests that some should be given precedence over others in the acquisition of Standard English. Another reason for maintaining the relevancy of lesson sequencing is motivational. Students are much more aware of the social consequences of Black English vis-à-vis Standard English than they have been given credit for (see Shuy, Baratz and Wolfram 1969), and the precedence of minor rather than major differences between dialects may discourage students at an early stage in their acquisition of Standard English. A final reason is quite practical. The realization that any course in Standard English will probably not cover as much material as would be desirable means that some features should be given priority over others in the lesson material. One way of programming this priority into the lesson material is through the sequencing of lessons.

Having suggested several reasons for the relevancy of pedagogical sequencing, what criteria may be used in determining the relative order of the lessons? Several socio-linguistic factors can be suggested as a basis for determining the most relevant order of lessons.<sup>1</sup>

1. Social diagnosticity of linguistic variables

Since the purpose of teaching Standard English is to assist students in adopting a dialect which is not socially stigmatized, a primary consideration in the sequencing of materials must be the way in which social groups are separated from one another on the basis of linguistic features (i.e. the social diagnosticity of linguistic items). As was stated above, all linguistic features do not correlate with social status in the same way. Some features set apart social groups from one another much more discretely than others. Recently,



I have suggested (see Wolfram 1969) that it is useful to distinguish between gradient and sharp social stratification of linguistic features. Gradient stratification refers to a progressive increase in the frequency of occurrence of a variant between social groups without a clearly defined difference between contiguous social groups. The incidence of post-vocalic r in the black community is an example of gradient stratification. The following diagram illustrates the differences in r absence for four social classes of Negroes in Detroit, upper-middle (UMN), lower-middle (LMN), upper-working (UWN), and lower-working (LWN) class Negroes.

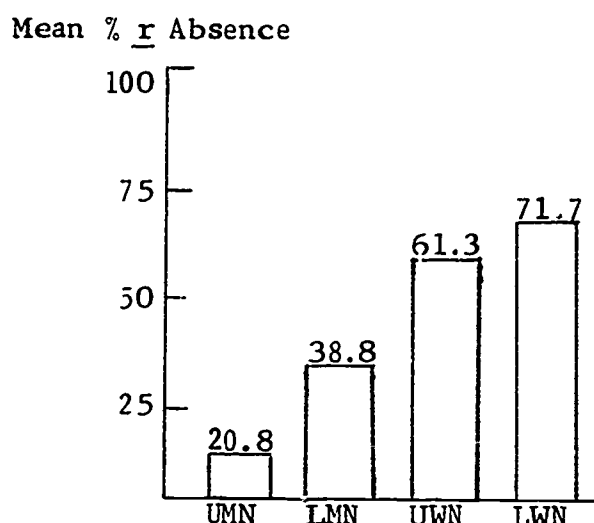


Fig. 1. Post-vocalic r Absence: An Example of "Gradient" Stratification

One observes that there is a progressive increase in the absence of post-vocalic r between the four social groups; none of the groups are discretely differentiated on the basis of r. But there are other variables which indicate a sharp demarcation between contiguous social classes (i.e. sharp stratification), such as the absence of third-person singular, present-tense-s. Note the incidence of -s third person singular absence in Fig. 2.

In contrast to the absence of post-vocalic r, we observe that the middle class groups are sharply differentiated from the working class groups by the incidence of -s. Contiguous social groups (in this case, lower-middle and upper-working

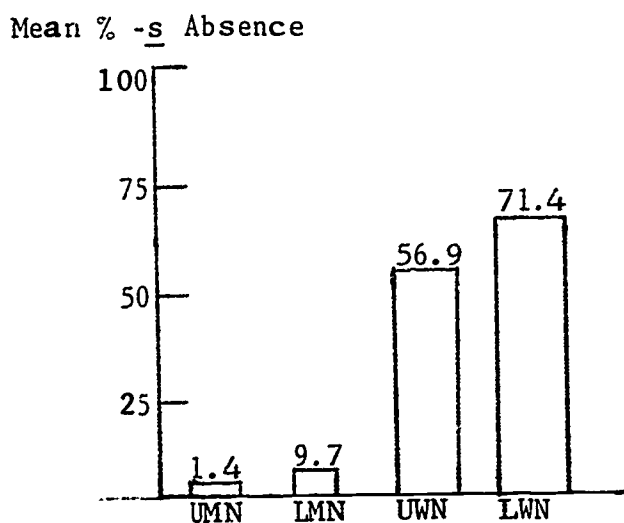


Fig. 2. Third Person Singular -s Absence: An Example of "Sharp" Stratification

classes) reveal significant differences in the incidence of -s third-person singular. We conclude that linguistic features revealing sharp stratification are of greater social significance than those showing gradient stratification. From a social viewpoint, then, materials dealing with sharply stratified linguistic features should precede those dealing with gradiently stratified features.

Perhaps more important than the objective stratification of linguistic features is the subjective reactions toward these features.<sup>2</sup> Labov (1964: 102) has suggested that the subjective evaluation of socially diagnostic linguistic features can be classified into three basic types:

indicators, which show social variation but usually not stylistic variation, and have little effect upon the listener's judgment of the social status of the speakers

markers, which show both social and stylistic variation and have consistent effects upon the conscious or unconscious judgment of the speaker's status by the listener

stereotypes, which are the overt topics of social comment in the speech community, and may or may not correspond to actual linguistic behavior.

The different levels of subjective reaction to socially diagnostic linguistic features have definite implications for

the ordering of materials. Materials should start with those features which are on the most conscious level of awareness, the stereotyped features. In terms of objective stratification, stereotyped features generally show sharp rather than gradient stratification. Since, as Labov points out, there are a number of stereotyped features which do not correspond to actual sociolinguistic behavior, it must be warned that we are referring to stereotyped features which relate to actual speech. One must also warn that stereotyped features often refer to single items, in which case they would not be given precedence because they do not meet the criterion of rule generality (cf. principle 2). One stereotyped feature of non-standard speech (both Negro and white) is that of the so-called "double negative" (but more accurately called "multiple negation") such as He didn't do nothing.

