DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 057 022 TE 002 632

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TITLE The Speech of Young Black Children in Los Angeles.

INSTITUTION Southwest Regional Educational Lab., Inglewood, Calif.

SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO SWRL-TR-33
BUREAU NO BR-6-2865
PUB DATE 1 Sep 71
NOTE 185p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS *Child Language; Elementary School Students; Kindergarten Children; *Language Research; Language Usage; Linguistics; Negro Dialects; *Negro Youth; Phonology; *Speech; Syntax; *Verbal Communication
IDENTIFIERS *Los Angeles

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33 · 1 SEPTEMBER 1971

SOUTHWEST REGIONAL LABORATORY
TECHNICAL REPORT 33
SEPTEMBER 1971

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Stanley E. Legum, Carol Pfaff, Gene Tinnie, & Michael Nicholas

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors could not have produced this paper without the cooperation, energy, and patience of the school personnel, the school children and the Southwest Regional Laboratory's Divisions of Resource Services and Product Integration. Our thanks go to Sheridan Bentson, who wrote and ran the computer program which concentrated our data; and to Sue Knight, Burneydette Jones, Gloria Wellman, Barbara Rosellen, Valerie Preston, and Sharon MacDonald who performed the many tedious secretarial tasks required. Gloria Wellman and Barbara Rosellen helped combine special collections of data from the KWIC listings. Valerie Preston not only took responsibility for preparing the tables, but did the initial transcription of seventy-five audio tapes, including the twelve discussed here. Vic Berzins supplied valuable editorial assistance at several stages in the preparation of the report. We would also like to thank Bruce Cronnell, Rosario Gingras, Evelyn Hatch, William Riley, and William Russell for their comments on an earlier version of this document.

It should be noted that the third and fourth authors (Gene Tinnie and Michael Nicholas) did not have the opportunity to participate in final revisions of this document.

THE SPEECH OF YOUNG BLACK CHILDREN IN LOS ANGELES

Stanley E. Legum, Carol Pfaff, Gene Tinnie, & Michael Nicholas

It has been recognized in recent years that the poor performance of Black children in school, particularly in the area of learning to read, is in part due to their possessing a dialect different from the majority of the population. This report investigates the speech of Black children from the perspective embodied in the following empirical questions:

1) Where does Black English grammar differ from standard English grammar?[1]

2) What is the nature of Black English in the areas in which it differs from standard English?

These questions have been addressed by Labov, Cohen, Robins, and Lewis (1968),[2] as they relate to the teenage speaker population in New York. The study reported herein is responsive primarily to question two for lower-class kindergarten through third-grade children in the Los Angeles area.

The present focus of the study which generated the data for this report (Williams & Legum, 1970) was on methodological aspects of data collection and analysis. The objective of this report is to make available the general outlines of the dialect of lower-class Black children in Los Angeles and to suggest areas for further research. It should be kept in mind that some of the linguistic characteristics reported also characterize other populations in this and other locales. In particular, some of the phonological phenomena, such as consonant cluster simplification, may be a natural result of fast speech, while

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[1] In this report three dialects are distinguished. Black English (BE) is used to refer to the speech of Negroes in the United States, Anglo English (AE) to the speech of Whites in the United States. Standard English (SE) refers to the English which is taught in the schools and which is regarded as the norm for cultivated speech. The first two of these are dialects of actual speech and have both geographical and social variants, while the third is a relatively constant implicit norm which is only approximated in speech.

[2] In later references to Labov's informants (subjects) the phrase "peer group members" is often used. Peer group members are teenagers who participate in the street culture in New York and are to be distinguished from "lames," who differ from them in language, social attitudes and performance, and in scholastic achievement. Labov uses the term "Nonstandard Negro English" (abbreviated NNE) for BE.

r-vocalization, for example, characterizes the speech of New Englanders and Southerners irrespective of race.

Free conversation of 36 children in kindergarten through third grade was tape recorded. All of the children were of low socioeconomic status and 33 were Black. The children were interviewed in groups (some were also interviewed individually) composed of children drawn from the same classroom.[3] To obtain an indication of the nature of the dialect sampled and the relative frequency of various linguistic characteristics, three interviews from each grade were chosen at random for analysis (no child was represented by more than one interview and all of those chosen were Black). A description and preliminary analysis of these interviews are presented in this report.

Notation

Various formats of tables are used throughout the report. The most frequent type is illustrated by Table 1.

Table 1

Realization of Front Vowels Before Nasals

		n	Percentage [ɪ]	[ɛ]	[æ]
/ɪ/	absent	188	93	3	2
	present	289	95	2	1
/ɛ/	absent	214	90	8	0
	present	288	72	23	3
/æ/	absent	266	0	0	98
	present	239	2	2	94
n:		176	7	5	
		277	8	4	
		194	19	1	
		208	69	11	
		2	2	262	
		6	7	226	

[3]The recording of these interviews is documented in full by Williams and Legum (1970).

The row-labels to the left of the interviewer absent-present notation indicate linguistic variables or subvariables. The column headed n contains the frequency of occurrence of the variables in each interview condition (absent or present). The remaining columns describe specific realizations of the variables and the numbers offset by "n:" beneath the table have the identical content stated in terms of absolute frequency rather than in percentage.[4]

Identification numbers of the form 06105.0621 may be interpreted as follows:

1) The first digit (0 or 1) denotes the absence (0) or presence (1) of an interviewer.

2) The remaining four digits preceding the decimal point denote the tape number listed in Table 2.

3) The four digits after the decimal point denote the page and line of the transcript.

Variation

To say that a given linguistic usage is a characteristic of BE or occurs in BE is not to say that this usage always occurs in BE speech, or even in all the utterances of one speaker. On the contrary, "standard" and "nonstandard" forms typically alternate within colloquial BE.[5] Variation in the realization of any given dialect feature in the speech of a single informant during a single session is the rule rather than the exception. For example, during one 45 minute conversation a kindergarten girl in the sample produced the following copular sentences showing full, contracted and deleted realizations of is:

Full Forms:

Her name is Carolyn. 11103.0103
Is that the same thing as that one? 11103.0104
Everybody is five. 11103.0113
Your mother is your girlfriend. 11103.0319
All of it is nasty. 11103.0403
My daddy is a monster. 11103.0705

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[4]The percentages in each row will seldom sum to 100% because the rounding algorithm used throughout the analysis rounds down to the nearest percent.

[5]Previous sociolinguistic studies of BE report variation in the speech of adults and adolescents (Labov et al., 1968; Shuy et al., 1967).

Table 2

Transcripts in the Sample

	Tape No.	Age	Sex	Number of Children Present	Number of Adults Present	Number of Words
Kindergarten	1-1-03	5	F	5	2	2116
	1-2-01	5	F	4	1	1430
	1-4-05	5	F	2	1	1719
First Grade	4-1-03	6	M	5	0 & 1	253
	4-2-02	6	M	4	0 & 1	498
	4-4-04	6	F	2	1	1193
Second Grade	2-1-05	7	M	5	2	283
	2-2-01	7	M	5	2	680
	3-1-01	7	F	5	0 & 2	740
Third Grade	6-1-05	9	M	5	0 & 1	1732
	6-2-02	9	M	5	0 & 1	645
	6-3-01	9	M	5	0 & 1	2741

Contracted Forms:

That's you. 11103.0111
There's your girlfriend. 11103.0306
He's the biggest. 11103.0516
It's a quarter. 11103.0603
She's like a baby. 11103.0706
He's a little puppy. 11103.0713
He's at the doctor. 11103.1614
My daddy's in jail. 11103.1519

Deleted Forms:

She little. 11103.0515
He only just this little bitty. 11103.0712
He back already. 11103.1607
It not funny. 11103.0217

Labov's concept of the linguistic variable is useful:

> Variable conditions are of three types: (1) the variable input for the rule--that is, the initial frequency with which the rule is selected, which may change with age or form dialect to dialect; (2) the variable constraints on this frequency, which provide a spectrum of frequencies under different environments and which may vary in their internal ordering from time to time with age, peer group, or dialect; and (3) the extralinguistic (social or stylistic) conditions which affect the frequency of the rule in other ways. (Labov et al., 1968, p. 12)

It may be possible to determine a limit on percentage of application of a variable rule. If the percentage of application is above that limit, communication difficulty will begin to occur between speakers with and without the rule in their dialects; for example, between students speaking nonstandard dialects and teachers in classroom settings. The limits on percentage application would have pedagogical relevance if teachers were found to have difficulty understanding nonstandard dialect speaking students but little difficulty understanding parents speaking the same dialect.

Variable constraints are presented here via an analysis of the effect of linguistic environments. For example, the percentage of simplification of final consonant clusters varies depending on whether the next word begins with a vowel or a consonant and depending on whether the final consonant has a grammatical function, such as the past tense inflection ed (past vs. passed).

Style

Style[6] was found by Labov et al., to be an important factor in conditioning variation in the speech of adolescents and adults. As might be expected, nonstandard forms were more frequent in casual styles while standard forms were more frequent in formal styles.

In a comparative study of nonstandard grammatical usage among Black and White adults and kindergarten children, style differences were found for adults but not for kindergarten children:

> The children who were interviewed did not appear to be nervous or on guard when talking in front of the tape recorder. Their speech during the interview did not seem to vary greatly from what the investigator had heard in the kindergarten classroom; conversations before and after the interview reflected the same type of grammatical usage. Grammar features recorded from different parts of the interview were almost always the same. An interesting project would be to determine at what age different styles begin to appear in children's speech. The adults, on the other hand, did change their way of speaking in the different parts of the questionnaire, and after the interview was over. The repetition questions often produced an exact repetition but variant forms were used in other parts of the adult interviews. A nonstandard form uttered in the repetition rarely changed during another part of the interview, or during conversation after the interview. (Bachmann, 1970, pp. 44-45)

At the data collection stage, the present study focused on developing techniques for obtaining casual style. Attempts to elicit a more formal, reading style from third graders were unsuccessful because the children were unable to read with sufficient fluency to provide the necessary data.

Individual interviews with the children produced highly self-conscious speech. Most of a child's conversation during an individual interview was monosyllabic and generally nonresponsive, (Williams & Legum, 1970). Relatively little data from individual interviews were collected and none are included in the twelve tape samples discussed in the present report.

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[6]Style identification in the study conducted by Labov et al., was based on change in intonation pattern (Labov et al., p. 52).

Two conversational contexts with which stylistic differences may be associated have been differentiated in this analysis for all but the kindergarten group. These contexts are objectively defined as the presence or absence of the interviewer(s) with the children.[7] The hypothesis that these contexts are associated with style differences was investigated. Few significant correlations were found. Some relevant effects for particular variables are discussed in the individual treatments below.

Data Reduction Techniques

The audio tapes were transcribed in standard orthography by a secretary. A linguist then added four-digit codes to the transcripts after the words containing the variables which the codes represent. A fifth digit (realization code) was also added at this time when obviously appropriate from the typescript. For phonological variables and many syntactic variables the fifth digit was added later when the transcriptions were completed from audio tapes. At this final tape listening stage editing was completed and the realization codes were added.[8] A computer-generated key word in context (KWIC) index then brought related material together for analysis.

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[7]See Table 2 for breakdown of participants in the conversation from which the sample tapes are taken.

[8]Valerie Preston transcribed all the tapes in standard orthography. Typescript editing was done by Clyde Williams, Mike Nicholas, and Gene Tinnie. Carol Pfaff added all the four-digit codes and, when phonetic information was not required, the fifth digit as well. Stanley Legum and Gene Tinnie added the remainder of the realization codes (fifth digits).

Part 1: Phonology

Among the most recurrent claims regarding the language of Black children is that "they just can't be understood" or, if they can, "they simply speak incorrectly." The "incomprehensibility" is partially accounted for by phonological features. The alleged "incorrectness" is in part due to a small number of syntactic features, discussed in the second part of this report. Lexical differences discussed in Part III of this report among dialects add to both the perceived incorrectness and perceived incomprehensibility. While the categories of phonology, syntax, and lexicon are not completely independent, this classification has the advantage of convenience.

Consonant Clusters and Single Consonants

There is widespread simplification of final consonants in BE. It is possible that this characteristic of BE can be described as the operation of one complex rule or as the operation of several distinct rules. For purposes of comparative analysis and for ease of exposition, the data have been separated into various types of consonant clusters and single consonants: the variables (KD), (VD), (KZ), (VZ), and Assibilation.

Consonant Clusters with Final Dental Stops (KD)

Consonant clusters with final dental stops (KD) are defined as any consonant (abbreviated K) followed by a dental stop (d or t, abbreviated D). Of primary interest are final consonant clusters, i.e., those which occur at the ends of words, as in post.[9]

The (KD) variable warrants analysis from the point of view of several interacting factors. Some of these factors lend themselves readily to analysis, but others, less immediately recoverable from the data, have been postponed for a later study.

The conditioning effect of the following are of interest:

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[9]A partial tabulation was made of intervocalic instances of (KD). Of the 52 clear cases coded in this tabulation, 44 (84%) were in the full "underlying" form, 4 (7%) had the second element deleted, 2 (3%) had the dental stop reduced to a flap [D], and 2 (3%) had the first element deleted.

1) grammatical function: monomorpheme or past tense, i.e., words which contain consonant clusters in their root forms like most, land, art, bald, as opposed to words in which the final consonant clusters result from the addition of the past tense ending, e.g., passed, kept.

2) regular past tenses (passed, boiled) as opposed to ablaut pasts, in which there is also a vowel change (keep → kept, sell → sold).

3) age-grading

4) conversational styles (presence or absence of interviewer)

5) phonological environment

   a. before a vowel

   b. before a consonant

   c. in sentence final position

It is expected that there will be less of a tendency to simplify consonant clusters when they fulfill a grammatical function. Thus, past tense endings will be less often simplified than monomorphemic endings. Ablaut pasts, where the grammatical function of the final cluster is redundant (i.e., the same function is also performed by the change in vowel), would likely have final consonant clusters simplified more often than regular pasts (where the change in tense is signaled only by the addition of a new consonant to form a cluster).

The consonant clusters themselves have been subdivided into four categories:

1) Those in which both consonants are voiced, e.g., moved.

2) Those in which both consonants are voiceless, e.g., fist.

3) Those consisting of the sonorants l, r, or a nasal consonant (usually n or m, abbreviated N) followed by /d/, e.g., cold.

4) Those consisting of the sonorants l, r, or N followed by /t/, e.g., hurt.

It is clear from Table 3 that there is a preponderance of consonant cluster simplification. Furthermore, this simplification usually is in the form KD → KØ[10] rather than $\begin{matrix} Kd \\ Kt \end{matrix}$ → $\begin{matrix} Ød \\ Øt \end{matrix}$ which seldom occurs.

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[10]The symbol Ø denotes the null form. Here it indicates that the final dental consonant is not present.

Table 3

Monomorphemes

		n	Percentage								
			Kd	Kt	K?	KØ	K Flap	Ød	Øt	Ø?	ØØ
K ≠ sonorant	absent	34	0	55	0	35	0	0	0	5	2
both voiceless	present	64	0	21	3	70	0	0	0	0	4
sonorant + /d/	absent	138	7	0	10	64	16	0	0	0	0
	present	285	18	0	1	74	1	0	0	1	1
sonorant + /t/	absent	28	0	14	14	53	7	0	7	0	3
	present	84	0	9	15	73	0	0	0	0	1
Total		633	9	7	6	68	4	0	0	0	1

n:	0	19	0	12	0	0	0	2	1
	0	14	2	45	0	0	0	0	3
	10	0	15	89	23	0	0	1	0
	53	2	4	213	4	2	0	3	4
	0	4	4	15	2	0	2	0	1
	0	8	13	62	0	0	0	0	1
	63	47	38	436	29	2	2	6	10

Note: Voicing assimilation occurs in English for all final consonant clusters except those whose first member is a sonorant. There are no monomorphemes ending in a consonant cluster consisting of a voiced nonsonorant consonant plus /d/.

The least simplification occurs when both elements of the cluster are voiceless. The numerous occurrences of unstressed and could have some effect on the differences between sonorant-/d/ clusters and sonorant-/t/ clusters in Table 3.

The single word and accounts for over 70% of the occurrences of clusters of sonorants and voiced dental stops (Table 4). Many of the instances of and are untranscribable because of the extremely weak stress they received. Others cannot be transcribed because the following phonetic context is a dental consonant (e.g., and then sequences). In the (KD) tables, instances of and which retain an [n] or a syllabic [n̩] (e.g., an' or 'n) are counted as having the final /d/ deleted but the /n/ retained (i.e., are counted as KØ).

Table 4

Total Words and Occurrences of And

	Monomorphemic words ending in sonorant + /d/	Occurrences of and	Percentage
Kindergarten	228	161	70.61
First Grade	62	44	70.97
Second Grade	49	31	63.27
Third Grade	288	205	71.18
Total	627	441	70.33

As Tables 5 and 6 show, there is a notable difference in the pattern of variation for and and the pattern of variation of all other instances of monomorphemic words ending in a cluster of sonorant plus voiced dental stop. And is realized with a full cluster considerably less frequently than other monomorphemes with similar phonological structure.

Regular past tense forms (Table 7) and ablaut past tense forms (Table 8) can only be meaningfully compared when they end in sonorant-/d/ clusters. There is more simplification to KØ of regular past than of ablaut. On the other hand K flap seems to occur more frequently

Table 5

Distribution of Consonant Cluster Simplification for And

	n	Percentage								
		Kd	Kt	K?	KØ	K Flap	Ød	Øt	Ø?	ØØ
Kindergarten	130	12	0	0	80	2	0	0	0	3
First Grade	34	5	0	0	94	0	0	0	0	0
Second Grade	23	21	0	0	78	0	0	0	0	0
Third Grade	98	4	0	13	64	17	0	0	1	0
Total	285	9	0	4	76	7	0	0	0	1

n:	16	1	1	104	3	0	0	1	4
	2	0	0	32	0	0	0	0	0
	5	0	0	18	0	0	0	0	0
	4	0	13	63	17	0	0	1	0
	27	1	14	217	20	0	0	2	4

Table 6

Distribution of Consonant Cluster Simplification in Monomorphemic Forms Ending in Sonorant + /d/ Excluding Instances of And

	n	Percentage								
		Kd	Kt	K?	KØ	K Flap	Ød	Øt	Ø?	ØØ
Kindergarten	44	18	2	2	72	0	2	0	2	0
First Grade	11	9	0	9	63	0	9	0	9	0
Second Grade	16	25	0	0	75	0	0	0	0	0
Third Grade	45	17	0	11	55	15	0	0	0	0
Total	116	18	0	6	65	6	1	0	1	0

n:									
8	1	1	32	0	1	0	1	0
1	0	1	7	0	1	0	1	0
4	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	5	25	7	0	0	0	0
21	1	7	76	7	2	0	2	0

Table 7

Regular Past

		n	Percentage								
			Kd	Kt	K?	KØ	K Flap	Ød	Øt	Ø?	ØØ
K ≠ sonorant	absent	4	0	25	0	75	0	0	0	0	0
Both voiced	present	4	50	25	0	25	0	0	0	0	0
K ≠ sonorant	absent	15	0	33	13	26	6	0	0	13	6
both voiceless	present	17	0	59	0	23	0	0	0	0	17
sonorant + /d/	absent	11	9	9	0	63	9	9	0	0	0
	present	12	33	8	0	50	8	0	0	0	0
Total		63	11	30	3	39	4	1	0	3	6

n:									
0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
0	5	2	4	1	0	0	2	1
0	10	0	4	0	0	0	0	3
1	1	0	7	1	1	0	0	0
4	1	0	6	1	0	0	0	0
7	19	2	25	3	1	0	2	4

Note: No examples of "regular past" forms ending in sonorant plus /t/ (e.g., sent) were recorded.

Table 8

Ablaut Past

		n	Percentage								
			Kd	Kt	K?	KØ	K Flap	Ød	Øt	Ø?	ØØ
sonorant + /d/	absent	6	33	16	0	33	0	0	0	0	16
	present	17	29	0	0	17	52	0	0	0	0
sonorant + /t/	absent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	present	9	0	44	33	0	11	0	0	0	11
Total		32	21	15	9	15	31	0	0	0	6

n:	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
	5	0	0	3	9	0	0	0	0
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	1
	7	5	3	5	10	0	0	0	2

Note: There are no ablaut past forms in English which end in a voiced consonant cluster unless the first consonant is a sonorant. No examples of ablaut past nonsonorant voiceless consonant clusters (e.g., kept) occurred.

in ablaut than in regular pasts.[11] In any case, the number of instances involved are relatively small.

The most meaningful comparison to be made is between monomorphemes and past tenses. The compared percentages are given in Table 9 (data from "total" rows of Tables 3, 7, and 8).

Table 9

Compared Percentages of Monomorphemes and Past Tense Realizations

	n	Percentage								
		Kd	Kt	K?	KØ	K flap	Ød	Øt	Ø?	ØØ
Mono	633	9	7	6	68	4	0	0	0	1
Past	95	14	25	5	31	13	1	0	2	6

Monomorphemes are simplified (value KØ) twice as often as past tenses. The findings are not surprising; the consonant cluster is simplified less often when it has a grammatical function.

As shown in Table 10 age has little discernible relationship to (KD). If we consider the most interesting value (KØ), which shows the most common type of consonant cluster simplification, we see that for the four age groups the percentages are 68, 59, 57, 57 respectively. The greater percentage of deletion among kindergarten children may warrant further investigation.

Consistent individual differences occur. One kindergarten girl, for example, pronounces almost all consonant clusters in "standard" fashion (which is actually contrary to the age-grading "trend" shown in Table 10).

Differences in conversational contexts are not discernible, at least in comparing group totals (as opposed to individual performance under different interview conditions). A comparison of contexts is shown in Tables 11 and 12, where the realizations of monomorphemes are compared.

Note that the flapped realization is influenced by the following phonological environment (e.g., consonant, vowel, new sentence separated by pause). The analysis of the effect of the following phonological

[11] This is discussed in greater detail below for the (VD) variable. In particular Tables 17, 18, and 20.

Table 10

Distribution of (KD) by Grade

			Percentage								
		n	Kd	Kt	K?	KØ	K Flap	Ød	Øt	Ø?	ØØ
Kindergarten	present	376	11	6	8	68	1	0	0	0	2
First Grade	absent	25	4	16	4	68	0	4	4	0	0
	present	77	20	2	11	57	0	1	0	2	3
Second Grade	absent	21	19	0	23	57	0	0	0	0	0
	present	54	25	3	9	57	0	0	0	0	3
Third Grade	absent	233	10	5	12	54	11	0	0	2	2
	present	77	9	7	3	66	12	0	0	0	0
Total		863	12	6	9	62	4	0	0	1	2

n:								
43	26	31	259	5	1	0	3	8
1	4	1	17	0	1	1	0	0
16	2	9	44	0	1	0	2	3
4	0	5	12	0	0	0	0	0
14	2	5	31	0	0	0	0	2
25	13	29	128	27	0	1	5	5
7	6	3	51	10	0	0	0	0
110	53	83	542	42	3	2	10	18

Table 11

Monomorphemes with Interviewer Absent

		Percentage								
	n	Kd	Kt	K?	KØ	K Flap	Ød	Øt	Ø?	ØØ
both voiceless K ≠ sonorant	34	0	55	0	35	0	0	0	5	2
sonorant + /d/	138	7	0	10	64	16	0	0	0	0
sonorant + /t/	28	0	14	14	53	7	0	7	0	3
Total	200	5	11	9	58	12	0	1	1	0

n:	0	19	0	12	0	0	0	2	1
	10	0	15	89	23	0	0	1	0
	0	4	4	15	2	0	2	0	1
	10	23	19	116	25	0	2	3	2

Table 12

Monomorphemes with Interviewer Present

	n	Percentage								
		Kd	Kt	K?	KØ	KD	Ød	Øt	Ø?	ØØ
Both voiceless K ≠ sonorant	64	0	21	3	70	0	0	0	0	4
sonorant + /d/	285	18	0	1	74	1	0	0	1	1
sonorant + /t/	84	4	4	15	73	0	0	0	0	1
Total	433	13	4	4	73	0	0	0	0	1

n:	0	14	2	45	0	0	0	0	3
	53	2	4	213	4	2	0	3	4
	4	4	13	62	0	0	0	0	1
	57	20	19	320	4	2	0	3	8

context has not yet been completed. In all probability, the effect will be parallel to that of the (VD) variable (see next section, entitled Single Dental Stops (VD)): less simplification of consonants before vowels and more occurrences of flap [D] realization before vowels. Deviations from this expected pattern, in addition to the pattern observed in sentence-final clusters can shed light on the lexicon, i.e., whether or not the phonological representation of a given word in the child's lexicon has a full consonant cluster.

Intra-individual characteristics are not systematically treated in this report, but they are important. The dialect rules for (KD) are variable even in the speech of each individual.

The overall pedagogical importance of the (KD) variable is evident. Consonant cluster simplification is one of the primary sources of dialect interference and teacher-student misunderstanding. The simplification of final consonant clusters (usually eliminating the final dental consonant of the AE form) accounts for a considerable number of homonyms in BE which are not homonymous in AE. Thus, in BE coal and cold, pass and past are homonyms. Combined with other phonological rules of BE this phenomenon can account for even less obvious homonyms like center and sinner.

Even more important than monomorphemes are the past tenses. Consonant cluster simplification neutralizes the AE past tense endings so that the BE speaker may not distinguish between walk and walked, turn and turned. Of course, this is a gross oversimplification; individuals vary in their speech and there is obviously variation from individual to individual. Furthermore, as is shown by the data, consonant cluster simplification operates less on past tense endings than in monomorphemes.

In both cases, monomorphemes and past tenses, the realization [K?] (consonant followed by a glottal stop)[12] is of particular importance. This realization is pedagogically important because the glottal stop, especially in final position, is not always easily heard. It is thus easy for a listener to confuse [K?] with [KØ]. The tables show that the largest percentages of occurrence of [K?] are when the "underlying" AE form is /Kt/ rather than /Kd/. Glottal stops often systematically replace t. In such cases the AE contrast between words like send and sent is maintained in BE with forms [sɛn] (KØ) and [sɛn?] or [sɛ̃?] (K?).

