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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the development of the ability to recognize standard and nonstandard speech in monolingual English-speaking as well as in bilingual Mexican-American children. The tests used consisted of sentences which were either completely standard English or which contained phonological, morphological, or syntactical elements illustrating nonstandard speech influenced by Spanish. Only test items which were validated by at least 80% agreement in a group of 44 monolingual English-speaking students at the 12th-and 13th-grade levels were included in the tests. Subjects were asked to indicate whether they thought the utterances heard were completely standard (speech appropriate to formal school situations), or whether they contained nonstandard features. Based on the test results, the suggestion is made that bilingual Spanish-speaking children who come from environments in which they are continuously exposed to nonstandard English influenced by Spanish should be offered special training consisting of the overt contrasting of standard and nonstandard grammar. (Included in this report are tables of the test items and scores and a reference listing.) (Author/AMM)

STANFORD CENTER
FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
IN TEACHING

Research and Development Memorandum No. 72

DEVELOPMENTAL ASPECTS OF THE AWARENESS OF THE STANDARD/NONSTANDARD DIALECT CONTRAST

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Introductory Statement

The Center is concerned with the shortcomings of teaching in American schools: the ineffectiveness of many American teachers in promoting achievement of higher cognitive objectives, in engaging their students in the tasks of school learning, and, especially, in serving the needs of students from low-income areas. Of equal concern is the inadequacy of American schools as environments fostering the teachers' own motivations, skills, and professionalism.

The Center employs the resources of the behavioral sciences--theoretical and methodological--in seeking and applying knowledge basic to achievement of its objectives. Analysis of the Center's problem area has resulted in three programs: Heuristic Teaching, Teaching Students from Low-Income Areas, and the Environment for Teaching. Drawing primarily upon psychology and sociology, and also upon economics, political science, and anthropology, the Center has formulated integrated programs of research, development, demonstration, and dissemination in these three areas. In the Heuristic Teaching area, the strategy is to develop a model teacher training system integrating components that dependably enhance teaching skill. In the program on Teaching Students from Low-Income Areas, the strategy is to develop materials and procedures for engaging and motivating such students and their teachers. In the program on Environment for Teaching, the strategy is to develop patterns of school organization and teacher evaluation that will help teachers function more professionally, at higher levels of morale and commitment.

Research and Development Memorandum No. 72, which follows, reports a study of the development of the ability to recognize standard and nonstandard speech in monolingual English-speaking and in bilingual Mexican-American children. The study was carried out by the project on teaching standard English as a second dialect, a part of the program on Teaching Students from Low-Income Areas.

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate the development of the ability to recognize standard and nonstandard speech in monolingual English-speaking as well as in bilingual Mexican-American children. The tests used for this purpose consisted of sentences which were either completely standard English or which contained phonological, morphological, or syntactical elements illustrating nonstandard speech influenced by Spanish. Only test items which were validated by at least 80% agreement in a group of 44 monolingual English-speaking students at the twelfth and thirteenth grade levels were included in the tests. Subjects were asked to indicate whether they thought that the utterances heard were completely standard or whether they contained nonstandard features. Standard was defined for the subjects as speech appropriate to formal school situations.

Subjects used in the tests numbered 231 children at first, third, fifth, and seventh grades (137 boys, 94 girls; 85 Mexican-American, 146 monolingual English). The test used was divided into six different subtests: Ia, IIa, IIIa--Recognition of Standard (Phonology, Morphology, Syntax); Ib, IIb, IIIb--Recognition of Nonstandard (Phonology, Morphology, Syntax). Analysis of variance indicated that in four of the six subtests (Ia, IIIa, IIb, and IIIb) differences in grade level were significant and that achievement increased with maturation. Interaction between language background and grade was significant in Test IIb with the monolingual English speakers surpassing the bilinguals in the seventh grade. In Test IIIa girls outperformed boys. Differences between language backgrounds were clearly significant in Test Ia and IIb. Monolingual English speakers performed better than the bilinguals on Test IIb with the situation being reversed in Test Ia. The better performance of the bilinguals in the latter test (Recognition of Standard Phonology) seems associated with their greater readiness to accept slight deviations from standard English pronunciation as standard. The tests also revealed an overall pattern of increase in performance in recognition of standard and nonstandard grammar on the part of monolingual English speakers in the interval from grade five to seven, while performance of bilingual Spanish speakers seems to level off at the same point. The suggestion is made that bilingual

Spanish-speaking children who come from environments in which they are continuously exposed to nonstandard English influenced by Spanish should be offered special training consisting of the overt contrasting of standard and nonstandard grammar.

DEVELOPMENTAL ASPECTS OF THE AWARENESS OF THE STANDARD/NONSTANDARD DIALECT CONTRAST

Robert L. Politzer
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What makes any form of speech nonstandard is primarily the fact that it is recognized as such by a certain linguistic and social group. The questions to which this memorandum addresses itself are the following:

1. At what age level does the ability to recognize linguistic forms as either standard or nonstandard develop?

2. In what way do children raised in nonstandard-speaking environments differ from standard-speaking children in acquiring this ability?

The answers to these questions have various obvious educational implications. As far as the standard-speaking child is concerned, his ability to recognize the standard/nonstandard difference is, of course, synonymous with his awareness that the nonstandard speaker is linguistically marked and different. To find out exactly when and how this awareness develops is important for an understanding of the socialization processes and interactions taking place in and outside school between standard and nonstandard speakers. For the child reared in a nonstandard-speaking environment, it seems important to develop an awareness of the standard/nonstandard distinction because it seems reasonable to assume that this awareness is necessary for the acquisition of standard speech. To find out at what age level and to what degree their awareness develops is basic information necessary for the development of programs in the instruction of the standard dialect.

Construction of the Testing Instrument

In this particular study, awareness of the standard/nonstandard distinction was defined as the ability to recognize utterances spoken in standard English as "standard," and utterances containing linguistic features typical of "Mexican-American" English and/or Spanish interference in English as "nonstandard." The test used in the study was divided into

three main parts: phonology, morphology, and syntax, each consisting of paired standard and nonstandard items. The test was divided in the final analysis into six different subtests: Ia, IIa, IIIa--Recognition of Standard (Phonology, Morphology, Syntax), and Ib, IIb, IIIb--Recognition of Nonstandard (Phonology, Morphology, Syntax). The nonstandard items included in the test were based on the compilations of nonstandard phonological, morphological, and syntactical features undertaken by Politzer and Bartley (1969a, 1969b) and on materials reported by Lance (1969) and Gonzalez (1969).