The relative social diagnosticity of a particular feature may not only vary from linguistic variable to variable, but within a given variable, based on independent linguistic constraints such as environment and structural type. Take, for example, the absence of the final member of a consonant cluster in word-final position (e.g. Black English /dɛs/ for Standard English 'desk'). This type of pattern affects items in which both members of the cluster are part of the same lexical item (i.e. monomorphemic, as in Black English /gɛs/ for Standard English /gɛst/ 'guest') but also clusters which result when the addition of the grammatical suffix -ed results in a cluster (i.e. bimorphemic clusters such as Black English /gɛs/ for Standard English /gɛs-t/ 'guessed'). The social significance of these two types are not equal, however. The former type, monomorphemic clusters, reveals a gradient stratification whereas the latter, the bimorphemic clusters, tend to reveal sharp stratification. In terms of social importance, bimorphemic clusters would therefore take precedence over monomorphemic. Likewise, in the analysis of

copula absence among Negro speakers, there are certain types of constructions in which the absence of a copula is much less socially significant than others. The absence of a copula with the tentative future gonna (e.g. They gonna go now) is commonly used by middle class Negro speakers although they typically do not reveal copula absence in other types of constructions such as predicative nominals, adjectives, and locatives. It is plain that the presence of a copula with gonna should follow the teaching of copula with other types of constructions (e.g. predicate adjective such as he nice) in preparing the lesson materials on copula.

## 2. The generality of rules

Another important factor in determining the relative order of materials is the generality of the rule(s) involved in the realization of a particular Black English feature. Some nonstandard forms affect only a small subset of words or a single item whereas others involve general rules that operate on the form of every sentence of a particular structural type. Labov and Cohen (1969: 1) note that:

it is plain that the more general rules should be introduced first in a teaching program, no matter how prominent and striking the isolated items may be.

The more general the rule, the earlier it should be introduced in the materials. For example, the nonstandard use of multiple negation affects all negative sentences with an indefinite, including indefinite pronouns (e.g. He didn't do nothing), determiners (e.g. He didn't have no homework), and adverbs (e.g. He hardly never does his homework). On the other hand, the Black English use of existential it is as a correspondence of Standard English there is (e.g. Black English It is a lot of trouble on that street) only concerns one item. Standard English lesson materials will probably deal with both of these nonstandard features; however, based on the generality of rules governing the nonstandard usage, it should be obvious that multiple negation will appear in the

earliest stages of lessons but "existential it" in the later lesson materials.

### 3. Phonological versus grammatical variables

In many current materials designed to teach Standard English, it has sometimes been assumed that it makes little difference whether one begins with phonological or grammatical variables. Therefore, some materials focus on phonological features before grammatical features while others reverse the order. There is good reason to suggest that the teaching of Standard English to Black English speakers should focus on grammatical features before phonological features. In the first place, the social significance of phonological and grammatical features tend to differ. In my description of four phonological and four grammatical variables, it was pointed out that there is an important difference between the social diagnosticity of phonological and grammatical variables (Wolfram 1969). Grammatical features tend to show sharp stratification whereas phonological variables tend to reveal gradient stratification.<sup>3</sup> Three of the four phonological variables investigated reveal gradient stratification, but all four variables which were treated as grammatical indicate sharp stratification.<sup>4</sup> As a general principle then, it is safest to begin with grammatical rather than phonological features.

Another factor favoring the introduction of grammatical features first is the type of differences observed between social groups. The social distribution of grammatical features show that there are qualitative differences between groups; that is, middle class groups often indicate complete absence of certain grammatical variants (such as multiple negation, suffixal -s absence, 'distributive be', etc.) which are present in working class speech. But phonological features most often reveal quantitative differences between social groups. Thus, d for potential ð in word-initial

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position (in such words as then, that, those), the lack of constriction for post-vocalic r (in words like car, beard, mother), the absence of the final member of a consonant cluster (in words like desk, ground, cold), monophthongization of potential upgliding diphthongs (in words like time, ground, boil), and syllable final t for d (in words like good, bad, stupid) all reveal quantitative differences between social groups. Qualitative differences tend to be more socially obtrusive than quantitative differences and therefore should be taught first. In some cases phonological and grammatical patterns intersect with one another to account for certain stigmatized features. We have already seen how this can happen with word-final consonant clusters. To take an example of a somewhat different type, consider the Black English use of invariant be in a sentence such as he be home. There is evidence to consider that this construction is derived from three different sources, two of which are phonological and one grammatical (see Fasold 1969; Wolfram 1969). Invariant be may be derived from an underlying will be in a sentence such as He be in pretty soon; in a sentence such as If he had a walkie talkie, he be happy it is derived from would be; but in a sentence such as He be busy all the time, it is the realization of a grammatical category unique to the Black English speaker, "distributive be". Although one may initially assume that all three uses of be are equally stigmatized, there is good reason to suggest that this is not the case. In the first place, the negative formations of these three constructions in Black English are He won't be in in a few minutes, If he had a walkie talkie he wouldn't be happy, and He don't be busy all the time respectively. Only the last example is socially obtrusive to the middle class speaker.

A second reason for suggesting that "distributive be" is more socially stigmatized than the other two uses is that Standard English speakers sometimes produce a contracted form



of will be ('ll) and would be ('d) which is phonetically not very different from the first two uses of be. But no Standard English speaker would ever use be in its distributive sense. We thus see that where the intersection of phonological and grammatical patterns takes place, grammatical differences between Standard English and Black English should be given precedence.

#### 4. Regional versus general social significance

Many large Northern urban areas have been drastically restructured within the last 50 years because of the immigration of Southern Negroes. Due to the extent of the intersectional migration and the segregation patterns of such in-migrants in the North, the speech patterns of many Negroes living in the North have not been adapted to a Northern dialect of English. In a Northern locale, some features which are acceptable Southern speech patterns have been transformed into class and ethnic patterns. Thus, in a city such as Detroit, "r-lessness", the neutralization of the  $i/\epsilon$  contrast before nasals, and monophthongization<sup>5</sup> of potential upgliding diphthongs have taken on a social significance even though they are acceptable patterns used by the middle class in certain parts of the South. On the other hand, there are a number of factors which have social significance regardless of the regional locale in which they are found. Thus, the absence of third person singular, present-tense -s, the use of invariant be, and multiple negation are socially diagnostic in all regions of the United States.

