AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH IN URBAN EDUCATION: A MULTIMETHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING CLASSROOM DISCOURSE STRATEGIES

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Discrepancies between "home English" and "school English" for urban students have been addressed for decades by a number of scholars in the fields of linguistics, education, and sociology (Baratz 1969, Baugh 1995, Charity et al 2004, Alim 2009, Edwards 2010). Those students who speak prestige varieties of English tend to do better in school settings, in which the teacher's language is that of the mainstream middle class.

Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011: 77) note, "[e]ducators and students who come from different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds may be unaware of, confused by, or ill equipped to understand each other's linguistic and cultural behaviors." Some researchers have examined teachers' contrastive analysis of non-prestige varieties of English with that of the prestige variety (Pandey 2000, Wheeler and Swords 2006), but rarely has the teachers' acquisition of non-prestige forms been examined in any way (a notable exception is Fogel and Ehri 2006). Furthermore, no study to date has taken a multimethodological approach to understanding both student and teacher discourse strategies in the urban classroom.

This study presents the linguistic situation in one Chicago high school. An ethnographic assessment situates language use among students and teachers in the classroom. A written translation task assesses teachers' knowledge of non-prestige dialects (Siegel 1999) at the beginning of the school year, and is compared to recorded language use in authentic classroom interaction, including student and teacher use of African American English. Interviews add depth to the study by connecting teacher-to-student discourse to rapport-building strategies. Student questionnaires round out the study by providing feedback on teachers' language strategies and their rapport-building effects.

Through this micro- and macro-level methodology, a multifaceted picture of teachers' and students' language strategies is presented. The teachers' ability to accommodate to students' dialects is reflected in the written task, while actual accommodation and rapport-building is examined through discourse analysis and interviews. The teacher who accommodates to students' language has potential to defuse the linguistic tension apparent in the mainstream urban American classroom, with the further possibility for discussion, demystification, and deconstruction of language ideologies and linguistic identities inherent in the makeup of urban societies.

To Rick, without whose guidance I would have never known what is possible

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

Discrepancies between "home English" and "school English" for urban students have been addressed for decades by a number of scholars in the fields of linguistics, education, and sociology (Baratz 1969, Baugh 1995, Charity et al 2004, Alim 2009, Edwards 2010). Those students who speak prestige varieties of English tend to do better in school settings, in which the teacher's language is that of the mainstream middle class.

"Educators and students who come from different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds may be unaware of, confused by, or ill equipped to understand each other's linguistic and cultural behaviors" (Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011: 77). Some researchers have examined teachers' contrastive analysis of non-prestige varieties of English with that of the prestige variety (Pandey 2000, Wheeler and Swords 2006), but rarely has the teachers' acquisition of non-prestige forms been examined in any way (a notable exception is Fogel and Ehri 2006). Furthermore, no study to date has taken a multimethodological approach to understanding both student and teacher discourse strategies in the urban classroom.

1.2 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This paper presents the linguistic situation in one Chicago high school. An ethnographic assessment situates language use among students and teachers in the classroom. A written translation task assesses teachers' knowledge of non-prestige dialects (Siegel 1999) at the beginning of the school year, and is compared to recorded language use in authentic classroom interaction, including student and teacher use of African American English. Interviews add depth to the study by connecting teacher-to-student discourse to rapport-building strategies.

Student questionnaires round out the study by providing feedback on teachers' language strategies and their rapport-building effects.

Through this micro- and macro-level methodology, a multifaceted picture of teachers' and students' language strategies is presented. The teachers' ability to accommodate to students' dialects is reflected in the written task, while actual accommodation and rapport-building is examined through discourse analysis and interviews.

The teacher who accommodates to students' language has potential to defuse the linguistic tension apparent in the mainstream urban American classroom, with the further possibility for discussion, demystification, and deconstruction of language ideologies and linguistic identities inherent in the makeup of urban societies.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What features of AAE do teachers know/ have they learned over the course of the academic year?
- What metalinguistic knowledge do teachers have about their own and their students' classroom language practices?
- What linguistic strategies do teachers use in the classroom?
  - Do teachers use features of students' dialects to build rapport?
  - How do teachers' linguistic strategies reflect teaching style and resulting student engagement?
  - What can measures of word count, turn length, and student-to-teacher turn ratio tell us about the nature of classroom engagement?
  - Is there a connection between student use of AAE in the classroom and type of engagement/ teachers' style?

