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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is: (1) to document the existence of a population speaking vernacular Black English (VBE) in Waterloo, Iowa, a middle-sized urban community in the Midwest; (2) to examine how Waterloo VBE contrasts with the surrounding majority language, Midland vernacular; (3) to investigate Iowans' language attitudes; and (4) to consider the educational implications of the findings in light of recent controversy over VBE. The first section offers background information about Waterloo, its population and language history. Linguistic evidence of VBE in the community is then outlined, and the grammatical, morphological, and phonological characteristics of it and the Midland vernacular are compared. Survey and some anecdotal evidence of negative attitudes toward VBE are then presented. The survey administered to 61 non-black university students, native speakers of the Midland vernacular, involved evaluating four guises, one of which was VBE, to determine the characteristics of the speaker (sex, nationality, religion, race, age, educational level, and ten personality traits or attributions). Results support the theory that listeners were making assumptions about the relationship between intelligence, race, and language. Areas for future related research are outlined. A 22-item bibliography, transcripts of the speech guises, and the survey form are appended. (MSE)

LINGUISTIC CONTROVERSIES, VBE STRUCTURES AND MIDWEST ATTITUDES[1]

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Since the 1960's, studies of Vernacular Black English (VBE) have continued to evolve through a series of controversies that do not seem to get neatly resolved or accurately communicated through the press to the public. Still unresolved, and still poorly understood by the public, is the controversy about the origins of VBE and its relationship to English: has VBE developed primarily from an earlier English dialect spoken by British colonists, or has it developed primarily from a slave creole origin? The latest controversy, "the divergence hypothesis," recently assessed by Wolfram (1990), centers on whether or not VBE is becoming more different, as Labov (1987) has claimed, or less different, as Butters (1989) has claimed, from surrounding American dialects.

The linguistic debates have never stated that pidgin-creole continuums or dialectal divergences are unnatural or bad developments. Yet, throughout the VBE controversies, and perhaps as a consequence of them, the press has continued to call into question the legitimacy of VBE as a language, and its position as a peer dialect among American dialects. To the extent that linguists are willing to take responsibility for conveying the nature of "language" and "dialect," and "standard" and "nonstandard" to the public, linguists may have to hold themselves accountable for the progress, or lack of progress, that has been made on this front. According to Labov (1987, 12), who has been fighting on this front for more than two decades, "we linguists have yet to make a significant contribution to the school curriculum that will put our linguistic knowledge to use."

The purpose of this paper is to investigate VBE, and public attitudes toward VBE, in a small urban community in Iowa and to assess to what degree, if any, two decades of efforts by sociolinguists and educators have affected Iowans' perception of VBE. The first part of the paper provides background information about Waterloo, Iowa (1980 population: 75,985). The second part of the paper begins to document what has previously gone unacknowledged -- that Waterloo has a VBE-speaking population. The third part of the paper reports on an attitude study that involves Iowans' subjective evaluations of four matched guises, including one VBE guise. The final part of the paper considers, in light of recent VBE controversies, the educational implications of the attitude study and some possibilities for future research.

BACKGROUND

When I moved to Waterloo, Iowa, in the fall of 1988, I noted a conspicuous presence of VBE in the city, where I lived, and a conspicuous absence of black Americans at the neighboring University of Northern Iowa, where I worked. While looking through descriptive language studies that had involved Iowa, however, I could find no mention of VBE. When I called the Iowa Department of Education in Des Moines in order to try to obtain some background information about VBE-speaking students in Waterloo schools, I was told by the "Race Equity Consultant" that "that population is not in Iowa" and that there, therefore, was "no problem." I called back, and in a subsequent conversation, was told that a "small" VBE-speaking population resided in Waterloo, but that because "Black English" was so widely "misunderstood" by the public, it was probably better not to call attention to the presence of the dialect (C. Reed-Stuart, personal communication, September 1989). Most public officials, black and white, that I have talked to seem to share this viewpoint: if "Black English" is present, it is not and should not be perceived as an issue. Officials appear to be concerned about what the press might represent as "poor grammar" and "more lack of progress" -- a controversial concern that continues to stir up debate among sociolinguists (Labov 1987; Vaughn-Cooke 1987; Wolfram 1987, 1990). Considering the manner in which some findings about VBE have been interpreted by the press for the public (two examples of which I will report below), one can understand the desire by a Race Equity Consultant to avoid additional reporting of this type.