The original item pool to be used for the test was obtained in the following way. For Tests Ia and Ib, ten phonological variables were examined. For each variable there were two sentences. One of the sentences was pronounced in standard English. In the other sentence, the sound feature being examined was pronounced as a native speaker of Spanish speaking English with a Spanish accent might pronounce it. The order of presentation was random. In addition, the original item pool of the phonology section of the test also contained three sentences which were pronounced in their entirety with a heavy Spanish-type accent.

In Tests IIa and IIb (Morphology) and Tests IIIa and IIIb (Syntax), the same scheme of paired sentences was used to arrive at an original item pool. In these parts of the test, the features examined were grammatical. The separation of the test into phonology, morphology, and syntax does not imply that it is possible in all cases to ascribe a specific feature (e.g., the fall of -d in the past tense) to either phonological, morphological, or syntactical causes. Nevertheless, it was thought useful to attempt to separate phonological problems from grammatical (morphological and syntactical) ones. Most of the nonstandard features included in Tests IIb and IIIb of the test may be traced to interference from Spanish. However, the item pool also included some features which are characteristic of nonstandard speech regardless of native-language background.

All test items were recorded in the sound laboratory of the Speech and Hearing Clinic at the Stanford University Medical Center. All test

items used were first-generation copies of the same master tape. (Numerals preceding the items used in the test were dubbed in later in both English and Spanish.) All the test items were spoken by the same speaker, a bilingual Mexican-American who is a graduate student in the Spanish Department at Stanford, who has lived most of his life in the Mexican-American community, and who has complete control of both standard English and Mexican Spanish.

The tests that presented the original item pool for both standard and nonstandard items are described in Tables 1, 2, and 3. Test items containing nonstandard features are marked *. In Test I (Phonology) those features which are pronounced in nonstandard English have been spelled out phonetically and enclosed in brackets. In Tests II (Morphology) and III (Syntax), the particular features for which the items were chosen are underlined. The number in parentheses after each nonstandard item refers to the sentence illustrating the corresponding standard item in the original item pool. The original test was then administered to a group of 21 senior high school and 20 first-year junior college students--all monolingual speakers of English without any Mexican or Spanish language background and all residents of the same county in which the entire investigation was to be conducted. The percentage figure after the number of each test item indicates the agreement of the 41 senior high school and junior college students as to whether an item represented standard or nonstandard speech. Only items on which there was at least 80% agreement, in other words, items in which at least 80% of the senior high school and junior college students made the anticipated judgment, were kept and included in the final testing instrument of the study.

The fact that several items had to be dropped because the high school seniors and college freshmen did not reach the stipulated 80% level of agreement is in itself worthy of note and of linguistic interest. As will be noted from the tables, the items that did not elicit the anticipated near-unanimous judgment were the following:

Test I: Nonstandard items

1. Evidently the pronunciation [gwaš] for wash was not noticed by

TABLE 1[a]

Item Pool for Tests Ia and Ib: Phonology

*1.	(60%)	Please [gwaš] your hands. (12)
2.	(93%)	Put your shoes on.
3.	(93%)	I have some very nice friends.
*4.	(87%)	Will you [sit] down? (10)
5.	(95%)	That lady is very strange.
*6.	(90%)	The banana is [ǰɛlo]. (18)
*7.	(70%)	Two of the [rosɨz] are white. (20)
*8.	(90%)	I like [dæt] one. (15)
9.	(83%)	Sometime I'll visit you.
10.	(88%)	There are twelve sheep in the barn.
*11.	(95%)	I will learn [ɛspæniš] this year. (5)
12.	(92%)	I want to go now.
*13.	(28%)	I'll see you [səntaɪɴ] soon. (9)
*14.	(93%)	I drink some [bɛri] cold milk. (3)
15.	(63%)	Please don't eat those.
*16.	(90%)	Do you know his [ki_brəðər]? (19)
*17.	(88%)	My [čərt] is red. (2)
18.	(75%)	I came yesterday.
19.	(90%)	Hand me the red bag.
20.	(90%)	The music is sad.
*21.	(96%)	[gif+xin+di+čugar+bɔl] (Give him the sugar bowl.)
*22.	(60%)	[tɛl+mi+xwat+ču+gwan+mi+tu+du+wɪf+it] (Tell me what you want me to do with it.)
*23.	(32%)	[xi+xas+no+risən+fɔr+liβin+gas] (He has no reason for leaving us.)

[a]Starred items contain nonstandard features. Numbers in parentheses after nonstandard items refer to the corresponding standard item. The last three items were pronounced in their entirety with a heavy Spanish accent.

TABLE 2[a]

Item Pool for Tests IIa and IIb: Morphology

*1.	(55%)	Yesterday I play__ baseball. (10)
*2.	(83%)	Do you know George__ girlfriend? (17)
3.	(98%)	She goes to school on Tuesdays, not Saturdays.
*4.	(83%)	The girl is more smart than Paul. (11)
5.	(95%)	He is thirsty.
*6.	(97%)	He has took the medicine already. (9)
*7.	(75%)	The boys are washing they car. (19)
8.	(100%)	The rest of the children aren't here yet.
9.	(95%)	He has taken the book back to the library.
10.	(96%)	Last year he worked every day.
11.	(90%)	Mary is prettier than Linda.
*12.	(88%)	She's so dumb she doesn't even know his own address. (15)
*13.	(98%)	The rest of the candy are in the jar. (8)
14.	(76%)	They're combing their hair.
15.	(100%)	My brother makes his own lunch.
*16.	(80%)	My sisters are brushing the teeth. (14)
17.	(98%)	Did you see Michael's car?
*18.	(100%)	The puppy has hungry. (5)
19.	(95%)	The children are brushing their dog.
*20.	(95%)	He go to church on Sundays. (3)

[a]Starred items contain nonstandard features. Numbers in parentheses after nonstandard items refer to the corresponding standard item.

TABLE 3[a]

Item Pool for Tests IIIa and IIIb: Syntax

1. (98%) Q. What's he doing? A. He's eating a sandwich.

2. (93%) Q. Where's the picture in the magazine? A. John cut it out.

3. (93%) He doesn't know where I live.

*4. (55%) She sings very pretty. (17)

*5. (98%) Q. Why do people polish their shoes? A. To don't get them dirty. (20)

*6. (100%) Mike can't come to my house no more. (16)

7. (93%) I don't like Sam. Q. Why don't you like him?

8. (80%) Q. Why is Ann washing her dog? A. Because it's dirty.

9. (75%) When I get to Omaha I will telephone you.

*10. (98%) There's too much leaves in the yard. (28)

11. (90%) He's putting his shoes on.