Several reasons can be suggested why features having general social significance should be dealt with before those whose social significance is regionally restricted (e.g. just in a Northern city). First, those features which reveal general social significance tend to be more socially diagnostic than those showing only regional significance. In terms of our distinction between sharp and gradient stratification, one observes that in Northern cities, acceptable

Southern features reveal gradient rather than sharp stratification among the Negro population. But general nonstandard features often show sharp stratification. We thus see that our distinction between features showing regional and general social significance correlates in an important way with relative social diagnosticity of items.

Second, in terms of the widest possible audience of students for lesson materials, general features should be given priority over regional features. Recent investigations of Black English in a number of big cities in the United States indicate that there is a "common core" of Black English characteristic of lower socio-economic Negroes in different regions. This observation means that lesson materials may be produced which can be used in more than one region. However, to develop materials for the broadest possible use, the general socially diagnostic features should be given precedence over the regionally significant items. By placing these regionally significant features in later stages of lessons (if they are to be included at all) their relative importance can be appropriately diminished (i.e. they can easily be excluded where not applicable or, in terms of time limitations, where lessons can most conveniently be eliminated or condensed). Although one might think that this principle is obvious to those responsible for developing lessons, many current materials are surprisingly negligent in this regard. Some teachers have taken far too much interest in relatively minor features such as the monophthongization of upgliding diphthongs (e.g. /təh/ 'time', /bɔh/ 'boy') and the neutralization of the i/ɛ contrast before nasals (e.g. /pɪn/ 'pin' or 'pen'), although these are quite acceptable patterns used by middle class Southerners. In justification of such interest, some teachers explain that if such differences are not taught, the students will be unable to discriminate between such words as pin and pen. While this may certainly be the case (apart from contextual disambiguation), this common

type of "interdialectal homophony" (i.e. distinguishable words in one dialect are indistinguishable in another dialect) is no need for concern. It is a common phenomenon of dialects which have kept dialectologists busy and non-linguists amused for some time now. The same teachers who may attempt to spend inordinate amounts of time drilling students to contrast pin and pen may make no distinction between cot and caught in their own speech without ever having noticed it. Although it may sound unnecessarily judgmental, the preoccupation with such items as pin and pen, while well-intentioned, may ultimately be traced to dialectal ethnocentrism.

5. The relative frequency of items

A final factor in the determination of lesson sequencing is the relative frequency with which an item or pattern potentially occurs. Some nonstandard patterns occur only infrequently during the course of a normal discourse. Even though some of these features may indicate sharp stratification, the infrequency of their occurrence makes them less essential than others in preparing lesson materials. For example, a comparison of the potential incidence of third-person singular present-tense -s with the possessive marker -s for 48 Detroit informants reveals that the former structural pattern is over four times as numerous as the latter (see Wolfram 1969). It is therefore understandable why many people are more consciously aware of the absence of -s on third person forms than they are of the absence of -s on possessives.

Another example of a relatively infrequent occurring feature is the Black English use of been as an auxiliary in active sentence such as The boy been ate the pie. Although this use of been clearly correlates to social class in the Negro community, the rarity of this type of construction in natural discourse suggests that the "non-use" of this type of form should only be taught after many other features which occur much more frequently.

6. The intersection of sociolinguistic principles in determining the sequencing of materials

When determining the order of lessons, each Black English feature must be considered in terms of the total configuration of sociolinguistic principles. The fact that a particular item reveals sharp stratification is, in itself, not adequate for including it in the preliminary stages of the lessons. Nor is the distinction of frequent versus infrequent patterns sufficient reason for determining order by itself. Only when the intersection of the various principles is considered can an adequate justification for sequencing be established. The determination of order may be viewed in terms of a sociolinguistic matrix. In Fig. 3, a number of features cited as examples in the above discussion are evaluated in terms of such a matrix. For the most part, the evaluation is based on a binary opposition (e.g. either an item is considered frequent [+] or infrequent [-]). Where binary judgments cannot be made (e.g. the intersection of phonology and grammar or different levels of social significance based on subcategories of a variable) this is indicated by [+].

The way the matrix is set up, the more [+] evaluations a particular feature has, the earlier it should be introduced in the lesson material. This means that items given a [+] rating for all of the sociolinguistic principles should be introduced at the earliest stage, those with more [+] than [-] ratings at the next stage, and those with more [-] than [+] ratings at a still later stage. Such features as -s third person singular, multiple negation, and invariant be (particularly its grammatical source) should be treated in the earliest lessons. A next stage should deal with such features as word-medial and final θ and consonant clusters, whereas features such as ɪ/ε contrast before nasals, syllable final d, and post-vocalic r should clearly be treated in the later lessons.

<u>Black English Feature</u>	sharp stratification [+] gradient stratification [-]	general rule [+] non-general rule [-]	grammatical feature [+] phonological feature [-]	general significance [+] regional significance [-]	frequent occurrence [+] infrequent occurrence [-]
-s third person singular (e.g. <u>he go</u> )	+	+	+	+	+
multiple negation (e.g. <u>didn't do nothing</u> )	+	+	+	+	+
-s possessive (e.g. <u>man hat</u> )	+	+	+	+	-
invariant <u>be</u> (e.g. <u>he be home</u> )	+	+	!+	+	+
copula absence (e.g. <u>he nice</u> )	+	+	-	+	+
<u>been</u> auxiliary in active sentence (e.g. <u>he been ate the food</u> )	+	-	+	+	-
existential <u>it</u> (e.g. <u>It is a whole lot of people</u> )	+	-	+	+	+
word-medial and final <u>ð</u> and <u>θ</u> (e.g. /tuf/ 'tooth')	+	+	-	+	+
word-final consonant clusters (e.g. /gɛs/ 'guest' and 'guessed')	+	+	-	+	+
word-initial <u>ð</u> (e.g. /dɛn/ 'then')	-	+	-	+	+
monophthongization (e.g. /tahm/ 'time')	-	+	-	-	+
post-vocalic <u>r</u> and <u>l</u> (e.g. /cah/ 'car')	-	+	-	-	+
syllable-final <u>d</u> (e.g. /bɛht/ 'bad')	-	+	-	-	+
i/ɛ before nasals (e.g. /pin/ 'pin' or 'pen')	-	-	-	-	-

Fig. 3. Matrix of Cruciality



I have attempted to show how sociolinguistic considerations have important implications for teaching Standard English to Black English speakers. The application of these five principles can only increase the sociolinguistic relevancy of Standard English programs and improve their efficiency.