The data do not show a strong effect of age-grading, but there is possibly a trend toward consonant cluster simplification increasing with age. Henrie (1969) found that pre-school children had "uninflected past tense verbs" 27% of the time which is not far removed from the current findings (32% of the past tenses).

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[12]Glottal stop refers to the sound that some speakers have instead of t in words like bottle, pronounced by briefly closing the glottis.

Single Dental Stops (VD)

Single dental stops are of interest in final position for comparison with final consonant clusters with final dental stops (KD). They are also of interest in their own right because the phoneme /d/ is the past tense marker in regular verbs.

For analytic purposes each word ending in a final dental stop was classified in the same manner as for consonant clusters with final dentals: regular past tense (e.g., married, tried), ablaut past tense (where the vowel is different in the present and past tense, e.g., got, did), zero past tense (where the present and past tense forms are identical, e.g., put, cut), or monomorphemic (e.g., Ed, get). A small number of words (had and made are the only two which occurred) do not fit into this categorization scheme, but do not affect the general outlines of the (VD) variable. The phonetic realization of each final dental stop was coded as either [d], [t], the flap [D], glottal stop [ʔ] or null [Ø].

Of 1716 instances of words with underlying final dental stops, 44 (2.5%) were regular past tense forms;[13] 1430 (83.3%) were monomorphemic; and 223 (12.9%) were ablaut past tenses. There were 19 instances (1.1%) of zero past tense forms (all of which were put or cut).

There were no instances of underlying /t/ recorded as [d], and only one instance of underlying /d/ recorded as [t]. Hence it is clear that although neutralization of /t/ and /d/ occurs in some environments (see below), there is no significant tendency to use the two phonemes interchangeably. These children do not "confuse t's and d's" as might be inferred from Briggs' (1968) list of spelling errors.[14]

What accounts for such confusion is the fact that both underlying /d/ and underlying /t/ may be realized as flap [D], glottal stop [ʔ], or null [Ø]. There are a substantial number of instances of underlying /t/ realized as the flap [D]. This is for the most part a function of the following phonological environment, as can be seen from Table 13.

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[13]Roughly one fifth (19% overall, 18% for regular past tenses) of the forms which occurred were uncodable because of unfavorable phonetic environments (the next word began with a dental consonant) or noise on the audio tape (shouts, cord noise). The data which follows are all based on the clear instances.

[14]Briggs cites "attend," "attended," and "hard" spelled as "attent," "attented," and "hart," respectively.

Table 13

Distribution of /t/ Realized as [D]

		Total number of /t/	Number of /t/ realized as [D]	Percentage of /t/ realized as [D]
_____K	absent	236	13	5
	present	303	23	7
_____V	absent	83	44	53
	present	184	87	47

The number of instances of underlying /d/ realized as the flap [D] are considerably higher than the number of instances of /t/ realized as [D]. This phenomenon is also strongly affected by the following phonological environment. In both cases the flap [D] realization is greater when a vowel follows.

Table 14

Distribution of /d/ Realized as [D]

		Total number of /d/	Number of /d/ realized as [D]	Percentage of /d/ realized as [D]
_____K	absent	89	4	4
	present	86	14	16
_____V	absent	35	13	37
	present	54	15	27

Similarly, a substantial number of instances of underlying /t/ and /d/ are neutralized by reduction to glottal stop [ʔ] or by deletion. These reductions and deletions are also strongly affected by the following phonological environment. The initial sound in the next word has the opposite affect on the frequency of [ʔ] and Ø than it does on the frequency of [D], i.e., these realizations are most frequent when a consonant follows. This phenomenon is most pronounced for underlying /t/.

Table 15

Distribution of /t/ Realized as [ʔ] or Ø

		Total number of /t/	Percentage of /t/ realized as [ʔ]	Percentage of /t/ realized as Ø	Percentage of /t/ realized as [ʔ] or Ø
___K	absent	236	66	13	79
	present	303	41	16	57
___V	absent	83	21	6	27
	present	184	23	9	33

n:	156	32	188
	125	50	175
	18	5	23
	44	17	61

This phenomenon is somewhat less pronounced in the case of underlying /d/.

Table 16

Distribution of /d/ Realized as [ʔ] or Ø

		Total number of /d/	Percentage of /d/ realized as [ʔ]	Percentage of /d/ realized as Ø	Percentage of /d/ realized as [ʔ] or Ø
___K	absent	89	50	15	66
	present	86	11	30	41
___V	absent	35	22	14	37
	present	54	23	24	37

n:	45	14	59
	10	26	36
	8	5	13
	7	13	20

That underlying /t/ and /d/ are fully distinguishable by Black children can be seen from the frequency with which the full forms appear.

Table 17

Distribution of the Realizations of (VD)

		n	Percentage [t]/[d][a]	Flap [D]	[ʔ]	ø
Regular past	/d/[b]	36	41	41	0	16
Ablaut past	/d/	134	26	11	44	17
Ablaut past	/t/	49	34	28	30	6
Zero past	/t/[b]	18	22	66	11	0
Monomorphemic	/d/	171	41	11	19	26
Monomorphemic	/t/	958	26	15	44	14
Total[c]		1366	28	16	39	15

n:				
	15	15	0	6
	35	16	50	23
	17	14	15	3
	4	12	2	0
	71	20	34	46
	250	147	424	137
	392	224	535	215

[a]The column labeled [t]/[d] corresponds to [t] realizations for underlying /t/ and to [d] realizations for underlying /d/. The one instance of /d/ realized as [t] has been omitted from this data.

[b]Underlying /t/ does not occur in regular past tenses in English (in VD). No instances of zero pasts ending in underlying /d/ were noted.

[c]This table includes instances of final dentals in utterance final position which were not included in the environments ___K or ___V in the preceding tables.

The distribution of the (VD) variable shows that relatively little reduction or deletion of final dental stops occurs in the regular past tenses, while a relatively large amount of reduction occurs elsewhere. This suggests that an informational load constraint is operating which restricts the reduction of final dentals when they carry the meaning "past tense" but allows their reduction in words in which they do not carry this meaning (ablaut pasts, zero pasts, and monomorphemic cases). Apparently this is not a syntactic constraint, but a semantic constraint operating on a phonological rule. Ablaut past tenses presumably carry the same syntactic features as do regular past tenses, but they are quite clearly treated differently with respect to the retention of final dental stops. Table 17 shows that ablaut past tense forms behave much more like monomorphemic forms than like regular past tense forms. The distinction between regular past tense forms and other forms is summarized in Table 18.

Table 18

Distribution of Regular Past Tense Forms Contrasted With the Distribution of Ablaut and Monomorphemic Forms

	n	Percentage		
		[t]/[d]	flap [D]	[ʔ]/Ø
Regular Past	36	41	41	16
Ablaut and Monomorphemic	1312	28	15	56
n:		15	15	6
		373	197	742

The possibility exists that the low number of deletions (and the nonexistence of reduction to [ʔ]) in the regular past tenses is an accidental consequence of regular past tenses occurring only before words starting with vowels. The data do not support this hypothesis, however, as can be seen from Table 19.

Table 19

Effect of Phonological Environment
Regular Past Tense [d]

	n	Percentage	
		[d]/[D]	Ø
___K	26	76	23
___V	10	100	0

n: 20 6
10 0

Although the number of instances is small, regular past tense /d/ can be seen to pattern in a similar, although more extreme, manner to the overall distribution of /d/. Reduction to [ʔ] does not occur at all in regular past tense /d/, and deletion to Ø is more frequent before a word beginning with a consonant than before a word beginning with a vowel, but such reduction occurs less than half as often in regular past tenses as in all the instances of final /d/ taken together.

It is instructive to contrast reduction and deletion of /d/ before consonants in regular past tenses and in ablaut and monomorphemic forms.

Table 20

Distribution of Regular Past Tenses Before Consonants Contrasted With the Distribution of Ablaut and Monomorphemic /d/ Before Consonants

	n	Percentage	
		[d]/[D]	[ʔ]/Ø
Regular Past	26	76	23
Ablaut and Monomorphemic	150	40	59

n: 20 6
61 89

Final Dental Sibilants (KZ and VZ)

One of the phonological variables of the BE dialect analyzed is the realization of written s, es, and z (abbreviated /Z/), both after vowels and as the second member of consonant clusters. As a result of the use of /Z/ as the inflectional marker of the noun plural, possessive, and third person singular verbs in the present tense, the socially stigmatized lack (null realizations) of this consonant is a feature of the dialect which has grammatical and pedagogical implications as well.

The realizations of (KZ) and (VZ), tabulated by grammatical function are summarized in Tables 21 and 22. These results are significant in several respects:

1) Instances of KZ and VZ which represent the third person singular verb inflection and contraction of is are simplified significantly more frequently than those in which they are monomorphemic or represent plural or possessive inflection. Adverbs (e.g., sometimes) however, do not show a clear pattern because of the small number of instances. The frequent absence of the third person inflection and of contracted is is in accord with the hypothesis of Labov et al., that the deletion of Z in these two categories is grammatically rather than phonologically conditioned.

> Many of the extreme cases of simplification of final -s, z clusters are not regular rules of NNE at all, but cases where the vernacular has no morpheme /z/ at all. Finally, we will see in Section 3.4 that the weak tendency towards consonant cluster simplification of /z/ clusters is operative in the treatment of the copula (Labov et al., p. 124).

One possible interpretation of the situation described by Labov is that:

a) "regular rule" means phonological rule;

b) "cases where the vernacular has no morpheme /Z/" may be viewed as implying that there is a grammatical rule, which has the effect that /Z/ is present in the surface structure representation which is the input to the phonological component. There are several alternative formulations of such a grammatical rule within transformation grammar:

1. deletion rule

2. failure of segmentalization rule to operate

Table 21

Summary of (KZ)

		n	Percentage [KZ]	[KØ]	[ØZ]	[ʔØ]	[Ø]
Monomorpheme	absent	18	66	22	0	0	11
	present	46	67	21	0	4	6
Plural	absent	49	57	22	0	0	20
	present	76	72	13	1	1	10
Verb 3rd singular	absent	22	18	81	0	0	0
	present	68	19	49	1	5	22
Possessive	absent	13	76	7	0	0	15
	present	25	72	28	0	0	0
Contraction	absent	10	30	70	0	0	0
	present	28	37	41	6	0	10
Adverb		10	30	50	0	0	20
Total		365	51	33	1	1	12

n:					
	10	4	0	0	2
	31	10	0	2	3
	28	11	0	0	10
	55	11	1	1	8
	4	18	0	0	0
	13	35	1	4	15
	10	1	0	0	2
	18	7	0	0	0
	3	7	0	0	0
	11	12	2	0	3
	3	5	0	0	2
	188	121	4	7	45

Table 22

Summary of (VZ)

		n	Percentage [VZ]	[ʔ]	[VØ]
Monomorphemic	absent	106	84	2	12
	present	187	89	1	8
Plural	absent	23	86	0	13
	present	31	79	0	20
Verb 3rd singular	absent	16	18	0	81
	present	20	23	0	66
Possessive	absent	16	93	6	0
	present	28	75	3	21
Adverb	absent	2	100	0	0
	present	11	100	0	0
Contraction	absent	23	34	0	65
	present	42	45	0	54
Total		505	76	1	21

n:			
	90	3	13
	169	2	16
	20	0	3
	25	0	6
	3	0	13
	5	0	15
	15	1	0
	21	1	6
	2	0	0
	11	0	0
	8	0	15
	19	0	23
	388	7	110

That the rule is variable for speakers of BE, is shown by the presence of /Z/ in both the Los Angeles data, and in Labov's data.[15] Another interpretation (probably the one intended by Labov et al.) is that the /Z/ which is missing in surface structure is not present in the underlying structure either. This amounts to a difference in the inventory of inflectional morphemes of BE. For further discussion of this analysis, see Part III of this report. More intensive analysis of the data is expected to shed light on the relative appropriateness of the alternative analyses of this problem.[16]

2) Further support for the grammatical status of the verbal instances of /Z/ deletion is shown by comparison of (KZ) with (VZ) (demonstrating the phonological effect of a preceding vowel vs. consonant): for monomorphemic, plural, and possessive instances Z is retained more frequently when a vowel precedes, but for third singular verb inflection and contraction, there is no such effect. This shows that the omission of /Z/ in the latter cases is not a phonological rule.

3) Examination of the tables for "conversational context" effects, i.e., interviewer absence or presence, reveals little difference between the contexts, although for the plural instances full forms are more frequent for (KZ) when an interviewer is present. Calculation of this effect was based on the dichotomy of full realization vs. all others--i.e., grouping together all nonstandard realizations.

4) There is no evidence for age-grading in this interim sample. However, the number of instances is very small; more data will be required to see age-grading effects if they exist.

Post-Vocalic Consonant Clusters Beginning With /s/:(sK)

Labov et al., claim that the pattern of consonant cluster simplification in words such as test, wasp, desk, and ask, i.e., words with the general form /sK/ where K = any voiceless consonant, bears

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[15] Approximately 22% of the potential occurrences of third person singular /z/ were realized as full SE forms in the current data.

[16] For more discussion of this matter see Pfaff (1971).

on the hypothesis that such words may be relexicalized in BE; that is, that those words have underlying representations without the final consonants. Evidence for this hypothesis is to be found in inflectional forms of such words, testing, asking, desks, etc. In the sample of twelve tapes analyzed for this report, there were only six clear occurrences of this variable. Each occurrence was of the single word ask (plus affixes), which had the following realizations (summarized in Table 23):

Realization 0: [sk]:

11103.0819 Then they [the cats] don't ask me to the store too.
11103.1103 She asked her mother for fifteen cents.

Realization 1: [ks]:

16105.1322 He going be asking us about the school.
11103.0903 They ask for some more and I feed them.

Realization 8: [s]:

06105.1322 You could ask my brothers.
06105.0122 They asking them about the presidents.

Table 23

Number of Occurrences (sK)

	[sk]	[ks]	[s]
Interviewer absent	0	0	1
Interviewer present	2	2	1

It is not justifiable to make general inferences about relexicalization and the ordering of phonological rules in /sK/ clusters on the basis of these data because ask is lexically an exceptional case. Both the form [æsk] and the methathesized [æks] have been current in various dialects of English since Old English (Jespersen, 1909). The rule (if it is a methathesis rule) or choice of lexical representations is, however, inherently variable as indicated by the occurrences of both standard and nonstandard variants in the speech of an individual child. One third-grade boy has the variants [æstɪn], [æsɪn], and [æksɪn] within four consecutive sentences.

Instances of nonstandard forms occur in the speech of one kindergarten girl and one third-grade boy. Since there are no other occurrences, no conclusions of age-grading are warranted.

Besides the analysis reflected in Table 23, additional relevant information about simplification or metathesis of /sk/ clusters may be found in the realization of certain /ks/ clusters. For example, one first-grade girl makes several attempts at the word boxing. The first time she says [baskɪn]. She corrects, or tries to, and still ends up saying [baskɪn] but this time letting her voice trail off. The third time, she races past the word, saying something like [basn] very quickly.

Assibilation

Assibilation, i.e., a rule which has the function:

$$t \rightarrow s \; / \_\_ s$$

followed by a rule of degemination, e.g.,

$$ss \rightarrow s$$

may be a mechanism of consonant cluster simplification in BE and other dialects. Such rules apply to the contractions that's, it's, and let's, for example, to produce the phonetic forms [ðæs], [ɪs], and [lɛs] (thass, iss, less). A summary of realization of such forms in the sample is given in Table 24. The table suggests that the grammatical status of the forms is significant in determining the application of assibilation rule--i.e., the rule applies to phonological forms analyzed as pronoun + copula but not to others.

Table 25 shows that there are no apparent style or age-grading effects for this variable.

Interdental Fricatives: θ/ð (th)

One of the most noted and socially stigmatized phonological features of BE and white lower-class dialects of English is the pronunciation of the interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ (written th) as the stops [t] and [d] respectively, resulting in such pronunciations as [dɛn] for then. Such pronunciations are characteristic of the speech of the present sample of children. Furthermore, the data conform to Labov's results for older speakers in New York in two important respects:

1) The realization of the fricative as a stop is variable--i.e., in a significant percentage of occurrences an actual fricative occurs or some affrication is present.

Table 24

Assibilation

		n	Percentage [t]	[s]	[z]
pronoun and copula (e.g., that's, it's)	absent	32	12	87	0
	present	47	10	80	8
other (e.g., let's)	absent	2	100	0	0
	present	5	100	0	0

n: 4 28 0
5 38 4
2 0 0
5 0 0

Table 25

Realization of Pronoun + Copula Assibilation
by Grade and Interview Context

		n	Percentage [t]	[s]	[z]
Kindergarten	present	28	14	75	10
First Grade	absent	6	0	100	0
	present	4	0	100	0
Second Grade	absent	1	0	100	0
	present	7	14	71	14
Third Grade	absent	25	16	84	0
	present	8	0	100	0
Total		79	11	83	5

n:			
	4	21	3
	0	6	0
	0	4	0
	0	1	0
	1	5	1
	4	21	0
	0	8	0
	9	66	4

2) The distributions of the realizations of voiceless [θ] and voiced [ð] interdental fricatives are not identical; the stop realization being more frequent in the case of the voiced /ð/ than for the voiceless /θ/.[17,18]

Comparison of the distributions with interviewers present and absent shows no significant conversational context variation (see Tables 26 and 27). There is also no apparent age-grading of /ð/, as shown in Tables 28 and 29.

Sonorants

The liquid consonants /r/ and /l/ and the nasal consonants /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/, like the stop and fricative consonants discussed in the sections above, are sometimes not pronounced in BE. Since these sounds are somewhat vowel-like, the deletion is often partial; some of the consonantal qualities may be transferred to a preceding vowel.

R and L Vocalization

The vocalization of /r/ and /l/ is a characteristic variable feature of BE. It may be pedagogically relevant since it partially accounts for many homophones in BE. For example: doe = door [do], flow = floor [flo]. The rules in question do not apply indiscriminately to all instances of /r/ or /l/, but are conditioned by both phonological and grammatical environments. Phonological conditioning is shown in Tables 30 and 31 by comparison of the distribution of /l/ and /r/ vocalization after consonant and vowels.[19] Both /l/ and /r/ are retained as consonants more than 90% of the time if preceded by a consonant. Vocalization (i.e., realization as [ə]) and deletion (i.e., Ø) are more frequent in post-vocalic environments.

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[17]There is no apparent difference in the percentages of fricative realization for [θ] and [ð], contrary to what was expected on the basis of Labov's study. However, the percentages of unambiguous stop realization do differ in the expected way, i.e., voiced dental fricatives are realized as stops more frequently than voiceless ones.

[18]This distinction does not characterize the white lower-class dialect of New York, in which such pronunciations as [tɪŋ] for thing are as likely as [den] for then (Labov et al., p. 94).

[19]Further analysis will more completely isolate the relevant conditioning, which may include vowel quality (see Labov et al.). The effect of preceding consonant vs. preceding vowel would appear even more clearly if syllable division had been taken into account.

Table 26

Distribution of /ð/

	n	Percentage [ð]	[dð]	[d]	[v]	[ʔ]	[t]	[ð or dð]	[dð or d]	[Ø]
absent	515	24	13	26	0	0	0	26	5	3
present	525	26	14	25	0	0	0	20	4	8
Total	1040	25	13	26	0	0	0	23	4	5

n:	126	67	139	0	1	0	136	29	17
	140	77	133	1	2	0	108	22	42
	266	144	272	1	3	0	244	51	59

Table 27

Distribution of /θ/

	n	Percentage									
		[θ]	[tθ]	[t]	[f]	[ʔ]	[d]	[θ or tθ]	[tθ or t]		[ø]
absent	56	25	23	3	8	7	7	12	8		3
present	148	29	22	5	2	3	3	23	6		3
Total	204	28	22	5	3	4	4	20	7		3
n:		14	13				5	4	4	7	5	2
		44	33		9		3	5	5	34	10	5
		58	46		11		8	9	9	41	15	7

Note: Excludes the special cases of compounds with thing, e.g., something, anything, nothing, which behave somewhat differently.

Table 28

Realization of /ð/ by Grade and Interview Context

			Percentage									
		n	[ð]	[dð]	[d]	[v]	[ʔ]	[t]	[ð or dð]	[dð or d]	[ø]	
Kindergarten	present	278	24	17	25	0	0	0	20	3	7	
First Grade	absent	35	25	8	48	0	2	0	2	8	2	
	present	89	34	12	24	0	0	0	14	7	5	
Second Grade	absent	42	31	19	14	0	0	0	19	17	0	
	present	71	23	7	16	0	0	0	39	5	7	
Third Grade	absent	440	23	12	26	0	0	0	29	4	3	
	present	87	26	14	32	0	1	0	11	1	12	
Total		1042	25	13	26	0	0	0	23	4	5	

n:	69	48	71	1	1	0	57	10	21	
	9	3	17	0	1	0	1	3	1	
	31	11	22	0	0	0	13	7	5	
	13	8	6	0	0	0	8	7	0	
	17	5	12	0	0	0	28	4	5	
	104	56	116	0	0	0	130	19	15	
	23	13	28	0	1	0	10	1	11	
	266	144	272	1	3	0	247	51	58	

Table 29

Distribution of the Most Frequent Realizations of /ð/ by Grade Level

	n	Percentage				
		[ð]	[dð]	[d]	[ð or dð]	[dð or d]
Kindergarten	278	24	17	25	20	3
First Grade	124	32	11	31	11	8
Second Grade	113	26	11	15	31	9
Third Grade	527	24	13	27	26	3

Note: Data from Table 28.

Table 30

R - Vocalization

		n	Percentage [r]	[ə]	[Ø]
/r/ after consonant	absent	121	96	0	2
	present	318	90	1	7
/r/ after vowel	absent	418	56	13	29
	present	896	64	14	21
Total		1706	65	14	19

n:			
	17	1	3
	289	4	23
	237	58	123
	116	130	191
	659	242	340

Table 31

L - Vocalization

		n	Percentage [l]	[l̩]	[ə̯]	[Ø]
/l/ after consonant	absent	105	92	1	2	2
	present	205	93	0	4	1
/l/ after vowel	absent	182	79	9	4	5
	present	303	83	9	3	4
Total		795	86	6	4	3

n:				
	97	2	3	3
	191	1	10	3
	145	18	9	10
	253	28	11	14
	686	49	33	30

Since interviewers were always in the room, there is no conversational context data for kindergarteners. There were too few instances for first and second grades to permit context comparison.

Age-grading is not discernible for these variables as shown by Tables 32 and 33.

There are considerable inter-individual differences with respect to r-vocalization (mostly consistent across conversational contexts). This phenomenon is understandable in the light of the fact that the children interviewed (or their families) may have come to the Los Angeles area from different parts of the country. Since r-vocalization is probably strongest in southeastern dialects of BE, recent change of residence may be a major contributing factor to this individual variation.[20]

A small, but noticeable amount of deletion of intervocalic /r/ has been reported to occur in the speech of Blacks in New York (Labov et al., pp. 101-103). Further, this r-deletion in intervocalic position is socially stratified, as is deletion or vocalization of word final and preconsonantal /r/. Some of the occurrences may be conditioned by specific lexical items, e.g., Flo'ida for Florida. The New York data show that as with Los Angeles third graders, intervocalic r-vocalization is much less frequent within a word than for intervocalic position at ends of words (Tables 34 and 35)--when the following word begins with a vowel.

The social pattern of intervocalic R deletion in New York suggests that:

> There is reason to think that this characteristic is disappearing from the speech of the younger generation, since the working-class adults show about twice as high a frequency as the peer groups. Though the rule applies in only a small percentage of the cases, we can observe social stratification, since the middle-class adults shows the highest percentages of consonantal r, and the upper section of the Northern working class is next. (Labov et al., p. 101)

The vocalization or deletion of intervocalic /r/ is also suggested by the spelling errors cited by Briggs (1968). Such a pattern does not, however, occur in the speech of the present third-grade children.

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[20] The pronunciation of final /r/ is variable even in the South (Anshen, 1969, pp. 89-90).

Table 32

Summary of L After Vowel (Interviewer Present and Absent Combined)

	n	Percentage			
		[l]	[l̩]	[ə̩]	[Ø]
Kindergarten	192	81	8	4	4
First Grade	43	86	9	2	2
Second Grade	69	78	14	5	1
Third Grade	162	80	9	3	6
Total	466	81	9	4	4

n:	157	17	9	9
	37	4	1	1
	54	10	4	1
	131	15	6	10
	379	46	20	21

Table 33

Summary of L After Consonant (Interviewer Present and Absent Combined)

	n	Percentage [l]	[l̪]	[ə̪]	[ø]
Kindergarten	148	81	0	4	12
First Grade	34	85	5	2	0
Second Grade	69	100	0	0	0
Third Grade	90	85	2	6	1
Total	341	86	1	4	0

n:	121	1	7	2
	29	2	1	0
	69	0	0	0
	77	2	6	1
	296	5	14	3

Within words none of the 32 instances of intervocalic r was either reduced to schwa or deleted. This finding cannot be attributed to the speakers not having r-vocalization or r-deletion rules, because within words in the environment V__C, r was reduced to schwa 1% of the time and was deleted 15% of the time by the same speakers. Word final (post-vocalic) r was reduced to schwa 18% of the time by these speakers and was deleted 31% of the time by them.

Table 34

Word Medial Post-Vocalic r

	n	Percentage		
		Full Form	Schwa	Null
__V	32	100	0	0
__C	120	84	1	15

n: 32 0 0
101 1 18

Table 35

Word Final Post-Vocalic r

	n	Percentage		
		Full Form	Schwa	Null
___#V	45	51	18	31
___#C	143	50	18	31

n: 23 8 14
72 26 45

Note: The following consonant environment (___#C) includes utterance final environments.

Table 35 indicates that there is apparently no effect due to the first sound of the following word for word final post-vocalic /r/.

Vowels Before r

One of the socially diagnostic phonetic features of many American English dialects is the tendency toward merger of /ɪ/ with /ɛ/, and of /u/ with /o/, before underlying r. Thus there may be little or no distinction between beer and bare or beard and bared in the front vowels, nor between poor and pour and toured and toward in the back vowels.