*12. (100%) Q. Why are your hands so clean? A. Because they're not get dirty. (29)

*13. (90%) He asked to Charles a question. (21)

14. (100%) My mother wants me to go.

*15. (100%) Q. Why do you wear boots in the rain? A. Because if no, I catch cold. (27)

16. (93%) She can't play after school anymore.

17. (98%) The girl danced beautifully.

*18. (100%) Q. What's he doing? A. He's hammer the nail. (1)

*19. (100%) I don't know. Q. Why you don't know? (7)

20. (90%) Q. Why do people carry umbrellas? A. So they won't get wet.

21. (95%) He gave me a candy bar.

TABLE 3 (continued)

*22. (100%) My teacher doesn't know where do I study. (3)

*23. (95%) She making the sandwiches now. (11)

*24. (30%) Q. Why is he carrying the kitten? A. Because is not feeling well. (8)

*25. (98%) Q. Where's my homework? A. Linda threw out it. (2)

*26. (100%) The teacher wants that I read this. (14)

27. (98%) Q. Why do you walk so fast? A. Because if I don't I'll be late.

28. (93%) There's too much pepper in the soup.

29. (63%) Q. Why are your sneakers so dirty? A. Because they don't get washed.

*30. (93%) When I will get to Abilene, I will send you a postcard. (9)

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[a]Starred items contain nonstandard features. Numbers in parentheses after nonstandard items refer to the corresponding standard item.

quite a few subjects.

7. The unvoiced /s/ in [rosɪz] was not detected by or reacted to by 30% of the subjects.

13. The pronunciation of n for m in some was not noticed by the overwhelming majority!

22, 23. It is interesting that after overwhelmingly rejecting the nonstandard item 21, 40% of the subjects accepted item 22 as standard and 68% accepted item 23. Obviously, the subjects must have noticed the clearly hispanized pronunciation of items 22 and 23 as well as that of 21. Why the puzzling result? One explanation seems to be that the subjects must have thought that their broadmindedness or lack of prejudice was being tested!

Standard items

15, 18. The rejection of these and other standard items (in other parts of the test) by a surprisingly large number of subjects may

possibly be associated with two factors: (a) While the speaker did pronounce the items in standard English, his general manner of speech, his intonation may have contained just enough of a hint of Mexican-American speech to introduce doubts in the minds of some subjects as to the standard nature and acceptability of the items. (b) The mere fact that both standard and nonstandard items were spoken by the same speaker contributed to a certain amount of confusion. Could it be that once having identified the speaker as Mexican-American, some subjects thought they were hearing mispronunciations which in fact they did not? Wallace Lambert and some of his collaborators (e.g., Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, Fillenbaum, 1960; Lambert, Frankel, Tucker, 1966) have demonstrated in various studies that speech samples can be used to detect the ethnic and/or national stereotype views held by individuals. It seems reasonable to assume that once a speaker has become associated with the stereotype, the perception of his speech may, in turn, be influenced by the stereotype view and the expectations held by the listener. At any rate, it seems that in the construction of tests of perception of standard and nonstandard differences it would be advisable not to use the same speaker for both standard and nonstandard items, but rather different individuals for each item of the test.

Test II: Nonstandard items

1. Fall of -d in play was not noticed by 45% of the subjects!
7. Fall of -r in their was not noticed by 25% of the subjects!

Standard items

14. Why this item was considered as nonstandard by 24% of the subjects is difficult to understand. Perhaps the pronunciation of the final -r in their was nonregional. (See also comments on items 15 and 18 of Test I.)

Test III: Nonstandard items

4. Evidently the use of the adjective pretty as an adverb in She sings pretty seemed acceptable to almost half of the subjects.

24. The dropping of the subject pronoun in because is not feeling well went unnoticed by 70% of the subjects. (Subjects "hear" expected surface realizations even if they are absent!)

Standard items

9, 29. Both items contain the word get. Could it be that the mere use of get made the subjects suspicious that the items may be nonstandard?

The pretesting with the high school senior-junior college group resulted, therefore, in the dropping of 14 items (seven phonological, three morphological, four syntactical) from the original pool of 73 items. It reduced the phonology test to 16 items, the morphology test to 17, and the syntax test to 26. Since each of the three subtests contained two different tasks (acceptance of standard, recognition of nonstandard), it was also decided to measure these tasks separately. The final instrument used in the study was thus analyzed as consisting of six subtests.

Test Ia: Recognition of Nonstandard (Phonology)
Test Ib: Recognition of Standard (Phonology)
Test IIa: Recognition of Nonstandard (Morphology)
Test IIb: Recognition of Standard (Morphology)
Test IIIa: Recognition of Nonstandard (Syntax)
Test IIIb: Recognition of Standard (Syntax)

Administration of Tests

The testing instrument was administered to 231 children (137 boys, 94 girls) in the first, third, fifth, and seventh grades. The first, third, and fifth grades attended a public elementary school in the Bay Area of California. The seventh graders attended a public junior high school in the same community. Subjects from Mexican-American, Spanish-speaking, or predominantly Spanish-speaking home environments, numbered 85. With very few exceptions, all the Mexican-American children tested were born in the United States. However, many of their parents had been born in Mexico. The Mexican-American community of the school district in which the study was conducted receives steady and continued influx of Spanish speakers from Mexico.

The subjects were tested in groups of 8 to 36, the lower grades tested in the smaller groups. Two native speakers of English administered the test to the English-speaking children. The children from Spanish-speaking environments were tested separately because test instructions were given to them in Spanish as well as in English. The test was administered to them by the same bilingual speaker who had also recorded the test items. Subjects were asked to decide whether an utterance was completely standard or whether it contained nonstandard speech. Standard was defined to the children as the kind of speech that one might use to teachers in an English class, when talking to the principal, or the kind of speech that a teacher or the principal would use. Nonstandard was defined as the kind of speech that one might hear on the playground or that we might use within a Mexican-American family but that one would not use in an English class in school or when talking to the principal. Subjects were also informed that Tests Ia and Ib dealt only with pronunciation, while in Tests IIa and IIb, and IIIa and IIIb they were to judge the grammatical aspect of the utterances.

After hearing each utterance, the subject had six seconds in which to decide whether or not the utterance was entirely standard English. Because of the length of the test and the physical arrangement of available space, first graders were given only Tests IIIa and b of the entire test battery.

Results and Discussion

Test results with analyses of variance by grade, sex, and language and combinations of these are presented in tables in the text. Tables presenting difficulty of items may be found in the appendix.