#### NOTES

1. The limitation of this discussion to sociolinguistic factors is not meant to imply that other factors may not affect the ordering of materials. For example, the pedagogical lessons on constructions introduced earlier may affect the order of items to a certain extent. Since the focus of this paper is the sociolinguistic factors, other factors will not be considered here.
2. Shuy, Baratz and Wolfram (1969) show that lower socioeconomic class speakers who use stigmatized variants often have the same low opinion of these forms as do middle class speakers who do not use them. Therefore the label "stigmatized" refers to a working class as well as a middle class evaluation of such forms.
3. McDavid (1965:15) notes that "the surest social markers in American English are grammatical forms, and any teaching program should aim, first of all, at developing a habitual command of the grammar of Standard English".
4. This does not mean that ALL socially diagnostic grammatical features reveal sharp stratification or that ALL phonological features show gradient stratification since research does not show this to be the case. For example, the Black English correspondence of Standard English θ and ð in certain positions, which is f and v respectively, shows sharp stratification. On the other hand, the Black English use of pronominal apposition (e.g. The man, he did it) is a grammatical feature which reveals gradient stratification.
5. Monophthongization is technically not quite correct for the pronunciation of 'time' as [təʊm] instead of [təɪm]. The distinction actually is found in the direction of the glide; in the former case there is a central glide and in the latter a high front glide. For convenience in this paper, the central gliding variant will be referred to as monophthongization.



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## TEACHER TRAINING AND URBAN LANGUAGE PROBLEMS<sup>1</sup>

by Roger W. Shuy

Back in the days when the universe was orderly, when subject matter was a fixed commodity and methodology was a science, we knew exactly how to train teachers to meet the daily needs of their students. In that by-gone time there was a rather clear separation of the disciplines and, although we talked a great deal about suiting the teaching strategy to the individual needs of each student, nobody really paid any attention to this dictum and it can be strongly suspected that nobody really believed it anyway. We gave prospective teachers a strong dose of educational history, theory and method along with the appropriate courses in "special methods of." There was a good bit of talk about slow learners but they were quickly siphoned off to vocational education tracks and those who were discipline problems were encouraged, in one way or another to "seek employment as soon as possible to insure economic adjustment."

But now the times have caught up with us. We have painted ourselves into the corner of compulsory attendance in the schools. We have developed a generation of people who are rightfully demanding relevance. All these years of talking about "meeting the child where he is" have come back to us with interest, for it has become clear that research is finally catching up with precept and, quite simply, it is time to practice what we preach. In this essay I will attempt to point out a path toward preparing teachers to do this practicing. First I will assess the current situation, then prescribe a remedy.

### What Do Teachers Know About Language?

Relatively little research has been done on what the teacher knows, feels or thinks about the language of disadvantaged pupils. Considerable data have been gathered on how a teacher is trained, on whether or not he feels adequately trained, and on what he actually does in the process of teaching. But sophisticated assessments of what teachers really know about the language used by children and how they feel about it are scarce. We know from The National Interest and the Teaching of English that the linguistic preparation of prospective English teachers is woefully inadequate. It should not be surprising, then, that teachers find it difficult to describe accurately the language problems of their disadvantaged students. As an adjunct to recent research on Detroit speech, thirty urban teachers were randomly selected and asked to identify the language problems of their students who were designated, in one way or another, as disadvantaged.<sup>2</sup>

### Vocabulary

Eighty percent of the teachers observed that their students have a limited vocabulary and many teachers offered a reason for this handicap:

"In the program, the children come with a very meager vocabulary, I would say. I think it's because of the background of the home and the lack of books at home, the lack of communication with the family, especially, if there are only one or two children in the family. Perhaps if there are more children in the family communication might be a bit better. They might have a few more words in their vocabulary".

"In the inner-city, the child's vocabulary is very limited. His experiences are very limited".

These comments are typical in that the home situation is blamed for the limited vocabulary. Neither teacher gave any indication that the home environment might produce a different vocabulary. On the contrary, both felt that lack of school vocabulary was equivalent to a lack of overall vocabulary.

This widely held but erroneous concept (that "disadvantaged" children have limited vocabularies) appears to stem from fairly recent research reports on the language of the disadvantaged child. Yet, nothing in the current research of sociolinguists supports this idea. Several different reasons can be given for the rise of the notion that children in disadvantaged homes have limited vocabularies. It may be that the investigators proved to be such a cultural barrier to the informants that they were too frightened and awed to talk freely, or that the investigators simply asked the wrong questions or that the interviewee's life-style simply requires a different lexicon.

The interviewed teachers' misconceptions about the size of a disadvantaged child's vocabulary may be illustrated as follows:

"Some had a vocabulary of about a hundred and some words, I'd say; no more than that. They got along fine with what they knew. They didn't have any trouble expressing themselves. They knew the important words for them to get along okay. Some could talk your foot off. I mean, they just knew everything. The quieter ones were the ones who didn't have a large vocabulary".

The absurdity of assuming that a child has only a hundred words or so is one of the curious stereotypes of the teaching profession. What is more distressing than this hyperbole, however, is the condescending tone ("they got along fine with what they knew") and the assumption that quiet children are quiet because they have no vocabulary.