Nonetheless, "dialectism," a linguistic prejudice that may be directed across social categories of race and gender, is everywhere and should be exposed. Three signs of potential dialectism that I noticed in Iowa were the following: (1) During the 1988-89 school year, the black enrollment in the Waterloo Community School District was 1,190 of 5,678, or 21% (Waterloo Community Schools 1988). Yet the black student population at the neighboring University of Northern Iowa, the only university in the area, in the fall of 1988 was 2%, and only one of 206 undergraduate English majors was a black American. (2) On a diagnostic given the first week in eight university classes (involving a total of some 200 students) is one open question asking students to name one of their most and one of their least preferred "varieties" of English. Students labeled "most preferred" varieties "American English," "Iowa English" and "British English," and least preferred varieties "Southern English," "Black English," and "Ghetto English." Not one student presented "Black English" or "Ghetto English" as a preferred variety. (3) Estimates of the percentage of monodialectal Black English speakers (of the total number of blacks in Waterloo) received from black educators who have lived in the Waterloo and Cedar Falls area range from 10% to 90%. The 10% figure was from

the Race Equity Consultant who had initially claimed "that population is not in Iowa."

In an earlier paper (Riney 1989), I reviewed evidence that suggests that a VBE-speaking population has been migrating to Iowa since the time of the American Civil War. In Waterloo, the first large influx of blacks occurred in 1911 and 1912, when hundreds of blacks were brought in on railroad boxcars directly from Mississippi to replace white workers who were on strike. The black population in Waterloo later increased from 837 in 1920 to 1498 in 1940 (Scholl 1977, 153, 191). By 1984, Waterloo, the fifth largest city in Iowa, had the largest urban concentration of blacks in Iowa (Cedar Falls-Waterloo Atlas 1984). Most blacks in Waterloo today are believed to be descendants of immigrants from one rural community in Holmes County, Mississippi (Scholl 1977, 156).

For decades, a speech island of VBE, unique in Iowa, has been maintained in East Waterloo. As late as 1962, one hundred years after the first large migration of blacks into Iowa, one of the two large public high schools in Waterloo was still 100% white. As late as 1967, one elementary school was still 100% black. Between 1970 and 1980, as the schools became more integrated, the black and white housing patterns remained segregated. By 1980, a few more blacks were found scattered in outlying areas, but the urban concentration of blacks in Waterloo remained relatively constant. In 1984, of 34 census tracts in the Waterloo and Cedar Falls area, only one was more than 50% black, and it was 89% black (Cedar Falls and Waterloo Atlas 1984).

The pattern of VBE migration and VBE segregation described above may account for why VBE continues to be spoken in East Waterloo today.

LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE OF VBE

Most studies of VBE have concentrated on the metropolitan north or the rural south. Few studies have examined middle-sized urban communities in the Midwest, and I know of no studies of VBE in Iowa.

The purpose of this part of the paper is to begin to document that Waterloo, Iowa, contains a community of VBE speakers, and how Waterloo VBE contrasts with the surrounding Midland vernacular. I will use the label, "vernacular Midland," merely for convenience and to emphasize that Waterloo VBE is distinct from both formal and informal varieties of the surrounding majority dialect. I do not address "Upper Midwest" or "Midland" distinctions, layers or subvarieties. For a discussion of these see Allen (1964), Carver (1986), and Frazer (1987).

Many structures of VBE are found in other varieties of American English, including what I am calling vernacular Midland. In order to identify VBE in Waterloo, and in order to distinguish

Waterloo VBE from vernacular Midland, I will use Wolfram and Fasold (1974) as my basic point of reference. Although they do not refer specifically to Iowa, Wolfram and Fasold (W&F) do compare and contrast VBE with a number of common vernacular American structures that I have informally observed in Iowa.

VBE AND VERNACULAR MIDLAND. Waterloo VBE and vernacular Midland share a number of structures which some Iowans may consider nonstandard. These structures include grammatical items such as "ain't," two-part negatives, "at" in "Where's it at," and demonstratives such as "them" in "leave them girls alone." Shared phonological structures include the "[z] to [d] rule" that affects "isn't" and "wasn't", and the [In] pronunciation of "ing" suffixes. All of these structures are common in vernacular American dialects (W&F 1974).