Recognition of the Standard English Items

The results of Test Ia (Recognition of Standard, Phonology), Test IIa (Recognition of Standard, Morphology), and Test IIIa (Recognition of Standard, Syntax) are summarized in Tables 4, 5, and 6. The results of Test Ia seem, at first, rather puzzling. In addition to showing an increase in score from grade to grade, the test also indicates that the children from Spanish-speaking homes perform better than the monolingual English speakers

TABLE 4

Test Ia: Phonology, Recognition of Standard (Maximum Score = 8)

		Third grade			Fifth grade			Seventh grade		
		N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Spanish	M	10	3.96	1.91	10	4.90	1.37	33	5.33	1.73
	F	9	4.22	1.86	3	5.00	0.00	11	5.55	0.93
English	M	18	3.22	1.52	19	3.84	2.06	38	4.59	1.79
	F	11	3.54	1.87	13	4.15	1.35	38	4.58	1.22

Analysis of Variance

Source of variance	Sum of squares	D.F.	Mean square	F
Grade	42.07	2	21.03	8.01**
Sex	2.61	1	2.61	0.99
Language	26.65	1	26.65	10.15**
Grade x Sex	0.07	2	0.04	0.01
Grade x Language	1.17	2	0.58	0.22
Sex x Language	0.16	1	0.16	0.06
Grade x Sex x Language	0.09	2	0.04	0.02
Error	527.79	201	2.63	

** $p < .01$

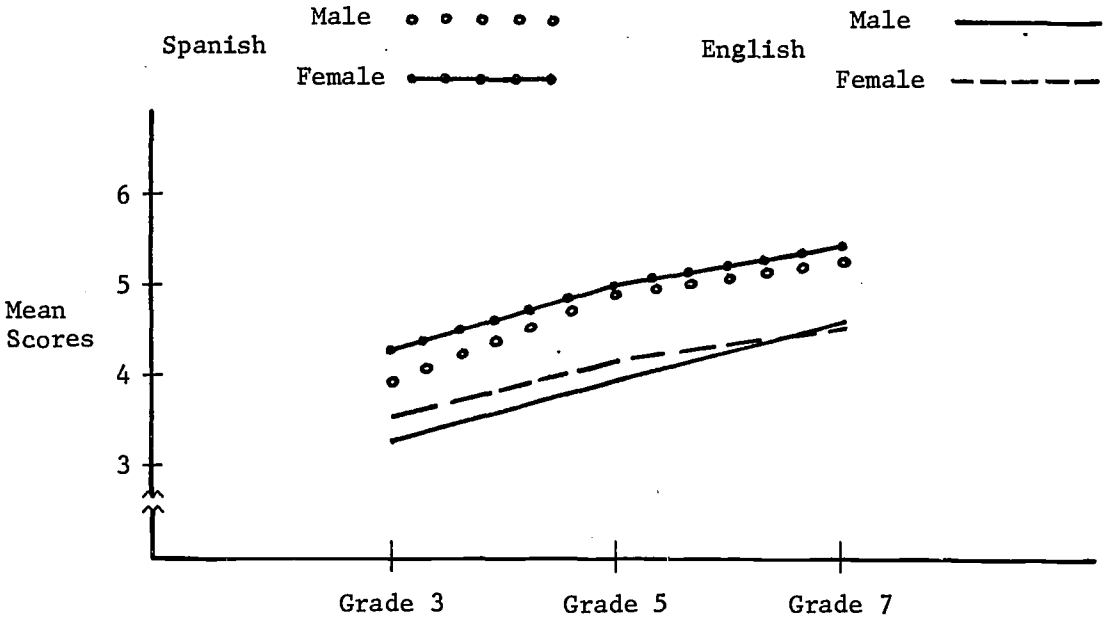


TABLE 5

Test IIa: Morphology, Recognition of Standard (Maximum Score = 9)

		Third grade			Fifth grade			Seventh grade		
		N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Spanish	M	10	6.70	2.00	10	5.30	2.16	33	6.06	2.05
	F	9	6.44	1.13	3	8.00	0.00	11	6.18	1.66
English	M	18	5.34	2.90	14	5.84	2.50	38	6.87	2.11
	F	11	5.27	2.42	13	6.15	1.86	38	7.50	1.74

Analysis of Variance

Source of variance	Sum of squares	D.F.	Mean square	F
Grade	15.04	2	7.52	1.71
Sex	10.52	1	10.52	2.39
Language	2.52	1	2.52	0.57
Grade x Sex	12.53	2	6.26	1.42
Grade x Language	45.41	2	22.70	5.16**
Sex x Language	2.76	1	2.76	0.61
Grade x Sex x Language	11.60	2	5.80	1.32
Error	884.46	201	4.40	

