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ABSTRACT

The results of a study in which eight black kindergarten children responded to a set of structured tasks designed to elicit linguistic constructions which characterize Black English are presented and discussed in this Southwest Regional Laboratory (SWRL) technical note. Some of the children responded with a high rate of nonstandard realizations; others, with a high rate of standard realizations. Implicational relationships among the constructions examined are identified. (Author/RB)

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DEVELOPMENT OF A DIALECT DIFFERENTIATION MEASURE FOR BLACK ENGLISH: A PILOT STUDY

Robert Berdan

Eight Black kindergarten children responded to a set of structured tasks designed to elicit linguistic constructions which characterize Black English. Some of the children responded with a high rate of non-standard realizations; others with a high rate of standard realizations. Implicational relationships among the constructions examined are identified.

DEVELOPMENT OF A DIALECT DIFFERENTIATION MEASURE FOR BLACK ENGLISH: A PILOT STUDY[1]

Robert Berdan

INTRODUCTION

Systematic linguistic differences between Anglo and Black communities have been identified (Labov, et al., 1968 Shuy, et al., 1967). Within each of these communities, however, there is considerable linguistic diversity. Not all members of the Black community employ the linguistic features which characterize nonstandard Black English.

A Dialect Differentiation Measure (DDM) is being developed to provide teachers an objective, quantifiable means of identifying speakers of Black English who are between four and six years of age. This instrument consists of a set of four tasks which elicit a number of linguistic features characteristic of Black English.

CONSTRAINTS

Proposed administration of the DDM to young children by teachers imposes several constraints on the development of the Measure:

1. It must accurately differentiate and identify a linguistically defined set of persons who independently can be judged to speak Black English.
2. It must function with children aged four to six years.
3. It must be brief enough that it can be administered readily to large numbers of children, e.g., a school class.
4. It must be such that it does not require special linguistic information either to administer or score.

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[1]The Dialect Differentiation Measure reported here is being developed by the author and Carol W. Pfaff.

These constraints limit the type and number of linguistic features which may be used and the methods by which they may be elicited.

ALTERNATIVE ELICITATION PROCEDURES

Rystrom (1970) has constructed a dialect test which employs sentence repetition. Of the structured elicitation tasks which might be used, repetition is the easiest to score since responses for all subjects would be comparable. However, repetition tasks are also the most difficult to interpret since the child is presented with a model which he can mimic. Studies such as Slobin & Welsh (1968) indicate that children can imitate structures they cannot produce independently. It is not known what the relationship is between the ability to repeat and spontaneous speech, or if the relationship is similar for all children.

Gross (1967) developed a test using auditory discrimination and an oral, single-word response questionnaire. Auditory discrimination tests measure only perception, not production. Perception is even more remote from spontaneous speech than is repetition. Gross found only very limited correlation between performance on his auditory discrimination tests and performance on his production tests. His production tests elicited single-word responses. Rystrom (1970) rejected such tests because he found children making distinctions in their responses that they did not make in connected speech. Another problem with single-word response techniques is that they preclude elicitation of most syntactic features.

The most desirable Measure would be one which examines the speech the child uses in relatively formal real-life situations. If children

of kindergarten age do in fact manipulate more than one style or dialect the Measure should examine their more formal or standard speech; that which would be used with authority figures such as teachers. The DDM is an attempt to assess the child's control of Standard English. It is not of interest here if he also uses some other nonstandard style in less formal situations.

Extended conversation with a teacher is precluded by Constraints 3 and 4, above. Natural conversation is invaluable for linguistic analysis but impractical for linguistic diagnosis. Far too much time would be required to insure that each student used the desired constructions a sufficient number of times.

In the past decade a number of structured tasks for eliciting linguistic data have been suggested (Berdan, 1972a). The present measure consists of structured tasks designed to elicit the features in Table 1 in a style analogous to that a child would use when answering questions for a teacher.

THE FEATURES

To construct a DDM it is necessary to assume that there is some subset of the linguistic features of Black English which have an implicational relationship to the whole set (or to the subsets used by individual speakers). Ideally the features should be restricted to those which can be assumed to be in the speech of every kindergarten child to assure that the instrument measures dialect and not differing stages of acquisition.

Some features characteristic of Black English were not used for a number of reasons. Some are also characteristic of regional dialects, e.g., r-lessness and vowel mergers as in pin/pen; some, of delayed acquisition, e.g., l-lessness. Characteristics which have been described only in impressionistic terms, e.g., rhythm and voice quality, were not considered.

These considerations and the previously mentioned constraints led to the selection of the following features:

1. Use of do as an auxiliary
2. Use of have as a main verb
3. Voiced interdental fricative /ð/
4. Third person singular, present tense agreement
5. Use of the copula is
6. Noun plural marker[2]

The standard and nonstandard realizations of each of these features is given in Table 1. All of these features, with the exception of plural, showed a high rate of nonstandard usuage among the children interviewed by Legum, et al., (1971) as shown in Table 2. Some of these features, do and have, were used exclusively in their nonstandard forms.