With reference to BE, Labov et al., (p. 108) state, "On the whole, then, we can say that the merger of (ihr) and (ehr) does not have great social significance for NNE speakers: it is distributed unevenly among the population, and exists for some as an absolute fact, for others as a slight tendency."

In the present study, words which were considered to have an underlying distinction in AE between these two sets of potentially merged vowels were coded for comparison with the New York findings. Six possible phonetic realizations were distinguished for each of the two sets: for (ihr) and (ehr)[21] these were: [i/ɪ], [e], [eˇ/ɛˆ], [ɛ], [ɛˇ/æ], and [ə]; for (uhr) and (ohr) they were: [u], [o], [ɔ], [ɐ], and [ə]. There were 72 occurrences of (ihr), 176 of (ehr), 67 of (uhr), and 178 of (ohr). Table 36 shows the distribution of realizations of (ihr) and (ehr) excluding a few occurrences (less than 5%) which could not be clearly distinguished from the tape recordings.

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[21]The notation (ihr) is used to indicate both underlying /ir/ and underlying /ɪr/; that is, no claim is being made about whether the underlying vowels are tense or lax. Similarly, the notations (ehr), (uhr) and (ohr) are intended to include both tense and lax underlying vowels.

Table 36

Distribution of (ihr) and (ehr)

	n	Percentage					
		[i]/[ɪ]	[e]	[ɛˇ]/[æ^]	[ɛ]	[ɛ^]/[æ^]	[ə]
(ihr)	66	98	0	2	0	0	0
(ehr)	170	21	8	12	57	1	0

n:	65	0	1	0	0	0
	36	14	21	97	2	0

There is virtually no tendency toward the lowering of the phonetic value of the vowel in (ihr) forms for these children. However, a strong tendency to raise the vowel in (ehr) forms does appear, and this is in accordance with what Labov found in the White Nonstandard English (WNS) in New York City.

The data for (uhr) and (ohr) in New York were not so clear as that for (ihr) and (ehr) and neither were the data very clear in the Los Angeles study. The figures for the phonetic realizations of (uhr) and (ohr) are shown in Table 37. While 98% of the (ihr) forms were realized phonetically by what might be called the standard vowel, the same is not true for (uhr). There is a much wider variety of realizations for the vowels of uhr forms, and both (uhr) and (ohr) realizations tend to cluster at [ɔ] or [ɔ^]. The distribution is skewed slightly toward the higher vowels for (uhr) forms.

The effect of the presence of an adult on the realization of vowels before r is shown in Tables 38 and 39. The very small number of instances for (ihr) and (uhr) precludes any statement for these forms. From the figures in the (ehr) and (ohr) rows of Tables 38 and 39, it seems that the presence of an adult interviewer has a small effect on the phonetic value of vowels before r, and that the effect on (ehr) is the opposite of that on (ohr). There are more raised vowels in (ehr) forms when an interviewer is present, but fewer raised vowels in (ohr) forms in the same context. These data do not exhibit the clear context or style stratification which Labov describes for WNS in New York City. It is interesting to note that for these three grades the vowels of (uhr) forms are never [u].

Since the kindergarten children were never interviewed without an adult present, they were necessarily excluded from Tables 38 and 39. It may be instructive, however, to look at the distributions for (ihr), (ehr), (uhr), and (ohr) of kindergarten children separately, as they

Table 37

Distribution of (uhr) and (ohr)

	n	Percentage [u]	[o]	[ɔ^]	[ɔ]	[ɐ]	[ə]
(uhr)[a]	65	8	6	21	51	0	14
(ohr)[b]	170	2	5	8	78	3	4

n: 5 4 14 33 0 9
3 9 14 132 5 7

[a]All but two of the instances coded as (uhr) were forms of your or you're. Two instances of sure were recorded. Both of these were realized as [šo] and both were spoken by third graders.

[b]Forms treated as (ohr) included before, board, course, door, for, four, forty, forget, George, horsey, more, morning, store, stories, sword.

Table 38

Comparison of Interview Context Effects on the Distributions of (ihr) and (ehr) for Combined First, Second, and Third Grades

		n	Percentage [i]/[ɪ]	[e]	[e˅]/[ɛ^]	[ɛ]	[ɛ˅]/[æ^]	[ə]
(ihr)	absent	28	100	0	0	0	0	0
	present	18	94	0	6	0	0	0
(ehr)	absent	63	27	13	24	36	0	0
	present	24	46	4	13	33	4	0

n: 28 0 0 0 0 0
17 0 1 0 0 0
17 8 15 23 0 0
11 1 3 8 1 0
73 0 19 31 1 0

Table 39

Comparison of Interview Context Effects on the Distributions of (uhr) and (ohr) for Combined First, Second, and Third Grades

		n	Percentage [u]	[o]	[ɔ^]	[ɔ]	[ɐ]	[ə]
(uhr)	absent	20	0	10	25	45	0	20
	present	6	0	0	17	33	0	50
(ohr)	absent	52	4	8	15	61	8	4
	present	48	0	8	4	83	0	4

n:						
	0	2	5	9	0	4
	0	0	1	2	0	3
	2	4	8	32	4	2
	0	4	2	40	0	2
	2	10	16	83	4	11

Table 40

Distribution of (ihr), (ehr), (uhr), and (ohr) in the Speech of Kindergarten Children

	n	Percentage					
		[i]/[ɪ]	[e]	[e˅]/[ɛ^]	[ɛ]	[ɛ˅]/[æ^]	[ə]
(ihr)	19	100	0	0	0	0	0
(ehr)	82	8	6	4	80	1	0
		[u]	[o]	[ɔ^]	[ɔ]	[ɐ]	[ə]
(uhr)	38	10	5	21	58	0	5
(ohr)	70	1	1	6	86	1	4

n:	19	0	0	0	0	0
	7	5	3	66	1	0
	4	2	8	22	0	2
	1	1	4	60	1	3

differ from those of the older children. Of 38 (uhr) forms, 4 (10%) were realized as [u] and 2 (5%) were realized as [o]. For the older children, 26 (uhr) forms produced the vowel [o] only twice (10%) and [u] never. The (ehr) forms are much more frequently realized as [ɛ] in the speech of the younger children (Table 40) than in the speech of older children (Table 38). This suggests that if there is a merger occurring of high and mid vowels, it is probably acquired with age. Such a suggestion must be made with caution at this point, because 38% of [ɛ] in the (ehr) row, and 25% of [ɔ^] and 50% of [ɔ] in the (ohr) row, occurred during singing, recitation of rhymes, or counting, which should properly be considered a distinct style.

Final Nasal Consonants

In any variety of English three general categories of phonetic realizations occur for final nasal consonants: (1) the standard consonant, or that which appears in spelling and careful and reading styles; (2) some other nasal consonant, often depending on the phonetic environment; and (3) deletion of the consonant, with or without accompanying nasalization of the final vowel.

Percentages of the three realizations of nasal consonants are compared to determine whether presence or absence of an interviewer results in a shift of style. The results (Table 41) indicate little or no conversational context effect in final nasals, taken as a whole.

Table 41

Final Nasal Consonants

		n	Percentage		
			Standard form	Substitute nasal	Deleted
K-3 combined	absent	700	72	14	13
	present	1210	78	9	12
Third Grade	absent	504	77	11	10
	present	137	78	10	10

n:	506	102	92
	950	110	150
	393	56	55
	107	15	15

Such lack of style shifting, however, does not appear to characterize gerundival and progressive forms ending in -ing. In these data, as in data from many others studies of English, the gerundival and progressive -ing most often occurs with a final n, either syllabic or not, as in runnin' for running. When an interviewer is present, only 10% of -ing forms contain the standard final nasal. When no interviewer is present, 5.1% of -ing forms are realized with the standard consonant.

Front Vowels Before Nasals

In all dialects of English nasal consonants almost always nasalize the vowels which immediately precede them. Nasalization of the vowel is frequently the only way to distinguish words which would otherwise be homophones because of the deletion of a nasal consonant. Deletion of nasal consonants is frequent in word final position (see Table 41).

Nasal consonants have another effect on the vowels which immediately precede them. Nasalized vowels tend to be closer to each other in phonetic value than the corresponding non-nasal vowels. In some dialects, including Southern AE and BE, high and mid front vowels (/ɪ/ and /ɛ/) become indistinguishable when nasalized. This phenomenon is quite evident in the present data, as can be seen in Table 42. Instances of [ə] and [Ø] have been omitted from this analysis. Although together with untranscribable cases they account for 13% of the realization of /ɪ/, 10% of the realizations of /ɛ/ and almost 24% of the realizations of /æ/,[22] the basic pattern remains clear: /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ are usually merged before nasals. It should be noted that the merger of /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ before nasals should cause little difficulty in learning to read so long as teachers and writers of primers and exercises recognize that it is likely to occur.

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[22]The unusually high percentage of untranscribable words with underlying /æ/ is accounted for by the high frequency of the frequently reduced word and.

Table 42

Realization of Front Vowels Before Nasals

		n	Percentage [ɪ]	[ɛ]	[æ]
/ɪ/	absent	188	93	3	2
	present	289	95	2	1
/ɛ/	absent	214	90	8	0
	present	288	72	23	3
/æ/	absent	266	0	0	98
	present	239	2	2	94

n:			
	176	7	5
	277	8	4
	194	19	1
	208	69	11
	2	2	262
	6	7	226

Part II: Syntax

Verbs

The verb system presents some of the most striking points of divergence between Black English and Anglo English. Discussed in this section are the use of the copula subject-verb agreement and the use of the modal auxiliaries. Mentioned here, but discussed in greater detail in the section on the lexicon, are the forms and usage of have, do, and ain't.

Labov et al., (p. 257) suggest on the basis of findings similar to those presented below and in the phonology section that the basic paradigm for the regular BE verb is:

	Affirmative	Negative
Present	he work	he don't work
Past	he worked	he didn't work
Future	he will work	he won't work

They also suggest that in the past tense ain't may be used interchangeably with didn't. This last proposition is not substantiated by the data reported here (see Negative Suppletion).

Copula

The realization of the copula in BE has long been recognized as being one of the most striking features of this dialect. Further, this variable is of interest for linguistic theories of the origin and present status of this dialect and its relationship to other dialects of English. There are two major competing hypotheses at present--the transformationalist and the creolist. The transformationalist view held, for example, by Labov, maintains that BE does not differ significantly from SE in its underlying structure; slight differences in the transformational and phonological rules generate the surface (observable) forms from these underlying structures. The creolist view holds that the underlying structures of BE and SE differ considerably, those of BE retaining many features of African languages spoken by the imported slaves. Proponents of each theory cite the forms of the copula as evidence. In particular, there are two facets of the realization of the copula which are characteristic of BE:

1) the lack of a finite form of to be in constructions in which it is present in SE, e.g., John tired rather than John is tired.

2) the presence of an invariant form be (be_2) in constructions in which it would not occur in SE, e.g., Hobo Kelly be on there.

Table 43

Summary of Copula Realization: am

		n	Percentage					
			F[a]	R[b]	C[c]	Ø[d]	Be_2	Be_2s
Kindergarten	present	41	0	0	95	0	4	0
First Grade	absent	7	0	0	100	0	0	0
	present	4	0	0	75	0	25	0
Second Grade	absent	7	0	0	100	0	0	0
	present	3	0	0	100	0	0	0
Third Grade	absent	18	5	5	77	0	11	0
	present	7	0	0	100	0	0	0
Total		87	1	1	91	0	5	0

[a]F = full, unreduced form

[b]R = reduced form, retaining syllabic status

[c]C = contracted form, becoming part of the preceding syllable

[d]Ø = zero form

n:						
	0	0	39	0	2	0
	0	0	7	0	0	0
	0	0	3	0	1	0
	0	0	7	0	0	0
	0	0	3	0	0	0
	1	1	14	0	2	0
	0	0	7	0	0	0
	1	1	80	0	5	0

Table 44

Summary of Copula Realization: are

		n	Percentage					
			F[a]	R[b]	C[c]	Ø[d]	Be_2	Be_2s
Kindergarten	present	31	13	3	6	68	6	6
First Grade	absent	4	25	0	0	75	0	0
	present	2	0	0	0	50	50	0
Second Grade	absent	10	10	0	0	90	0	0
	present	4	0	0	0	100	0	0
Third Grade	absent	12	8	0	0	16	58	16
	present	14	7	0	0	78	14	0
Total		77	10	1	2	64	15	5

[a]F = full, unreduced form

[b]R = reduced form, retaining syllabic status

[c]C = contracted form, becoming part of the preceding syllable

[d]Ø = zero form

n:						
4	1	2	20	2	2
1	0	0	3	0	0
0	0	0	1	1	0
1	0	0	9	0	0
0	0	0	4	0	0
1	0	0	2	7	2
1	0	0	11	2	0
8	1	2	50	12	4

Table 45

Summary of Copula Realization: is

		n	Percentage					
			F[a]	R[b]	C[c]	Ø[d]	Be_2	Be_2s
Kindergarten	present	89	17	2	51	28	0	0
First Grade	absent	24	12	4	41	41	0	0
	present	27	25	0	33	33	7	0
Second Grade	absent	12	75	0	10	8	0	0
	present	30	33	0	46	16	3	0
Third Grade	absent	87	17	0	33	20	28	0
	present	31	19	0	45	35	0	0
Total				1	41	26	9	0

[a]F = full, unreduced form

[b]R = reduced form, retaining syllabic status

[c]C = contracted form, becoming part of the preceding syllable

[d]Ø = zero form

n:						
16	2	46	25	0	0
3	1	10	10	0	0
7	0	9	9	2	0
9	0	2	1	0	0
10	0	14	5	1	0
15	0	29	18	25	0
6	0	14	11	0	0
66	3	124	79	28	0

Table 46

Occurrences of $\underline{be}_2$ by Grade

		Total	am[a]	are[a]	is[a]	would[a]
Kindergarten	present	4	2	2	0	0
First Grade	absent	0	0	0	0	0
	present	4	1	1	2	0
Second Grade	absent	0	0	0	0	0
	present	1	0	0	1	0
Third Grade	absent	45	2	7	25	11
	present	2	0	2	0	2

[a]Form which most likely would occur in SE.

In the comparison of use of the copula in SE and BE, six possible BE realizations are investigated: four possible phonetic realizations of SE finite forms (full, reduced, contracted, and zero), invariant $\underline{be}_2$ and the inflected form $\underline{be}_2\underline{s}$.

Investigating the realization of finite forms (Table 47), we find that although nonstandard (zero) forms occur, a large percentage of standard (full, reduced and contracted) forms occurs as well.[23]

Table 47

Phonologically Standard Forms (F, R, C)

n	Form	Percentage of All Realizations
87	am	94
75	are	14
300	is	64
122	was	100
1	were	100
32	will[a]	65
39	would[a]	61

Note: This discussion is not concerned with grammatical agreement, which is discussed in a later section. F = full, R = reduced, C = contracted.
[a]See Footnote 28.

Some of the important parameters of variation of the copula are:

1) style shifting associated with conversational context

2) age-grading

3) the interaction of phonological and grammatical rules

4) the semantic import of the invariant $\underline{be}$[24]

[23]See pages 3 and 5 for an example of this variation in the realization of the copula.

[24]See discussion in the Lexicon Section.

The discussion below notes some of the preliminary results of analysis with respect to these parameters.

1) Style shifting: The conversational context--interviewer absent or present--has the expected effect on invariant be: be_2 occurs more frequently when the interviewer is absent--the style tentatively identified as more casual.[25]

   Style shifting for the realization of finite forms of be is not clear due to the overriding effects of phonological and grammatical conditioning discussed below. Further analysis will be necessary to isolate the effects of conversational context in these forms.

2) Age-grading: Age-grading clearly is associated with the occurrence of the invariant be: the older children use be_2 much more frequently than the younger ones. Third grade usage amounts to 83% of the total number of occurrences.

   As with conversational context, age-grading effects on the realization of finite forms, if any, are obscured by the interaction of phonological and grammatical conditioning phenomena which will have to be eliminated before age-grading can be revealed.

3) Interaction of phonological and grammatical rules: The deletion of finite forms of the copula in BE is neither categorical nor irregular, but is governed by clearly statable grammatical rules. Labov et al , have observed that in the dialect of BE described, that of New York pre-adolescents, adolescents, and adults, the deletion of of the copula is possible only in those environments in which it is possible for SE to form a contraction. To test the validity of this hypothesis for the younger Los Angeles population of BE speakers, it is necessary to classify the sentences in which finite forms of be would occur in SE into those which do and do not permit contraction.

   Several factors condition contraction in SE. Labov et al., (p. 175) recognized only those which are syntactic, noting that the following syntactic environments are characteristic of contraction and full forms respectively:

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[25]However, counter to the general trend, be_2 is more frequent when the interviewer is present in the first grade, but note that with only four occurrences this is probably not significant.

Grammatical Environments of Copula

A. Contraction possible in SE, copula frequently zero, but variable in BE:

NP	He a faggot.
Pred Adj	You crazy.
Prep Phrase	We on tape.
Neg	They not caught.
V-ing Progressive	He gettin' cripple up.
gn	He gon' try. (SE going to)
passive	One guy's beat up a lot.

B. Contraction impossible in SE, copula usually present in BE:

infinitive	You got to be good.
modal	He will be gettin' worse.
imperative	Be cool!
clause final ellipsis	It always somebody tougher than you are.
embedded question	I don't care what you are.
emphasis	Allah is God.
yes-no question	Are you down?

Contraction of the copula in SE is also phonologically conditioned, depending on the final phoneme of the preceding word, e.g.:

mine is crooked → mine's crooked
yours is crooked → *yours' crooked[26]
his is crooked → *his' crooked

These facts suggest that in future analyses of copula deletion as a function of SE contractability, the data should be tabulated using the following categories:

C = contractible in SE

G = not contractible in SE for grammatical reasons (probably related to stress pattern)

P = not contractible in SE for phonological reasons, i.e., in a grammatical environment which permits contraction, but in which it is not phonologically possible, e.g.:

where are you? vs. where's he?

his is blue vs. mine's blue

Reduced forms may be possible in P environments.

O = other, e.g., in a citation form such as a song--All is calm, vs. all's well

Another facet of the interaction of phonological and grammatical rules in the realization of the copula is the existence of independently motivated phonological rules which (variably) delete the very consonants with which the copula is realized--/z/, /r/, and /l/[27]--from all words, irrespective of grammatical function. This interaction may be responsible for the large percentage of deletion of are in Table 44.

Finally, in the case of the invariant be, the operation of phonological rules may be responsible for surface occurrences of sentences which appear to contain be_2, but which actually might have underlying forms containing the modals will or would.[28]

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[26]"*" indicates an impossible form.

[27]For further discussion of the copula in BE, see Pfaff, forthcoming.

[28]For purposes of comparison will is treated along with forms of the verb to be since it displays similar contraction and reduction.

Agreement

The analysis of verb agreement can be done on two levels. On the one hand, we are interested in the overall number of "standard" vs. "nonstandard" verb forms. This involves looking at the total number of occurrences of verbs which may be inflected. On the other hand, we are interested in the percentage of "standard" and "nonstandard" verb forms with third person singular subjects as isolated from those which do not have third person singular subjects. The "nonstandard" forms are the co-occurrences of the third person singular subject and inflected verb, e.g., he work, and non-third person singular subject and inflected verb, e.g., I works. The latter may be termed hypercorrections. The "standard" forms are occurrences of the third person singular subject and the inflected third person singular verb, e.g., he works, and the non-third person singular subject and the uninflected verb, e.g., I work.

Table 48 shows the proportion of standard to nonstandard forms. The children use standard forms approximately 80% of the time and nonstandard forms approximately 20% of the time. Interesting as these figures are, they are inconclusive since they include all occurrences of verbs that may be inflected for person and number. Third person verbs account for roughly 44% of the total number of verb forms.

More revealing is the analysis of third person only. The number of instances varies greatly for the different verb types (subvariables) investigated and permits only a few conclusions. Significant subvariables are main verbs (other than be, have, and do), is and was.

There is, as is shown in Table 49, a definite predominance of non-agreement (uninflected third person verb)--85%. Only one "hypercorrect" inflected form for non-third person subject occurs (11405.0903, That's how things comes on.) One might speculate that use of this form, which may be archaic, increases with age since many adult speakers use it, often for stylistic effect much as educated white speakers use ain't. Given such a low number of occurrences, the pedagogical significance seems negligible.

Age-grading shows no clear-cut trend: 13%, 20%, 13%, and 12% standard forms as opposed to 86%, 80%, 87%, and 89% nonstandard for the four age groups--kindergarten, first grade, second grade, and third grade, respectively.

Table 48

Summary of Agreement

		n	Percentage	
			Standard	Nonstandard
Kindergarten	present	394	81	18
First Grade	absent	39	97	2
	present	100	66	34
Second Grade	absent	60	96	3
	present	83	74	25
Third Grade	absent	279	78	21
	present	86	76	23
Total		1041	79	20

n:		
	322	72
	38	1
	66	34
	58	2
	62	21
	213	61
	66	20
	830	211

Note: Includes all verbs: copula, have, do, and main verbs.

Table 49

Agreement in Third Person Main Verbs

	n	Percentage	
		Standard	Nonagreement
Kindergarten	66	13	86
First Grade	35	20	80
Second Grade	24	16	83
Third Grade	50	10	90
Total	175	14	85

n:		
	9	57
	7	28
	4	20
	5	45
	25	150

Likewise, presence or absence of an interviewer (Table 50) is not influential.

Table 50

Effect of Conversational Contexts on Agreement of Third Person Verbs

	n	Percentage	
		Agreement	Non-Agreement
Absent	42	16	83
Present	129	13	86

n: 7 35
17 112

Another subvariable which includes a large number of instances is the copula (actually divided into two subvariables: *is* [Table 51] and *was* [Table 52]).

For *is*, there are no instances of third person non-agreement (i.e., third person subject and non-third person verb). This is to be expected given that this is the third person singular form of the copula. There is a small percentage of non-third person subjects with third person verbs, suggesting that *is*, not unlike the uninflected "other main verbs," can be an invariant verb form not dependent upon person and number. The copula is often deleted, especially in the present tense. The data in Table 51 apply only to instances where *is* actually occurs. Forms like *I is* or *you is*, occur infrequently (only 7 out of 136 instances) and persist even in adult speech, but again one would suspect that these are archaisms used for stylistic effect.

The distribution of *was* exhibits the same pattern as *is* (Table 52). There are no occurrences of third person subjects with non-third person verbs, but there is a large number of occurrences of *was* with non-third singular subjects, e.g., *they was*. Unlike *is*, *was* is not often deleted and its use as an invariant form is more nearly a categorical rule of the dialect than an optional stylistic variant of the past tense of the copula.

The apparent age-grading of nonagreement with *we*, *you*, and *they was*, is fortuitous. This effect is due to the nonoccurrence of the subjects *we*, *you*, and *they* with the past tense copula in the three lower grades. In the entire corpus, there was only one instance of *were*: *They were detective*. (06301.0623)

Table 51

Agreement of *is*

	n	Percentage	
		Standard agreement third person subject third person verb	Nonstandard nonagreement third person verb nonthird person subject
Kindergarten	32	100	0
First Grade	30	100	0
Second Grade	32	96	4
Third Grade	56	100	0
Total	150	99	1

n:		
	32	0
	30	0
	31	1
	56	0
	149	1

Table 52

Agreement of was

	n	Percentage				
		Standard agreement		Nonstandard nonagreement		
		I was	he, she, it 3rd singular noun was	we was	you was	they was
Kindergarten	26	38	53	0	3	3
First Grade	5	40	60	0	0	0
Second Grade	14	0	100	0	0	0
Third Grade	75	6	68	5	12	8
Total	120	14	68	3	8	5

n:					
	10	14	0	1	1
	2	3	0	0	0
	0	14	0	0	0
	5	51	4	9	6
	17	82	4	10	7

Other lexical items of particular interest are:

1) have (main verb): There are only four occurrences, none of which have subject-verb agreement, i.e., have occurs instead of has with third person singular subjects. Two occurrences are in the kindergarten group and two in third grade. Although a very small number, these are representative of the dialect rules concerning have, discussed below.

2) do (auxiliary): All 14 occurrences are realized as do. A large percentage of these are negatives (don't).

3) do (main verb): There is a total of five occurrences, one in kindergarten and four in third grade. All are realized as do.

It is questionable whether does exists in BE. No instances of does are found in the present sample. All present tenses of this verb including third person singular, occur as the form do, (e.g., he do). If both forms (do and does) actually exist in the dialect it would be of interest to see if the rules governing form operate equally in positive and negative instances. Any such analysis would necessitate a much larger sample than that utilized here.

Table 53

do (AUX)

	n	
Kindergarten	2	
First grade	7	
Second grade	1	
Third grade	4	
Total	14	

There are no occurrences of am and are with third person singular subjects, which is hardly surprising. The only occurrence of non-agreement with are thus far encountered in our data is outside the sample investigated here. One girl (first grade) narrating the moment of discovery in "The Three Bears," says, "...And here she are." This particular occurrence seems highly idiosyncratic.

The high percentage of nonagreement in the BE verb system seems to bear out the claim that these present tense verb forms actually are invariable. This matter is discussed in greater detail in the section on (KZ) and (VZ). It is consistent with the creolist hypothesis discussed earlier inasmuch as the loss of verbal inflections is common in many creolized languages, even when these inflections have an important grammatical function.

Modals

English modal auxiliaries are verbs which can be followed by other verbs without an intervening particle to and which are not inflected for person. The modal auxiliaries are can, may, shall, will, must, dare, and need.[29] For example, English speakers can say:

He can go to the store.

but not

*He cans go to the store.
*He can to go to the store.

Contrast these examples with a non-modal verb want as in

*He want go to the store.
He wants to go to the store.

In SE there is also a constraint prohibiting the use of two modals in a row. Thus the sentence

*He may can go to the store.

is not acceptable. Such sentences as the last are acceptable in the speech of many Southerners and in the speech of many Blacks. No occurrences of such double modals were noted in the sample of 12 children. The peer group members interviewed by Labov, on the other hand, exhibited "a wide variety of such forms" (Labov et al., p. 261).