#### Grammar

The responses of these teachers to the grammar problems of their disadvantaged students is equally naive. One third of the teachers characterized the child's greatest problem as his failure to speak in sentences and/or complete thoughts:

"I can't get them to make a sentence. Even if I have them repeat after me exactly, they don't do it. They repeat in sentences they are familiar with. They're not really sentences but fragments of sentences that are familiar to them, and they understand them. They don't realize that they aren't making a complete thought".

"Where we would use a sentence to convey a thought, they are in the habit of maybe using a phrase or just a few words to try to convey the same thought which I would presume would affect their communication to a great extent".

Although 30% of the teachers described their students' grammar as poor and/or limited, one might seriously question some teachers' understanding of what grammar means. They offered the following comments on the grammar of their students:

"The biggest problem that I've had so far is 'I'm gonna'".

"Because there is no real honest communication between parent and child, the child isn't taught to listen. He doesn't hear; he doesn't enunciate, you see".

"These children cut words off: 'could' would be 'ould', such as in 'Ould you like to do this?' Too, their 'l's' were often missing".

Even when their responses reflected a clearer distinction between phonology and grammar, the descriptor was often not accurate enough to be diagnostically useful.

"Their grammar problems are many because they use substitutions, this for that".

"They use too many personal pronouns".

As for current pedagogical technique, there is little to choose from if the teachers' responses are considered as a guide:

"I introduce the verb to children as an action word showing them what they're doing and the noun as the name of the person or place. That helps them write and speak in a complete sentence".

"When I say, 'Where can I get a pencil?', they will answer, 'Here it goes'. It is hard for them to say 'Here it is', but if I talk enough about it, they may change".

#### Pronunciation

The teachers generally had more to say about pronunciation than vocabulary or grammar. Again there were over-generalizations such as:

"I have one child who mispronounces almost every word, but they say he does not have a speech problem".

"Many times they mispronounce because they do not know the sounds".

"They do have trouble with pronunciation for they fail to use their teeth and tongue and their lips. This is necessary for getting the correct sound".

"Their trouble was the use of dialect for they said hal for how. It was southern dialect among some of the children which caused them to use the wrong words".

"Pronunciation is poor. Things like, 'I wanna go', or 'punkin' for 'pumpkin' and things like that. Their dialect is just hard to understand for most teachers. We were born and raised in the Midwest, for the most part".

It is indeed difficult to imagine anyone using language who fails to use his teeth and tongue and lips. The supposed substitution of hal for how indicates an awareness of the l problem in non-standard English but a confusion about the nature of the problem (the l is not inserted, it is deleted). The parochialism of the last quotation is unsound since it is an easy matter to cite pronunciations of wanna for want to in the speech of any prestigious American.

As for specific kinds of pronunciation problems, the teachers agreed rather clearly that disadvantaged children delete word final consonant sounds:

"They leave off last sounds, leave off beginning sounds some times. But then I have that trouble now even with the other children. I keep saying to them to put in all the letters for that's why they're there".

"Some of the children had problems with their consonants, particularly at the ends of words".

"They leave off the endings of words; instead of 'going' it's 'goin'. (Also the d's and t's give them trouble.) Even at the beginning of words you often cannot hear the beginning letter".

"I think that they're in the habit of not saying the things as clearly as we do and they say a word as 'looking' by leaving the g off".



The teachers' confusion of sounds and orthography is perhaps to be expected (for it seems widespread in the country) but it may be confusing to a first grade child to be told to add a g when the ng combination stands for a single sound.

On the other hand, these teachers came a bit closer to some of the significant problems of disadvantaged pronunciation than they did for vocabulary or grammar. 17% cited the /ŋ → n/ substitution, for example. In general, however, the analyses were too vague to be diagnostically useful. A major point, is that there is a pattern in inner-city speech -- just as there is pattern in every kind of speech. The teacher neither described the problem accurately nor understood its pattern.

One of the most important aspects of problems of language development among disadvantaged children, therefore, centers on imprecise descriptions of the problem, large scale ignorance of how to make such a description and extant folklore which passes as knowledge about a vastly neglected and underprivileged group of human beings. Having said this, it is no difficult matter to say that the current linguistic sophistication of teachers is rather limited.

#### What Do Teachers Need To Know About Language?

Extant attempts to prepare teachers adequately for the classroom of the disadvantaged student are disappointingly weak. Few undergraduate courses are offered in subjects even remotely related to the linguistic aspects of the problem. Even occasional college courses such as The Nature of Language, Introductory Linguistics, Modern Grammar, American English, etc. are seldom offered and, if offered, seldom required of teachers and, if required of teachers, seldom geared to minority language problems. Thus the anomaly exists. Although one of the most urgent situations in our schools focuses on the language problems of blacks and other minority groups, there is virtually no preparation for dealing with such problems in the college curricula.<sup>3</sup>

Part of the reason why such courses have been slow to develop is found in the suddenness and recentness of our discovery of the problem. Although English teachers have long wrestled with the problem of making acceptable speakers of English out of non-standard speakers, it is only with the recent emphasis on urban problems, black awareness and a new kind of social responsibility that we have given serious consideration to the specific problems of minority groups, the black, urban poor in particular. Then, as is often the case in education, the need for teaching materials preceded any strongly felt need for theoretical bases or empirical research upon which such materials could be based. As absurd as it may seem to produce classroom materials before establishing a theoretical base for their development, that is exactly what has happened in this field today. To complicate matters even more, some sensitive teachers, realizing that their training has not been adequate for their needs, are now asking for that training, preferably in condensed and intensive packages. As healthy as this situation may appear to be, it has only triggered still another problem -- that of finding adequately trained professionals who can provide this training. Ideally what is needed at the moment is more training of professional basic researchers in the field, more application of this basic research to pedagogy and more programs for training teacher-intermediaries to use these materials and techniques in the classrooms. Although the focus of this essay is on the latter, it is difficult to separate the training of teachers from basic research, for good teacher training cannot be separated from an understanding of the motives and results of the basic researchers.