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[2]The incidence of nonstandard plural in Black English is relatively low. Its inclusion in the DDM at this stage results chiefly from the fact that Task III, which is designed to elicit agreement, is very easily constrained to yield plurals with no complication of the elicitation procedure.

FEATURE	EXAMPLE	REALIZATION	
		STANDARD	NONSTANDARD
Do as an auxiliary	This one does This one doesn't	does doesn't	do don't
Have as main verb	He has a hat	has has got, -'s got	have got[3]
Initial voiced interdental fricative /ð/	this, that	fricative [ð]	affricate [dð] ston
Subject/verb agreement, present tense, third singular	He climbs He bakes He washes	voiced [z] voiceless [s] syllabic [ɨz]	∅ ∅ ∅
The copula is	This one is red	is, -'s	be, ∅
Noun Plural	dogs bikes horses	voiced [z] voiceless [s] syllabic [ɨz]	∅ ∅ ∅

TABLE 1

Standard and nonstandard realizations of the linguistic features used in the DDM

[3]Got is treated as a nonstandard realization of have when there is no auxiliary or when the auxiliary is a form of do.

TABLE 2

Nonstandard usage in previous data[4]

Nonstandard Usage	Linguistic Features					
	do	Have	/d/	Agreement	Is	Plural
High	1.00	1.00	.90	1.00	1.00	.60
Low	1.00	1.00	.64	.50	.00	.00
Median	1.00	1.00	.85	.82	.5[illegible]	.20

Control of the phonological environments and syntactic positions in which the features occur is also important. Examination of the linguistic factors conditioning the data reported in Legum, et al., (1971) shows that environment is a crucial factor in determining rate of nonstandard usage. Eighty percent of the realizations of the voiced interdental fricative /d/ were nonstandard when it occured word initial; word medially only 20% of the realizations were nonstandard.

There were no nonstandard realizations of is when it occurred sentence final; following the lexical items it, that, or what only 4% of the realizations were nonstandard. In other contexts 50% of the occurrences were nonstandard.

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[4]These data are drawn from extensive retabulations of data from 12 K-3 children in the concordances prepared in connection with Legum, et al., (1971). The data have been restricted to those occurring in linguistic environments comparable to environments in DDM responses. Do and have are restricted to third person, present tense occurrences; only initial /d/ is included; all instances of is preceded by what, that, or it are excluded.

The nonstandard usage of have in Black English is most apparent when it is used as a main verb rather than as a modal. The difference from nonstandard Anglo dialects appears most evident in third person, singular, present tense constructions. Some speakers of Black English consistently use have in this context; only rarely do speakers of other nonstandard dialects do so. In other environments all nonstandard dialects frequently delete auxiliary have when using got; in third person singular it is rarely done except in Black English.

Phonological environments are important not only because they condition the use of nonstandard realizations; some phonological environments make it impossible to determine whether or not nonstandard forms have been used. Robertson & Garner (1970) used the following sentences to check for the use of the past tense morpheme. In each of these instances the stop consonant of the past tense morpheme is unreleased, resulting in perceptual fusion with the first phoneme of the following word.

We watched T.V. last night.

They robbed the bank and ran to their car.

The normal pronunciation of these sentences for speakers of any dialect cannot be distinguished from the nonstandard sentences:

We watch T.V. last night.

They rob the bank and ran to their car.

Care was exercised in the construction of the DDM to insure that similar situations would not occur in any responses.

THE MEASURE

The DDM is composed of four structured tasks. Each task has both oral and pictorial stimuli. Each item requires an oral response. At the beginning of each task the paradigm of the response is taught. Each task requires the child to supply some information about the picture he is shown. This requires him to give attention to the content of his answer, rather than its form. All the vocabulary used in the stimulus sentences was checked in Kolson (1960) and limited to vocabulary he found to be used by kindergarteners. Stimulus pictures were produced at SWRL and are shown in Appendix 1.

Task 1: Discrimination Task

Each of the ten items in this task have two pictures. The pictures for each item differ by one property. These properties require the following discriminations:

1. color
2. size
3. presence or absence of a feature
4. number
5. identifying characteristic

Each type of discrimination was used for two items. The pictures were of five different objects. Each object was used twice, each time with a different discrimination required. The interviewer asked the child, "Tell me, which bug is large. This one or that one?" If the child only points the interviewer asks, "Can you tell me which one?" An appropriate response is "This one" or "That one."

The linguistic feature being examined in this task is the pronunciation of the first sound of the demonstrative pronouns this and that.

Task II: Differentiation Task

The picture stimuli used for this task are identical to those used in Task I. In this task the interviewer asks the child, "What is the difference between this (bug) and that (bug)?" An appropriate response is "This bug is big and that bug is small." Contrasts of size or color elicit responses with is. The other contrasts elicit have. Those instances in which the contrast is the presence and absence of a feature also elicit the auxiliary do.