Labov et al., have focused attention on a class of verbs which have some but not all of the properties of modals. These verb forms are called quasi-modals and have the following properties:

---

[29]Under this definition do is a modal in BE since it does not inflect for person. Some writers also treat do as a modal in SE. The status of dare and need as modals is questionable in most American English dialects: most speakers no longer feel comfortable with such sentences as "He need go to the store, preferring "He needs to go to the store."

a) They are fused with the following to, which rarely if ever appears in full form. There is voicing assimilation, formation of flaps, simplification of geminates--the processes of morphological condensation typical of frequently conjoined function words.

b) For several, there is no tense marker left from the verb: useta, supposeta, and gotta. The other two [hafta and wanna] have no tense marker in NNE [BE].

c) For all but wanna, the corresponding form with a separate subject is impossible or literary, and for many colloquial speakers, there may be no connection between I want him to go and I wanna go. Nothing else can intervene between the verb and the to particle.[30]

Data have been collected on the occurrence of modals and quasi-modals. A number of forms have been marked as being used in a somewhat unusual manner. Most of these are instances of could in contexts where can is slightly more natural. For example,

> You wanna tell my brother? ... You could tell my brother. (06202.0212)

Such forms as this have tentatively been coded as instances of "suppletion." Labov et al., (p. 260) have suggested that interchangeability of can and could is typical of both White and Black speakers of nonstandard dialects in New York City. Such interchangeability, if it exists, should probably be treated as a lexical matter. As can be seen from Table 54 there is no apparent difference in the percentage suppletion in the two interview contexts.

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[30]These three points are from Labov et al., (p. 263). It is clear that Labov intends these criteria to define a large class of forms and not just the five listed.

Table 54

Distribution of Modals and Quasi-Modals

		n	Percentage	
			Standard	Suppletion[a]
Modal				
	Absent	39	84	15
	Present	99	84	15
Quasi-modal				
	Absent	16	100	--
	Present	77	100	--

n: 33 6
84 15
16 --
77 --

[a]"Suppletion" is undefined for quasi-modals.

Negative Concord

Negative concord, more commonly known as double negative, is the multiple marking of a negative within a simple sentence. In English, a marker of negation can be shown on the verb (e.g., Don't do that) or on an indefinite noun phrase (e.g., I saw no one). In cases of negative concord, the negative is marked on both the verb and a noun phrase or on two or more noun phrases. For example:

He didn't have no legs. 11201.1301
Nobody did nothing.

For purposes of analysis four types of negatives were recognized:

1) Unattracted negatives, e.g., He said nope. 06301.1715.

2) Implicit negatives, e.g., He hardly missed a thing.

3) Explicit negatives on tense markers, e.g.,

He didn't go through there. 06105.0451.
I don't know what he did. 06301.1623.

4) Explicit negatives on indefinites, e.g.,

I never did. 06105.1203.
Nobody else [said it]. 16105.1515.

No cases of implicit negatives were recorded. It is apparent from Table 55 that negative concord happens frequently with explicit negatives, and that there is an apparent interview context effect.

Table 55

Negative Concord

		n	Percentage	
			No concord (standard)	Negative concord
Explicit Negative on an indefinite	absent	9	33	66
	present	36	55	44
on a tense marker	absent	60	90	10
	present	120	87	12
Unattracted Negative	absent	34	100	0
	present	45	97	2

n:		
	3	6
	20	16
	54	6
	106	15
	34	0
	44	1

Since the kindergarten children were never interviewed without adults present, the possibility exists that developmental factors are confounding the interview context data. As can be seen from Table 56, this is not the case.

The kindergarten children do in fact use a greater amount of "standard" negation than the twelve children taken as a whole; but the third grade children use an even greater percentage of standard negation when an adult is present. In fact, when no adult is present, the third graders use the greatest percentage of multiple negation of all the grades in each of the interview conditions, but when an adult is present the third graders use the least multiple negation of all the grades

in each interview condition. Because of the paucity of data from the first and second grades it is not possible to trace the development of this sensitivity to the presence of adults.

Table 56

Negative Concord--Comparison of Interview Context by Grade Level for Negatives on Indefinite Noun Phrases

		n	Percentage	
			No concord (standard)	Negative concord
Kindergarten	present	20	60	40
First Grade	absent	2	50	50
	present	7	28	71
Second Grade	absent	0	0	0
	present	3	33	66
Third Grade	absent	7	28	71
	present	6	83	16

n: 12 8
1 1
2 5
0 0
1 2
2 5
5 1

The apparent low frequency of negative concord when a negative marker appears with the tense marker is misleading. The reason for this is that most tense markers with negatives occurred in sentences with no other place to mark negation (e.g., "I ain't kidding." 06105.1206).[31] Extracting the 31 cases in which sentences containing negated tense markers also contained indefinites following the tense marker, the pattern in Table 57 appears.

[31]Similar problems do not occur with the count of negated indefinites, because the tense marker in the sentence can always accept a negative marker.

Table 57

Negative Concord in Sentences Containing a Negated Tense Marker and a Following Indefinite Noun Phrase

	n	Percentage	
		"Standard"	Negative Concord
Absent	6	0	100
Present	25	40	60

n: 0 6
10 15

The age of the speakers seems to have an important effect on the application of the negative concord rules (Table 58).

Table 58

Negative Concord in Sentences Containing a Negated Tense Marker and a Following Indefinite Noun Phrase--By Grade Level

		Frequency	
		"Standard"	Negative Concord
Kindergarten	present	9	8
First Grade	absent	0	1
	present	1	5
Third Grade	absent	1	5
	present	0	2

There were no instances in the second grade of negated tense markers occurring in sentences with indefinite noun phrases.

No multiple negatives occurred unless the verb was negated. It is not uncommon to find both the verb and all the following indefinite noun phrases negated as in:

I don't never like to dream about no country peoples. 1404.0704.

It is also possible, however, to find instances of negated verbs followed by both negated and non-negated indefinite noun phrases.

I'm not going to be a leader for nobody. 11405.1308.
He don't never run from a monster. 14404.0603.

Questions

In Anglo English the sentence We can talk about something can be yes-no questioned by Can we talk about something? or wh-questioned by What can we talk about? In direct questions such as these the verb carrying the tense marker precedes the subject. Under some circumstances when subject-verb inversion occurs an auxiliary do can carry the tense marker: What did we talk about? In embedded questions, however, SE preserves the subject-verb word order of the declarative as in I asked John if we could talk about something.

The syntax of questions for the twelve children in the present sample appears to be nearly identical to that of SE. Of the 219 instances collected, only five are nonstandard:

That's where it come from, here? 11103.1717
And you was back here? 16105.0202
He said "You want to go the dog pound?" 06301.1722
Why they did it to you? 06105.1201
What else we can talk about? 06301.1913

Except for the lack of subject-verb agreement the first two of these sentences could be uttered by any speaker of English in colloquial contexts as requests for confirmation. The third question may be described as an example of the deletion of a do which carried the tense marker. In the last two sentences the verb carrying the tense marker has not shifted to precede the subject. Labov et al., have noted a similar phenomenon among adolescent Blacks in Harlem. In direct questions the Harlem speakers produced nonstandard forms somewhat more frequently than the children interviewed in Los Angeles. Embedded questions, on the other hand, almost always exhibit noninverted forms. Instead of Ask him if you can play, the Harlem adolescent will usually say Ask him can he play. This pattern did not occur in any of the data collected from

Los Angeles children (see Table 59). Of the seven embedded questions collected, five are identical to SE norms and two have the tense marker deleted and yield no evidence about subject-verb inversion.

Ambiguous cases without tense markers are quite common in free conversation.

Complex Sentences

Contrary to the claims of limited language ability, the children produced a wide variety of complex sentences. These have been classified and coded as follows:[32]

Conjunctions
- Coordinate
- Subordinate

Relative Clauses

Comparatives

Indirect Discourse
- Statement
- Question

Quotations

Conjunctions

Table 60 displays occurrences of sentences formed with both coordinate and subordinate conjunctions. Very few of these sentences were nonstandard. Shuy et al., have suggested that:

---

[32]A further type of complex sentence is the Parenthetical Clause, for example My friend--he lives in New York--is a stamp collector. There is some difficulty in distinguishing occurrences of parenthetical clauses from occurrences of pleonastic (or appositional) use of pronouns, in which a second subject marker, a pronoun, is inserted in a simple sentence, for example, My friend he went home. Sequences of noun + pronoun like my friend he are characteristic of both constructions.

Table 59

Questions

		n	Percentage		
			Standard English	Nonstandard	No Tense Marker
Yes - No					
ambiguous[a]	present	6	33	0	66
nonembedded	absent	53	56	1	41
	present	48	35	4	60
embedded	absent	0	0	0	0
	present	2	50	0	50
WH nonembedded	absent	51	33	3	62
	present	49	63	0	36
embedded	absent	3	100	0	0
	present	5	80	0	20
Either - or	absent	2	100	0	0
	present	0	0	0	0
Total	absent	109	47	2	49
	present	110	50	1	48
	Total	219	48	2	48

n:			
	2	0	4
	30	1	22
	17	2	29
	0	0	0
	1	0	1
	17	2	32
	31	0	18
	3	0	0
	4	0	1
	2	0	0
	0	0	0
	52	3	54
	55	2	53
	107	5	107

[a]Whether these six cases were embedded or not could not be determined.

Table 60

Summary of Conjunction
(Kindergarten Through Third Grade Combined)

		n	Percentage	
			Standard Conjunction	Conjunction absent
coordinate	absent	250	98	1
	present	292	98	1
subordinate	absent	11	100	0
	present	75	100	0
indeterminate	present	1	0	100
Total		629	98	1

n:		
	246	4
	288	4
	11	0
	75	0
	0	1
	620	9

> The connection of clauses by coordination may be correlated with age and status. That is, 10-12 year old children and people at lower social status ranking tend to use more coordination than adults and people at higher social ranking. (Shuy et al., 1967, part III A, p. 10)

Although the present study does not provide comparative data on age and class over the range discussed by Shuy et al., it is valuable to note the relative frequencies of these means of connection. There were 534 coordinate conjunctions and 86 subordinate conjunctions, a ratio of 6:1. As Table 61 shows, there is no evidence for increased use of subordinate conjunctions with age. On the contrary, the use of subordination decreases sharply between kindergarten and third grade.

The occurrence of coordination was influenced by the high frequency of narratives, with the concomitant high frequency of "and then..."

Another purpose in looking at the use of conjunctions in the present data is to investigate the "stacked" constructions.[33] These constructions apparently involve the connection of clauses without any overt marker of the connnection, but in which the clauses are merely juxtaposed. For example:

he got a gun sound like a bee

Since surface connection clauses may be regarded as derived from a reduction of underlying structures corresponding to full sentences for each clause, the occurrence of such "stacked" constructions implies a difference in the transformational rules which generate the reduced forms in BE. Table 60 shows only a slight trace of connection of clauses without overt markers. Only 1% of the coordinate sentences have no conjunction and there were no clear examples of missing subordinate conjunctions.

Relative Clauses

Clauses traditionally called relative clauses and adverbial clauses introduced by words such as _when_ and _where_ have closely related grammatical constraints (Geis, 1970). Sentences with adverbial relative clauses such as _I know where he is_ have the variant forms _I know where he is at_ and _I know the place where he is_. Labov et al., (pp. 305-307) suggest such forms are overt markers of BE. While recognizing that such forms are not limited to BE, Labov et al., suggest that BE and AE differ in the grammatical or social conditions under which these forms can be employed.

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[33] So named by Stewart and Dillard (personal communication).

Table 61

Distribution of Standard Coordinate and Subordinate Conjunctions by Grade

	n	Percentage	
		Coordinate	Subordinate
Kindergarten	253	75	24
First Grade	59	89	10
Second Grade	43	83	16
Third Grade	264	95	4
Total	619	86	13

n:	191	62
	53	6
	36	7
	253	11
	533	86

Each sentence containing a relative clause was marked for whether or not it included:

(1) an explicit antecedent noun for the relative clause (e.g., I know the place where he is; I know the place he went to).

(2) a wh-word (e.g., who, what, which, where, why, when, while, how; and, for purposes of this analysis, that).

(3) a preposition related to the (explicit or implicit) wh-word (e.g., I know where he's at).

Of the 194 relative clauses produced in the sample, only two contained prepositions related to the wh-word. Both of these occurred in sentences with an explicit antecedent noun. These sentences are:

Let's see where they at. 06202.0615
...And to the Republic for which it stands... 04202.0505

The second of these sentences, obviously a memorized citation form, can certainly not be taken as a typical representation of the informant's speech. Both of these sentences were uttered when no interviewer was in the room.

Somewhat surprising is the fact that an antecedent noun was explicitly realized in only four relative clauses. One of these is the second sentence quoted above. The other three are in the sentences:

Did you see that time when Gumby had this dog? 06301.1617

We going be like those shows when people be asking questions. 16105.0119

He always call us names. Then when I say shut up Lateef... 12201.0205

There were no instances recorded of relative clauses without a wh-word (including that) introducing them.

Twice as many relatives were produced when interviewers were present than when no interviewers were present (Table 62).

Table 62

Distribution of Relative Clauses

	Interviewer	
	absent	present
number without prepositions	63	129
number with prepositions	2	0

Comparatives, Superlatives, and Equatives

Comparative constructions such as John is taller than Mary is are another type of complex English sentence. Superlatives, although apparently somewhat simpler in syntax, bear an obvious semantic relation to comparatives and for that reason are treated with them. A related set of constructions is that involving equative sentences such as:

It'll just come down like mine. 11201.0120

Mine's not green like that one. 11405.1212

My sister, she go the same time I go... 14404.0208

He walk same way we do, but he flies up in the sky sometime. 14404.0517

Very few instances of comparatives, superlatives, and equatives have been noted in the texts. Table 63 shows their distribution by grade level.

There is nothing unusual about the use of the forms observed. It is worth mentioning, however, that all three kindergarten children produced examples of the comparative. This is important because the grammatical restrictions on comparative formation and interpretation require the speaker to distinguish noun phrases from verb phrases and to recognize the grammatical structure of complex sentences. Such sentences are important as counterexamples that Black children have poor "syntactic organization" (Bereiter & Engelmann, 1966).

The following examples are illustrative of comparisons in which a copula is not repeated.

Table 63

Distribution of Comparatives, Superlatives and Equatives

	Comparative	Superlative	Equative
Kindergarten	9	1	2
First Grade	1	0	2
Second Grade	0	0	0
Third Grade	1	3	0
Total	11	4	4

I'm bigger than you. 11103.0518

It's prettier than mine. 11405.0512

Mine's not green like that one. 11405.1212

I'm bigger that you all guys. 11405.1424

I'll bet you I'll be prettier than Cheryl. 11405.0614

Some examples in which verbs other than the copula have not been repeated are:

Her car'll go faster than my daddy's. 11103.1918

It'll just come down like mine. 11201.0120

I go "brrr" real fast and better than you. 11405.1408

Some examples which involve nouns are:

I count higher than that. 11201.0819

My sister, she go the same time I go. 14404.0208

I like Batman more than I like Lucy. 14404.0308

The superlatives which occurred are:

He's the biggest. 11103.0516

I'm the biggest, you the second to the lowest [and] you the second to the highest. 16105.0113/0115

Indirect Discourse

Examples of speakers reporting on their own or others' previous or potential statements were investigated[34] in the hope of obtaining information on the rules governing sequence of tenses and sentence embedding. There were, however, only six indirect statements and no indirect questions in the sample. The distribution of the indirect statements is shown in Table 64.

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[34]Such sentences have not been discussed in other dialect studies.

Table 64

Indirect Statements

	Standard	Nonstandard
Interviewer absent	2	0
Interviewer present	3	3

The "standard" examples with interviewer absent are:

> And Mr. Howell say yours is bigger than mine. 06301.0303
>
> Gomer said (pause) that was just a, uhm, (pause) a, a trick. 06301.0918

The "standard" examples with interviewer present are:

> He said he wanted to make some pancakes, put dumdum on it. 11201.1280
>
> And I'm going to tell Miss Napoli you call somebody dum dum. 11405.0310
>
> I said the microphone is... (unintelligible) 16301.0107

All the "nonstandard" examples were collected when interviewers were present. While it is clear that the first of these is indeed unusual, the second could be a direct quotation and the third may be an example of the phonological deletion of had or has:

> My mother said don't take it to school with me. 11103.0119
>
> She say give it to Marian. 11103.0120
>
> Baby bear looked in his bowl and said somebody been eating in his bowl and ate it all up. 14202.0712

Two sentences with similar structure containing that-complements occurred:

> [Momma bear] looked in her room and seen somebody's been eating her food. 14202.0709
>
> They thought Gumby was inside there. 06301.0918

Clearly no generalizations can be drawn from data as sparse as these, but it would be worthwhile in the future to determine if the tendency to use present tenses in the embedded sentences is particularly characteristic of BE or is characteristic of child speech in general.

Quotations

Quotations have been collected for comparison to indirect discourse as well as for their intrinsic interest. For purposes of analysis three types of quotations have been defined:

1) Direct quotation of what others have said

My mother say, "No, leave them there." 11201.0516

My daddy say, "Oooo." 11103.0622

2) Citations from songs and other fixed phrases

(Singing) Mary had a little lamb, little lamb, little lamb,... 11103.0915

Pay for a dollar the old red horse. The horse went in the pool. I traded him for a bull. The bull went in the house. I traded him for a dollar. The dollar pass; traded for a hoe. The hoe wouldn't chop. I throwed it in the grass. The grass wouldn't grow. I wouldn't (?) have a hoe rake hoe. 11103.1207ff

3) Onomatopoetic representations of sounds

She go wham, wham wham. 11103.1504

Citations from songs, etc. are separated from direct quotations because they may be memorized with unusual or idiosyncratic underlying forms. Although not specifically separated from the remainder of the data, proper names pose a similar problem. The quantities of each of the three types of quotations have been tabulated. It is not surprising that there are considerably more instances of memorized forms and many fewer of onomatopoeia produced in the presence of adult interviewers than when children are the only participants in the conversation.

Table 65

Quotations

	n	Percentage		
		Direct Quote	Citation	Onomatopoeia
Interviewer absent	134	45	26	28
Interviewer present	120	38	53	8
Total	254	42	38	18

n:			
	61	35	38
	46	64	10
	107	99	48

Article and Preposition Deletion

The nonstandard reduction of some clauses in BE is apparently due to the elimination of certain function words. One type, the elimination of conjunctions or relative pronouns is discussed in the section on Conjunctions. Two further types of function word deletion occur with some frequency in the data. These reductions involve the elimination of the articles a, the, etc., producing surface forms such as:

on ground

and elimination of prepositions to, at, etc.

over her house

Reductions of these types were not included among the variables originally selected for analysis, so the extent to which such phenomena occurred is not clear at this point. These reductions may be associated with fast speech, but the matter should be pursued further. Impressionistically, the lack of the preposition seems to be a grammatical characteristic of several English dialects, including BE.

Pleonasm

Labov et al., (p. 304) included a discussion of pleonastic forms found in their corpus of New York adolescent BE (NNE):

> A number of the characteristics of NNE discussed so far have represented the elimination of redundancies and pleonasms that we find in SE: is + ing, or have + ed for example. There are also many cases where NNE uses several forms where SE uses one. The process of negative concord achieves massive pleonasm, and double modals seem to have this character in some cases. There are many other features of NNE which are plainly pleonastic; most of them are general characteristics of Southern colloquial English, according to our informants.

Included in the pleonastic forms cited by Labov are the following:

a) and plus

b) or either

c) adverbs of place, e.g., I came on back out

d) approximators, e.g., almost close to two hundred a week

In the present corpus, there were no examples of any of the pleonasms mentioned by Labov. The single occurrence, in the speech of a kindergarten child What did the other oven say to the other oven? seems to be characteristic of the citation of riddles, and occurs in the speech of informants, not included in the sample discussed in this interim report.

Impressionistically, pleonastic forms such as those cited by Labov do occur in the speech of adult speakers of BE in the Los Angeles area. It is possible that pleonasms are age-graded, becoming frequent after third grade. It is also possible that the lack of such forms in the corpus reported here reflects a relatively small influence of Southern colloquial speech in the BE spoken by Los Angeles children.

Existential Dummy

The existential dummies (there is and there are with the meaning "there exists") are sometimes realized as it is in BE. Labov et al., (p. 301) suggest that this use of dummy it is merely a lexical substitution which has no effect on the underlying syntax. They also report the realizations they, they have, they got, there go, here go in the speech of Black adolescents in New York. None of the latter realizations occur in the present study.

The realization they may be the result of the phonological rule of /r/ deletion and/or copula deletion. Thus its status as an independent realization of existential dummy is doubtful.

Table 66

Existential Dummy
(Combined Kindergarten Through Third Grade)

		n	there	it
there is	absent	1	0	0
	present	2	1	1
there are	absent	0	0	0
	present	5	1	4
Total		7	2	5

These seven instances show a slight predominance of it rather than there as existential dummy. In addition, one example which might be regarded as a zero realization was noted, sure wasn't X. This was said in response to another group member who had said There wasn't X in the immediately preceding stretch of discourse. A zero realization of an existential dummy could not occur free of any such context.

As for the relevance of this variable to reading instruction, it should be pointed out that the use of it's for there is and there are usually goes unnoticed in spoken language. At any rate, the SE forms there is and there are are in the Black children's dialect, even if it's is more common. There may or may not be a stylistic or semantic distinction between these forms.

Part III: Lexicon--Usage

Although in all likelihood the inventory of words of BE is substantially the same as that of AE, some of these words have undergone semantic change in BE or are used in different contexts than in AE. In other words, there may not be a one-to-one correspondence in the usage of certain lexical items in AE and BE. The words bright, pink, hog, dude, and fixing (or fitting) have different meanings when used by a BE speaker than when used by a speaker of AE. The form fitting or fixing, for example, is used with the meaning "preparing" as in He fitting to take us someplace (06105.0401). This usage is characteristic of Southern speech, irrespective of race. It is apparent from inspection of the word frequency lists that such lexical items are not greatly used by the 12 children. It is possible that these words do not occur in the Los Angeles dialect of BE, but more likely that either the children do have these words in their vocabularies but happened not to use them during the interviews, or, still more plausibly, that these words will be acquired later as the children become acculturated to BE norms by exposure to "street life" where such words are in frequent use.[35] It is, of course, not possible to make any predictions along these lines without detailed knowledge of teenage and adult usage in the Los Angeles area.

There are some function words which have different patterns of usage in BE and AE. Among these are have, do, invariant be (be_2), and ain't.

Negative Suppletion (ain't)

In their discussion of negative forms, Labov et al., (pp. 255-257) note that in present tenses ain't is optionally used by peer group members for the negative of the copula be_1 (specifically for the negative of am, is, and are) and for the negative of have in such sentences as:

I ain't gonna tell you no more, I'm not going to tell you.

Well no, she ain't had no kind of nobody to bring her up.

---

[35]The social class of the children in this study has not been as precisely determined as one would like (see Williams & Legum, 1970). Nevertheless it can be claimed with some certainty that these children are from the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum. The main source of doubt stems from the fact that the kindergarten and second grade children were attending parochial schools which charge a small tuition when they were interviewed.

In other instances of the negative in the present and present perfect, the peer group members used don't (but not doesn't). In the past tense, both ain't and don't are used with approximately equal frequency.

Labov notes that the use of ain't appears to be relatively infrequent among adults and is less frequent among pre-adolescents than among adolescent peer group members. In conjunction with similar developmental data for be_2, these facts lead Labov to suggest that BE is not a dialect associated with very young children.[36]

This suggestion is borne out to a large extent by the present study. In particular, ain't is used only 20 times in the total sample of text which comprises 13,404 words.[37] All of these instances were negations of the copula. There were no clear occurrences of ain't used as the negative of either have or do, although there were two occurrences of have + not and 96 occurrences of do and not. There was possibly one occurrence of ain't for didn't in the sentence:

He blame it on Yvonne. So Yvonne ain't do nothing. (11405.0713)

Unfortunately, the word is obscure on the tape and it is impossible to verify what was actually said. It seems clear, however, that the children interviewed do not use ain't as the negation of do in the same way as the peer group members studied by Labov. Ain't is used by the Los Angeles children as an optional variant of copula + not.

Examination of the instances of ain't which occur shows that third graders use ain't 3.5 times as frequently as kindergarten children for copula + not (Table 67).

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[36]A more precise formulation would be that young children, while exhibiting many typical BE features, do not use these features as frequently or as consistently as older children.

[37]Appendix II contains the complete list of all the examples of ain't in the sample.

Table 67

Occurrences of Copula + Not by Grade

	n	ain't	standard form
Kindergarten	18	4	14
First Grade	2	2	0
Second Grade	3	1	2
Third Grade	20	14	6
Total	43	21	22

There is no significant difference between the frequencies with which ain't is used for a copula acting as a main verb and for a copula acting as an auxiliary verb. Combining data from all four grades the distribution shown in Table 68 is obtained.

Table 68

Occurrences of Copula + Not by Function

	ain't[a]	standard form
Main verb	10	11
Auxiliary	11	7

[a]Two instances of ain't which occurred are not tabulated here because it is not possible to decide whether they are main verb or auxiliary uses.

The data do not show conclusively what ain't corresponds to in SE. There is, of course, no a priori reason to expect ain't to correspond to any single entity in SE. If the use of ain't in BE is a lexical matter, one would expect to find a small list of SE forms for which ain't could be used. This is in fact the pattern found. All but two of the instances of copula + not where ain't might occur are present tense forms. The other two cases are both the past tense form wasn't. Both speakers who use wasn't also use ain't. One of these is a second grader, the other is a third grader. In kindergarten, however, the two speakers who use forms of the copula + not other than ain't do not use ain't at all. The one speaker who used ain't does not use any other form of the copula + not.

In the first grade there were only two instances of copula + not where ain't might occur. Both of these were in the speech of the same speaker and both were spoken as ain't.

In the second grade there were only three such potential instances of ain't. As was noted above, one of these was an instance of ain't in a present tense usage, and another was an instance of wasn't. The third instance was in the sentence:

That's not for girls. 12202.0319

In the third grade, only two speakers produced instances of copula + not which could potentially be realized as ain't. Both of these speakers produced both standard copula + not forms as well as instances of ain't.