Other structures of Waterloo VBE, however, are primarily or exclusively VBE, and seldom or never in vernacular Midland. The examples of Waterloo VBE that I report below all came from one one-hour observation, Sunday afternoon, May 27, 1990, in a park in downtown Waterloo, as I observed a softball game. I arrived in mid-game, sat by myself in the bleachers, and took notes in a random book. The only non-black in sight, I observed about 30 men and women, fairly evenly distributed in age from 12 to 35. The mood of the game was casual, and a number of spectators and players were drinking beer. Sitting in the bleachers, I transcribed examples of what I heard both in the bleachers and on the field.

My single purpose in presenting the following observations is to begin to document what has previously gone unacknowledged, that a variety of VBE is spoken in Iowa. I do not claim to be describing a representative sample, and I do not attempt to account for variation, code-switching, gender, age-grading, degrees of phonetic differences, northern-southern VBE differences, or the divergence hypothesis.

PHONOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF VBE

CLUSTER REDUCTION. In vernacular Midland, word final consonant clusters that end in a stop are frequently reduced when both consonants are either voiced or voiceless and followed by a word initial consonant (W&F 1974, 129). In VBE, and in Waterloo VBE, this type of reduction also occurs before word initial vowels in "find out" ([fajnaut]) and "just in" ([jˇ^sIn]), and before pauses, as in "you lost" ([yulas]).

THE [f/θ] CORRESPONDENCE. A Waterloo VBE [f] corresponded to vernacular Midland [θ] in an intervocalic position (in "nothing" and "bathroom") and in a final position (in "both" and "bath"). Two VBE exceptions to this pattern (see W&F 74, 135), were also noted: "with" as [wIt] and "throw" with [t] instead of [θ] in word-initial position before [r].

THE [d/ð] CORRESPONDENCE. Appearing with somewhat less frequency, and corresponding to a vernacular Midland [ð], was a VBE [d] (W&F 1974, 135) in initial position, in "the, that, them." VBE [v] corresponded to a vernacular Midland [ð] in intervocallic position in "mother-fucker."

DELETION OF [r]. No vestige of [r], consistently intact in vernacular Midland, was in Waterloo VBE pronunciations of "more" [mo], "four" [fo], "sure" [šo], and "for" [f^] in "hit the ball, that's what you up there for." After the [E] in "there," an [r] vestige did appear. (W&F 1974, 140)

OTHER PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURES. Also noted were VBE [æks] (W&F 1974, 133) for Midland "ask" and some Waterloo VBE glottal stops (W&F 1974, 139) in the place of vernacular Midland final stops, as in "look" as [lU?].

GRAMMATICAL EVIDENCE OF VBE

AUXILIARY DELETION. VBE deletion (W&F 1974, 158) corresponded to Midland contraction of "are" as [r] in "they gone," "I know you bringing me something," and "see if they still partying at home." VBE deletion corresponded to Midland contraction of "is" as [z] in "she just in tenth grade" and "this a demonstration of what he gonna do." VBE deletion corresponded to Midland contraction of "have" as [v] in "I should had one of them." VBE deletion corresponded to Midland contraction "will" as [l] in "I be back here" (for "I will be over here").

DISTRIBUTIVE BE. Two examples of distributive "be," a structure which, according to W&F (1974, 161), occurs only in VBE, occurred in "he be there at night" and "I ask him why he be going over there."

SUBJECT VERB AGREEMENT. VBE regularization of the third person singular form of the verb (W&F 1974, 154) included the following: "the way he sound," "he talk just like his dad," and "he act like he bout twenty-one." (One might also interpret these deletions to be phonological cluster reductions.)

OTHER VBE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURES. Also noted were high frequencies of "you all" (W&F 1974, 176) as a plural form of "you," and direct questions with indirect question syntax (W&F 1974, 170), as in "She gonna plan on going to school somewhere?", and one instance of generalized "is" (W&F 1974, 157) in "here they is."

Certain structures above suggest, as does the pattern of migration from Mississippi reviewed above, that Waterloo VBE is related to a southern VBE variety. These structures are (1)

southern VBE [f] (and not northern VBE [t]) for intervocalic [θ]), (W&F 1974, 135) and (2) the absence of any word final [r] vestige after [o] and [u] (W&F 1974, 140). Also included in these data are structures (e.g., the [f/θ] correspondence and "be + verb + ing") that have been cited (Labov 1987, Butters 1989, Wolfram 1990) as possible candidates for divergence.

Structures commonly cited as VBE structures but not noted in this limited observation were "ain't" in the preterite, absence of possessive [s], the "remote time" use of "been," as in "I been told you" and the completive use of "done" in "I done tried" (W&F 1974, 152; Labov 1987, 7; Wolfram 1990, 129). I assume that a more thorough investigation would turn up some of these structures.