Task III: Compound Expansion Task

The stimuli for Task III consist of 15 pictures of people engaged in an activity characteristic of a recognizable occupation, e.g., dog catcher, movie maker, etc. The child is asked:

"This is a [noun] [verb] -er (the appropriate noun compound). What does he do?"

The appropriate response is of the form:

"He [verb] -s [noun] -s"

For example:

Interviewer: "This is a dog catcher. What does he do?"

Child: "He catches dogs."

The task is designed to elicit the agreement morpheme of the present tense, third person singular verb, and the noun plural morpheme.

The phonetic realization of each of these morphemes [s], [z], [ɨz] is conditioned by the final phoneme of the verb or noun. The compounds were selected to give instances of each realization of both the agreement and the plural morphemes (Appendix 2). No information is available on the influence of these alternate forms on the nonstandard deletion of the inflectional morphemes. This distribution of phonetic realizations does not necessarily increase the diagnostic power of the DDM, but will provide data for determining which forms should be used in future versions of the instrument.

Care was taken to exclude from the compounds used any with nouns beginning with the sibilants /s, š, z/. Any of these would prevent the perception of the verb agreement morpheme.

Task IV: Compound Production Task

Task IV uses the same stimulus pictures used in Task III. However, in this task the child is given as verbal stimulus the response elicited by the previous task, and asked to reproduce the noun compound given previously as a stimulus. For example, the interviewer says, "This man catches dogs. Who is he." A paradigmatic response from the child would be, "He is a dog catcher."

The linguistic feature of interest in this task is the copula is. It is possible to respond to the stimulus with just a noun phrase, "A dog catcher," rather than a full sentence response, "He is a dog catcher." Use of the noun phrase response precludes examination of is. In an attempt to minimize noun phrase responses the task was modified for the last four children. The size of the pictures was reduced and they were

presented two at a time: "This man bakes cakes and this man catches dogs. Who are they?" It is still possible to respond with a noun phrase, "A cake baker and a dog catcher." However, it seemed more likely that a subject pronoun would be used with at least one of the compounds in this coordinate resp

PARTICIPANTS

Eight Black kindergarten children were interviewed, four boys and four girls. All were from an inner city elementary school. Two children were picked from each of the four kindergarten classes by the principal and their teachers. The school was asked that the children be "typical representatives of the children enrolled in kindergarten."

PROCEDURES

The children were brought individually to the interview room[5] and seated across a low table from the interviewer.[6] The stimulus pictures were arranged in a loose-leaf binder so that when the picture was oriented toward the child the interviewer could read the instructions and stimulus sentences. The sessions were recorded in stereo with lavaliere microphones placed on both the interviewer and the child.

Before being presented with the tasks the children were asked questions about the names and ages of their siblings, and about recent

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[5]The room provided by the school was ordinarily vacant but subject to intrusion.

[6]Actual interviewing was done by Pfaff.

activities. These questions were designed to give an informal setting to the interview. They also had been shown to generate a large number of nonstandard responses (Legum, et al., 1971).

The tasks were presented to the child as a "picture book" of games to play and talk about. Administration of the tasks required less than ten minutes for each child.

Following completion of the DDM tasks the child was asked to tell the story of "Goldilocks and the Three Bears." Picture cues[7] for this task were displayed on a wall. The child was encouraged to walk to the pictures as he told the story.

RESULTS

The introductory questions were less productive than had been anticipated. Answers tended to be given in single words rather than sentences, precluding the use of the desired linguistic constructions. None of these responses has been included in the following discussion Task II provides another source of sentences with copula.

Task I

In every instance the children made the correct discrimination between the two alternatives. One example was sufficient for each child. Half of the correct pictures were positioned on the left side of the page, half on the right side of the page. Those on the left side were described by the interviewer as "this one." Those pictures

[7]Tell-Again story cards by Louise Binder Scott; Webster division, McGraw-Hill Book Company.

on the right side of the page were described as "that one." Despite the fact that 40 of the correct choices had thus been described by that, that occurred in only seven responses. This is not surprising since the child can use the proximal demonstrative this to describe the pictures to which he points. Correct responses to the task must be observed by the interviewer and cannot be determined by only listening to the response. Linguistically, there is no indication that the choice of the lexical item that rather than this has any influence on the pronunciation of the initial phoneme.

Less that half, 42%, of the responses to Task I were nonstandard (Table 3). Of these nonstandard responses, affricates were used more often than stops. There was considerable variation among individuals, with one informant giving all standard responses, and one giving only one standard response.

Do responses occur only in have sentences in which the pictures contrast by the present or absence of a feature. The stimulus pictures that differed by presence or absence of a feature each have the figure with the feature (affirmative) on the left side. Depending on the order in which the pictures are described, there are two types of responses. If the picture with the feature is described first, the first clause contains no auxiliary and the second clause contains an auxiliary with negative, but no verb.

This one got a hat and this one don't.