** $p < .01$

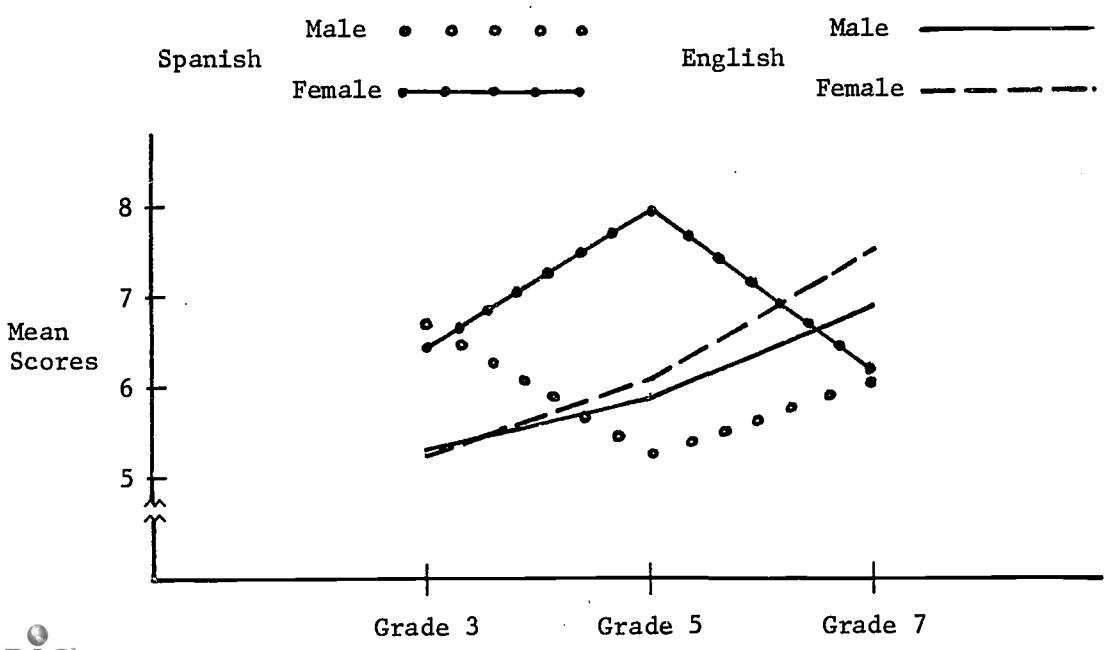


TABLE 6

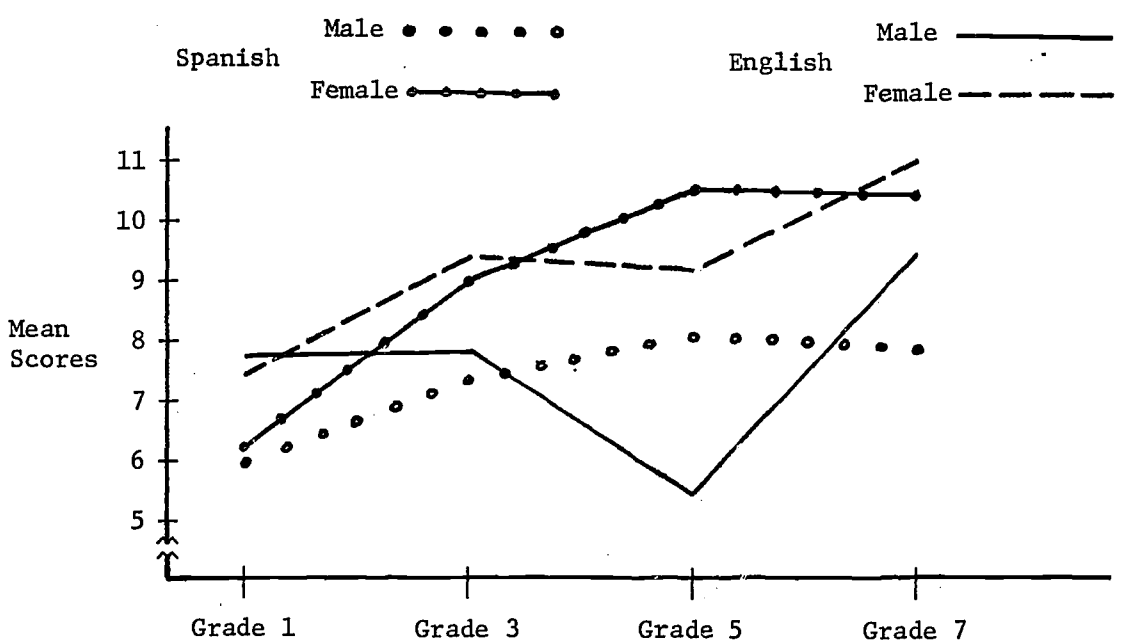
Test IIIa: Syntax, Recognition of Standard (Maximum Score = 13)

		First grade			Third grade			Fifth grade			Seventh grade		
		N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Spanish	M	5	6.00	1.00	10	7.40	2.27	10	8.10	2.89	33	7.94	3.34
	F	4	6.25	0.96	9	9.00	2.60	3	10.67	0.58	11	10.55	1.57
English	M	4	7.75	1.71	18	7.83	4.17	19	5.48	4.21	3[illegible]	9.53	3.06
	F	5	7.40	1.14	11	9.46	3.59	13	9.31	1.55	38	11.00	2.56

Analysis of Variance

Source of variance	Sum of squares	D.F.	Mean square	F
Grade	159.15	3	53.05	5.88**
Sex	92.77	1	92.77	10.28**
Language	1.71	1	1.71	0.19
Grade x Sex	30.30	3	10.10	1.12
Grade x Language	54.34	3	18.11	2.01
Sex x Language	0.91	1	0.10	0.01
Grade x Sex x Language	8.56	3	2.85	0.32
Error	1939.48	215	9.02	

** $p < .01$



at all grade levels. This is another way of saying that the latter, in fact, rejected more standard items as nonstandard than did the Spanish speakers. A glance at the relative item difficulty for Spanish and English speakers (see Appendix, Table 10) shows that the lower performance of the English speakers is primarily due to the fact that a relatively large number of them rejected two test items (2. Put your shoes on; 5. That lady is very strange). Why? There seem to be at least two causes that may have worked in conjunction with each other. First, the standard English test item contained a very slight intonation vaguely indicative of a Spanish accent. The English-speaking children were less tolerant of that intonation than were their bilingual Spanish-speaking peers (and than the older English speakers at the twelfth and thirteenth grade level!). Second, the monolingual English-speaking children reacted to a greater degree than the Spanish speakers to the fact that the standard items were spoken by the same speaker who also produced the nonstandard. The higher score of the Mexican-Americans on the recognition of standard phonology is thus not as surprising as it seems at first. Probably, this is simply a reflection of their greater readiness to give a member of their own group credit for being able to pronounce standard English.

The analysis of variance accompanying Table 5 indicated the Grade x Language interaction as the only significant source of variance. In the third grade, the Spanish speakers are superior to the monolingual English group in recognizing standard forms. By the seventh grade, the interaction is reversed. The examination of item difficulty by Grade (Appendix, Table 11) shows how the scores of Spanish speakers deteriorate in seventh grade, e.g., item 5 (He is thirsty) is recognized as standard English by 42% of the Spanish-speaking first graders but by only 27% of the seventh graders. On item 19 (The children are brushing their dog) the performance of Spanish speakers decreases from 74% in first grade to 32% in seventh grade.

However, the results of Test IIIa (Table 6) do not show the same pattern as those of Test IIa. On Test IIIa, girls do better than boys in the recognition of standard grammar. In addition, there is also a general pattern of increase in performance with increase in age. However,

English speakers slightly decline in performance between grades three and five, while Spanish speakers' performance increases during the same interval. In the progression from grade five to seven the situation is reversed: the Spanish speakers' performance decreases very slightly; test scores of the English speakers, especially those of English-speaking males, increase quite rapidly. The results of both Tests IIa and IIIa agree, thus, in one respect: in the interval from grade five to seven the scores of the monolingual English speakers improve (in other words, move closer in the direction of the judgments made by the monolingual twelfth and thirteenth graders). The scores of the Mexican-Americans do not show this overall pattern of improvement in the same interval.