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

One possible approach to VBE, currently practiced in Iowa and pointed out above, is to ignore its presence, and perhaps even to deny its presence. A consequence of this approach may be a public assumption that something that is denied or covered up is somehow wrong. Some may associate "structural differences" between VBE and standard English with "cognitive deficit." Although sociolinguists have opposed this view for decades, and continue to do so (see Wolfram and Christian 1989, 62), a "deficit perception" of VBE, as I will report below, continues to go unchallenged in Iowa.

In the Midwest, as elsewhere in the U.S., the press continues to present VBE in an unfavorable light. For example, in a widely acclaimed study of the language of black children studying mathematics in the Washington DC area, Orr (1987), an educator, associates the difficulty that students have learning mathematics with the structure of their native dialect. Orr, who paradoxically credits Wolfram as a linguistic consultant, inadvertently provides the press with the "good story" that sociolinguist Wolfram (1990, 128) warns researchers about.

The interpretation that Orr's work received in the press is evident in the headings of the reviews of her book. The heading in The New York Times was "Why Black English Doesn't Add Up" (Countryman 1987). In Iowa, the heading of the review by Heys (1988) in The Des Moines Register was "Black English Hurts Academics." According to Heys, Orr contends (and, in fact, Orr does not) that VBE "lacks the prepositions, conjunctions, and relative pronouns necessary to communicate quantitative concepts in math and science." Heys manages to make a "good story" better by capitalizing on the ongoing controversy about the origins of VBE. While appearing to base his story on Orr's discussion of the possible pidgin origins of VBE, Heys describes VBE in such a way that the public is likely to infer -- especially in light of the above misinformation that VBE "lacks" essential grammatical structures -- that VBE is a pidgin. No mention of creole is made, and no assessment by linguists of Orr's work is given.

Wolfram and Christian (1989, 59), however, assess Orr's conclusions as "premature."

A MATCHED GUISE. Given such media representation, one might predict public attitudes toward VBE. In the fall of 1989, I began to investigate this question of language attitudes in Iowa. My study (Riney 1989) elicited subjective reactions of 61 non-black university students, all U.S. citizens, Iowa residents, and native speakers of a Midwest variety of English. The experiment involved a cassette recording (McManis et al. 1987) of a "matched guise" (Lambert et al 1960, Lambert 1967, Tucker and Lambert 1975), i.e., one speaker speaking in two different "guises" (dialects) and listeners subjectively evaluating selected aspects (e.g., intelligence and education) of the guise they heard. These recorded guises were presented in such a way that the listeners assumed that they were evaluating two different people and not one person speaking at different times in two guises. All guises repeated a semantically similar utterance. (The questionnaire that the listeners used to rate the guises and the typescripts of the language of the guises are in the appendix.)

All guises were female. Guise 2 was VBE, and grammatically marked as nonstandard with deletions of third person singular "s," auxiliaries, "got" and one indefinite article. Guise 1 and Guise 3, which I will call "network English," were grammatically standard American English, and were phonologically (and regionally) unmarked.

Guise 4 was a mixture of standard English and, perhaps, some VBE. This guise contained none of the heavily marked VBE grammatical structures of Guise 2, but did contain suprasegmental and phonetic traces commonly associated with the speech of black Americans. Guise 2 also contained one structure that Wolfram (1990, 129) might interpret to be the "historical present" and common in all vernaculars, but which Labov (1987, 8) might interpret to be a variation of what he calls a VBE "narrative s." I interpret this structure in Guise 4 (see appendix) to be the historical present, and common among speakers of both VBE and vernacular Midland in an informal story-telling mode. For this reason, I have labeled Guise 4 "black accented English with historical present."[2]

RESULTS. Of the 61 University of Northern Iowa student evaluators, 72% evaluated the two "network English guises" as more intelligent than average, 49% evaluated a "black accented with historical present" guise as more intelligent than average, and only 18% evaluated a "VBE guise" as more intelligent than average. In this case, the listeners were not aware that the "VBE guise" and the "black accented English with historical present guise" were the same person speaking different dialects.

These listener-raters may appear to be making an assumption about an "intelligence and race" relationship. The three levels of intelligence ratings, however, correspond more closely to three levels of grammar than they do to two types of race. The most formal and standard English guise ("network") receives the highest rating (72%), the second most standard ("black accented

English with the historical present") receives the middle rating (49%), and the least standard English (VBE) receives the lowest rating (18%).