TABLE 3

Initial Voice Interdental Fricative (Task I)

Realization	Participant No. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Standard: [d]	9	8	4	7	2	4	7	1	42
Nonstandard: Affricate [dd]	0	0	5	2	3	4	2	2	18
Stop [d]	0	1	0	0	4	1	0	6	12
Nonstandard/Total	.00	.11	.55	.22	.77	.55	.22	.89	.42

TABLE 4

Use of Have (Task II)

Realization	Participant No. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Standard: Has	0	5	0	4	0	0	3	5	17
Nonstandard: Have	5	0	1	0	0	5	3	2	16
Got	0	0	5	4	4	0	0	0	13
Don't got	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
Nonstandard/Total	1.00	.00	1.00	.60	1.00	1.00	.50	.28	.65

Thirteen of the sixteen responses were given in this order. When the picture without the feature is described first the negative requires an auxiliary in the first clause. The second clause may use either the auxiliary or the verb.

This bug don't have no hat and this bug do.

This one don't got a hat and that one got a hat.

Don't got occurred twice and was classified both as nonstandard have and nonstandard do. The standard auxiliary with got is have rather than do. Don't is also nonstandard because it is not the singular form.

Results: Task II

The children had no trouble making the necessary differentiations. For most children one practice sentence was sufficient. No child needed more than two practice repetitions. In every instance the children comprehended the characteristic that differentiated the two pictures. Only once was a characteristic described inaccurately: "This have a big one and this have one" was used to differentiate a boat with two sails from a boat with one sail.

Of the 72 response sentences, all but eleven conformed to the desired paradigm. At least one nonparadigmatic response was given by seven of the eight informants; one informant gave three. All of the nonparadigmatic responses were given in describing pictures that contrasted in color or in an identifying characteristic. Three of these five color responses were color of a part, not of the whole picture, which might also be considered an identifying characteristic.

The realizations of do and have ranged from 100% nonstandard responses to only one nonstandard for one informant (Tables 4 and 5). There were fewer nonstandard responses for the be sentences (Table 6).

Have responses were counted nonstandard on two bases: substitution of have for has, or use of a nonstandard auxiliary (null or don't) with got. Informants tended to use one nonstandard response or the other. Only once did a single informant use both have and got. The one instance of got with the standard auxiliary have: "They haven't got the same hats." is standard because the subject is plural.

TABLE 5

Use of do (Task II)

Realization	Participants No. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Standard: Does	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Doesn't	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
Nonstandard Do	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Don't	3	1	4	2	2	2	1	3	18
Nonstandard/ Total	1.00	.33	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	.50	1.00	.86

All but one participant gave predominantly standard responses to the *is* sentences. There were no instances of nonstandard invariant *be*. Nonstandard responses were zero-copula and one instance of *ain't*.

TABLE 6

Use of *is* (Task II)

Realization	Participant No. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Standard: *is*	8	6	6	6	1	4	5	7	49
's	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	0	6
Nonstandard [zero copula]	0	0	2	0	4	2	0	1	9
ain't	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Nonstandard/Total	.00	.00	.25	.00	.87	.33	.00	.13	.20

Results: Task III

Task III required the informant to convert an agentive nominal compound composed of noun and verb, into a sentence with verb and direct object. The children were given one practice. Of the 112 responses on the test items, 51 did not follow the paradigm. A breakdown of the errors is given in Appendix 3. Most of the errors result from lexical substitution, not from a change in the grammatical structure of the response. All but twelve of these nonparadigmatic responses do contain a verb and direct object, the necessary environment for analyzing the agreement morpheme. Thirty-five responses either contained no

noun, or had a noun phrase which would be singular in Standard English either because of the noun or because of the presence of a determiner. Consequently 100 items were scored for agreement and 77 for plural.

Five of the eight informants used nonstandard agreement exclusively; the others used it most of the time. The subject pronoun was given only 14% of the time; invariably it was singular he. It is arguable that a response such as "Bake cakes" is not the equivalent of nonstandard "He bake cakes" but of standard "What he does is bake cakes" or some other paraphrase in which the verb need not be marked for agreement. When the subject pronoun was used agreement was not marked in 86% of the instances; 94% of the responses without subject pronouns were not marked for agreement.

TABLE 7

Agreement (Task III)

Realization	Participant No. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Standard	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	3	8
Nonstandard	14	14	8	13	10	8	14	11	92
Nonstandard/ Total	1.00	1.00	.89	1.00	.71	1.00	1.00	.79	.92

Although the Standard English plural morpheme has the same phonological shapes as the agreement morpheme they are treated quite

differently in Black English. Only one informant used a substantial number of nonstandard plurals[8] most used one or none (Table 8). All the informants had a high incidence of nonstandard agreement.

Because the main purpose of this pilot study was to determine the ability of the informants to perform the tasks, rather than to make a fine linguistic analysis of their responses, no attempt is made here to determine what the effect may be of the different allomorphs of the English plural and agreement morphemes on their nonstandard realizations in the responses.