Without apology, then, let me suggest that teachers need to know about the current research in urban language problems. It would be helpful if they knew why the research is being done, something about how it is carried out, what is known

at the moment and, every bit as important, what is not known. Further, teachers need to assess their own language in relation to that of their pupils. They need to understand language variation -- the reasons underlying it and the attitudes of various subgroups toward it. Teachers should be trained to listen to the language of their students. They should learn how systematic various dialects can be and they should develop a sensitivity to the editing processes that take place as one person listens to another. The teacher should learn enough about foreign language methodology to be able to handle material of the sort discussed by Irwin Feigenbaum (pp. 87-104) and they should learn enough about sociolinguistics to be able to understand and make use of suggestions of the sort made by William Stewart (pp. 1-19), Ralph Fasold and Walt Wolfram (pp. 41-86), and Walt Wolfram (pp. 105-119).

It should be clear from the outset, however, that the suggestions which follow are not intended to constitute a mere appendage to the already existing teacher training program. Elsewhere I have expressed the strong feeling that the traditional language arts teacher preparation program gives far too much attention to matters of administration, teaching techniques, and methods of evaluation at the expense of the study of language, the real content of their teaching.<sup>4</sup> (A recent national conference on educating the disadvantaged devoted less than 5% of its attention during the two days of meetings to the content of such education. Practically all of the papers and discussion centered on funding such programs, administering them and evaluating them.)

Although it seems ludicrous to have to say so, the preparation of language arts teachers must be overhauled to put language at the center of the program, accompanied wherever possible by courses in administration, techniques and evaluation. By far the most important tool for survival, for communicating and for obtaining knowledge and skills is

language. For children, this is an indisputable fact. It is as true for middle class children as for disadvantaged socio-economic groups. But if the circumstances under which poor children acquire this tool militate in some way against their acquiring middle class language patterns, some kind of special attention must be given them. This special attention requires of the teacher:

1. An ability to recognize and react adequately to contrastive language patterns.
2. An ability to do something about them when appropriate.
3. An ability to keep from doing something about them when appropriate.

Earlier we observed that there is no evidence to date which indicates that we are training teachers adequately to handle #1. There is relatively little in the way of materials geared to accommodate #2. There is practically no understanding of #3 among teachers or, for that matter, among textbook writers.

In short, what teachers need to know in order to fulfill their educational obligations to the ghetto child (or, in fact, to any child) is how to deal with the child's language, how to listen and respond to it, how to diagnose what is needed, how to best teach alternate linguistic systems and how to treat it as a positive and healthy entity. What follows will include a brief and speculative effort to formalize these requirements in terms of the traditional course structure of our educational system.

#### How Should They Be Taught?

Experience during the past two or three years has taught us that there is no magic package which is guaranteed to produce adequately trained teachers in short periods of time. A summer workshop or institute may be helpful if it is specific to a well defined aspect of the necessary training but it is doubtful that such a program can come close to covering the required material or that it will provide maturation time

to accommodate the new thought-set which is demanded. Several pre-service college courses may contribute significantly to the proper linguistic perspective. I will first propose what these college courses might contain, then consider ways of covering this same material in in-service training programs.

#### Suggested College Courses

1. The Nature of Language. It will be quite useful for later discussion of language variation and change, foreign language learning techniques, grammatical and phonological features, etc. if the basic linguistic tools are covered in an introductory course. In this course, special attention will be placed on language attitudes. Various tests will be administered at the beginning of the course as a measure of entry attitudes and knowledge and as a point for later discussion. These tests could be at several levels of abstraction. One, for example, might have only written stimuli of the following sort:

##### a. Language Stereotype Index

- T F 1. Language change will ultimately cause degradation in the language.
- T F 2. A speaker should avoid using dialect at all times.
- T F 3. There is no evidence to support the claim that there is a relationship between climatic heat and slowness of speech.
- T F 4. Poor black children speak a version of English which has system and regularity.
- T F 5. To improve one's social acceptability to a middle class society, working class people should focus primarily on vocabulary development.

One difficulty with abstract test questions such as the ones illustrated above is that it is difficult to determine exactly how much of the teacher's attitude is attributable to actual language attitude and how much stems from a kind of stereotyped inheritance. That is, is the teacher's attitude a real one or one that he feels should be given under these



circumstances. A teacher, for example, may not personally care about or believe in teaching children on an individual basis but when asked about useful techniques of teaching she may well utter the term, "individualized instruction." It is because of this tendency that I refer to the above type of test as a language stereotype index.

Another type of attitude measurement is considerably less abstract. The stimulus, in this case, is a tape recording of people talking. Center for Applied Linguistics researchers have used one of the audio-tapes originally prepared for the Psycholinguistic Attitude Study as an introduction to discussions about social dialect variation. Following is a typescript of one segment of this tape:

b. Tape Stimulus Index

I just look at it some time and then sometime I be busy. I just half look at it. I never hardly look at one all the way through. I never found one that was too much of a favorite. We used to go (to) the theater alot you know. Well it all blends in the same thing like that. And a guy just look at it so often well you don't care too much about it.

The listener is asked to respond to this tape recording by answering the following (or other similar) questions:

1. What is the race of this speaker?  
       Negro ( )     White ( )
2. What is the educational/occupational level of this speaker?
  - ( ) a. College graduate usually with graduate training. Dentist, mechanical engineer, personnel manager.
  - ( ) b. High School graduate, probably some college or technical school. Printer, post office clerk, small business owner or manager.
  - ( ) c. Some high school, or high school graduate. Bus driver, carpenter, telephone lineman.
  - ( ) d. Not beyond 8th grade. Dishwasher, night watchman, construction laborer.



3. Rate the speech sample on each of the following scales:

correct \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: incorrect

awkward \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: graceful

relaxed \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: tense

formal \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: informal

clear \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: \_\_\_: thick

As it turns out, this particular subject is Negro and fits category 2c. Answers to Question 3, which is more evaluative, will probably relate to the answers previously given to 1 and 2. An interesting variation of this procedure would be to ask only one question at a time, playing the same tape three times (mixed between other passages). This procedure might help reduce the potential influence of one answer or another. But, of course, the test is not to determine how accurate the listeners can be, as much as to serve as a take-off point for a following discussion. Why did the listener think the speaker was Negro? What clues led him to suspect that he was 2c? Why does he consider him relaxed? The very doing of this exercise clearly illustrates the future teachers' need to be able to develop a vocabulary for talking about language differences with accuracy and precision. It can alert the teachers to their critical need to hear phonological differences which have social consequences. It forces them to abandon their reliance on stereotypes about language and to listen on their own. Listening to the same tape at a later time will also show them something about how we severely edit what we listen to and, ultimately, hear what we want to hear.