- What do the students think of the teachers' language styles?

1.4 IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The multimethodological nature of this study makes it unique in the canon of research on the topic of dialect variation in urban schools. It is also unusual in that it examines both the teachers' and the students' linguistic strategies in the classroom. This research is important for understanding how teachers and students use language to interact with one another, and to dispel negative and racist ideas about what it means for teachers to learn features of their students' dialects (see the discussion the Ebonics controversy in section 2.2).

1.5 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study employs sociolinguistic methodologies, with implications for research in education and second dialect acquisition. While the sample under study is too small to generalize to a larger population, information gleaned from this research will be useful for linguists working in the field of education, for teachers and administrators, and for teacher trainers. The author hopes to inspire future collaboration between linguists and K-12 educators in order to achieve better educational practices for the benefit of all students.

1.6 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Terminology used in this dissertation will most often be defined as it is introduced in the review of previous studies. Nevertheless, out of consideration for the reader, four key terms are briefly explained below.

1. African American English

For the purpose of this dissertation, African American English (AAE) will be used to identify the overarching variety of English historically used by African Americans. It is of utmost importance to mention that AAE is a) not only one variety of English, as it has regional and stylistic variations, b) not a variety of English relegated solely to African Americans, and c) not used by all African Americans. The use and teaching of this variety of English is controversial among all races, has been called by different names throughout history, and continues to be called by different names today. Black English Vernacular (BEV), Black English (BE), Ebonics, Black Language (BL), African-American Language (AAL), and African American Vernacular English (AAVE) have all been used to describe this variety of English.

As Wolfram and Christian (1989: 42) eloquently state, "Given the state of race relations in American society, any label that includes an ethnic designation is going to evoke strong feelings about its appropriateness. Whatever term is used, it must be tempered with many qualifications, since there is no simple, unambiguous label." Due to the connotations of inferiority of the term "vernacular", the historical stigma associated with the term "Ebonics", the political preference for the term "African-American", and the belief that this language variety is a variety of the English language, the term African American English, or AAE, will be used here. Exceptions to this usage appear in the review of literature, in which the previous scholars' nomenclature is retained for accuracy.

2. Rapport

Ideas of what constitutes "rapport" vary from person to person, and in this dissertation the term is defined organically by the research subjects. Generally, rapport refers to a relationship

between or among interactants (such as teachers and students) that arises from and promotes good will among said interactants. Rapport is assumed to be desirable as it reduces negative affect in the classroom.

3. Linguistic accommodation

Linguistic accommodation, as explained in section 2.5 LINGUISTIC ACCOMMODATION, is the process by which, in any speaker-hearer dyad, the speaker will adjust his or her language with respect to perceived social distance from the hearer, and interest in maintaining or changing that distance.

4. Dialect acquisition

Dialect acquisition is explained in further detail in 2.4 DIALECT ACQUISITION, but basically should be understood as the process by which speakers of one dialect of a language may come to speak another dialect of the same language. Dialect acquisition is controversial for the following reasons: a) there is a lack of agreement on what constitutes a dialect (vs. a language or a style, for example), b) there is a lack of agreement on what acquisition entails (full acquisition or partial acquisition, for example), and c) very little research has been conducted on second dialect acquisition as compared to second language acquisition, so a great deal of mystery remains on the topic. In this dissertation, second dialect acquisition will most often refer to teachers who speak a prestige variety of academic English acquiring features of their students' dialects, most often African American English (AAE).

1.7 DELIMITATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

As mentioned above, the small pool of teacher subjects in this study is certainly a limitation; however, the longitudinal and multimethodological nature of this study, as well as its corroboration by students, give depth to the study that would not have been possible had a larger sample size been used.