Recognition of Nonstandard Items

Somewhat surprisingly, no clearcut pattern of differentiation between Spanish and monolingual English subjects emerges from the test of recognition of nonstandard pronunciation (Test Ib; Table 7). None of the sources of variance reaches significance (F value of 3.89 would be required for significance level of $p < .05$). Nor does any pattern emerge from the examination of the difficulty of individual test items. Spanish speakers, as a group, do better than monolingual English speakers in recognizing item 4 (sit pronounced as [sit]) and item 17 (shirt pronounced as [čərt]) as nonstandard. English speakers do outperform the Spanish bilinguals in recognizing the nonstandard pronunciation of items 6 (yellow as [ǰɛlo]) and 14 (very as [bɛri]). In the case of item 17 ([čərt] for shirt), it is particularly surprising that so few subjects reacted to the substitution of [č] for [š]. Only 12% of the English seventh graders spotted this pronunciation as nonstandard, as opposed to the 88% of the twelfth and thirteenth graders who had been used to validate the item. A possible explanation of this puzzling difference between the seventh and twelfth-thirteenth-grade English speakers may be that the substitution of /č/ for /š/ is, perhaps more than any other phonological variable included in Test Ib, associated with the popular stereotype of the Spanish mispronunciation of English. That twelfth and thirteenth graders perceived it so well while seventh graders (as well as fifth and third graders) perceived it so badly may thus simply reflect the older group's sharper awareness of the stereotype and greater "readiness" to perceive the pronunciation associated with it.

TABLE 7

Test Ib: Phonology, Recognition of Nonstandard (Maximum Score = 8)

		Third grade			Fifth grade			Seventh grade		
		N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Spanish	M	10	4.40	2.32	10	5.60	1.27	33	5.85	1.81
	F	9	6.22	0.97	3	5.33	0.58	11	5.64	1.69
English	M	18	4.78	1.93	19	5.58	2.19	38	5.47	1.86
	F	11	4.91	1.45	13	4.54	1.90	38	6.11	1.37

Analysis of Variance

Source of variance	Sum of squares	D.F.	Mean square	F
Grade	16.10	2	8.05	2.63
Sex	1.04	1	1.04	0.34
Language	2.51	1	2.51	0.82
Grade x Sex	11.73	2	5.87	1.92
Grade x Language	2.48	2	1.24	0.41
Sex x Language	2.40	1	2.40	0.79
Grade x Sex x Language	13.00	2	6.50	2.13
Error	614.75	201	3.06	

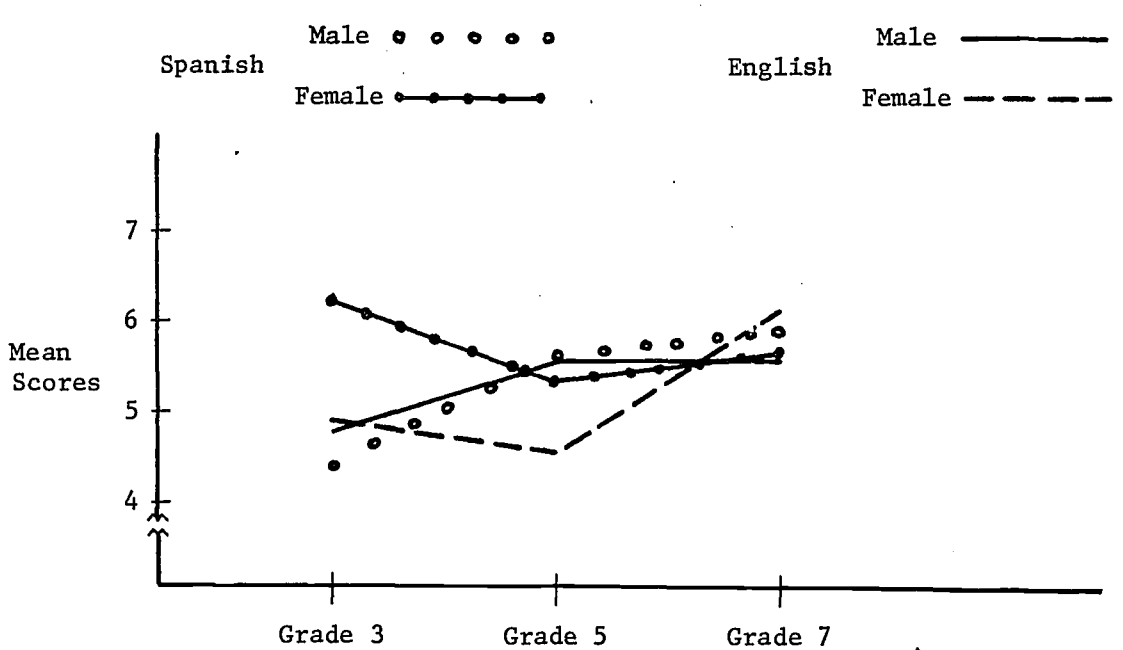


TABLE 8

Test IIb: Morphology, Recognition of Nonstandard (Maximum Score = 8)

		Third grade			Fifth grade			Seventh grade		
		N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Spanish	M	10	5.10	1.37	10	5.20	1.87	35	5.55	2.06
	F	9	4.22	0.67	3	4.67	1.15	11	4.63	1.80
English	M	18	4.94	2.49	19	5.69	1.95	38	6.53	1.87
	F	11	5.46	2.47	13	5.69	1.32	38	7.10	1.52

Analysis of Variance

Source of variance	Sum of squares	D.F.	Mean square	F
Grade	33.74	2	16.87	4.89**
Sex	1.37	1	1.37	0.40
Language	33.30	1	33.30	9.66**
Grade x Sex	0.05	2	0.03	0.01
Grade x Language	12.59	2	6.30	1.82
Sex x Language	10.67	1	10.67	3.09
Grade x Sex x Language	1.25	2	0.62	0.18
Error	693.05	201	3.45	