Still another type of language attitude test focuses not on stereotyped ideas about language or tape recorded stimuli but on language concepts. Again the Psycholinguistic Attitude Study provides a clue to the sort of question which might be

asked. In this study, the following language concepts were presented: Detroit Speech, White Southern Speech, British Speech, Negro Speech and Standard Speech. These were presented, on paper, in the following manner:

1. Detroit Speech

slow	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	fast
simple	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	complex
valuable	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	worthless
bad	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	good
thick	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	clear
sloppy	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	careful
smooth	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	rough
negative	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	positive
easy	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	difficult
sharp	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	dull
dumb	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	smart
strong	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	weak

Many other situations might be studied including, School Speech, Playground Talk, Political Addresses, etc. Likewise, other polar adjectives might be used, particularly those which have evaluative functions.

Some language attitude studies, then, would provide a starting point for the introductory course in the nature of language. From these, stress should be placed on phonetics (in order to learn how to recognize and produce phonetic differences) and on the study of grammar (with a number of problems to be solved). The systematic nature of language should be emphasized throughout.

2. Language Variation. Once certain tools for discussing language have been established, it is possible to approach language variation more adequately. Since geographical variation is generally recognized by most people, it seems reasonable to use regional dialects as a beginning point. There are several books, records and tapes available for illustra-

tive purposes. Emphasis should be placed on the systematic nature of geographical differences, whether grammatical, phonological or lexical. A certain amount of data gathering in all three categories is desirable, both for practice in the subject matter mastered in The Nature of Language and practice in getting used to discovering and describing language patterns systematically.

Once geographical variation is fairly well studied, the major portion of the course should focus on social dialects. Attention should be given to problems of the relationship of attitudes to labeling (Black English, ghetto speech, disadvantaged language, non-standard Negro English, Negro dialect, Texmex, etc.) but the major focus should reflect the recent work of sociolinguists. The course should contain units on the historical origins of current non-standard grammatical and phonological features (including correlations with social stratification), frequency of occurrence and social diagnosticity. Early attention should be given the concepts of linguistic variation, the linguistic continuum and matters of style shifting. The concept of language interference must be emphasized particularly in relation to interference caused by the system of various non-standards on the system of standard. This concept may be most easily presented by observing the influence of the Spanish system on the production of English by people of Spanish speaking ancestry. Since many of these people constitute a large portion of the disadvantaged in our country anyway, the example is doubly useful. Once the notion of linguistic interference is introduced across different language systems, it may be easier to teach the notion of linguistic interference across two dialects.

3. Fieldwork in the Language of Children. This course should be primarily an experience in gathering language data and analysis of certain linguistic features. Near the beginning of the course students carefully review the details

of field techniques, especially matters relating to selection of subject, recording techniques, and methods of elicitation (see Dan Slobin, ed., A Field Manual for Cross-Cultural Study of the Acquisition of Communicative Competence, Berkeley, U. of California, 1967 and R. Shuy, W. Wolfram and W. Riley, Field Techniques in an Urban Language Study, Washington, CAL, 1968). Special attention should be given to different techniques of language data elicitation such as sentence imitation, word games, narratives, citation forms, oral reading, dialog and communicative routines for the linguistic responses may well relate to the elicitation mode.

It is difficult to determine exactly how such a course should be conducted but one thing is of utmost importance: the students should get deeply involved in recording and analyzing the language of at least one child-subject. One technique which I have found useful toward this end is to require each student to get at least an hour of tape recorded, interview style data from one disadvantaged child in a nearby community. It makes little difference what the child talks about as long as there is a great deal of his speech and as little of that of the interviewer as possible. Subjects for discussion will vary somewhat but most people can describe television programs or movies and almost everyone can tell you how to play a game of some sort. The value of such an exercise may be observed from a report of one of my students in a recent experienced teacher class called Problems in Urban Language:

I talked to Reynaldo for 40 minutes and he thought I was the dumbest white woman he had ever seen. I was trying to remember all that I had been told about interviewing and drawing out an informant. As you will see, I had to act ignorant about basketball, football, and even the name of our nation's capital! You will be interested to know that during the interview I didn't hear any errors in his speech. I was terribly disappointed. Later, as I listened to it for the third time I thought I detected a few; but it wasn't until I wrote down every single word that I realized the many interesting features in his speech.

This teacher's remarks about the outwardly simple task of listening analytically to the speech of a child are typical of most teachers who have been forced to do this sort of thing. At first, they can't imagine why they were subjected to this assignment. They are even more dismayed when they are required to typescript the entire tape recording, using standard orthography (no attempt at reflecting pronunciation).<sup>5</sup> This process is time consuming and laborious but it serves several important purposes:

1. It forces the listener to listen carefully to the tape recording. During the early analysis stages of the Detroit Dialect Study in 1966, several Detroit teachers were temporarily employed doing this sort of typescripting. After three or four days of solid listening one of them remarked to me that although she had been teaching in a Head Start school for several years, she had never really listened to these children before. Just the task of listening and typescripting, then, served a useful function.

2. It provides a reference point for further listening and for future grammatical and phonological analysis. Anyone who has worked with long tape-recordings knows the amount of time it takes just to find the place he is looking for. If there is a typescript to accompany the tape, one can mark in advance the potential spots where the phonological feature under consideration is likely to occur. In the case of grammatical features, the typescript may itself be adequate for analytical procedures.

When the field interview and typescripting are completed, students should be required to select one or more interesting grammatical and phonological features for thorough analysis, including a search of the available literature and a description which calls upon and uses what they have learned about language analysis to this time.