Have

The word have and the forms which can alternate with it suppletively are abbreviated as the variable (HAVE). (HAVE) is of interest because of its key role in the verbal system and for the light it may shed on the interactions between change in the grammatical and lexical components of a language.

Four uses of (HAVE) were recognized for purposes of this analysis: (1) use as a main verb (e.g., I have a book), (2) use as a quasi-modal (e.g., I haveta go now), (3) use as an infinitive after a modal auxiliary (e.g., I might have left early), and (4) use as an auxiliary verb (e.g., I have eaten all my spinach). Of 165 instances of (HAVE), 55% were realized as have and 36% were realized as got (see Table 69).[38] Only one instance of has was recorded. There were no instances of was or done,[39] and no occurrences of the reduced or contracted forms which are spelled 've.

Only the auxiliary use of (HAVE) shows any age-grading effects, and the instances of these are too few to draw any conclusions. In Tables 69 and 70, kindergarten and first grade data have been combined and second and third grade data have been combined. The realization of nonauxiliary (HAVE) as got is a syntactic or lexical fact, but the frequent deletion of auxiliary have is most likely a phonological matter related to the lack of phonological stress on English auxiliaries.

There is a distinct difference in the usage of auxiliary and nonauxiliary forms of have which indicates that the speakers comprehend the grammatical distinction. In particular, only forms used as auxiliaries are deleted, and only forms not used as auxiliaries are replaced by got (see Table 70).

Table 71 indicates that there may be some conversational context effect on the choice of the forms have and got. It is clear that the instances of (HAVE) realized as got are not subject to the phonological reduction rules which affect the instances realized as have. Retabulating the above data excluding the instances of got produces a pattern which shows extremely little phonological reduction of have. There is a weak contextual constraint on the phonological reduction of have, as indicated in Table 72.

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[38]In investigating the relationship of have and got, it is necessary to ask in which environments they are interchangeable. Frequently it cannot be determined if have has been deleted or replaced by got. Similar problems exist in AE.

[39]No instances of the common Southern pattern I done ate were produced.

Table 69

Realizations of (HAVE) in Different Grammatical Categories

	n	Percentage			
		Full Form	[ə]	ø	Got
Main Verb					
Kindergarten, First Grade	82	59	0	0	40
Second, Third Grades	38	52	0	0	47
Quasi-Modal					
Kindergarten, First Grade	20	55	10	0	35
Second, Third Grades	6	50	0	0	5
Modal + have					
Kindergarten, First Grade	1	0	100	0	0
Second, Third Grades	3	100	0	0	0
Auxiliary					
Kindergarten, First Grade	8	12	0	87	0
Second, Third Grades	7	57	14	28	0

n:

49	0	0	33
20	0	0	18
11	2	0	7
3	0	0	3
0	1	0	0
3	0	0	0
1	0	7	0
4	1	2	0

Table 70

Realizations of (HAVE) in Different Grammatical Categories with Main Verb, Quasi-Modal, and Modal + have Combined

	n	Percentage			
		have	[ə]	ø	Got
Main Verb, Quasi-Modal, Modal + have					
Kindergarten, First Grade	103	58	2	0	38
Second, Third Grades	47	55	0	0	44
Total	150	57	2	0	40
Auxiliary					
Kindergarten, First Grade	8	12	0	87	0
Second, Third Grades	7	57	14	28	0
Total	15	33	6	60	0

n:	60	3	0	40
	26	0	0	21
	86	3	0	61
	1	0	7	0
	4	1	2	0
	5	1	9	0

Table 71

Effect of Conversational Context on the Distribution of the Realizations of (HAVE)

	n	Percentage			
		full form	ə	got	Ø
Interviewer absent	32	75	3	18	3
Interviewer present	133	50	2	41	6
Total	165	55	2	36	5

n:				
	24	1	6	1
	67	3	55	8
	91	4	61	9

Table 72

Phonological Reduction of have

	n	Percentage		
		full form	[ə]	∅
Interviewer absent	26	92	3	3
Interviewer present	78	85	3	10
Total	104	87	3	8

n:			
	24	1	1
	67	3	8
	91	4	9

The possibility was examined that the third person singular present tenses were being avoided by the use of alternate constructions using infinitival have (e.g., He might have gone), which do not require the form has in any dialect. Table 73 does not support this hypothesis.

There are 40 instances of the realization have (Table 73) in (finite) present tense contexts. Of these, nine were third person singular forms which would be realized as has in SE. Three of these nine instances are somewhat obscure on the recordings and may conceivably have been pronounced as has. It is worth noting, however, that these three instances were spoken by the same child who said We has a lot of songs (11103.1219), the only case of has recorded.

Do

The present tense of do,[40] which in SE has the forms do, does, don't, and doesn't, does not include the forms does and doesn't for the 12 Black children. A total of 147 instances of do and don't were transcribed but no instances of their third person singular counterparts were found. There were 31 third person singular subjects followed by instances of do and don't. Most of the time do was used as an auxiliary. Only 10 sentences occurred in which do was recorded as a main verb.

The peer group members studied by Labov et al., (pp. 246-250) in New York displayed a similar pattern, although they did use a small number of does and doesn't forms. Labov et al., (p. 221) note that the oldest group studied, the Oscar Brothers, shows more subject-verb agreement than the other groups.

Neither the New York speakers of BE nor the Los Angeles speakers showed any tendency to use hypercorrect forms such as We does it. This is consistent with the hypothesis that do is uninflected for person and number in BE.

Invariant be (be_2)

The BE use of the invariant infinitive form of the copula be in sentences where finite forms am, are, is, etc., would be expected in SE is discussed in the section on the syntax of the copula. As was noted there, some of the occurrences of invariant be are the result of the operation of phonological processes of contraction and deletion of the words will and would, which in the underlying form of the sentence precede be, as in (from Fasold & Wolfram, 1970, p. 66):

[40] See Agreement, p. 69, for additional discussion.

Table 73

Finite and Infinitival Uses of the Word have

	Singular			Impersonal[a]		Plural			
	1st	2nd	3rd	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	TOTALS
Kindergarten									
finite forms	1	3	5[b]	3	0	10	0	1	23
infinitival forms	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	6
First Grade									
finite forms	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
infinitival forms	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Second Grade									
finite forms	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5
infinitival forms	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Third Grade									
finite forms	1	0	4	0	0	4	0	1	10
infinitival forms	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	3
Total									
finite forms	8	3	9[b]	3	0	14	0	3	40
infinitival forms	3	3	4	0	0	0	0	2	12

[a]The impersonal classification is intended to cover sentences such as You have to give the conductor a dime, when meaning "one gives the conductor a dime." It is not clear as to whether such sentences should be treated as singulars or plurals.

[b]Includes three instances which might be has even though they were perceived as have. The recordings are unclear at these points.

He'll be here pretty soon → He be here pretty soon

If you gave him a present he'd be happy → If you gave him a present he be happy

There remain sentences containing instances of be_2, for which no such source is likely, such as (from Labov et al., pp. 228-229):

But it don't usually be that way

...it all don't be on her; it be half on me and half on her

When he do be around here...

It has been claimed that this use of invariant be in the BE dialect has a special semantic function not usually distinguished in SE.[41] This is the meaning which has variously been described as implying habitual, hypothetical, distributive, or intermittent action. At any rate, it has been asserted that it is possible to establish contrasting meanings in BE sentences containing finite forms of the copula and invariant be. For example, "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," (Fasold & Wolfram, p. 67).

There are some further complexities in the use of invariant be_2 in BE.

> From one point of view, be_2 is simply another verb--the addition of one lexical item, whatever it may mean, to the dictionary. However, there is much more to be_2 than a simple lexical item like NNE poontang or an idiom like here go for there is. NNE has a vast number of such specific entries in the dictionary marked for NNE only. Be_2 has three characteristics which mark it as a member of the "grammatical" system--a member of the closed class of function words:
>
> a) Be_2 is exceedingly frequent--from three to ten percent of the environments in which finite be_1 can occur are actually filled by this invariant be_2.
>
> b) Because the form of invariant be_2 is homonymous with nonfinite be_1, the uses and occurrences of the two be's--variable and invariant--intersect and overlap, and are frequently confused. When the tense marker is not present, we have no means of distinguishing between the two: that is, the distinction between variable and invariant be is neutralized in all nonfinite positions.

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[41] There is some evidence, however, that similar usages may be found in some British and Scotch dialects. (Wright, 1923, p. 199).

c) The meaning of be_2 is difficult to specify; the vagueness, ambiguities, and wide range of interpretations are typical of the semantic problems associated with such SE function words as the auxiliaries have...ed, be...ing, or would. (Labov et al., p. 229)

As the first step in the analysis of the semantics of be_2, all the taped sentences containing this form have been classified in terms of what finite form of the copula, will or would would form a grammatical SE sentence. (See Appendix II, Part B)

Discussion

Until comparable populations have been interviewed in each area, whether the dialects of each region of the country are identical must remain an open question. The speech of the children interviewed in Los Angeles differs in many respects from the speech of the teenagers interviewed in New York and the adults who comprise the majority of the sample in Detroit (see Shuy et al., 1967; Wolfram, 1969 a, b).

Nevertheless, the existence of a national dialect is established in the sense that whenever speakers of BE differ in their usage from speakers of AE, they differ along the same dimensions--the linguistic variables discussed in the body of this report--no matter what part of the country they come from. All speakers may not differ along all of these dimensions; and speakers differ by geographic area as to how frequently variable rules are applied. Speakers of AE dialects use many of the variable rules which are found in BE, but they do so with markedly different contextual constraints on frequencies of application. It is just such culturally defined norms of appropriateness of rule application which characterize dialects. Conversely, such dialect norms are part of the defining characteristics of subcultural and subgroup membership.

Some of the differences between the Los Angeles elementary school children and the New York teenagers are undoubtedly due to age differences. There are indications within the current data suggesting that many nonstandard forms are learned after children enter school. For example, the greatly increased use of the stigmatized form ain't by third graders as compared to kindergarten children may be such an acculturation to lower-class norms.

After one realizes that dialect differences are not causes but symbols of cultural separation, it is but a short step to recognize that scholastic difficulties, particularly reading difficulties, are not exclusively a function of nonstandard speech patterns. In all likelihood the attitudes of educators and students to linguistic and cultural

differences play at least as important a part in scholastic failure as the differences themselves. Diversity in and of itself is neither good nor bad. It is better to recognize and understand dialect and other cultural differences for what they are than to attempt to eradicate them. Knowledge about the language and values of others should improve understanding, and could be taught to all school children. Knowledge about the language and values of students from different subcultures is essential for the teacher to work effectively.

Appendix I

Word Frequencies

Appendix I contains alphabetic and rank order word frequency counts based on the 25,794 words contained in the sample. At kindergarten level there were 10,024 words produced, 2,911 for first grade, 3,056 for second grade, and 9,858 for third. The paucity of words for the first and second grades is accidental. The three children chosen at random to represent the first grade and the three children chosen to represent the second grade were among the least talkative in their groups. The children chosen to represent kindergarten and third grade happened to be among the most talkative in their groups. It is the authors' impression that each group produced an approximately equal volume of speech per unit of time.

The inventory of words in these lists by no means represents the total vocabularies of the children, as it is based on short samples of conversation in which only a limited number of topics was discussed. Of the total words produced, e lexical item (word) is also found in Anglo English. In other words, as far as can be determined from a mere vocabulary listing, the speech of these children es not diverge from the English of their White counterparts or from a AE.

Alphabetic Word List

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
A	323	155	29	52	87
ABC	1	1	-	-	-
ABC's	2	2	-	-	-
Abott	6	-	-	-	6
about	22	6	5	1	10
absent	1	-	1	-	-
across	3	1	-	2	-
act	2	-	-	-	2
acting	1	-	-	-	1
after	4	3	-	-	1
again	13	9	-	-	4
against	1	-	-	-	1
aid	5	-	-	-	5
ail	2	-	2	-	-
ain't	19	4	1	1	13
airplane	1	-	-	1	-
Alabama	8	-	-	-	8
allegiance	1	-	-	-	1
alligator	2	-	-	-	2
all	55	25	2	9	19
almost	2	-	-	-	2
alone	2	1	-	-	1
aloose	2	-	-	2	-
already	2	2	-	-	-
always	15	1	6	4	4
am	5	-	-	1	2
America	2	-	1	-	1
and	441	161	44	31	205
Angela	2	-	-	2	-
Angeles	1	-	1	-	-
Angie	1	1	-	-	-
another	17	14	1	1	1
Anthony	2	-	-	-	2
any	3	-	1	1	1
anybody	1	-	-	1	-
anytime	1	-	-	-	1
ape	2	-	-	2	-
appetizing	1	-	-	-	1
April	2	-	-	1	1
Archie	5	-	-	-	5
are	8	5	1	1	1
arm	2	2	-	-	-
around	7	1	1	1	4
as	3	2	-	-	1
ask	3	2	-	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
asked	1	1	-	-	-
asking	3	-	-	-	3
at	30	6	13	5	6
ate	3	-	2	1	-
auditorium	1	-	-	-	1
Audrey	28	6	-	-	22
August	1	-	-	-	1
away	18	16	-	-	2
baby	21	7	4	-	10
babysitter	1	-	-	-	1
back	47	19	4	2	22
backing	1	-	-	-	1
bad	5	4	-	-	1
bag	2	-	-	-	2
ball	2	-	-	1	1
balls	1	-	-	-	1
bam	1	-	-	-	1
banana	7	-	-	1	6
bananas	1	-	-	1	-
bank	1	-	-	1	-
Barnie	1	-	-	-	1
Barry	1	-	-	1	-
bath	2	2	-	-	-
bathtub	1	-	-	1	-
batlady	2	-	2	-	-
batman	1	-	-	-	1
batman's	1	-	1	-	-
bats	3	-	-	3	-
be	119	33	8	12	66
beans	1	1	-	-	-
bear	1	-	1	-	-
bears	1	-	1	-	-
bear's	3	-	3	-	-
beat	12	12	-	-	-
because	19	16	2	-	1
bed	16	6	6	-	4
been	5	1	3	-	1
beer	1	1	-	-	-
before	3	3	-	-	-
behind	1	1	-	-	-
bell	1	-	-	1	-
bells	19	5	-	-	14
belt	1	1	-	-	-
Beronica	5	-	-	-	5
berries	1	1	-	-	-
berry	1	-	-	-	1
Bes	1	-	-	-	1
best	2	-	-	2	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
bet	5	1	1	-	3
Bethlehem	1	-	-	1	-
better	8	5	-	1	2
Betty's	1	-	-	-	1
between	2	-	-	-	2
bicycle	2	1	-	-	1
big	34	23	3	1	7
bigger	3	3	-	-	-
biggest	2	2	-	-	-
bike	3	1	-	2	-
Billy	3	-	-	-	3
bingo	1	-	-	1	-
binkle	3	3	-	-	-
bite	3	3	-	-	-
bitty	5	2	2	1	-
birds	1	-	1	-	-
birth	1	-	-	-	1
black	13	5	1	3	4
blamed	1	1	-	-	-
bleeding	1	1	-	-	-
bo	1	1	-	-	-
board	2	1	-	1	-
boat	6	5	-	1	-
boing	2	-	-	-	2
bong	1	-	-	-	1
Bonnie	1	-	-	1	-
boo	5	4	-	1	-
book	2	-	-	1	1
boom	4	-	2	1	1
boss	1	1	-	-	-
bottle	1	-	-	-	1
bottom	1	-	1	-	-
bout	1	-	-	-	1
bow	4	3	-	-	1
bowl	3	-	3	-	-
box	1	-	-	-	1
boxing	1	-	-	-	1
boy	20	7	-	4	9
boys	8	2	-	5	1
brand	3	1	-	-	2
break	3	1	-	-	2
breaking	1	-	-	-	1
breast	1	-	-	-	1
breath	3	3	-	-	-
breeze	1	-	-	-	1
Brian	1	-	1		-
Brian's	2	-	2		-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
bridge	1	1	-	-	-
bright	1	1	-	-	-
broke	5	4	-	1	-
brother	12	5	1	2	4
brother's	1	-	1	-	-
brown	9	9	-	-	-
bubble	2	-	-	2	-
buckle	1	1	-	-	-
buddy	1	-	-	-	1
bug	1	-	-	-	1
bugs	1	-	-	1	-
building	1	-	-	-	1
bull	2	2	-	-	-
bunny	1	-	-	1	-
burned	1	1	-	-	-
burning	1	1	-	-	-
burrrr	1	-	-	-	1
bus	6	6	-	-	-
bust	7	-	-	7	-
busy	1	1	-	-	-
but	42	16	5	2	19
button	1	-	1	-	-
buttons	2	2	-	-	-
buy	10	9	1	-	-
by	5	3	1	-	1
C	1	1	-	-	-
cake	2	1	-	1	-
call	13	5	1	3	4
called	4	1	-	-	3
calling	1	1	-	-	-
calm	1	1	-	-	-
came	30	9	1	-	20
camed	1	-	1	-	-
camera	3	-	1	-	2
can	29	17	6	1	5
candid	1	-	-	-	1
candies	2	2	-	-	-
candy	3	3	-	-	-
can't	17	6	2	2	7
car	12	8	1	1	2
card	4	3	-	1	-
cards	2	-	-	1	1
Carlton	1	-	-	1	-
Carolyn	3	3	-	-	-
Carrie	1	-	-	1	-
cars	2	-	-	2	-
cartoon	1	-	-	-	1
cartoons	2	-	-	-	2

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
cat	6	6	-	-	-
catch	8	4	-	4	-
catcher	1	-	-	-	1
cats	4	3	-	1	-
cause	15	9	1	2	3
cave	1	-	-	-	1
cents	3	3	-	-	-
cept	1	-	-	-	1
chair	7	5	-	2	-
change	1	1	-	-	-
changed	1	-	-	1	-
changing	1	1	-	-	-
channel	2	-	2	-	-
Charles	2	-	1	-	1
Charlie	10	-	-	10	-
chases	1	-	-	1	-
chasing	1	-	1	-	-
cheer	1	-	-	1	-
Cher	1	1	-	-	-
Cheryl	27	27	-	-	-
chicken	1	-	-	1	-
children	2	2	-	-	-
chiller	1	-	-	-	1
choo	20	-	-	20	-
chop	1	1	-	-	-
Chris	1	-	1	-	-
Christmas	3	1	1	1	-
church	2	2	-	-	-
city	1	-	1	-	-
class	5	4	-	-	1
classroom	2	2	-	-	-
close	2	1	-	-	1
closing	1	-	-	-	1
clothes	5	4	-	1	-
coat	3	-	2	1	-
cold	2	-	1	1	-
cole	3	-	-	-	3
comb	2	2	-	-	-
come	50	19	10	3	18
comes	9	3	1	1	4
comfortable	1	-	-	-	1
coming	6	3	-	1	2
cook	2	2	-	-	-
cookie	7	-	-	5	2
cool	1	-	-	-	1
cop	2	2	-	-	-
cops	1	1	-	-	-
copy		-	-	-	2
copycater	1	-	-	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
corn	3	-	-	-	3
corner	1	-	-	-	1
Costello	2	-	-	-	2
could	26	11	2	3	10
couldn't	9	-	2	7	-
count	10	8	-	-	2
counting	1	1	-	-	-
country	4	-	1	-	3
course	1	-	-	-	1
cousin	2	1	-	-	1
cousins	1	1	-	-	-
Craig	2	-	-	-	2
Crandle	1	-	-	1	-
crash	1	-	-	-	1
cried	2	-	-	-	2
crooked	1	1	-	-	-
crossed	2	2	-	-	-
crown	1	1	-	-	-
cry	5	1	-	-	4
crying	4	2	2	-	-
curl	1	1	-	-	-
cut	7	3	2	-	2
DA	14	-	-	-	14
daddy	27	23	-	-	4
daddy'o	1	1	-	-	-
daddy's	1	1	-	-	-
dance	1	-	-	-	1
dark	2	2	-	-	-
day	11	9	-	-	2
dead	2	-	-	2	-
deep	1	-	-	-	1
Denise	6	5	-	1	-
detective	1	-	-	-	1
detectives	1	-	-	-	1
diamond	2	1	-	1	-
did	39	7	3	3	26
didn't	18	5	5	-	8
died	1	-	1	-	-
difference	1	-	-	-	1
different	3	1	-	2	-
digging	1	-	-	-	1
dime	1	1	-	-	-
dink	9	-	-	-	9
Dino	1	1	-	-	-
Disneyland	1	1	-	-	-
do	65	21	2	6	36
doctor	4	3	-	-	1
doctors	3	-	-	-	3
doctor's	1	-	-	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
dog	29	13	-	2	14
doggie	1	1	-	-	-
dogpound	1	-	-	-	1
dogs	1	-	1	-	-
doing	7	2	-	-	5
dollar	3	3	-	-	-
dong	1	-	-	-	1
don't	82	30	15	7	30
door	15	1	4	8	2
Doris	1	-	-	1	-
down	19	6	2	6	5
drawer	1	1	-	-	-
dream	4	-	4	-	-
dreaming	1	-	-	-	1
dress	2	2	-	-	-
dressed	2	1	-	-	1
drew	1	-	-	-	1
drink	1	-	-	-	1
drive	3	2	-	-	1
driver	1	-	-	-	1
driving	1	-	-	-	1
drop	4	1	-	-	3
dropped	1	-	-	-	1
drug	1	-	-	1	-
duck	1	-	-	1	-
dude	6	-	-	-	6
dumb	10	10	-	-	-
eagle	1	-	-	-	1
early	7	5	-	-	2
earth	1	-	-	-	1
east	1	1	-	-	-
easy	1	-	1	-	-
eat	8	3	3	2	-
eating	7	1	3	3	-
Ed	5	-	-	-	5
Eddie	1	-	-	1	-
eenie	9	9	-	-	-
eggs	1	-	1	-	-
eight	14	4	3	6	1
eighteen	4	3	-	1	-
eighty	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-eight	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-five	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-four	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-nine	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-one	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-seven	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-six	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-three	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-two	1	-	-	1	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
Ejuan	16	-	-	-	16
Ejuan's	2	-	-	-	2
elephant	1	1	-	-	-
eleven	5	3	1	1	-
Ellamae	1	-	-	-	1
Elliot	1	-	-	1	-
else	7	-	1	1	5
end	1	1	-	-	-
engineer	9	-	-	9	-
Ernest	7	-	-	-	7
Ernie	4	-	-	-	4
Esther	3	-	-	-	3
even	11	4	6	-	1
every	6	2	4	-	-
everybody	10	1	2	1	6
everyday	11	11	-	-	-
everything	4	-	-	-	4
everytime	5	5	-	-	-
everywhere	2	2	-	-	-
except	1	-	-	-	1
eye	4	1	-	1	2
eyes	3	2	1	-	-
face	1	1	-	-	-
fall	3	1	1	1	-
far	1	-	-	-	1
fast	5	1	1	1	2
faster	2	2	-	-	-
fat	5	5	-	-	-
father	5	1	2	1	1
fasto	1	1	-	-	-
fatso	5	5	-	-	-
fatty	6	4	-	-	2
February	3	1	-	-	2
feed	4	4	-	-	-
feel	7	1	1	-	5
feet	2	2	-	-	-
fell	7	1	1	-	5
fence	4	4	-	-	-
fifteen	2	1	-	1	-
fifty	2	-	-	2	-
fifty-eight	1	-	-	1	-
fifty-five	1	-	-	1	-
fifty-four	1	-	-	1	-
fifty-nine	1	-	-	1	-
fifty-one	1	-	-	1	-
fifty-seven	1	-	-	1	-
fifty-third	1	-	-	-	1
fifty-three	1	-	-	1	-
fifty-two	1	-	-	1	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
fight	3	-	1	1	1
fighting	1	-	-	-	1
find	2	2	-	-	-
fine	1	-	1	-	-
finger	1	1	-	-	-
finish	1	1	-	-	-
fire	2	-	2	-	-
first	22	12	1	1	8
fish	7	7	-	-	-
fishes	1	1	-	-	-
fishing	1	1	-	-	-
fitting	5	1	-	-	4
five	29	8	4	7	10
flew	1	-	-	-	1
flies	1	-	1	-	-
flowers	2	-	2	-	-
flunked	1	-	-	-	1
flu	1	1	-	-	-
fly	4	-	1	-	3
foggy	1	-	-	-	1
followed	2	2	-	-	-
food	5	3	2	-	-
foods	1	1	-	-	-
for	37	19	5	6	7
foot	2	1	-	-	1
football	2	-	-	2	-
forget	2	1	-	-	1
forgot	3	1	-	-	2
forty	2	1	-	1	-
forty-eight	1	-	-	1	-
forty-five	1	-	-	1	-
forty-nine	1	-	-	1	-
forty-one	1	-	-	1	-
forty-seven	1	-	-	1	-
forty-six	1	-	-	1	-
forty-two	1	-	-	1	-
found	3	-	-	-	3
four	31	10	6	13	2
foured	1	-	1	-	-
fourty-four	1	-	-	1	-
four-two	1	-	-	1	-
fox	1	-	-	1	-
Fred	1	-	1	-	-
Freddie	3	-	-	-	3
freeze	1	-	1	-	-
friend	20	18	1	1	-
friends	1	-	-	1	-
friend's	1	-	-	1	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
frog	6	6	-	-	-
from	11	3	2	3	3
full	1	-	-	-	1
fun	12	3	-	5	4
funny	16	1	-	-	15
Gabriel	3	-	-	-	3
gag	1	-	-	-	1
garage	1	-	1	-	-
gate	2	2	-	-	-
gave	5	2	-	-	3
gears	1	-	-	-	1
George	6	6	-	-	-
get	105	49	16	7	33
getting	9	5	1	1	2
gets	1	1	-	-	-
giant	3	3	-	-	-
giants	1	-	-	1	-
Gilbert	1	-	1	-	-
Gilligan	3	-	-	-	3
Gilliand's	1	-	-	-	1
giraffe	2	-	-	2	-
girl	18	9	-	-	9
girls	4	1	-	1	2
give	18	9	1	1	7
glass	2	-	-	1	1
glory	1	-	-	-	1
glued	1	-	-	-	1
go	86	36	17	8	25
going	74	34	7	11	22
God	2	-	1	1	-
goes	3	1	-	1	1
Gomer	1	-	-	-	1
gone	5	1	-	-	4
good	31	1	1	1	28
goody	4	-	-	4	-
got	103	43	18	14	28
grab	1	-	-	-	1
grandest	1	-	-	-	1
grandmother	1	-	1	-	-
granny	8	-	-	-	8
granny's	2	-	-	-	2
grapevine	15	-	-	-	15
grass	2		-	-	-
grease	2	1	1	-	-
green	1	1	-	-	-
group	4	-	-	-	4
ground	1	-	1	-	-
grow	1	1	-	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
guess	1	-	-	1	-
gum	2	-	-	2	-
gumby	19	-	-	-	19
gumby's	1	-	-	-	1
gun	12	-	1	2	9
gunsmoke	3	-	-	-	3
guy	2	-	-	-	2
guys	28	3	1	5	19
had	38	21	4	3	10
hair	3	3	-	-	-
half	2	-	1	-	1
hand	8	2	-	5	1
hands	4	1	1	-	2
happened	1	-	-	-	1
happy	8	7	1	-	-
hard	2	-	2	-	-
hardy	1	-	-	-	1
has	1	1	-	-	-
hassle	1	1	-	-	-
hat	3	-	-	-	3
hate	1	-	-	-	1
have	50	29	4	4	13
haven't	2	-	-	2	-
he	270	61	35	16	158
head	8	1	2	2	3
hear	12	-	3	-	9
heard	14	-	2	-	12
heat	1	-	-	1	-
heater	1	-	-	1	-
hello	4	-	-	2	2
help	1	1	-	-	-
hen	2	2	-	-	-
her	68	57	4	3	4
here	42	9	2	6	25
her's	2	-	-	2	-
hey	61	9	2	8	42
hi	5	1	-	-	4
hide	1	1	-	-	-
high	1	-	-	-	1
higher	2	1	-	-	1
highest	2	-	-	-	2
hill	2	2	-	-	-
him	75	24	8	9	34
hip	1	-	-	-	1
his	41	12	8	2	19
hit	6	-	1	1	4
hitting	1	-	-	-	1
hobo	2	-	-	-	2
hoe	4	4	-	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
hold	11	-	-	1	10
hole	1	-	-	-	1
holey	1	-	1	-	-
holy	1	1	-	-	-
home	14	12	1	1	-
homework	3	-	-	-	3
honey	9	1	-	-	8
hope	2	1	-	-	1
hopping	1	-	1	-	-
hopple	1	1	-	-	-
horse	7	2	-	3	2
horsie	2	-	-	-	2
horsey	1	-	1	-	-
hospital	4	4	-	-	-
hot	16	1	-	11	4
house	18	9	3	2	4
how	35	19	1	1	14
Howell	4	-	-	-	4
huh	17	9	2	1	5
hundred	4	-	-	1	3
hurt	2	-	-	-	2
hurts	1	1	-	-	-
husband	2	1	-	-	1
hush	1	1	-	-	-
I	574	249	81	62	182
ice	1	-	-	-	1
if	14	5	1	4	4
I'm	75	36	9	10	20
in	154	50	28	17	59
indian	4	4	-	-	-
indians	5	5	-	-	-
inside	8	-	1	-	7
instead	3	-	-	-	3
into	2	1	-	1	-
invisible	1	-	1	-	-
is	51	15	14	-	22
island	1	-	-	-	1
it	215	82	-	25	108
Ivey's	1	-	1	-	-
J	1	-	-	1	-
Jack	3	3	-	-	-
Jacky	1	-	1	-	-
jail	6	5	-	-	1
James	1	-	-	1	-
January	2	-	-	-	2
jar	6	-	-	6	-
Jeanette	1	-	1	-	-
Jeano	1	1	-	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
Jerome	1	-	-	1	-
Jethro	3	-	-	-	3
Jill	3	3	-	-	-
jing	2	-	-	2	-
jingle	6	6	-	-	-
jingles	2	-	-	2	-
jockle	1	1	-	-	-
John	14	14	-	-	-
joker	2	-	2	-	-
Jolene	2	2	-	-	-
Jonas	1	-	-	1	-
joys	1	-	-	-	1
Joycelyn	2	-	-	2	-
jughead	6	-	-	-	6
July	2	1	-	-	1
jump	6	4	-	-	2
jumping	3	-	1	-	2
June	1	-	-	-	1
jungle	2	2	-	-	-
jungleland	2	2	-	-	-
junk	1	-	-	-	1
just	34	19	5	2	8
justice	1	-	1	-	-
Karen	2	-	-	2	-
keep	2	2	-	-	-
Kelly	2	-	-	-	2
kept	1	-	-	-	1
Kevin	6	3	-	-	3
Kevins	2	2	-	-	-
key	1	-	-	-	1
kick	2	-	2	-	-
kicked	1	-	-	-	1
kidding	2	-	-	-	2
kidnapping	1	-	-	-	1
kill	6	-	2	-	4
killed	1	1	-	-	-
kind	5	3	-	-	2
kinds	1	-	-	-	1
king	1	-	-	1	-
kiss	1	1	-	-	-
kit	2	-	-	-	2
kitchen	1	-	1	-	-
knew	2	-	-	-	2
knife	1	-	-	1	-
knight	2	-	-	-	2
knock	3	-	-	2	1
knocked	1	-	-	-	1
knot	2	-	-	-	2
know	107	27	11	23	46