** $p < .01$

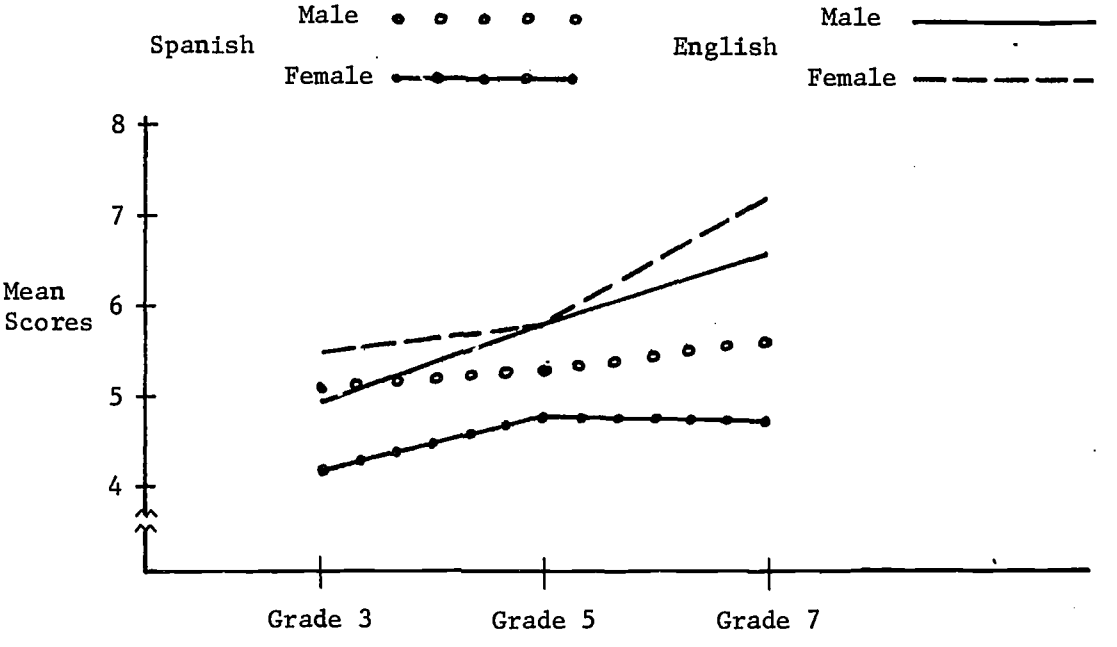


TABLE 9

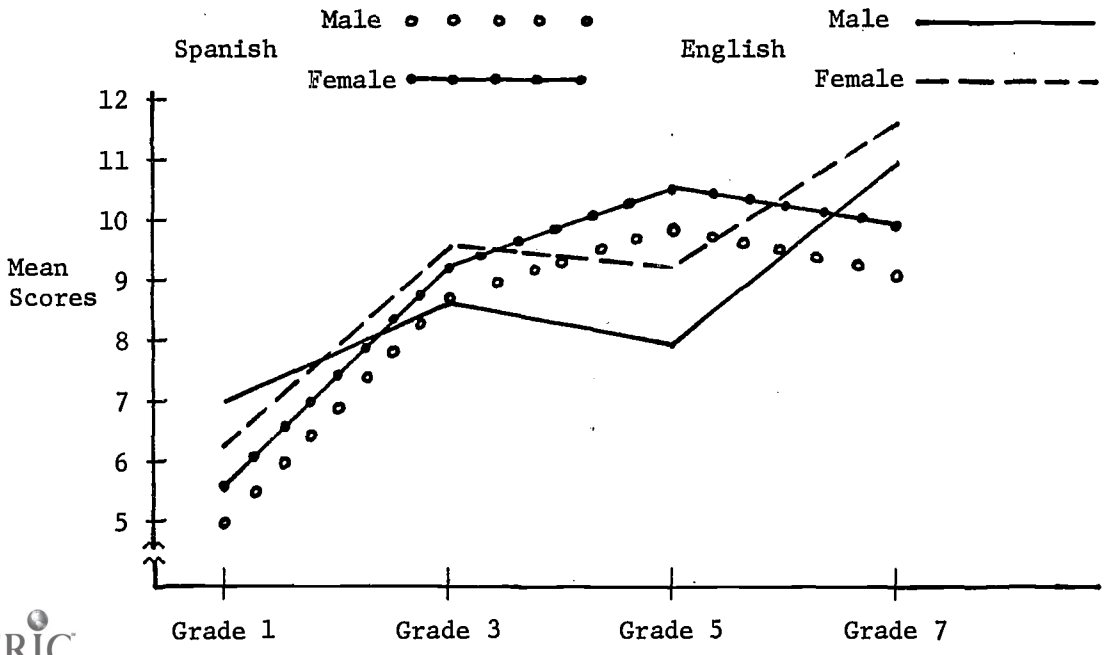
Test IIIb: Syntax, Recognition of Nonstandard (Maximum Score = 13)

		First grade			Third grade			Fifth grade			Seventh grade		
		N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Spanish	M	5	5.00	1.23	10	8.60	2.01	10	9.90	1.45	33	9.12	3.44
	F	4	5.50	2.08	9	9.22	1.20	3	10.67	0.58	11	9.91	1.22
English	M	4	7.00	0.82	18	8.56	4.20	19	8.05	5.19	38	11.03	2.95
	F	5	6.20	0.45	11	9.46	3.45	13	9.23	3.14	38	11.77	2.32

Analysis of Variance

Source of variance	Sum of squares	D.F.	Mean square	F
Grade	324.32	3	108.11	11.47**
Sex	11.03	1	11.03	1.17
Language	5.67	1	5.67	0.60
Grade x Sex	3.87	3	1.29	0.14
Grade x Language	76.01	3	25.34	2.69
Sex x Language	0.22	1	0.22	0.02
Grade x Sex x Language	2.40	3	0.80	0.08
Error	2026.02	215	9.42	

** $p < .01$



As Tables 8 and 9 indicate, two of the tests dealing with the recognition of nonstandard grammar (Test IIb: Morphology, Test IIIb: Syntax) show similar patterns. On both tests, grade level seems to be a significant source of variance. On both tests the highest scores were achieved by seventh-grade English females, the second highest by seventh-grade English males. On both tests the score of the English speakers improves markedly from the fifth to the seventh grade; those of the Spanish-speaking subjects do not, though it is only on Test IIb that the difference in performance of Spanish and English speakers is clearly significant. However, for both Tests IIb and IIIb, any individual items clearly differentiating between the performance of the Spanish and English groups show the English speakers scoring higher than the Spanish speakers.

General Conclusions and Recommendations

In interpreting the results of this investigation we must remember that the ability to recognize standard and nonstandard was defined by a test validated by the performance of a group of monolingual English-speaking twelfth and thirteenth-grade students. Therefore, we might expect that on the instrument used, performance would relate significantly to (1) maturation, and (2) monolingual English-speaking background. In fact, the relationship of test scores with grade level and significantly better performance of the seventh graders is shown in four of the six subtests that were administered (Ia, IIIa, IIb, and IIIb). Better performance due to monolingual English background is shown unambiguously only in one of the subtests (IIb) while another subtest (Ia) shows somewhat surprisingly and, for reasons discussed above, superior performance of Spanish bilinguals. There is some indication, however, that at least by the time the seventh grade is reached, the monolingual English speakers tend to perform better (i.e., conform with judgments of the older monolingual English group). At the seventh-grade level, monolingual English-speaking females place first in all of the three tests dealing with recognition of nonstandard. They are also the only group which shows increase in test scores from the fifth to seventh grades on the four tests dealing with recognition of standard or nonstandard

grammar (IIa, IIIa, IIb, and IIIb). The scores of the bilingual speakers show no such overall pattern of gain in the step from grade five to seven. On the syntax tests (IIIa and IIIb), Spanish speakers show slight losses from grade five to seven.