It should also be stated that the researcher was an employee at the school where the research was conducted. While this may be seen as a violation of objectivity, it may also be seen as an asset to the research process. For example, students already knew the researcher from around the building (about one-fourth were her students, though her own classroom was not part of this research), and teachers had a good relationship with the researcher and had informal conversations with her most days. The principal offered the use of the school's audio-visual equipment and access to tech support services, and wrote a letter in support of this research for the parents to read before consenting. The researcher was in the building every day to collect consent forms as they trickled in, and knew many of the parents who were so kind as to let their children participate in the research. Overall, the benefits of the researcher's employment at the research site appear to outweigh the drawbacks of lacking full objectivity, if that achievement is indeed ever possible.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, AND POWER

"*It is not only the degree of differences in dialects per se that counts. What also seems to count is the cultural meanings of those dialect differences*." (Ogbu 1999: 148)

This section addresses some of the linguistic "baggage" that the students and teachers in this study carry in their daily interactions. Many of the larger social discourses about race, class, and language are replicated in the microdiscursive classroom setting, and some background on language, identity, and power may provide macro-social context for the reader to fully understand the teachers' and students' linguistic practices.

Social categorization of the world involves knowledge of our membership in certain social categories. This knowledge of our category memberships, together with the values (positive or negative) attached to these values, is defined as our social identity and has meaning only in social comparison with other relevant groups (Giles and Coupland 1991: 105).

2.1.1 LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

"When we consider the great difference between the learning of the mother tongue and the learning of any additional language, it is easier for us to understand why the mother tongue is so crucial to our personality, and why any questioning of its right to exist is inevitably felt to be simply a questioning of the status of a language but is often also felt to be a questioning of the whole person, of parents and immediate environment, of the whole group the speaker comes from and identifies with." (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981: 52)

Labov discusses language and identity with respect to African American youth in Harlem, New York. "[I]t quickly became apparent that the majority of Harlem youth were engaged in a cultural system that opposed the values of the school system, which was seen as the particular possession and expression of the dominant white society" (Labov 1995: 40). According to Ogbu (1999), Standard American English and Black English are in a situation of diglossia with bilingualism and opposing frames of reference. "Although members of the speech community accept the co-existing languages or dialects for different functions, they are unwilling or ambivalent to learn and use one of the languages or dialects, usually the dominant group's dialect partly because of its perceived meaning for their collective identity." (Ogbu 1999: 152-53).

This reticence on the part of many African American students is understandable, as speakers of low-prestige varieties risk ostracizing themselves from their communities or being labeled impostors by speaking prestige varieties (Labov 1972a: 290, Edwards 2010: 148-252, Siegel 2010: 171; see also Ogbu 1999 and Smitherman 2006), with no tangible promise of success should they choose to modify their language styles. Language use, including bilingualism, bears symbolic meanings related to identity (imposed by self and others) and group membership (Edwards 2010: 206, 286; Ogbu 1999: 149). Issues of language and identity are evident with other minority groups; Zentalla (1992: 222) maintains that "…the process of growing up bilingual in *El Barrio*… as it operates in the Puerto Rican community is… the fluid and creative use of the environmental language resources at hand without the purist separation of languages and without the wholesale condemnation of the varieties spoken with/ by uneducated Spanish speakers or by English speakers, including BEV."

As with individual identities, group membership may also be manifested in language use. According to Giles and Coupland (1991: 96), "[t]here are at least four reasons for the salience of language in ethnic relations: language is often a critical attribute of group membership, an important cue for ethnic categorization, an emotional dimension of identity, and a means of facilitating ingroup cohesion." For many working class students, language maintenance is akin to identity maintenance, as opposed to affiliation with the academy (Hagemann 2001:78).