DISCUSSION. On an earlier questionnaire, all 61 of these student evaluators had indicated that they had spent most of their lives in Iowa. A majority (70%) indicated that they were majoring in English, a foreign language, or education. During the 1989-90 school year, the year after this attitude study was conducted, 31 of 45 (69%) newly hired teachers for Waterloo public schools were graduates of the University of Northern Iowa (Personal Communication, Gladys Brummer, Office of Human Resources, Waterloo Schools, June 21, 1990' the same University at which this attitude study was conducted.

A university with a 98% non-black student body is supplying a neighboring school district that is 22% black with the majority of the school district's teachers, yet the school district is supplying almost no blacks to that neighboring university. At the same time, based on the VBE observations and attitude study reported above, some of the blacks in the school district may speak a nonstandard dialect (VBE), and some of the future teachers in that school district may associate that nonstandard dialect (VBE) with less intelligence. Meanwhile, black and non-black educators and state officials choose to ignore the presence of VBE, perhaps because they fear how the press will present the situation.

Educators may want to consider if their institutions have teachers and students who assume some inherent relationship between "intelligence and native dialect." Ten years ago, in a case known as The Ann Arbor Decision (Bountress 1987), linguists William Labov and J. L. Dilliard testified on behalf of black plaintiffs. The plaintiffs, black parents, were concerned that their children's language of the home, VBE, was a barrier to educational opportunity. The parents were not asking that VBE be standardized, or that their children be taught in VBE. The argument of the black parents was that teachers perceived the VBE dialect to be intellectually inferior, and that the teachers rejected the students' native dialect. This rejection left the VBE speaking children discouraged and unmotivated as students. The Ann Arbor decision ruled in favor of the black parent plaintiffs, and required that the teachers in the school district concerned take a series of workshops that would enable these teachers (1) to understand the concepts of "language" and "dialect," (2) be sensitive to common public attitudes toward dialects, and (3) be able to describe some of the basic structures of the home language of their students (in this case, VBE). As of 1987, no follow-up study had been conducted in Ann Arbor to assess what change in teachers' attitudes has resulted from the workshops (Bountress 1987). In Iowa, where I have encountered no non-linguists who have heard of the Ann Arbor Decision, the court decision appears to have had no impact whatsoever.

IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

DESCRIPTIVE STUDIES. The presence of a VBE speech island, transplanted from Mississippi, and isolated for decades in a smaller urban community in Northern Iowa raises a number of questions: (1) What is the structure of Waterloo VBE today? And of VBE in Holmes County, Mississippi today? (2) In a smaller urban community, with a continuing history of tightly segregated housing and only a recent experience with integrated schooling (and more opportunity for interethnic contact), is a dialect shift occurring across age groups? If so, are code-switching and bidialectalism also occurring, and how are they distributed across age groups? (3) If a dialect shift is occurring, is it moving toward a vernacular Midland? Toward a northern variety of VBE If Waterloo VBE is moving toward a northern variety of VBE, is this because of some "symbolic rejection of white speech based on ethnicity" (Wolfram 90, 128)? Would such a rejection be more likely to happen in a small urban community that presents more possibilities for interethnic contact and "rejection" than in a larger urban community with less interethnic contact?.

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES. It is important to remember that the attitude study above never isolated the variable of race from the variable of the degree of the standardness of the grammar. Future studies of language attitudes might do so. How would raters evaluate a "black accent" guise that is unquestionably standard English (i.e., without the marked and informal "historical present" or "narrative s")? Or a "vernacular Midland" guise that contains a number of non-standard structures (but is phonetically non-black). Would they rate the standard black guise higher than the nonstandard ("white") vernacular Midland guise?

My premise is that they might. Outside of the "good stories" in the press, racism may in fact have subsided somewhat in the Midwest. I personally know no one who believes in any inherent "racial" superiority (to be distinguished from transient "cultural" or "technical" superiority), but I know many intelligent and educated people, black and white, who believe in what amounts to "dialectism" and inherent dialectal superiority. If their attitudes are typical, then perhaps Labov (1987, 12) was right when he said linguists "have yet to make a significant contribution to the school curriculum" that will put linguistic knowledge to use.

LANGUAGE EDUCATION. Do the rationale and the recommendations of The Ann Arbor Decision need to be considered in Iowa and elsewhere in the Midwest? One of the first steps in language education should be the careful study of the languages and attitudes in the community being considered. As I have pointed out above, in Iowa today VBE is not even acknowledged.