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
L	1	1	-	-	-
LA	3	3	-	-	-
lady	20	3	-	1	16
laid	1	-	-	-	1
lamb	6	6	-	-	-
land	1	-	-	-	1
last	5	-	2	-	3
lardie	1	-	-	-	1
Larry	1	-	1	-	-
lateef	3	-	-	3	-
laugh	6	6	-	-	-
laughing	2	-	1	1	-
lay	1	1	-	-	-
leader	11	11	-	-	-
learn	1	-	-	-	1
leave	4	3	-	-	1
legs	2	1	1	-	-
Leonard	1	-	1	-	-
let	29	23	-	-	6
Letecia	14	11	-	3	-
Letecia's	3	3	-	-	-
lets	1	-	-	-	1
let's	6	3	-	-	3
liberty	1	-	1	-	-
license	1	-	-	-	1
lick	1	1	-	-	-
life	7	-	-	-	7
lightening	1	-	1	-	-
like	125	12	20	15	78
line	3	3	-	-	-
lines	1	1	-	-	-
lion	1	-	1	-	-
listen	1	1	-	-	-
listening	1	-	-	-	1
Listerine	1	1	-	-	-
little	62	45	3	8	6
live	6	2	1	-	3
living	1	-	1	-	-
look	31	5	15	2	9
looked	5	-	4	-	1
lookie	1	-	-	-	1
looking	8	1	1	3	3
loop	1	-	-	1	-
long	7	4	1	-	2
longer	7	-	-	-	7
loose	5	2	-	-	3
loosing	4	-	-	-	4
losing	1	-	-	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
lost	5	5	–	–	–
lot	5	2	2	1	–
love	11	2	–	1	8
lowest	1	–	–	–	1
Lucy	7	–	7	–	–
M	1	1	–	–	–
machine	1	–	–	1	–
Mack	4	4	–	–	–
mad	1	1	–	–	–
made	7	5	–	1	1
Maggie	1	–	1	–	–
Mahoney	2	–	–	2	–
Maid	1	–	–	1	–
make	10	6	–	1	3
making	1	–	–	–	1
mama	1	–	–	–	1
man	55	4	3	6	42
mans	1	–	–	1	–
map	2	–	2	–	–
Marian	11	11	–	–	–
Marie	1	–	1	–	–
Mary	10	10	–	–	–
married	17	15	2	–	–
marry	1	1	–	–	–
mash	1	1	–	–	–
mason	8	–	–	–	8
master	2	–	–	–	2
match	1	1	–	–	–
math	1	–	–	–	1
matter	1	–	–	–	1
Maureen	2	–	–	2	–
may	1	–	–	–	1
McClee	1	–	1	–	–
McDonald's	1	1	–	–	–
me	103	32	9	28	34
mean	14	7	–	–	7
meanie	9	9	–	–	–
medicine	1	1	–	–	–
meow	4	4	–	–	–
merry	15	15	–	–	–
mes	1	1	–	–	–
mess	1	–	–	–	1
messing	2	–	–	–	2
might	6	1	2	–	3
microphone	3	–	–	–	3
microphones	3	–	–	–	3
micros	1	–	–	–	1
midnight	1	–	–	–	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
mind	6	2	-	-	4
mine	34	7	-	1	26
minee	9	9	-	-	-
mines	7	5	-	1	1
miss	7	4	-	-	3
missed	1	-	-	-	1
missy	1	-	-	1	-
mister	2	-	1	-	1
moe	9	9	-	-	-
momma	40	36	1	1	2
mommas	1	1	-	-	-
mommy	4	4	-	-	-
Mona	6	6	-	-	-
Monday	2	1	-	-	1
money	11	6	-	1	4
monster	13	7	3	-	3
more	16	12	2	1	1
morn	1	-	-	-	1
morning	8	2	2	-	4
mother	12	6	4	1	1
mountain	1	-	-	-	1
mouth	7	4	-	-	3
move	2	1	-	-	1
movie	3	2	-	-	1
moving	2	-	-	1	1
Mr.	10	-	1	-	9
Mrs.	4	3	-	-	1
Much	8	1	-	-	7
mummy	2	-	-	-	2
music	1	1	-	-	-
my	193	121	23	18	31
myself	3	1	-	-	2
N	1	1	-	-	-
name	31	4	13	5	9
names	1	-	-	1	-
Napoli	6	6	-	-	-
nasty	2	2	-	-	-
nation	1	-	1	-	-
need	4	1	-	-	3
needle	4	-	-	-	4
neighbor	2	-	-	1	1
neighbors	1	-	-	-	1
never	12	4	5	1	2
new	14	9	1	-	4
newspaper	3	-	-	-	3
nice	1	-	-	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
nickel	1	1	-	-	-
night	8	1	4	-	3
nine	14	5	3	5	1
nineteen	2	2	-	-	-
ninety	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-eight	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-five	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-four	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-nine	2	-	-	2	-
ninety-one	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-seven	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-six	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-three	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-two	1	-	-	1	-
no	90	33	13	14	30
nobody	6	2	1	-	3
noise	2	1	-	1	-
none	3	-	-	-	3
nope	4	1	-	-	3
nose	10	8	1	-	1
nosy	1	-	-	-	1
not	42	22	1	7	12
nothing	10	5	-	1	4
November	1	-	-	-	1
now	29	19	3	3	4
number	20	-	9	10	1
numbers	1	1	-	-	-
O	3	2	-	1	-
oatmeal	1	-	1	-	-
ocean	2	-	-	-	2
o'clock	4	-	-	-	4
odd	1	-	-	-	1
of	51	13	10	5	23
off	21	5	2	1	13
office	1	-	-	-	1
oh	36	10	-	6	20
OK	61	27	-	-	34
okay	3	-	1	2	-
old	10	3	1	1	5
on	109	30	15	11	53
one	116	53	13	19	31
ones	1	-	-	-	1
only	10	3	1	2	4
open	17	-	1	11	5
or	2	-	-	-	2
orange	1	1	-	-	-
Otea	1	-	-	-	1
Otea's	1	-	-	-	1
other	17	5	4	1	7

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
outside	9	6	1	-	2
ought	2	1	-	-	1
our	16	9	5	1	1
out	39	12	4	4	19
oven	2	2	-	-	-
over	22	14	5	-	3
own	6	4	-	-	2
pajamas	1	1	-	-	-
pal	4	-	-	-	4
Pam	1	-	-	-	1
pancakes	1	1	-	-	-
panties	1	-	-	-	1
pap	2	-	-	-	2
papers	1	-	-	-	1
papa	5	-	3	-	2
parachute	1	-	-	-	1
part	1	-	-	1	-
party	1	-	-	-	1
pass	1	1	-	-	-
past	1	-	-	-	1
patrol	1	-	-	-	1
Patty	1	-	-	1	-
pay	2	2	-	-	-
peek	1	-	-	-	1
pee wee	1	-	1	-	-
penguin	3	-	3	-	-
penny	1	-	-	1	-
people	11	1	2	2	6
peoples	2	-	2	-	-
Perry	8	-	-	-	8
person	3	-	-	-	3
Pete	3	3	-	-	-
petie	1	-	-	1	-
Phillip	1	-	1	-	-
piano	2	2	-	-	-
pick	9	7	-	1	1
picked	3	2	-	1	-
picture	6	-	1	-	5
pictures	1	-	1	-	-
pie	1	-	-	1	-
pig	1	-	1	-	-
pioneer	2	-	1	-	1
pizza	2	2	-	-	-
place	1	-	-	-	1
planting	1	-	-	-	1
play	32	13	4	12	3
playing	4	3	-	-	1
please	1	1	-	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
pledge	1	-	-	-	1
pocket	2	-	-	1	1
point	1	-	-	1	-
police	1	-	-	-	1
policeman	2	1	1	-	-
poo	3	-	-	-	3
pool	3	1	-	-	2
potatoe	5	5	-	-	-
poured	1	-	-	-	1
pow	17	-	-	-	17
president	2	-	-	-	2
prettier	2	2	-	-	-
pretty	5	5	-	-	-
pride	1	-	-	-	1
probable	3	-	-	-	3
proud	1	-	-	1	-
puddle	1	-	1	-	-
pull	6	4	-	-	2
pulled	1	-	-	-	1
pumpkin	3	3	-	-	-
punch	1	-	-	-	1
punk	1	-	-	1	-
puppy	5	5	-	-	-
purse	1	1	-	-	-
push	5	2	1	1	1
put	39	16	4	8	11
quack	2	-	-	-	2
quarter	14	14	-	-	-
questions	1	-	-	-	1
quiet	26	14	-	4	8
radio	1	-	-	-	1
racing	3	-	-	2	1
raggedy	1	1	-	-	-
raise	2	-	-	2	-
rake	1	1	-	-	-
ran	4	1	-	-	3
rat	1	-	-	-	1
rather	4	-	-	-	4
ray	1	-	1	-	-
read	6	2	1	-	3
ready	5	2	2	-	1
real	11	6	2	-	3
really	1	-	-	-	1
recorder	2	-	-	1	1
red	2	1	1	-	-
Reggie's	2	-	-	-	2
Rene	1	1	-	-	-
Renosa	1	1	-	-	-
republic	1	-	1	-	-
restroom	1	-	1	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
retarded	1	-	-	-	1
rhymes	1	-	-	1	-
ribbon	3	3	-	-	-
ribbons	2	2	-	-	-
Ricky	18	-	7	-	11
riddle	7	7	-	-	-
ride	9	3	1	5	-
riding	1	-	-	-	1
right	14	6	1	-	7
ring	4	3	1	-	-
ringing	1	-	-	1	-
rings	1	1	-	-	-
rinky	9	-	-	-	9
rivers	1	1	-	-	-
roadrunner	2	-	-	2	-
robbing	1	-	-	-	1
robin	2	-	2	-	-
rock	1	1	-	-	-
rocket	1	-	-	1	-
Rodney	1	-	-	-	1
roll	1	1	-	-	-
room	3	-	3	-	-
rope	2	-	-	-	2
run	4	3	1	-	-
runned	1	1	-	-	-
running	1	-	-	-	1
runs	2	-	2	-	-
said	81	16	4	-	61
same	13	1	2	10	-
Sandra	5	-	1	-	4
sang	1	-	-	-	1
Saturday	1	-	-	-	1
save	5	1	-	-	4
saw	24	1	8	2	13
say	111	65	4	10	32
saying	8	4	-	-	4
scare	1	1	-	-	-
scarecrow	1	-	-	-	1
scared	2	-	2	-	-
scares	1	1	-	-	-
scary	4	1	2	1	-
school	26	15	3	-	8
scream	2	2	-	-	-
seat	2	1	-	1	-
second	5	-	-	-	5
secret	1	-	-	-	1
see	63	19	2	7	35
seen	4	-	3	-	1
self	1	-	-	-	1
September	1	-	-	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
set	6	2	-	4	-
seven	16	4	4	6	2
seventeen	3	2	-	1	-
seventy	3	-	-	3	-
seventy-eight	1	-	-	1	-
seventy-five	1	-	-	1	-
seventy-four	1	-	-	1	-
seventy-nine	1	-	-	1	-
seventy-one	2	-	-	2	-
seventy-seven	1	-	-	1	-
seventy-six	1	-	-	1	-
seventy-two	2	-	-	2	-
shade	2	-	-	-	2
shaking	1	-	1	-	-
shaped	1	-	-	-	1
shark	1	1	-	-	-
Sharon	1	1	-	-	-
shave	1	1	-	-	-
she	80	31	23	5	21
sheep	1	1	-	-	-
Sherry	4	4	-	-	-
ship	1	-	-	1	-
shit	2	-	-	1	1
shoe	1	1	-	-	-
shoes	1	-	1	-	-
shoot	4	-	3	-	1
shots	1	-	-	-	1
should	5	-	1	-	4
shoulder	1	-	-	-	1
shot	6	6	-	-	-
shovel	1	-	-	-	1
show	9	3	-	1	5
showed	3	-	-	-	3
shows	1	-	-	-	1
shut	15	6	1	2	6
sick	2	1	-	-	1
side	3	1	1	-	1
silent	2	2	-	-	-
Simpson	1	-	-	1	-
sin	2	-	-	-	2
sing	48	44	1	-	3
singing	4	2	2	-	-
sings	1	-	1	-	-
sister	32	17	10	5	-
sisters	2	1	1	-	-
sister's	1	-	1	-	-
sit	4	4	-	-	-
sitting	3	1	-	-	2
six	15	5	4	5	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
sixteen	3	2	-	1	-
sixty	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-eight	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-five	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-four	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-nine	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-one	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-seven	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-six	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-three	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-two	1	-	-	1	-
skeleton	1	-	-	-	1
skinny	5	3	-	-	2
skip	3	2	-	1	-
sky	2	1	1	-	-
slam	1	-	-	-	1
sleep	8	-	6	1	1
sleeping	1	-	-	-	1
sleepy	1	-	1	-	-
sleigh	9	4	-	5	-
small	2	-	-	2	-
smarter	1	-	-	-	1
snake	4	1	-	-	3
sneak	6	6	-	-	-
sneaking	1	1	-	-	-
snitch	1	-	-	1	-
sn	1	1	-	-	-
sn	5	4	-	1	-
so	43	32	2	1	8
soaking	3	-	3	-	-
sock	1	1	-	-	-
socks	5	-	5	-	-
sofa	1	1	-	-	-
soft	1	-	1	-	-
solly	2	-	-	-	2
some	33	14	8	6	5
somebody	13	1	6	-	6
someone	2	-	-	-	2
someplace	1	-	-	-	1
something	23	19	3	1	-
sometime	2	1	1	-	-
sometimes	9	4	2	3	-
somewhere	1	1	-	-	-
song	20	16	1	-	3
songs	1	1	-	-	-
sound	1	-	-	-	1
speaker	2	-	2	-	-
speech	1	-	-	-	1
spell	11	10	-	-	1
spill	1	1	-	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
spit	1	1	-	-	-
splashed	1	-	1	-	-
split	3	-	-	-	3
splits	5	-	-	-	5
sprayed	1	-	1	-	-
squares	1	1	-	-	-
squashed	1	-	-	-	1
squirrels	1	-	-	1	-
Stan	1	1	-	-	-
stand	2	-	1	1	-
standing	2	-	1	-	1
stands	1	-	1	-	-
star	2	2	-	-	-
stars	2	-	-	-	2
start	6	1	1	2	2
started	1	-	1	-	-
starts	1	-	-	1	-
station	2	2	-	-	-
statue	1	-	-	-	1
stay	4	1	-	2	1
stays	1	1	-	-	-
stell	1	-	1	-	-
step	2	1	-	1	-
stepped	4	1	1	1	1
stick	2	-	-	1	1
sticks	2	1	-	1	-
still	7	-	-	1	6
stinky	4	-	-	1	3
stole	4	-	-	3	1
stomp	1	1	-	-	-
stoop	1	1	-	-	
stop	17	3	1	6	7
store	6	5	-	1	-
stores	1	-	-	1	-
stories	1	1	-	-	-
story	3	1	1	-	1
stove	1	1	-	-	-
straight	1	1	-	-	-
street	4	2	-	2	-
streets	1	1	-	-	-
strike	1	-	1	-	-
stuck	2	-	-	-	2
stuff	7	1	1	-	5
stuffy	1	1	-	-	-
stupid	2	-	2	-	-
substitute	1	-	1	-	-
sudden	1	-	-	-	1
Sunday	3	-	1	-	2
Sundays	1	-	1	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
superman	2	-	2	-	-
suppose	2	1	-	-	1
sure	2	-	-	-	2
swatter	1	-	-	-	1
swell	1	-	-	-	1
swimming	2	-	-	-	2
sword	8	-	-	-	8
swore	2	-	-	-	2
Symon	14	14	-	-	-
T	1	1	-	-	-
table	2	2	-	-	-
tack	1	-	-	-	1
tails	1	1	-	-	-
talk	11	3	1	-	7
talking	6	1	-	-	5
take	17	9	1	3	4
taking	1	-	-	-	1
tape	3	-	-	1	2
tapers	1	1	-	-	-
taping	1	-	-	-	1
tattoo	4	-	-	-	4
taught	1	1	-	-	-
taxi	2	-	-	-	2
teach	1	1	-	-	-
teacher	3	1	1	-	1
tears	4	-	-	-	4
teeth	8	7	-	1	-
telephone	1	-	-	-	1
tell	22	12	1	2	7
telling	2	-	-	1	1
ten	14	6	3	5	-
tenth	1	-		1	-
than	14	7	2	-	5
that	310	64	24	20	202
that's	1	1	-	-	-
the	273	103	30	45	95
their	2	2	-	-	-
them	41	21	5	7	8
then	173	21	21	9	122
there	71	15	18	-	38
Theresa	1	1	-	-	-
these	11	2	-	2	7
they	116	25	11	14	66
thing	27	5	6	6	10
things	7	2	1	2	2
think	4	-	-	2	2

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
third	3	-	-	-	3
thirteen	3	2	-	1	-
thirty	1	-	-	1	-
thirty-eight	2	1	-	1	-
thirty-five	2	1	-	1	-
thirty-four	1	-	-	1	-
thirty-nine	2	1	-	1	-
thirty-one	1	1	-	1	-
thirty-seven	1	-	-	1	-
thirty-six	1	-	-	1	-
thirty-three	1	-	-	1	-
thirty-two	3	2	-	1	-
this	75	8	10	10	47
Thompson	1	-	1	-	-
those	11	1	1	-	9
though	1	-	1	-	-
thought	10	6	-	-	4
three	28	10	5	9	4
threw	2	1	-	-	1
through	24	7	-	-	17
throw	3	-	1	1	1
throwed	5	4	-	-	1
thunder	1	-	1	-	-
tick	1	-	-	-	1
tickle	1	1	-	-	-
tie	4	3	-	-	1
tied	3	-	-	-	3
tiger	7	6	1	-	-
till	3	3	-	-	-
time	21	9	2	1	9
tiny	1	1	-	-	-
tip	2	2	-	-	-
tippy	2	2	-	-	-
tired	3	-	1	-	2
tittie	1	-	-	-	1
to	337	197	45	-	95
today	3	-	2	1	-
toe	3	2	-	-	1
toeing	2	2	-	-	-
together	2	-	-	-	2
told	8	4	-	-	4
Tom	1	-	1	-	-
Tony	2	2	-	-	-
too	31	8	7	-	16
took	12	5	-	-	7
tooth	1	1	-	-	-
top	2	-	-	-	2
touch	2	-	-	1	1
touched	1	-	-	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
touching	1	-	-	-	1
town	1	-	-	1	-
traded	3	3	-	-	-
trailer	1	-	-	-	1
train	2	-	2	-	-
trap	1	-	-	-	1
trash	3	3	-	-	-
tree	10	7	1	1	1
trees	1	1	-	-	-
trick	1	-	-	-	1
tricks	1	1	-	-	-
tried	3	-	-	-	3
trip	1	-	1	-	-
truck	5	-	2	-	3
trucks	1	-	-	-	1
true	1	-	-	-	1
try	11	-	5	3	3
trying	5	-	-	-	5
tumbling	1	1	-	-	-
turkey	1	1	-	-	-
turn	10	6	-	1	3
turned	1	-	-	1	-
turning	1	-	-	-	1
turns	1	-	-	-	1
TV	15	5	3	1	6
twelve	5	3	-	2	-
twenty	2	1	-	1	-
twenty-eight	6	5	-	1	-
twenty-five	1	-	-	1	-
twenty-four	4	3	-	1	-
twenty-nine	5	4	-	1	-
twenty-one	2	1	-	1	-
twenty-seven	2	1	-	1	-
twenty-six	5	4	-	1	-
twenty-three	3	2	-	1	-
twenty-two	3	2	-	1	-
twinkle	4	4	-	-	-
two	49	18	11	11	9
Tyrone	1	-	-	1	-
ugly	2	2	-	-	-
umbrella	1	-	1	-	-
uncle	1	1	-	-	-
under	4	2	2	-	-
understand	2	2	-	-	-
united	1	-	1	-	-
until	1	1	-	-	-
up	79	25	20	11	23
us	20	7	-	2	11
use	5	2	2	-	1
used	1	-	-	-	1
using	2	-	-	-	2