In general, it seems that overt awareness of standard and grammatical meaning is not highly developed in the lower grades. Even nonstandard items which are, from the point of view of English, clearly nongrammatical are recognized by comparatively few children, e.g., nonstandard syntax items 12 (Because they're not get dirty), 19 (Why you don't know?), 26 (The teacher wants that I read this) were clearly recognized as nonstandard (nongrammatical) by 100% of the twelfth and thirteenth graders. Among the monolingual English first graders only 33% (item 12), 33% (item 19), and 56% (item 26) marked these items as nonstandard.

The overall pattern of performance for the test administered indicates that this awareness of a difference between standard and nonstandard speech develops gradually during elementary school with a differentiation in favor of the monolingual English-speaking child taking shape perhaps during the latter years of the elementary school experience. The reason for this advantage of the monolingual English speaker is obvious. In order to recognize standard as defined in this study, he must simply reject the unknown, or at least relatively unfamiliar, forms. For the bilingual Spanish-speaking child the task is more difficult because he is continuously exposed to nonstandard forms influenced by Spanish.

In drawing conclusions from the results of the study, we must also keep in mind that it dealt only with the recognition of standard or nonstandard English. However, that the ability to produce standard should be highly correlated with the ability to recognize and label standard and nonstandard correctly is a reasonable assumption. If the bilingual Spanish speaker's problems in the acquisition of standard English are related to or caused by a relatively low ability to perceive the difference between standard and nonstandard English, then it would seem advisable to create the ability through specific training. It should be noted here that bilingual education and exposure to standard Spanish and

standard English may be of little help with a problem that is created by the exposure to nonstandard, hispanized English within the home environment. In order to help the Spanish bilingual child to acquire standard English, it may be necessary to use compensatory instruction to create a standard/nonstandard awareness equalling that of the monolingual English speaker. Such compensatory instruction could, for instance, consist of making overt comparisons between standard English forms and nonstandard expressions that the child may hear in his home environment. The results of this study show some evidence that it may be most profitable to begin such training some time during the upper grades of the elementary school. It is at this age level that the ability to recognize and overtly label standard and nonstandard speech seems to be taking shape. There is also some evidence that it is at the same age level that monolingual English speakers begin to surpass the bilingual Mexican-American child in the ability to recognize the standard/nonstandard contrast on the grammatical level.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 10

Difficulty of Test Items: Phonology (Percentage of Correct Responses)

	First grade		Fifth grade		Seventh grade	
Item No.	Span.	Eng.	Span.	Eng.	Span.	Eng.
			Recognition of Standard			
	N = 19	N = 29	N = 13	N = 32	N = 44	N = 78
2**	58	21	100	41	84	47
3	63	55	93	60	71	87
5**	58	24	70	38	86	44
9	58	52	77	66	61	65
10	26	38	54	43	54	55
12	42	41	23	75	81	69
19	69	61	46	56	77	67
20	32	41	31	49	23	18
			Recognition of Nonstandard			
4**	74	38	85	59	70	59
6*	74	80	93	78	71	90
8	68	62	77	81	80	80
11	84	52	54	72	74	77
14**	74	79	23	78	80	89
16	47	76	100	63	80	86
17**	26	17	23	06	36	12
21	79	79	100	78	93	90

*Difference between Spanish and English speakers; $p < .05$.

**Difference between Spanish and English speakers; $p < .01$.

TABLE 11

Difficulty of Test Items: Morphology (Percentage of Correct Responses)

	Third grade		Fifth grade		Seventh grade	
Item No.	Span.	Eng.	Span.	Eng.	Span.	Eng.
			Recognition of Standard			
	N = 19	N = 29	N = 13	N = 32	N = 44	N = 78
3	74	48	70	78	86	86
5**	42	24	85	38	27	60
8*	84	83	85	84	77	90
9	95	73	92	84	75	91
10	79	66	85	53	73	80
11	79	62	62	50	80	65
15	63	69	61	65	82	83
17	68	59	62	66	77	87
19**	74	52	69	78	32	76
			Recognition of Nonstandard			
2**	74	66	46	88	61	83
4**	53	72	62	75	64	89
6**	37	35	31	63	60	77
12	63	48	77	75	77	87
13**	42	80	85	81	50	85
16**	74	72	76	81	73	87
18**	79	86	69	84	91	94
20	47	55	62	22	57	79

*Difference between Spanish and English speakers; $p < .05$.

**Difference between Spanish and English speakers; $p < .01$.

TABLE 12

Difficulty of Test Items: Syntax (Percentage of Correct Responses)

	First grade		Third grade		Fifth grade		Seventh grade	
	Span.	Eng.	Span.	Eng.	Span.	Eng.	Span.	Eng.
			Recognition of Standard					
	N = 9	N = 9	N = 19	N = 29	N = 13	N = 32	N = 44	N = 76
1	56	44	79	83	85	69	82	80
2**	33	56	37	76	31	34	69	74
3	56	56	68	69	77	69	84	74
7*	33	77	84	83	54	59	73	82
8	89	67	37	59	62	28	41	60
11**	44	44	42	69	69	44	57	82
14	44	67	84	76	93	66	84	87
16*	44	78	90	69	69	72	59	78
17*	44	67	68	31	46	25	34	80
20**	44	67	63	76	77	75	73	90
21**	44	55	68	62	84	68	73	89
27**	23	67	47	72	85	69	85	93
28	56	44	47	21	39	25	48	65
			Recognition of Nonstandard					
5	33	33	63	62	100	75	80	92
6	44	44	74	71	92	56	45	80
10	22	11	68	28	46	41	64	72
12	11	33	84	86	100	69	88	93
13**	44	67	37	79	69	75	72	86
15	44	89	84	76	93	75	86	90
18	44	33	68	72	100	69	82	87
19**	44	33	58	73	46	69	64	95
22**	44	67	63	83	77	66	75	93
23	89	66	79	69	93	69	71	94
25	56	78	100	86	100	75	89	96
26**	44	56	79	83	93	78	86	95
30**	00[a]	44	32	52	00[a]	38	36	68

*Difference between Spanish and English speakers; $p < .05$.

**Difference between Spanish and English speakers; $p < .01$.

[a]The 00 correct response is surprising. It may be connected with item 30's being the last test item.