TABLE 8

Noun Plurals (Task III)

Realization	Participant No. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Standard	10	10	7	10	6	4	10	10	67
Nonstandard	2	0	0	1	5	1	1	0	10
Nonstandard/ Total	.17	.00	.00	.09	.45	.20	.09	.00	.13

[8]The responses of Participant No. 5 to this task are difficult to interpret. He frequently used one inflectional morpheme per response, alternating between assigning it to the noun (plural) and the verb (agreement). His relatively low rate of nonstandard agreement and high nonstandard plurals may well be an artifact of the task.

Results: Task IV

As mentioned previously the children were able, in general, to perform the explicit task: formation of nominal compounds. However, responses were given in noun phrases. These are legitimate responses but do not contain the necessary environment for the linguistic feature being examined the copula. Reformulation of the task to elicit two compounds per question proved too complex and the children rarely produced more than one; still in a simple noun phrase. Since Task II also elicited the copula, results from this task are not reported here.

TABLE 9

Nonstandard use of all DDM features

	Participant Number								
Feature	5	6	3	1	8	4	7	2	Mean
Agreement	.71	1.00	.89	1.00	.79	1.00	1.00	1.00	.92
Do	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	.50	.33	.85
Have	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	.28	.60	.50	.00	.67
d	.77	.55	.55	.00	.89	.22	.22	.11	.41
is	.87	.33	.25	.00	.13	.00	.00	.00	.20
Plural	.45	.20	.00	.17	.00	.09	.09	.00	.13
Mean	.80	.68	.62	.53	.52	.49	.39	.24	.52

Implicational value of the DDM Features

If the DDM has validity, it is because certain features of language have implicational value. That is, their use implies the use of other

features. Very few studies have been done of the implication relationship of language features (Stolz & Bills, 1968; DeCamp, 1969). Most have suggested that such a relationship may exist but have been quite inconclusive. It is outside the scope of this paper to compare the DDM linguistic features with the other features of BE used by these informants. There does, however, appear to be an implicational relationship among features of the DDM itself (Table 10).

The mean nonstandard response for all subjects on all tasks was .52. In Table 10 all positions equal to or greater than that have been assigned "+"; those less, "-". Only one of the 48 positions is anomolous. This reflects the fact that Participant 8, unlike the others, used a high rate of nonstandard fricatives but frequently used the standard realizations of have.

The significance of this scale is perhaps more apparent than real. The features Agreement, Do and Have are not completely independent. The nonstandardness of do and don't is lack of any agreement morpheme. A major component of the nonstandard uses of have is also lack of agreement. Nonetheless, there is nothing here to disconfirm the notion that there are implicational relationships among the features of a grammar.

TABLE 10

Implicational Scale of DDM Features

Feature	Participant No. 5	6	3	1	4	8	7	2
Agreement	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Do	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Have	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
/ð/	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
is	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Plural	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

COMPARISON WITH JUDGMENTS OF ETHNICITY

A difference between the speech of Anglos and Blacks is readily perceived by most people without the aid of visual cues (Shuy, 1969). The accuracy of such judgments decreases markedly for the speech of highly educated Blacks. This is consistent with the fact that the speech of many members of this group does not contain many of the linguistic elements of Black English (Taylor, 1970).

As an incidental analysis in connection with the present study, a tape consisting of twelve 25-second segments from the responses to the story telling task was submitted to a panel of linguist and nonlinguist judges. The judges were 21 members of the SWRL Product Design Staff. Six reported some linguistic training, 15 did not.

One segment was taken from the response of each of four of the participants in the DDM tryout; two segments were taken from the responses of each of the other four participants. Each segment on the tape was followed by fifteen seconds of silence. During this time the judges were asked to make five subjective judgments about the speaker they had just heard. Judges were not told that the question of ethnicity

This child sounds ANGLO __ : __ : __ : __ : __ BLACK

was the primary objective of the exercise. The value 1 was arbitrarily assigned to the leftmost pole of each scale; five to the rightmost pole.

The question was apparently interpreted in two different ways, making the responses difficult to interpret. Personal conversations with the judges suggest that for some the scale represented degrees of ethnicity of the speech; for other judges it represented degrees of certainty of the ethnicity of the speaker. These two interpretations yield similar, but not identical results. It is possible that for some judges a speaker would evidence only a very few of the cues of Black English and would thus be scored quite low. For other judges, those few cues may be sufficient to make them very certain that the speaker was Black, resulting in high scores.

The linguist judges tended to assign higher scores and were more consistent than were the nonlinguists. The mean responses of the judges ranked the speakers from slightly below the middle of the scale to the high, or Black, pole. A Spearman rank-difference correlation analysis suggests that there is significant correlation between the rankings of the linguist and nonlinguist judges, and between each of these groups and the mean scores assigned by the DDM. This suggests that listeners may perceive degrees of ethnicity of speech, as well as the race of the speaker.