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
vacation	2	1	-	-	1
vampire	1	-	-	1	-
voice	2	2	-	-	-
wagging	1	1	-	-	-
wait	7	-	-	3	4
waiting	5	2	-	-	3
wake	5	4	1	-	-
walk	3	2	1	-	-
wall	1	-	-	-	1
want	92	70	5	1	16
wanted	7	6	-	-	1
was	116	26	5	13	72
Washington	1	-	1	-	-
wasn't	3	-	1	1	1
watch	16	3	1	1	11
watched	1	1	-	-	-
watcher	6	-	-	-	6
watching	5	-	-	-	5
water	8	1	3	3	1
watermelon	1	1	-	-	-
watt	32	32	-	-	-
way	11	5	1	4	1
we	89	42	8	5	34
wee	1	-	-	-	1
well	11	4	-	2	5
went	42	20	4	3	15
were	1	-	-	-	1
western	1	-	-	-	1
wet	4	-	4	-	-
wham	7	7	-	-	-
what	36	19		13	-
what's	3	-	-	3	-
whatever	1	-	-	-	1
wheel	8	-	-	8	-
wheelchair	1	-	-	-	1
wheels	4	-	-	4	-
when	96	40	12	4	40
where	9	5	1	-	3
which	3	-	1	2	-
while	2	1	-	-	1
whip	1	1	-	-	-
whiskey	1	-	-	-	1
white	5	1	1	1	2
whitey	2	2	-	-	-
who	29	4	2	19	4
whole	1	-	1	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
why	19	8	-	1	10
will	2	2	-	-	-
win	1	-	-	-	1
Winchell	2	-	-	2	-
wish	16	14	-	-	2
witch	3	-	-	3	-
witches	1	-	-	1	-
with	51	25	8	3	15
within	1	-	-	-	1
woke	1	-	1	-	-
wonder	2	1	-	-	1
won't	5	2	1	1	1
wood	1	1	-	-	-
wood's	2	-	-	-	2
word	1	1	-	-	-
words	2	-	-	2	-
work	3	2	1	-	-
world	4	1	1	2	-
would	18	-	-	-	18
wouldn't	4	3	1	-	-
write	1	-	-	-	1
yard	1	-	1	-	-
yeah	90	16	5	12	57
year	6	6	-	-	-
years	2	-	2	-	-
yellow	1	-	-	1	-
yep	1	-	-	-	1
yes	33		11	16	3
yessir	1	-	-	-	1
yesterday	8	5	-	-	3
yet	2	-	-	1	1
you	380	148	27	48	157
your	59	37	1	8	13
yours	9	2	-	4	3
Yvonne	4	4	-	-	-
zebra	1	-	-	1	-
zoo	1	-	1	-	-
Zondra	1	-	1	-	-

Word Listing by Frequency
(most frequent last)

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
abc	1	1	-	-	-
absent	1	-	1	-	-
acting	1	-	-	-	1
against	1	-	-	-	1
airplane	1	-	-	1	-
allegiance	1	-	-	-	1
Angeles	1	-	1	-	-
Angie	1	1	-	-	-
anybody	1	-	-	1	-
anytime	1	-	-	-	1
appetizing	1	-	-	-	1
asked	1	1	-	-	-
auditorium	1	-	-	-	1
August	1	-	-	-	1
babysitter	1	-	-	-	1
backing	1	-	-	-	1
balls	1	-	-	-	1
bam	1	-	-	-	
bananas	1	-	-	1	-
bank	1	-	-	1	-
Barnie	1	-	-	-	1
Barry	1	-	-	1	-
batman	1	-	-	-	1
batman's	1	-	1	-	-
bathtub	1	-	-	1	-
beans	1	1	-	-	-
bear	1	-	1	-	-
bears	1	-	1	-	-
beer	1	1	-	-	-
behind	1	1	-	-	-
bell	1	-	-	1	-
belt	1	1	-	-	-
berry	1	-	-	-	1
berries	1	1	-	-	-
Bes	1	-	-	-	1
Bethlehem	1	-	-	1	-
Betty's	1	-	-	-	1
bingo	1	-	-	1	-
birds	1	-	1	-	-
birth	1	-	-	-	1
blamed	1	1	-	-	-
bleeding	1	1	-	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
bo	1	1	-	-	-
Bonnie	1	-	-	1	-
bong	1	-	-	-	1
boss	1	1	-	-	-
bottle	1	-	-	-	1
bottom	1	-	1	-	-
bout	1	-	-	-	1
box	1	-	-	-	1
buddy	1	-	-	-	1
bug	1	-	-	-	1
bugs	1	-	-	1	-
building	1	-	-	-	1
bunny	1	-	-	1	-
burned	1	1	-	-	-
burning	1	1	-	-	-
burrrr	1	-	-	-	1
busy	1	1	-	-	-
button	1	-	1	-	-
C	1	1	-	-	-
calling	1	1	-	-	-
calm	1	1	-	-	-
camed	1	-	1	-	-
candid	1	-	-	-	1
Carlton	1	-	-	1	-
Carrie	1	-	-	1	-
cartoon	1	-	-	-	1
catcher	1	-	-	-	1
cave	1	-	-	-	1
cept	1	-	-	-	1
change	1	1	-	-	-
changed	1	-	-	1	-
changing	1	1	-	-	-
chases	1	-	-	1	-
chasing	1	-	1	-	-
cheer	1	-	-	1	-
Cher	1	1	-	-	-
chicken	1	-	-	1	-
chiller	1	-	-	-	1
chop	1	1	-	-	-
Chris	1	-	1	-	-
city	1	-	1	-	-
closing	1	-	-	-	1
comfortable	1	-	-	-	1
cool	1	-	-	-	1
cops	1	1	-	-	-
copycater	1	-	-	-	1
corner	1	-	-	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
counting	1	1	-	-	-
course	1	-	-	-	1
cousins	1	1	-	-	-
Crandle	1	-	-	1	-
crash	1	-	-	-	1
crooked	1	1	-	-	-
crown	1	1	-	-	-
curl	1	1	-	-	-
daddy'o	1	1	-	-	-
daddy's	1	1	-	-	-
dance	1	-	-	-	1
Dino	1	1	-	-	-
deep	1	-	-	-	1
boxing	1	-	-	-	1
breaking	1	-	-	-	1
breast	1	-	-	-	1
breeze	1	-	-	-	1
Brian	1	-	1	-	-
bridge	1	1	-	-	-
bright	1	1	-	-	-
brother's	1	-	1	-	-
buckle	1	1	-	-	-
detective	1	-	-	-	1
detectives	1	-	-	-	1
died	1	-	1	-	-
difference	1	-	-	-	1
digging	1	-	-	-	1
dime	1	1	-	-	-
Disneyland	1	1	-	-	-
doctor's	1	-	-	-	1
doggie	1	1	-	-	-
dogs	1	-	1	-	-
dogpound	1	-	-	-	1
dong	1	-	-	-	1
Doris	1	-	-	1	-
drawer	1	1	-	-	-
dreaming	1	-	-	-	1
drew	1	-	-	-	1
drink	1	-	-	-	1
driver	1	-	-	-	1
driving	1	-	-	-	1
dropped	1	-	-	-	1
drug	1	-	-	1	-
duck	1	-	-	1	-
eagle	1	-	-	-	1
earth	1	-	-	-	1
east	1	1	-	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
losy	1	-	1	-	-
Eddie	1	-	-	1	-
eggs	1	-	1	-	-
eighty	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-eight	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-five	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-four	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-nine	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-one	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-seven	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-six	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-three	1	-	-	1	-
eighty-two	1	-	-	1	-
elephant	1	1	-	-	-
Ellamae	1	-	-	-	1
Elliot	1	-	-	1	-
end	1	1	-	-	-
except	1	-	-	-	1
face	1	1	-	-	-
far	1	-	-	-	1
fasto	1	1	-	-	-
fifty-eight	1	-	-	1	-
fifty-five	1	-	-	1	-
fifty-four	1	-	-	1	-
fifty-nine	1	-	-	1	-
fifty-one	1	-	-	1	-
fifty-seven	1	-	-	1	-
fifty-third	1	-	-	-	1
fifty-three	1	-	-	1	-
fifty-two	1	-	-	1	-
fighting	1	-	-	-	1
fine	1	-	1	-	-
finger	1	1	-	-	-
finish	1	1	-	-	-
fishes	1	1	-	-	-
fishing	1	1	-	-	-
flew	1	-	-	-	1
flies	1	-	1	-	-
flu	1	1	-	-	-
flunked	1	-	-	-	1
foggy	1	-	-	-	1
foods	1	1	-	-	-
forty-eight	1	-	-	1	-
forty-five	1	-	-	1	-
forty-four	1	-	-	1	-
forty-nine	1	-	-	1	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
forty-one	1	-	-	1	-
forty-seven	1	-	-	1	-
forty-six	1	-	-	1	-
forty-two	1	-	-	1	-
foured	1	-	1	-	-
four-two	1	-	-	1	-
fox	1	-	-	1	-
Fred	1	-	1	-	-
freeze	1	-	1	-	-
friends	1	-	-	1	-
friend's	1	-	-	1	-
full	1	-	-	-	1
gag	1	-	-	-	1
garage	1	-	1	-	-
gears	1	-	-	-	1
gets	1	1	-	-	-
Gilbert	1	-	1	-	-
Gilliand's	1	-	-	-	1
giants	1	-	-	1	-
glory	1	-	-	-	1
glued	1	-	-	-	1
Gomer	1	-	-	-	1
grab	1	-	-	-	1
grandest	1	-	-	-	1
mommas	1	1	-	-	-
morn	1	-	-	-	1
mountain	1	-	-	-	1
music	1	1	-	-	-
N	1	1	-	-	-
names	1	-	-	1	-
nation	1	-	1	-	-
neighbors	1	-	-	-	1
nice	1	-	-	-	1
nickel	1	1	-	-	-
ninety	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-eight	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-five	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-four	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-one	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-seven	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-six	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-three	1	-	-	1	-
ninety-two	1	-	-	1	-
nosy	1	-	-	-	1
November	1	-	-	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
numbers	1	1	-	-	-
oatmeal	1	-	1	-	-
odd	1	-	-	-	1
office	1	-	-	-	1
ones	1	-	-	-	1
orange	1	1	-	-	-
Otea	1	-	-	-	1
Otea's	1	-	-	-	1
pajamas	1	1	-	-	-
Pam	1	-	-	-	1
pancakes	1	1	-	-	-
panties	1	-	-	-	1
papers	1	-	-	-	1
parachute	1	-	-	-	1
part	1	-	-	1	-
party	1	-	-	-	1
pass	1	1	-	-	-
past	1	-	-	-	1
patrol	1	-	-	-	1
Patty	1	-	-	1	-
peek	1	-	-	-	1
pee wee	1	-	1	-	-
penny	1	-	-	1	-
petie	1	-	-	1	-
Phillip	1	-	1	-	-
pictures	1	-	1	-	-
pie	1	-	-	1	-
pig	1	-	1	-	-
place	1	-	-	-	1
planting	1	-	-	-	1
please	1	1	-	-	-
pledge	1	-	-	-	1
point	1	-	-	1	-
police	1	-	-	-	1
poured	1	-	-	-	1
pride	1	-	-	-	1
proud	1	-	-	1	-
puddle	1	-	1	-	-
pulled	1	-	-	-	1
punch	1	-	-	-	1
punk	1	-	-	1	-
purse	1	1	-	-	-
questions	1	-	-	-	1
radio	1	-	-	-	1
raggedy	1	1	-	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
rake	1	1	-	-	-
rat	1	-	-	-	1
ray	1	-	1	-	-
really	1	-	-	-	1
Rene	1	1	-	-	-
Renosa	1	1	-	-	-
republic	1	-	1	-	-
restroom	1	-	1	-	-
retarded	1	-	-	-	1
rhymes	1	-	-	1	-
riding	1	-	-	-	1
ringing	1	-	-	1	-
rings	1	1	-	-	-
rivers	1	1	-	-	-
robbing	1	-	-	-	1
rock	1	1	-	-	-
rocket	1	-	-	1	-
Rodney	1	-	-	-	1
roll	1	1	-	-	-
runned	1	1	-	-	-
running	1	-	-	-	1
sang	1	-	-	-	1
Saturday	1	-	-	-	1
scare	1	1	-	-	-
scarecrow	1	-	-	-	1
scares	1	1	-	-	-
secret	1	-	-	-	1
self	1	-	-	-	1
September	1	-	-	-	1
seventy-eight	1	-	-	1	-
grandmother	1	-	1	-	-
green	1	1	-	-	-
ground	1	-	1	-	-
grow	1	1	-	-	-
guess	1	-	-	1	-
Gumby's	1	-	-	-	1
happened	1	-	-	-	1
Hardy	1	-	-	-	1
has	1	1	-	-	-
hassle	1	1	-	-	-
hate	1	-	-	-	1
heat	1	-	-	1	-
heater	1	-	-	1	-
help	1	1	-	-	-
hide	1	1	-	-	-
high	1	-	-	-	1
hip	1	-	-	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
hitting	1	-	-	-	1
hole	1	-	-	-	1
holey	1	-	1	-	-
holy	1	1	-	-	-
hopping	1	-	1	-	-
hopple	1	1	-	-	-
horsey	1	-	1	-	-
hurts	1	1	-	-	-
hush	1	1	-	-	-
ice	1	-	-	-	1
invisible	1	-	1	-	-
island	1	-	-	-	1
Ivey's	1	-	1	-	-
G	1	-	-	1	-
Jacky	1	-	1	-	-
James	1	-	-	1	-
Jeanette	1	-	1	-	-
Jeano	1	1	-	-	-
Jerome	1	-	-	1	-
jockle	1	1	-	-	-
Jonas	1	-	-	1	-
joys	1	-	-	-	1
June	1	-	-	-	1
junk	1	-	-	-	1
justice	1	-	1	-	-
kept	1	-	-	-	1
key	1	-	-	-	1
kicked	1	-	-	-	1
kidnapping	1	-	-	-	1
killed	1	1	-	-	-
kinds	1	-	-	-	1
king	1	-	-	1	-
kiss	1	1	-	-	-
kitchen	1	-	1	-	-
knife	1	-	-	1	-
knocked	1	-	-	-	1
L	1	1	-	-	-
laid	1	-	-	-	1
land	1	-	-	-	1
Lardie	1	-	-	-	1
Larry	1	-	1	-	-
lay	1	1	-	-	-
learn	1	-	-	-	1
Leonard	1	-	1	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
lets	1	-	-	-	1
liberty	1	-	1	-	-
license	1	-	-	-	1
lick	1	1	-	-	-
lightening	1	-	1	-	-
lines	1	1	-	-	-
lion	1	-	1	-	-
listen	1	1	-	-	-
listening	1	-	-	-	1
Listerine	1	1	-	-	-
living	1	-	1	-	-
lookie	1	-	-	-	1
loop	1	-	-	1	-
losing	1	-	-	-	1
lowest	1	-	-	-	1
M	1	1	-	-	-
machine	1	-	-	1	-
mad	1	1	-	-	-
Maggie	1	-	1	-	-
maid	1	-	-	1	-
making	1	-	-	-	1
mama	1	-	-	-	1
mans	1	-	-	1	-
Marie	1	-	1	-	-
marry	1	1	-	-	-
mash	1	1	-	-	-
match	1	1	-	-	-
math	1	-	-	-	1
matter	1	-	-	-	1
May	1	-	-	-	1
McClee	1	-	1	-	-
McDonald's	1	1	-	-	-
medicine	1	1	-	-	-
mes	1	1	-	-	-
mess	1	-	-	-	1
micros	1	-	-	-	1
midnight	1	-	-	-	1
missed	1	-	-	-	1
Missy	1	-	-	1	-
seventy-five	1	-	-	1	-
seventy-four	1	-	-	1	-
seventy-nine	1	-	-	1	-
seventy-seven	1	-	-	1	-
seventy-six	1	-	-	1	-
shaking	1	-	1	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
shaped	1	-	-	-	1
shark	1	1	-	-	-
Sharon	1	1	-	-	-
shave	1	1	-	-	-
sheep	1	1	-	-	-
ship	1	-	-	1	-
shoe	1	1	-	-	-
shoes	1	-	1	-	-
shots	1	-	-	-	1
shoulder	1	-	-	-	1
shovel	1	-	-	-	1
shows	1	-	-	-	1
Simpson	1	-	-	1	-
sings	1	-	1	-	-
sister's	1	-	1	-	-
sixty	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-eight	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-five	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-four	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-nine	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-one	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-seven	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-six	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-three	1	-	-	1	-
sixty-two	1	-	-	1	-
skeleton	1	-	-	-	1
slam	1	-	-	-	1
sleepy	1	-	1	-	-
sleeping	1	-	-	-	1
smarter	1	-	-	-	1
sneaking	1	1	-	-	-
snitchie	1	-	-	1	-
snotty	1	1	-	-	-
sock	1	1	-	-	-
sofa	1	1	-	-	-
soft	1	-	1	-	-
someplace	1	-	-	-	1
somewhere	1	1	-	-	-
songs	1	1	-	-	-
sound	1	-	-	-	1
speech	1	-	-	-	1
spill	1	1	-	-	-
spit	1	1	-	-	-
splashed	1	-	1	-	-
sprayed	1	-	1	-	-
squares	1	1	-	-	-
squashed	1	-	-	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
squirrels	1	-	-	1	-
Stan	1	1	-	-	-
stands	1	-	1	-	-
started	1	-	1	-	-
starts	1	-	-	1	-
statue	1	-	-	-	1
stays	1	1	-	-	-
Stell	1	-	1	-	-
stomp	1	1	-	-	-
stoop	1	1	-	-	-
stores	1	-	-	1	-
stories	1	1	-	-	-
stove	1	1	-	-	-
straight	1	1	-	-	-
streets	1	-	1	-	-
strike	1	1	-	-	-
stuffy	1	-	1	-	-
substitute	1	1	-	-	-
sudden	1	-	1	-	-
Sundays	1	-	-	-	1
swatter	1	-	1	-	-
swell	1	-	-	-	1
T	1	-	-	-	1
tack	1	1	-	-	-
tails	1	-	-	-	1
taking	1	1	-	-	-
tapers	1	-	-	-	1
taping	1	1	-	-	-
taught	1	-	-	-	1
teach	1	1	-	-	-
telephone	1	1	-	-	-
tenth	1	-	-	-	1
that's	1	-	-	1	-
Theresa	1	1	-	-	-
thirty	1	1	-	-	-
thirty-four	1	-	-	1	-
thirty-seven	1	-	-	1	-
thirty-six	1	-	-	1	-
thirty-three	1	-	-	1	-
Thompson	1	-	-	1	-
though	1	-	1	-	-
thunder	1	-	1	-	-
tick	1	-	1	-	-
tickle	1	1	-	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
tiny	1	1	-	-	-
tittie	1	-	-	-	1
Tom	1	-	1	-	-
tooth	1	1	-	-	-
touched	1	-	-	-	1
touching	1	-	-	-	1
town	1	-	-	1	-
trailer	1	-	-	-	1
trap	1	-	-	-	1
trees	1	1	-	-	-
trick	1	-	-	-	1
tricks	1	1	-	-	-
trip	1	-	1	-	-
trucks	1	-	-	-	1
true	1	-	-	-	1
tumbling	1	1	-	-	-
turkey	1	1	-	-	-
turned	1	-	-	1	-
turning	1	-	-	-	1
turns	1	-	-	-	1
twenty-five	1	-	-	1	-
Tyrone	1	-	-	1	-
umbrella	1	-	1	-	-
uncle	1	1	-	-	-
united	1	-	1	-	-
until	1	1	-	-	-
used	1	-	-	-	1
vampire	1	-	-	1	-
wagging	1	1	-	-	-
wall	1	-	-	-	1
Washington	1	-	1	-	-
watched	1	1	-	-	-
watermelon	1	1	-	-	-
wee	1	-	-	-	1
were	1	-	-	-	1
western	1	-	-	-	1
whatever	1	-	-	-	1
wheelchair	1	-	-	-	1
whiskey	1	-	-	-	1
whip	1	1	-	-	-
whole	1	-	1	-	-
win	1	-	-	-	1
witches	1	-	-	1	-
within	1	-	-	-	1
woke	1	-	1	-	-
wood	1	1	-	-	-
word	1	1	-	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
write	1	-	-	-	1
yard	1	-	1	-	-
yellow	1	-	-	1	-
yep	1	-	-	-	1
yes sir	1	-	-	-	1
zebra	1	-	-	1	-
Zondra	1	-	1	-	-
zoo	1	-	1	-	-
abc's	2	2	-	-	-
act	2	-	-	-	2
ail	2	-	2	-	-
alligator	2	-	-	-	2
almost	2	-	-	-	2
aloose	2	-	-	2	-
alone	2	1	-	-	1
already	2	2	-	-	-
America	2	-	1	-	1
Angela	2	-	-	2	-
Anthony	2	-	-	-	2
ape	2	-	-	2	-
April	2	-	-	1	1
arm	2	2	-	-	-
bag	2	-	-	-	2
ball	2	-	-	1	1
batlady	2	-	2	-	-
bath	2	2	-	-	-
best	2	-	-	2	-
between	2	-	-	-	2
bicycle	2	1	-	-	1
biggest	2	2	-	-	-
board	2	1	-	1	-
boing	2	-	-	-	2
book	2	-	-	1	1
Brian's	2	-	2	-	-
bubble	2	-	-	2	-
bull	2	2	-	-	-
buttons	2	2	-	-	-
cake	2	1	-	1	-
candies	2	2	-	-	-
cards	2	-	-	1	1
cars	2	-	-	2	-
cartoons	2	-	-	-	2
channel	2	-	2	-	-
Charles	2	-	1	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
children	2	2	-	-	-
church	2	2	-	-	-
classroom	2	2	-	-	-
close	2	1	-	-	1
c -d	2	-	1	-	1
comb	2	2	-	-	-
cook	2	2	-	-	-
cop	2	2	-	-	-
copy	2	-	-	-	2
Costello	2	-	-	-	2
fifty	2	-	-	2	-
find	2	2	-	-	-
fire	2	-	2	-	-
flowers	2	-	2	-	-
followed	2	2	-	-	-
foot	2	1	-	-	1
football	2	-	-	2	-
forget	2	1	-	-	1
forty	2	1	-	1	-
gate	2	2	-	-	-
giraffe	2	-	-	2	-
glass	2	-	-	1	1
God	2	-	1	1	-
granny's	2	-	-	-	2
grass	2	2	-	-	-
grease	2	1	1	-	-
gum	2	-	-	2	-
guy	2	-	-	-	2
half	2	-	1	-	1
hard	2	-	2	-	-
haven't	2	-	-	2	-
hen	2	2	-	-	-
her's	2	-	-	2	-
higher	2	1	-	-	1
highest	2	-	-	-	2
hill	2	2	-	-	-
hobo	2	-	-	-	2
hope	2	1	-	-	1
horsie	2	-	-	-	2
hurt	2	-	-	-	2
husband	2	1	-	-	1
into	2	1	-	1	-
January	2	-	-	-	2
jing	2	-	-	2	-
jingles	2	-	-	2	-
joker	2	-	2	-	-
Jolene	2	2	-	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
Joycelyn	2	-	-	2	-
July	2	1	-	-	1
jungle	2	2	-	-	-
Jungleland	2	2	-	-	-
Karen	2	-	-	2	-
keep	2	2	-	-	-
Kelly	2	-	-	-	2
Kevins	2	2	-	-	-
kick	2	-	2	-	-
kidding	2	-	-	-	2
kit	2	-	-	-	2
knew	2	-	-	-	2
knight	2	-	-	-	2
knot	2	-	-	-	2
laughing	2	-	1	1	-
legs	2	1	1	-	-
Mahoney	2	-	-	2	-
map	2	-	2	-	-
master	2	-	-	-	2
Maureen	2	-	-	2	-
messing	2	-	-	-	2
mister	2	-	1	-	1
Monday	2	1	-	-	1
move	2	1	-	-	1
moving	2	-	-	1	1
mummy	2	-	-	-	2
nasty	2	2	-	-	-
neighbor	2	-	-	1	1
nineteen	2	2	-	-	-
ninety-nine	2	-	-	2	-
noise	2	1	-	1	-
ocean	2	-	-	-	2
or	2	-	-	-	2
ought	2	1	-	-	1
oven	2	2	-	-	-
pap	2	-	-	-	2
pay	2	2	-	-	-
peoples	2	-	2	-	-
piano	2	2	-	-	-
pioneer	2	-	1	-	1
pizza	2	2	-	-	-
pocket	2	-	-	1	1
policeman	2	1	1	-	-
prettier	2	2	-	-	-
president	[illegible]	-	-	-	2
quack	2	-	-	-	2
cousin	2	1	-	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
Craig	2	-	-	-	2
cried	2	-	-	-	2
crossed	2	2	-	-	-
dark	2	2	-	-	-
dead	2	-	-	2	-
diamond	2	1	-	1	-
dress	2	2	-	-	-
dressed	2	1	-	-	1
Ejuan's	2	-	-	-	2
everywhere	2	2	-	-	-
faster	2	2	-	-	-
feet	2	2	-	-	-
fifteen	2	1	-	1	-
raise	2	-	-	2	-
recorder	2	-	-	1	1
Reggie's	2	-	-	-	2
red	2	1	1	-	-
ribbons	2	2	-	-	-
roadrunner	2	-	-	2	-
robin	2	-	2	-	-
rope	2	-	-	-	2
runs	2	-	2	-	-
scared	2	-	2	-	-
scream	2	2	-	-	-
seat	2	1	-	1	-
seventy-one	2	-	-	2	-
seventy-two	2	-	-	2	-
shade	2	-	-	-	2
shit	2	-	-	1	1
sick	2	1	-	-	1
silent	2	2	-	-	-
sin	2	-	-	-	2
sisters	2	1	1	-	-
sky	2	1	1	-	-
small	2	-	-	2	-
Solly	2	-	-	-	2
someone	2	-	-	-	2
sometime	2	1	1	-	-
speaker	2	-	2	-	-
stand	2	-	1	1	-
standing	2	-	1	-	1
star	2	2	-	-	-
stars	2	-	-	-	2
station	2	2	-	-	-
step	2	1	-	1	-
stick	2	-	1	1	-
sticks	2	1	-	1	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
stuck	2	-	-	-	2
stupid	2	-	2	-	-
superman	2	-	2	-	-
suppose	2	1	-	-	1
sure	2	-	-	-	2
swimming	2	-	-	-	2
swore	2	-	-	-	2
table	2	2	-	-	-
taxi	2	-	-	-	2
telling	2	-	-	1	1
their	2	2	-	-	-
thirty-eight	2	1	-	1	-
thirty-five	2	1	-	1	-
thirty-nine	2	1	-	1	-
thirty-one	2	1	-	1	-
threw	2	1	-	-	1
tip	2	2	-	-	-
tippy	2	2	-	-	-
toeing	2	2	-	-	-
together	2	-	-	-	2
Tony	2	2	-	-	-
top	2	-	-	-	2
touch	2	-	-	1	1
train	2	-	2	-	-
twenty	2	1	-	1	-
twenty-one	2	1	-	1	-
twenty-seven	2	1	-	1	-
ugly	2	2	-	-	-
understand	2	2	-	-	-
using	2	-	-	-	2
vacation	2	1	-	-	1
voice	2	2	-	-	-
while	2	1	-	-	1
whitey	2	2	-	-	-
will	2	2	-	-	-
Winchell	2	-	-	2	-
wonder	2	1	-	-	1
wood's	2	-	-	-	2
words	2	-	-	2	-
years	2	-	2	-	-
yet	2	-	-	1	1
across	3	1	-	2	-
am	3	-	-	1	2
any	3	-	1	1	1
as	3	2	-	-	1
ask	3	2	-	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
asking	3	-	-	-	3
ate	3	-	2	1	-
bats	3	-	-	3	-
bear's	3	-	3	-	-
before	3	3	-	-	-
bigger	3	3	-	-	-
bike	3	1	-	2	-
Billy	3	-	-	-	3
binkle	3	3	-	-	-
bite	3	3	-	-	-
bowl	3	-	3	-	-
brand	3	1	-	-	2
break	3	1	-	-	2
breath	3	3	-	-	-
camera	3	-	1	-	2
candy	3	3	-	-	-
Carolyn	3	3	-	-	-
cents	3	3	-	-	-
Christmas	3	1	1	1	-
coat	3	-	2	1	-
Cole	3	-	-	-	3
corn	3	-	-	-	3
different	3	1	-	2	-
doctors	3	-	-	-	3
dollar	3	3	-	-	-
drive	3	2	-	-	1
Esther	3	-	-	-	3
eyes	3	2	1	-	-
fall	3	1	1	1	-
February	3	1	-	-	2
fight	3	-	1	1	1
forgot	3	1	-	-	2
found	3	-	-	-	3
Freddie	3	-	-	-	3
Gabriel	3	-	-	-	3
Gilligan	3	-	-	-	3
giant	3	3	-	-	-
goes	3	1	-	1	1
gunsmoke	3	-	-	-	3
hair	3	3	-	-	-
hat	3	-	-	-	3
homework	3	-	-	-	3
instead	3	-	-	-	3
Jack	3	3	-	-	-
Jethro	3	-	-	-	3
Jill	3	3	-	-	-
jumping	3	-	1	-	2