While many blacks and non-blacks do not hesitate to promote some aspects of black culture (e.g., history, dance and music), most appear to feel uncomfortable with the topic of language. People are hesitant to talk about the topic of "Black English" and "VBE" in a manner that is reminiscent of the early 1960's, when many avoided saying the words "Negro" and "black."

The current educational outlook for VBE speakers in the Midwest looks dim. Unless linguists and language educators take more initiative in informing the press and the public about the nature of "dialect," in general, and VBE in particular, VBE will probably continue to be viewed as a "substandard language" by the public at large, and to be treated as a "closet dialect" by many of its own speakers. Although linguists have been generally consistent (e.g., Labov 1987, 10) in stating that the problem for VBE speakers is not a linguistic one, linguists need to do more in the future in order to communicate to both language educators and the press that the VBE controversies with educational significance are not those about dialect origins, differences, or divergences.

Once, a major controversy in the U.S. was the legitimacy of all races and the acceptance of all races as "different but equal." Racial relations in the U.S. may still be in trouble, but they appear to me, at least, to have risen to a more sophisticated level that no longer questions "legitimacy" and "equality." The legitimacy and equality of all dialects, however, has never been accepted -- not even in principle, and despite all linguistic evidence to the contrary -- by the public at large. The "difference is deficit" assumption about nonstandard dialects continues to go unopposed in the media and needs to be exposed, challenged, and overcome. The latest VBE controversy about dialect origin and divergence must not be allowed to divert the public and the linguists from the important issues, which are not linguistic inadequacy or racism, but the continuing ignorance about the nature of language on the part of the press and the public -- and what the linguists do about it.

NOTES

1. I gratefully acknowledge that this research was supported in part by a Faculty Development Award from the College of Humanities and Fine Arts of the University of Northern Iowa. I would also like to thank Tim Frazer for his helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

2. In an earlier analysis of the matched guise data (Riney 1989), I labeled Guise 4 "Standard American English with a black accent." I now prefer "black accented English with historical present" because this latter label makes a distinction between the grammar of Guise 4 (with the informal "historical present") and the grammar of Guise 1 and Guise 3 (with standard past tense forms).

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APPENDIX

FOUR RECORDED GUISES

(1) Network English

Miss Clark got mad at all of us, so she made
us sit down and told us not to talk.
For an hour all you could hear was the clock going tick
tock.
She thought I was a rat, and I guess maybe she was right.
It got worse in high school.
My best friend was a girl named Tess ...

(2) Vernacular Black English

Miss Clark got mad at us, so she make
us sit down, and tell us not to talk.
For hour all you hear is the clock going tick
tock.
She thought I was a rat and maybe she right.
It worse in high school.
My best friend was Tess who ...

(3) Network English

Miss Clark got mad at all of us, so she made
us sit down and told us not to talk.
For an hour all you could hear was the clock going tick
tock.
She thought I was a rat and I guess maybe she was right.
It got worse in high school.
My best friend was a girl named Tess ...

(4) Black accented English with historical present

Miss Clark got mad at all of us, so she makes
us sit down, and tells us not to talk.
For an hour all you could hear was the clock going tick
tock.
She thought I was a rat, and I guess maybe she was right.
It got worse in high school.
My best friend was a girl named Tess ...

QUESTIONNAIRE SPEAKER #

Listener: Do not put your name on this paper. Circle the two features that describe yourself:

Female USA Citizen
Male Not USA

1. Circle what you estimate to be the sex of the speaker.

Female Male

2. Circle what you estimate to be the nationality of the speaker.

USA Other

3. Circle what you estimate to be the religion of the speaker.

Christian or Jew Other

4. Circle what you estimate to be the race of the speaker.

White (Caucasion) Black (African) Asian

5. Circle what you estimate to be the age of the speaker.

25 30 35 40

6. Circle what you estimate to be the highest level of education completed by the speaker:

9th grade 12th grade 2 years college 4 years college

7. Race this speaker on each of the following scales:

(a) friendly	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	unfriendly
(b) unintelligent	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	intelligent
(c) frail	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	muscular
(d) moral	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	immoral
(e) unattractive	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	attractive
(f) positive	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	negative
(g) disgusting	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	likable
(h) weak leader	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	strong leader
(i) good person	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	bad person
(j) smart	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	dumb