Judges		Speaker No. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	2	3	4	7	mean
Linguists N=6	Mean	4.5	3.17	5.0	4.17	5.0	4.33	3.83	4.67	2.83	4.0	3.83	3.33	4.14
	S.D.	.50	1.34	0.0	1.07	0.0	.75	.90	.47	1.34	0.0	1.05	1.25	.72
Nonlinguists N=15	Mean	3.43	3.73	4.60	3.92	4.73	3.93	2.87	4.64	3.33	4.87	3.33	2.93	3.86
	S.D.	1.59	1.34	.61	1.33	.77	1.00	1.20	.48	1.40	.34	1.45	1.65	1.15

TABLE 11

Ethnicity Judgments by linguists and nonlinguists

TABLE 12

Spearman Rank Difference Correlation of Ethnicity Judgments and DDM Scores

Linguists X nonlinguists	.77*
Linguists X DDM	.82*
Nonlinguists X DDM	.67*

CONCLUSIONS

The initial tryout of the DDM suggests that with minor modifications it may successfully differentiate Black children who speak Black English. Examination of a larger sample, including Anglo children, must precede a more definite statement.

Kindergarten age children were able to perform all the tasks with a minimum of instruction. All but Task IV successfully elicited the desired features. This task can be excluded without loss since the feature it was to elicit occurs elsewhere. Certain items in other tasks which elicited a large number of nonparadigmatic responses must be changed.

It is not possible to fully evaluate the responses to Task III with data from Anglo children. The nonstandard appearance of responses to this task may be an artifact of discourse rather than an indication of nonstandard dialect. The number of items in Task II should be increased

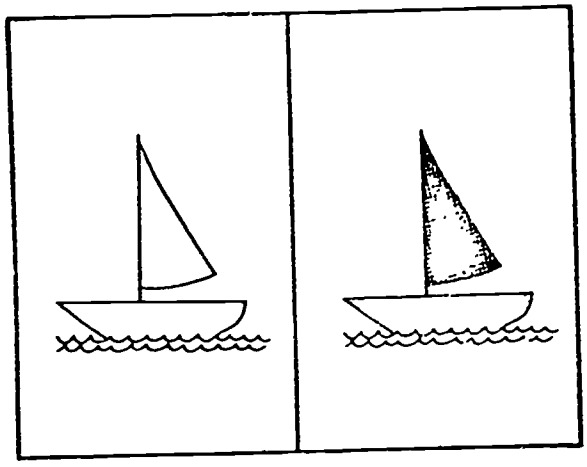
to allow a larger number of do and have responses. The high rate of standard plurals produced by all children suggests that this feature can be excluded without loss.

There is considerable variation in the frequency of nonstandard responses by individual children. This suggests that the features chosen for the DDM may in fact differentiate nonstandard Black English speakers from other Black children whose speech more closely resembles Anglo English.

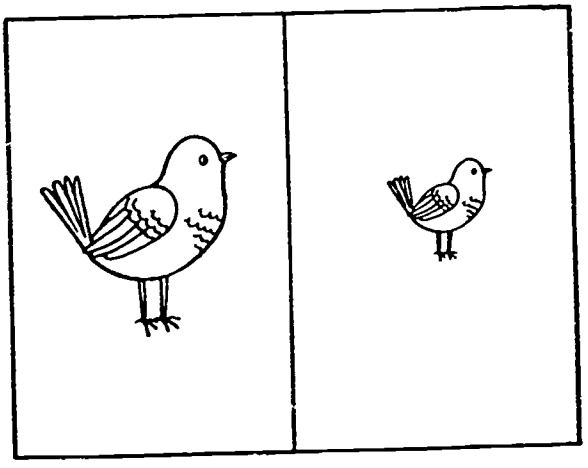
There appears to be a linear implicational relationship among the features used in the DDM. At least nothing in these data denies that possibility. This conjecture is supported by the finding that subjective judgments of the ethnicity of the speech of the participants correlates with their responses to the DDM; judgments by linguists show slightly higher correlation than do judgments of nonlinguists.

APPENDIX I

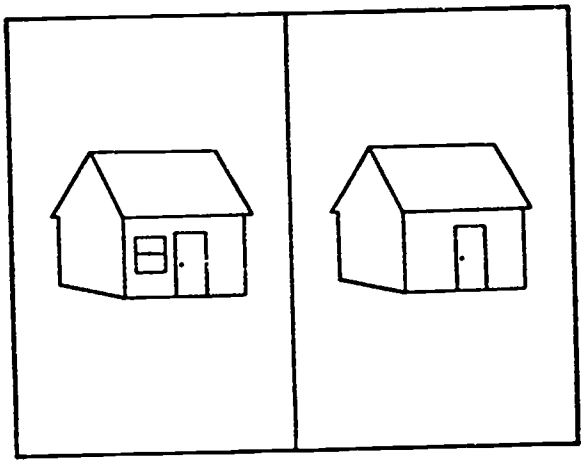
Sample stimulus pictures for Task One and Two.