#### 4. Teaching Standard English to the Disadvantaged Child.

As in the preceding courses, this course should be problem oriented. Two problems of great magnitude might occupy the attention of the class near the beginning of the course. Considerable ink has been spilled in an as yet unsuccessful attempt to define the disadvantaged. However trite this may seem, it is important that students realize the quandry we are in whenever we start to discuss the topic. The second problem may come as a surprise to the students. Standard English is equally difficult to define. An early project, then, might be to require all students to try to define standard English in a page or less of text. Chances are that they will find their own papers unsatisfactory. Some will refer to dictionaries, some will argue from sociological or political grounds, some will opt for the mass media as the norm and some will say that it is what is taught in the schools. Any answer should bring forth a challenge from other students in the class.

There is a small but interesting body of literature on the nature of "standard language" which has been written in recent years by linguists (see, for example, Punya Sloka Ray, "Language Standardization" in Frank A. Rice, ed., Study of the Role of Second Languages, Washington, CAL, 1962; William Labov, "Stages in the Acquisition of Standard English" in Roger Shuy, ed., Social Dialects and Language Learning, Champaign, NCTE, 1965, and Otto Jespersen, Mankind, Nation and Individual, Bloomington, Indiana U. Press, 1946).

After this introduction, the bulk of the course will be taken up by the study of biloquialism. The other articles in this publication are of great concern for the study of this subject. Students should be introduced to foreign language teaching techniques and there should be discussion of how these techniques apply to learning standard English. Students should then be guided in an examination of extant oral language



materials for non-standard speakers (Lin 1964, Golden 1965, Hurst 1965, Feigenbaum 1970) and they should review the literature on the relationship of second dialect acquisition in the appropriate journals.

A worthwhile project in such a course would be the construction of teaching materials which deal with features the students analyzed in their earlier fieldwork experiences. It should be clear, however, that the students are not expected to produce materials which are equivalent to that of professional materials developers any more than they are expected to produce sonnets of literary quality in a Shakespeare course. The aim of producing materials is primarily to understand something about how they are constructed -- and why.

A second potential large area of application of social dialect information is to dialect interference in reading. To this point, relatively little has been written on the subject and much of it has been collected in J. Baratz and R. Shuy, eds., Teaching Black Children to Read, Washington, CAL, 1969. Teachers should be encouraged to consider problems of dialect interference through phonology, grammar and orthography and they should examine current beginning reading materials to determine how well they adjust to the linguistic features discussed in earlier courses.

With the introduction of these four courses into the pre-service training program we will be considerably closer to training teachers adequately to meet the language problem of poor, minority group children. It is important, however, that these courses be considered central and not optional or peripheral. The subject matter and skills involved in well taught courses of this sort is, without doubt, among the most important training our future teachers will receive. And this is only, at best, minimal. If students can take additional courses from the available offerings in linguistics it will certainly be to their advantage.

Our first aim is to put the training system in perspective so that teachers who teach language arts courses will be trained in language. But it is foolish to think that we can ignore in-service training entirely. Just as education can not afford to choose between compensatory education and educational overhaul, so teacher training can not really make a choice between pre-service and in-service programs.

#### Suggested In-Service Programs

Obviously, the most useful way to provide the insights and skills necessary for the intelligent handling of language problems of the ghetto child is for currently employed teachers to study the same subjects that the future teachers are given. The usual compromise is to build some kind of summer workshop or institute which condenses and selects from among the ingredients of these courses and pretends that the same ground has been covered. Another package would be to present all four courses during an eight or ten week summer session. Although either of the above approaches is better than most current situations, neither allows for that important ingredient, maturation time. Just as it is absolutely necessary that the four courses described earlier be taken one at a time, so it is imperative that in-service training allow for the acquisition and digestion of each segment before the next one is attempted. At least, I would suggest no less than a two-summer full-time institute. During the first summer, teachers could study both the Nature of Language and Language Variation. During the second summer they could take Field-work in the Language of Children and Teaching Standard English. But better would be a year long part-time program in which the courses are taken one at a time. Better still would be a year of released time for teachers to take a battery of courses in linguistics, teaching English to speakers of other languages, and urban anthropology. If such were possible, it would be wise to expand their course work in the Nature of Language in

order to increase linguistic knowledge and skills. If possible it would also be useful to prepare these teachers as specialists in English as a second language, especially for Spanish speakers.

Once the subject matter for such a program is resolved, an equally important question remains: what agents should carry out the overhaul required in teacher training if we are to accomplish the ends set out in the preceding pages? As a linguist, I would like to think that linguistics departments would be concerned enough to cooperate with teacher training programs, even at the expense of becoming involved with mere applied linguistics. Like it or not, linguists have the training which is closest to the needs of the moment and it seems reasonable that an adequate supply of linguists could be found to handle these courses at selected major teacher training institutions. The training of linguists has reached a stage at which it will become increasingly difficult to find enough teaching jobs in linguistics departments to handle the number of recent graduates. Thus, the necessary training in sociolinguistics which has been outlined here can provide not only an answer to teacher education but also to the impending glut on the job market in linguistics. The danger, if linguists handle the courses noted above, is that they will want to wander off into their specialties and create another educational elite.

The field of linguistics has been relatively late in coming to grips with contemporary social issues. The matter of teacher training as outlined in this paper is the closest such opportunity the discipline may ever have. It would be tragic for linguists to pass it by.

## NOTES

1. The production of this paper was supported largely by funds from The United States Office of Education, Bureau of Research, Project No. 9-0357.
2. This research is reported fully in Anne E. Hughes, "An Investigation of Some Sociolinguistic Phenomena in the Vocabulary, Pronunciation and Grammar of Detroit Pre-School Children, their Parents and Teachers," Unpublished Ed.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967.
3. This is not to say that such courses do not exist. At the time of this writing, several rather comprehensive courses of this type are being taught at various American universities including UCLA, Columbia Teachers College, Georgetown University, Trinity College (D.C.), and North-eastern Illinois.
4. See Shuy, "Language Variation and Literacy," in a forthcoming IRA publication. See also Joan C. Baratz, in this volume, pp. 20-40.
5. For an example of a typescript of this sort, see R. Shuy, W. Wolfram and W. Riley, Field Techniques In An Urban Language Study, pp. 67-114.

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