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
knock	3	-	-	2	1
LA	3	3	-	-	-
Lateef	3	-	-	3	-
Letecia's	3	3	-	-	-
line	3	3	-	-	-
microphone	3	-	-	-	3
microphones	3	-	-	-	3
movie	3	2	-	-	1
myself	3	1	-	-	2
newspaper	3	-	-	-	3
none	3	-	-	-	3
O	3	2	-	1	-
okay	3	-	1	2	-
penguin	3	-	3	-	-
person	3	-	-	-	3
Pete	3	3	-	-	-
picked	3	2	-	1	-
poo	3	-	-	-	3
pool	3	1	-	-	2
probable	3	-	-	-	3
pumpkin	3	3	-	-	-
racing	3	-	-	2	1
ribbon	3	3	-	-	-
room	3	-	3	-	-
seventeen	3	2	-	1	-
seventy	3	-	-	3	-
showed	3	-	-	-	3
side	3	1	1	-	1
sitting	3	1	-	-	2
sixteen	3	2	-	1	-
skip	3	2	-	1	-
soaking	3	-	3	-	-
split	3	-	-	-	3
story	3	1	1	-	1
Sunday	3	-	1	-	2
tape	3	-	-	1	2
teacher	3	1	1	-	1
third	3	-	-	-	3
thirteen	3	2	-	1	-
thirty-two	3	2	-	1	-
throw	3	-	1	1	1
tied	3	-	-	-	3
till	3	3	-	-	-
tired	3	-	1	-	2
today	3	-	2	1	-
toe	3	2	-	-	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
traded	3	3	-	-	-
trash	3	3	-	-	-
tried	3	-	-	-	3
twenty-three	3	2	-	1	-
twenty-two	3	2	-	1	-
walk	3	2	1	-	-
wasn't	3	-	1	1	1
what's	3	-	-	3	-
which	3	-	1	2	-
witch	3	-	-	3	-
work	3	2	1	-	-
after	4	3	-	-	1
boom	4	-	2	1	1
bow	4	3	-	-	1
called	4	1	-	-	3
card	4	3	-	1	-
cats	4	3	-	1	-
country	4	-	1	-	3
crying	4	2	2	-	-
doctor	4	3	-	-	1
dream	4	-	4	-	-
drop	4	1	-	-	3
eighteen	4	3	-	1	-
Ernie	4	-	-	-	4
everything	4	-	-	-	4
eye	4	1	-	1	2
feed	4	4	-	-	-
fence	4	4	-	-	-
fly	4	-	1	-	3
girls	4	1	-	1	2
goody	4	-	-	4	-
group	4	-	-	-	4
hands	4	1	1	-	2
hello	4	-	-	2	2
hoe	4	4	-	-	-
hospital	4	4	-	-	-
Howell	4	-	-	-	4
hundred	4	-	-	1	3
indian	4	4	-	-	-
leave	4	3	-	-	1
loosing	4	-	-	-	4
Mack	4	4	-	-	-
meow	4	4	-	-	-
mommy	4	4	-	-	-
Mrs.	4	3	-	-	1
need	4	1	-	-	3

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
needle	4	-	-	-	4
nope	4	1	-	-	3
o'clock	4	-	-	-	4
pal	4	-	-	-	4
playing	4	3	-	-	1
ran	4	1	-	-	3
rather	4	-	-	-	4
ring	4	3	1	-	-
run	4	3	1	-	-
scary	4	1	2	1	-
seen	4	-	3	-	1
Sherry	4	4	-	-	-
shoot	4	-	3	-	1
singing	4	2	2	-	-
sit	4	4	-	-	-
snake	4	1	-	-	3
stay	4	1	-	2	1
stepped	4	1	1	1	1
stinky	4	-	-	1	3
stole	4	-	-	3	1
street	4	2	-	2	-
tattoo	4	-	-	-	4
tears	4	-	-	-	4
think	4	-	-	2	2
tie	4	3	-	-	1
twenty-four	4	3	-	1	-
twinkle	4	4	-	-	-
under	4	2	2	-	-
wet	4	-	4	-	-
wheels	4	-	4	-	-
world	4	1	1	2	-
wouldn't	4	3	1	-	-
Yvonne	4	4	-	-	-
aid	5	-	-	-	5
Archie	5	-	-	-	5
bad	5	4	-	-	1
been	5	1	3	-	1
Beronica	5	-	-	-	5
bet	5	1	1	-	3
bitty	5	2	2	1	-
boo	5	4	-	1	-
broke	5	4	-	1	-
by	5	3	1	-	1
class	5	4	-	-	1
clothes	5	4	-	1	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
cry	5	1	-	-	4
Ed	5	-	-	-	5
eleven	5	3	1	1	-
everytime	5	5	-	-	-
fast	5	1	1	1	2
fat	5	5	-	-	-
father	5	1	2	1	1
fatso	5	5	-	-	-
fitting	5	1	-	-	4
food	5	3	2	-	-
gave	5	2	-	-	3
gone	4	1	-	-	4
hi	5	1	-	-	4
indians	5	5	-	-	-
kind	5	3	-	-	2
last	5	-	2	-	3
looked	5	-	4	-	1
loose	5	2	-	-	3
lost	5	5	-	-	-
lot	5	2	2	1	-
papa	5	-	3	-	2
potatoe	5	5	-	-	-
pretty	5	5	-	-	-
puppy	5	5	-	-	-
push	5	2	1	1	1
ready	5	2	2	-	1
Sandra	5	-	1	-	4
save	5	1	-	-	4
second	5	-	-	-	5
should	5	-	1	-	4
skinny	5	3	-	-	2
snow	5	4	-	1	-
socks	5	-	5	-	-
splits	5	-	-	-	5
throwed	5	4	-	-	1
truck	5	-	2	-	3
trying	5	-	-	-	5
twelve	5	3	-	2	-
twenty-nine	5	4	-	1	-
twenty-six	5	4	-	1	-
use	5	2	2	-	1
waiting	5	2	-	-	3
wake	5	4	1	-	-
watching	5	-	-	-	5
white	5	1	1	1	2
won't	5	2	1	1	1

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
Abott	6	-	-	-	6
boat	6	5	-	1	-
bus	6	6	-	-	-
cat	6	6	-	-	-
coming	6	3	-	1	2
Denise	6	5	-	1	-
dude	6	-	-	-	6
every	6	2	4	-	-
fatty	6	4	-	-	2
frog	6	6	-	-	-
George	6	6	-	-	-
hit	6	-	1	1	4
jail	6	5	-	-	1
jar	6	-	-	6	-
jingle	6	6	-	-	-
jughead	6	-	-	-	6
jump	6	4	-	-	2
Kevin	6	3	-	-	3
kill	6	-	2	-	4
lamb	6	6	-	-	-
laugh	6	6	-	-	-
let's	6	3	-	-	3
live	6	2	1	-	3
might	6	1	2	-	3
mind	6	2	-	-	4
Mona	6	6	-	-	-
Napoli	6	6	-	-	-
nobody	6	2	1	-	3
own	6	4	-	-	2
picture	6	-	1	-	5
pull	6	4	-	-	2
read	6	2	1	-	3
set	6	2	-	4	-
shot	6	6	-	-	-
sneak	6	6	-	-	-
start	6	1	1	2	2
store	6	5	-	1	-
talking	6	1	-	-	5
twenty-eight	6	5	-	1	-
watcher	6	-	-	-	6
year	6	6	-	-	-
around	7	1	1	1	4
banana	7	-	-	1	6
bust	7	-	-	7	-
chair	7	5	-	2	-
cookie	7	-	-	5	2
cut	7	3	2	-	2

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
doing	7	2	-	-	5
early	7	5	-	-	2
eating	7	1	3	3	-
else	7	-	1	1	5
Ernest	7	-	-	-	7
feel	7	1	1	-	5
fell	7	1	1	-	5
fish	7	7	-	-	-
horse	7	2	-	3	2
life	7	-	-	-	7
long	7	4	1	-	2
longer	7	-	-	-	7
Lucy	7	-	7	-	-
made	7	5	-	1	1
mines	7	5	-	1	1
miss	7	4	-	-	3
mouth	7	4	-	-	3
riddle	7	7	-	-	-
still	7	-	-	1	6
stuff	7	1	1	-	5
things	7	2	1	2	2
tiger	7	6	1	-	-
wait	7	-	-	3	4
wanted	7	6	-	-	1
wham	7	7	-	-	-
Alabama	8	-	-	-	8
are	8	5	1	1	1
Better	8	5	-	1	2
boys	8	2	-	5	1
catch	8	4	-	4	-
eat	8	3	3	2	-
granny	8	-	-	-	8
hand	8	2	-	5	1
happy	8	7	1	-	-
head	8	1	2	2	3
inside	8	-	1	-	7
looking	8	1	1	3	3
Mason	8	-	-	-	8
morning	8	2	2	-	4
much	8	1	-	-	7
might	8	1	4	-	3
Perry	8	-	-	-	8
saying	8	4	-	-	4
sleep	8	-	6	1	1
sword	8	-	-	-	8
teeth	8	7	-	1	-
told	8	4	-	-	4

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
water	8	1	3	3	1
wheel	8	-	-	8	-
yesterday	8	5	-	-	3
brown	9	-	9	-	-
comes	9	3	1	1	4
couldn't	9	-	2	7	-
dink	9	-	-	-	9
Eenie	9	9	-	-	-
engineer	9	-	-	9	-
getting	9	5	1	1	2
honey	9	1	-	-	8
meanie	9	9	-	-	-
minee	9	9	-	-	-
moe	9	9	-	-	-
outside	9	6	1	-	2
pick	9	7	-	1	1
ride	9	3	1	5	-
rinky	9	-	-	-	9
show	9	3	-	1	5
sleigh	9	4	-	5	-
sometimes	9	4	2	3	-
where	9	5	1	-	3
yours	9	2	-	4	3
buy	10	9	1	-	-
Charlie	10	-	-	10	-
count	10	8	-	-	2
dumb	10	10	-	-	-
everybody	10	1	2	1	6
make	10	6	-	1	3
Mary	10	10	-	-	-
Mr.	10	-	1	-	9
nose	10	8	1	-	1
nothing	10	5	-	1	4
old	10	3	1	1	5
only	10	3	1	2	4
thought	10	6	-	-	4
tree	10	7	1	1	1
turn	10	6	-	1	3
day	11	9	-	-	2
even	11	4	6	-	1
everyday	11	11	-	-	-
from	11	3	2	3	3
hold	11	-	-	1	10
leader	11	11	-	-	-
love	11	2	-	1	8
Marian	11	11	-	-	-

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
money	11	6	-	1	4
people	11	1	2	2	6
real	11	6	2	-	3
spell	11	10	-	-	1
talk	11	3	1	-	7
these	11	2	-	2	7
those	11	1	1	-	9
try	11	-	5	3	3
way	11	5	1	4	1
well	11	4	-	2	5
beat	12	12	-	-	-
brother	12	5	1	2	4
car	12	8	1	1	2
fun	12	3	-	5	4
gun	12	-	1	2	9
hear	12	-	3	-	9
mother	12	6	4	1	1
never	12	4	5	1	2
took	12	5	-	-	7
again	13	9	-	-	4
black	13	5	1	3	4
call	13	5	1	3	4
monster	13	7	3	-	3
same	13	1	2	10	-
somebody	13	1	6	-	6
da	14	-	-	-	14
eight	14	4	3	6	1
heard	14	-	2	-	12
home	14	12	1	1	-
if	14	5	1	4	4
John	14	14	-	-	-
Letecia	14	11	-	3	-
mean	14	7	-	-	7
new	14	9	1	-	4
nine	14	5	3	5	1
quarter	14	14	-	-	-
right	14	6	1	-	7
Symon	14	14	-	-	-
ten	14	6	3	5	-
than	14	7	2	-	5
always	15	1	6	4	4
cause	15	9	1	2	3
door	15	1	4	8	2
grapevine	15	-	-	-	15
merry	15	15	-	-	-
shut	15	6	1	2	6
six	15	5	4	5	1
TV	15	5	3	1	6

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
bed	16	6	6	-	4
Ejuan	16	-	-	-	16
funny	16	1	-	-	15
hot	16	1	-	11	4
more	16	12	2	1	1
our	16	9	5	1	1
seven	16	4	4	6	2
watch	16	3	1	1	11
wish	16	14	-	-	2
another	17	14	1	1	1
can't	17	6	2	2	7
huh	17	9	2	1	5
married	17	15	2	-	-
open	17	-	1	11	5
other	17	5	4	1	7
pow	17	-	-	-	17
stop	17	3	1	6	7
take	17	9	1	3	4
away	18	16	-	-	2
didn't	18	5	5	-	8
girl	18	9	-	-	9
give	18	9	1	1	7
house	18	9	3	2	4
Ricky	18	-	7	-	11
would	18	-	-	-	18
ain't	19	4	1	1	13
because	19	16	2	-	1
bells	19	5	-	-	14
down	19	6	2	6	5
gumby	19	-	-	-	19
why	19	8	-	1	10
boy	20	7	-	4	9
choo	20	-	-	20	-
friend	20	18	1	1	-
lady	20	3	-	1	16
number	20	-	9	10	1
song	20	16	1	-	3
us	20	7	-	2	11
baby	21	7	4	-	10
off	21	5	2	1	13
time	21	9	2	1	9
about	22	6	5	1	10
first	22	12	1	1	8
over	22	14	5	-	3
tell	22	12	1	2	7

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
something	23	19	3	1	-
saw	24	1	8	2	13
through	24	7	-	-	17
could	26	11	2	3	10
quiet	26	14	-	4	8
school	26	15	3	-	8
Cheryl	27	27	-	-	-
daddy	27	23	-	-	4
thing	27	5	6	6	10
Audrey	28	6	-	-	22
guys	28	3	1	5	19
three	28	10	5	9	4
can	29	17	6	1	5
dog	29	13	-	2	14
five	29	8	4	7	10
let	29	23	-	-	6
now	29	19	3	3	4
who	29	4	2	19	4
at	30	6	13	5	6
came	30	9	1	-	20
four	31	10	6	13	2
good	31	1	1	1	28
look	31	5	15	2	9
name	31	4	13	5	9
too	31	8	7	-	16
play	32	13	4	12	3
sister	32	17	10	5	-
watt	32	32	-	-	-
some	33	14	8	6	5
yes	33	3	11	16	3
big	34	23	3	1	7
just	34	19	5	2	8
mine	34	7	-	1	26
how	35	19	1	1	14
oh	36	10	-	6	20
what	36	18	5	13	-
for	37	19	5	6	7
had	38	21	4	3	10
did	39	7	3	3	26
out	39	12	4	4	19
put	39	16	4	8	11
momma	40	36	1	1	2
his	41	12	8	2	19
them	41	21	5	7	8
but	42	16	5	2	19
here	42	9	2	6	25
not	42	22	1	7	12
went	42	20	4	3	15

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
so	43	32	2	1	8
back	47	19	4	2	22
sing	48	44	1	-	3
two	49	18	11	11	9
come	50	19	10	3	18
have	50	29	4	4	13
is	51	15	14	-	22
of	51	13	10	5	23
with	51	25	8	3	15
all	55	25	2	9	19
man	55	4	3	6	42
your	59	37	1	8	13
hey	61	9	2	8	42
ok	61	27	-	-	34
little	62	45	3	8	6
see	63	19	2	7	35
do	65	21	2	6	36
her	68	57	4	3	4
there	71	15	18	-	38
going	74	34	7	11	22
him	75	24	8	9	34
I'm	75	36	9	10	20
this	75	8	10	10	47
up	79	25	20	11	23
she	80	31	23	5	21
said	81	16	4	-	61
don't	82	30	15	7	30
go	86	36	17	8	25
we	89	42	8	5	34
no	90	33	13	14	30
yeah	90	16	5	12	57
want	92	70	5	1	16
when	96	40	12	4	40
got	103	43	18	14	28
me	103	32	9	28	34
get	105	49	16	7	33
know	107	27	11	23	46
on	109	30	15	11	53
say	111	65	4	10	32
one	116	53	13	19	31
they	116	25	11	14	66
was	116	26	5	13	72
be	119	33	8	12	66
like	125	12	20	15	78
in	154	50	28	17	59
then	173	21	21	9	122

Word	Total	K	F	S	T
my	193	121	23	18	31
it	215	82	-	25	108
he	270	61	35	16	158
the	273	103	30	45	95
that	310	64	24	20	202
A	323	155	29	52	87
to	337	197	45	-	95
you	380	148	27	48	157
and	441	161	44	31	205
I	574	249	81	62	182

Appendix II

Example Sentences for Selected Linguistic Variables

Part A: Occurrences of ain't

Location	Sentence	Use
Kindergarten		
11103.1602	For real, I ain't playing.	auxiliary (prog)
.1603	I ain't play...	auxiliary (prog)
.1604	Yea, I ain't playing.	auxiliary (prog)
.1709	"Little baby?" (C) Say [that] ain't no bad word.	main
First Grade		
04103.0407	That's a trip over thing. [I] ain't going to (+steal noth..+) [I] ain't going to get up.	auxiliary (prog)
Second Grade		
12201.0614	No, it ain't yours no more.	main
Third Grade		
06105.0423	But (+it+) ain't called Perry Mason.	auxiliary (passive)
.0426	Perry Mason be on it, but it ain't called Perry Mason.	auxiliary (passive)
.0503	...But that ain't the name of it.	main
.0504	The name of it ain't Perry Mason.	main
.0715	Yours [is] in a knot. Yours ain't. It's in a knot bow.	main
.1206	I really did do like that, I ain't kidding.	auxiliary (prog)

Location	Sentence	Use
.1320	Five doctors! I ain't kidding.	auxiliary (prog)
06301.0312	Mine don't come off. Mine ain't coming off.	auxiliary (prog)
.0525	He said, "Ain't no policeman in back of me."	main
.0527	He said, "Ain't no policeman in back of me."	main
.1706	Then Gumby say, "Ain't this my... Ain't this dog my dog?..."	main
16105.0116	You the second to the highest. What? No we ain't high. (laughter) We ain't going to be on TV.	main auxiliary

Instances of copula + not other than ain't:

Kindergarten

11201.0410	I'm not four.	main
11405.0104	I'm not a dumb dumb.	main
.0419	I'm not through.	main
.0703	I'm not doing nothing.	auxiliary (prog)
.1102	I'm not going to never come to school.	auxiliary (prog)
.1307	...But no more. I'm not going to be a leader for nobody.	auxiliary (prog)
.1422	I'm not tippy toeing.	auxiliary (prog)
.1502	I'm not going to sing that.	auxiliary (prog)
.1517	I'm not singing.	auxiliary (prog)
11405.0513	Mine's not.	main
.0514	Mine's not.	main

Location	Sentence	Use
.1211	And mine's not green.	main
11405.0701	My feet are not on that chair.	main
First Grade	No occurrences.	
Second Grade		
12201.0607	It is fun to play. But if it wasn't fun to play, God wouldn't make it--to say. [spontaneous (?) poem]	main
12201.0319	That's not for girls.	main
Third Grade		
16105.0306	I am not going to touch it.	auxiliary (prog)
06105.0918	I'm not. I... My foot was like this, buddy.	main
.0920	I'm not on nothing.	main
06301.0318	Mine's not.	main
.041[illegible]	It's not. ... Mr. Ed is...	?
.1410	Yea, sure wasn't	?

Part B: Occurrences of Invariant be (be_2)

am

Kindergarten	11201.0204 And I put my own clothes on. And be sitting right on the sofa waiting for my momma to get up.
	11405.1306 Never be a leader. Sometimes I be a leader. But now I want to be a leader. But no more,
First Grade	14404.0701 Like to look [at it]. When I go to sleep I be just... I couldn't even sleep last night. This dream...
Second Grade	No occurrences.
Third Grade	06301.1920 Nuhun. Not me. When I be appetizing it be a picture on. Why they show all kinds of cartoons- Hobo Kelly

are

Kindergarten	11103.1620 I know Little Bow Pete. (/...Sing in Mona/) Wait till they be quiet. (sings) Little Bow Pete had lost her
	11405.1305 You. And so we don't never be a leader. So sometimes I be a leader, but now I want
First Grade	14404.0306 Ody could freeze up. (pause) They legs be cold. I don't like to get freeze.
Second Grade	No occurrences.
Third Grade	06105.0408 Perry Mason- These the trucks that they be using. They could bug. They be going burrr.
	06105.0716 Ain't. It's in a knot bow. They be watching (A,), a western, go horsie, go go horsie go.
	06105.0722 Him, get him (laughter). (Then they be hitting all,) They be hitting they own self.
	06105.0802 Get him (laughter) They give him a black eye. They be going, get him batman get him (laughter)

06105.0812 He still be watching. Hey, he (The TV be, we be watching TV, Ernie be sitting up there) doing (+ like

16105.0119 TV. We going be like those shows when people be asking them questions. Like about the (uh, uh,) what

16105.0122 What you call that- ahh president. They be asking them all about the president.

is

Kindergarten — No occurrences.

First Grade — 14404.0611 She get up there, kick everybody when she be standing (laughter) by. Get up there and kick.

14404.0615 She too stupid. But I looked at it. (And then when she,) she be stupid. I didn't get... The city, because

Second Grade — 12105.0117 (And if, when they pick up a [card] it be little. I got some old maid cards at home

Third Grade — 06105.0413 Stop looking in there. I know, Perry Mason be going [something] I wonder how come he didn't go through

06105.0422 That other picture called--Perry Mason be on it. (But it...) But [it] ain't called

06105.0425 Called Perry Mason (pause) Perry Mason be on it, but it ain't called Perry Mason

06105.0501 called Perry Mason that man be (in a) in a wheelchair. But that ain't

06105.0506 Of it ain't Perry Mason. Well, any way he be in a truck like this. (It be a,) (and) it be like that.

06105.0507 He be in a truck like this. (it be a,) (and) it be like that. It be like this. But instead (it be right)

06105.0508 Like this. (it be a,) (and) It be like that. It be like this. But instead (it be right he... ahh,) it

06105.0517 through there. (But he have a,) (see,) See it Be a big old thing closing from the driver

06105.0520 over to here. (And he could,) See it be a little door like that, that he could push open, an

06105.0719 Go horsie, go go horsie, go, Hey, (then somebody be, (then it) show somebody fighting, (Then they,) Somebody go pssht

06105.0806 They hit the person that be watching with them. Get him get him,

06105.0811 All a sudden the truck crash and he still be watching. Hey, hey) (the TV be,) We be watching Ernie be,

06105.0910 It come on, (that, they,) That dude be doing like this, then (it show,) It show

06105.0915 It come on that dude do like this. He be like this, he do like this. He look funny. Me too. (laughter) Oh oh

06105.1213 A big needle like that, boy. They do like this (laughter). It be a gun, boy. It be a big old gun. (would you rather get

06105.1219 Shot with a gun. See they have a little, it ('d.) be (like a,) Shaped like a gun and everything, but

06105.1302 Like a gun and everything, but a needle be inside it. (pause) You know why I rather, you know

06301.0316 See I don't play with mine. I know he, he... He be going like this, Aubrey... I don't like nobody

06301.2001 Why they show all kinds of cartoons- Hobo Kelly be on there, Billy Barnie. (the big babysitter) Yea, it be good,

was — No occurrences.

were — No occurrences.

will — No occurrences.

would

Kindergarten — No occurrences.

First Grade — No occurrences.

Second Grade — No occurrences.

Third Grade

06105.0611 Uhuh What - He could be. (+If we stayed up+) It be midnight and we still be waiting for us to come

06105.0618 Morning, and it be five o'clock. It be five o'clock in the morning and we still

06105.0620 ...in the morning and we still be waiting for us to come on TV. it be your, and

06105.0622 Us to come on TV. It be your, and we be in there sleeping (snore). We be right there

06105.0703 Touch us, and somebody touched us, and we be dreaming. Somebody touch us, we do like (this) (gulp, laughter).

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