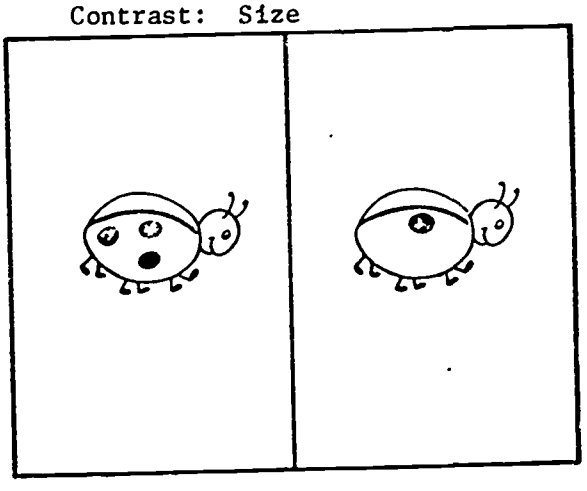
Object: Boat
Contrast: Color



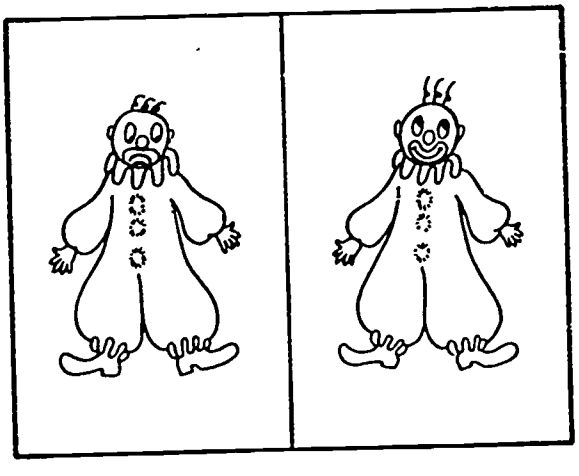
Object: Bird
Contrast: Size



Object: House
Contrast: Presence/Absence

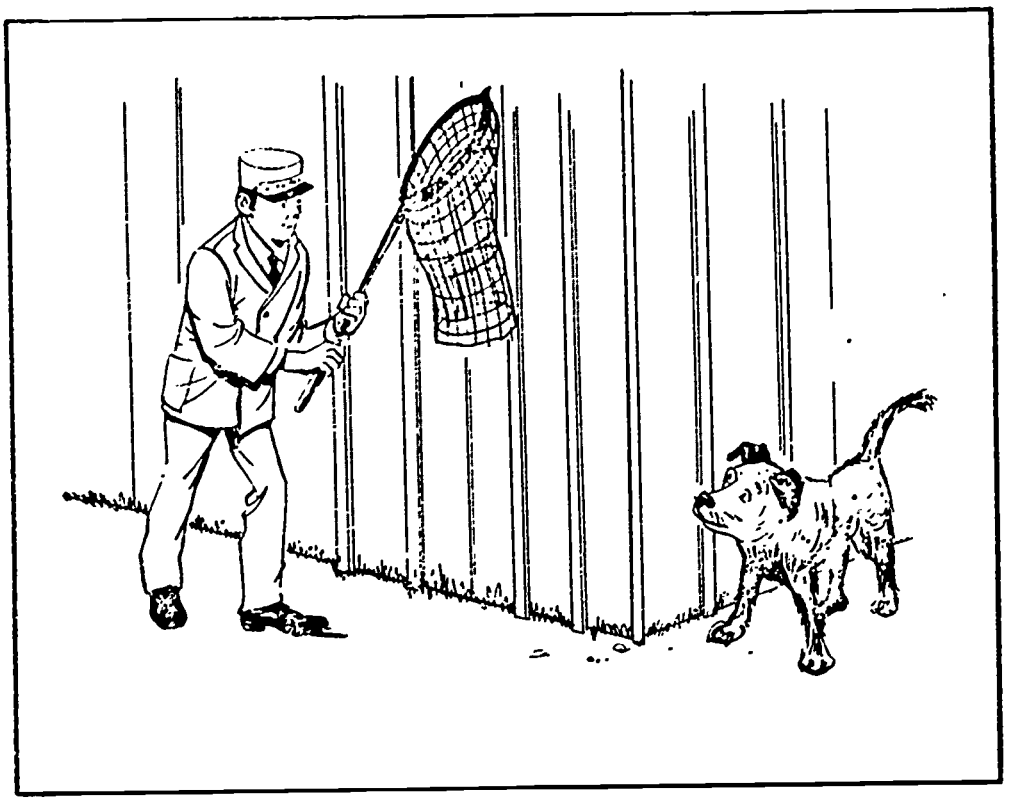


Object: Bug
Contrast: Number of parts



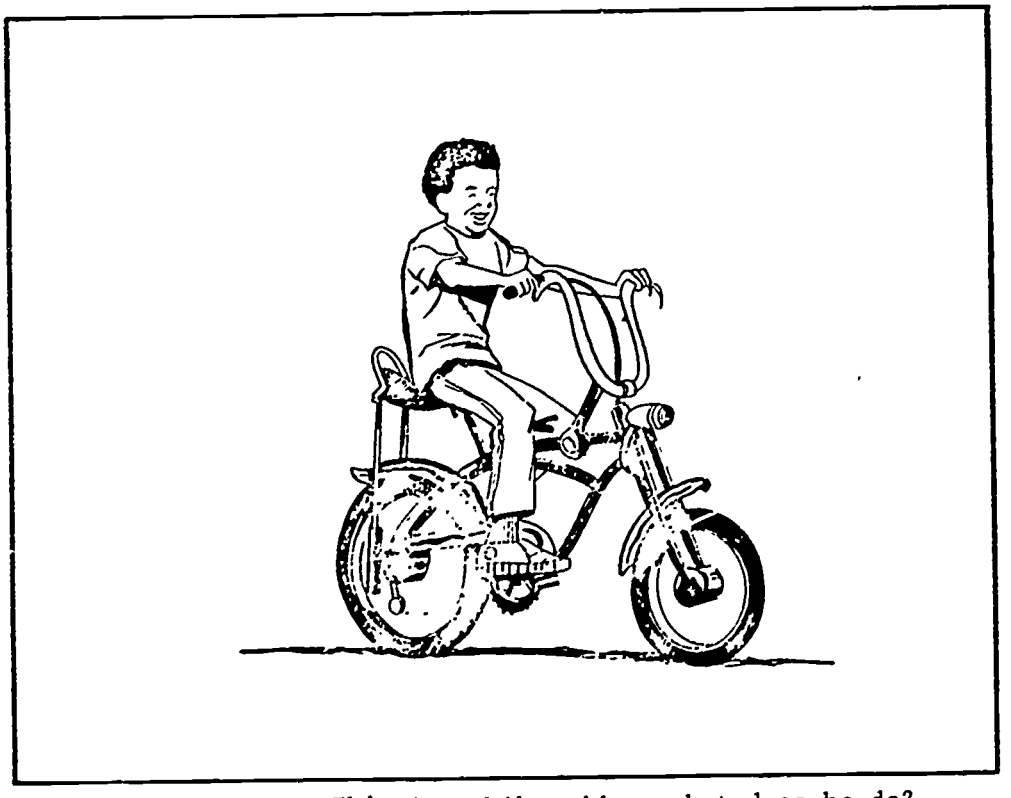
Object: Clown
Contrast: Characteristic

Sample stimulus pictures for Task Three



Interviewer: This is a dog catcher, what does he do?

Child: He catches dogs.



Interviewer: This is a bike rider, what does he do?

Child: He rides bikes.

APPENDIX II

DISTRIBUTION OF PLURAL AND AGREEMENT ALLOMORPHS

	NOUNS	VERBS
Voiced [z]	toys	builds
	dogs	throws
	baseballs	rides
	fires	sells
	windows	robs
	movies	climbs
	apples	
	mountains	
Voiceless [s]	boats	paints
	bikes	makes
	cakes	fights
	banks	picks
		bakes
Syllabic [ɨz]	houses	catches
	horses	washes
	oranges	races

APPENDIX III

Nonparadigmatic Responses: Task 2

HAVE Sentences

Use of Be	5	his hat is red this one is blue. one is red and one's blue this bird's leg is crook and this bird's leg is straight his leg is crooked his isn't
No contrast	1	they haven't got the same hat
Noun phrases	1	a crooked leg and a straight leg
	7	

BE Sentences

Use of Have	1	this one has..blue and this one is green
No contrast	1	they have different colors
Noun phrases	1	it's a blue boat and a red boat
Wrong contrast	1	this one ain't simling and this one is.
	4	

Nonparadigmatic Responses: Task 3

1. No stimulus sentence		4
2. Wrong verb		17
	makes boats	2
	plays baseball	3
	fix toys	1
	clean windows	1
	fix windows	1
	put out fires	4
	run on bikes	1
	ride on horses	1
	put apples on the tree	1
	he gets apples from the tree	1
	he gets fire from the house	1
3. Wrong noun		3
	makes pictures	1
	he throw ball	1
	he rides motorcycles	1
4. Wrong verb, wrong noun		9
	steal money	7
	win races	1
	mov...people	1
5. Noun omitted		3
	climb	1
	paint	1
	ride	1
6. Noun omitted, wrong verb		2
	run (throw)	1
	runs (races)	1

(Task 3 Cont'd)

7. Determiner inserted		7
ride his bike	1	
ride a bike	1	
he catch the dog	1	
paint the house	1	
wash the windows	2	
wash your windows	1	
8. Wrong verb, determiner		5
ride on the horse	1	
he run from the horse	1	
put out all the fire	1	
(?) the fire out of the house	1	
he take out the fire	1	
9. Wrong, with progressive		1
he fixin the wagon	1	
TOTAL		51

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