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) discuss what they term 'acts of identity', or ways in which linguistic identity work is manifested. Their constraints (1985: 182) on group identification are as follows:

> "(i) we can identify the groups
> (ii) we have both adequate access to the groups and ability to analyse their behavioural patterns
> (iii) the motivation to join the groups is sufficiently powerful, and is either reinforced or reversed by feedback from the groups
> (iv) we have the ability to modify our behaviour"

The authors cite motivation for group affiliation as the most important of these acts (1985:184), although they note that motivations may be complicated by linguistic domains, such as those for home and for school, or for risk in using a prestige or devalued language style (see also Ogbu 1999; Baron 2000; Edwards 2009). For the teacher motivated to linguistically affiliate with his or her students, he or she must be able to identify with the group, and try to approximate their language style despite non-membership in the group (Siegel 2010: 107). The risk in language modification may be a loss of academic credibility or authority, or rejection by the students. "In other words, people may continue to use features of their D1 rather than those of their D2 not because of factors related to their learning capacity but because of factors related to their social identity – i.e. maintenance of the identity they associate with the D1 or avoidance of the identity

they associate with the D2" (Siegel 2010: 107-108). These risks are further discussed in section 4.2 INTERVIEWS.

Linguistic modification is not a simple matter; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's constraints require the speaker to have access to the target variety, understanding of its patterns, and the ability to use the variety to the satisfaction of group members. "[T]he speaker is projecting his inner universe, implicitly with the invitation to others to share it, at least insofar as they recognize his language as an accurate symbolization of the world, and to share his attitude towards it. By verbalizing as he does, he is seeking to reinforce his models of the world, and hopes for acts of solidarity from those with whom he wishes to identify. The feedback he receives from those with whom he talks may reinforce him, or may cause him to modify his projections, both in their form and in their content. To the extent that he is reinforced, his behaviour in that particular context may become more regular, more focussed; to the extent that he modifies his behaviour to accommodate others it may for a time become more variable, more diffuse, but in time the behaviour of the group – that is, he and those with whom he is trying to identify – will become more focussed" (LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985:181).

According to Labov (1972a: 255), "…it appears that the consistency of certain grammatical rules is a fine-grained index of membership in the street culture." Extent of BEV use is proportional to group membership, in which the "lames" use the fewest BEV features (Labov 1972a: 262-271). However lame, Labov (1972a: 286) finds these non-members better off due to their greater access to "standard" language and culture.

Ogbu (1999) examines the Lafayette community of Oakland, California, the home of the hotly contested Ebonics controversy (see section 2.2) for issues of identity surrounding the use of students' use of AAE. "Ultimately, the question for the school and for the Lafayette people is

how to help Black children learn and use proper English for school success and good job opportunity and still keep their slang English and remain bona fide members of their community" (Ogbu 1999: 179).

As far as the common linguistic ground for teachers and students of different language backgrounds is concerned, Trudgill (2008: 251) asserts, "if a common identity is promoted through language, then this happens as a consequence of accommodation; it is not its driving force." Linguistic accommodation will be addressed further in section 2.5 LINGUISTIC ACCOMMODATION.

"The language of working-class people has been shown to be no less rule-based, logical or rich than middle-class language; it has been argued that working-class language should be considered 'different' rather than substandard (Labov 1969), a position often relevant in situations relating to minority ethnic groups. But however they are labeled, these linguistic differences function as class or group 'markers' that provide the opportunity for easy ingroup-outgroup distinctions (both desired and undesired) for sustaining and expressing group identity" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 12). Unfortunately, the 'difference' versus 'deficiency' or 'verbal deprivation' viewpoint has been slow to be embraced, both within and outside minority communities (Edwards 2009, 2010), which results in attacks on the children rather than the educational or larger social systems that perpetuate these myths (Labov 1972a). According to Edwards (2010: 126-145), the deficit theory persists in the United States and Canada with linguistic minority students. The theory of verbal deprivation is explained by Labov as a six-step process of self-fulfilling prophecy:

1. The lower-class child's verbal response to a formal and threatening situation is used to demonstrate his lack of verbal capacity or verbal deficit

2. This verbal deficit is declared to be a major cause of the lower-class child's poor performance in school
3. Since middle-class children do better in school, middle-class speech habits are seen as necessary for learning
4. Class and ethnic differences in grammatical form are equated with differences in the capacity for logical analysis
5. Teaching the child to mimic certain formal speech patterns used by middle-class teachers is seen as teaching him to think logically
6. Children who learn these formal speech patterns are then said to be thinking logically and it is predicted that they will do much better in reading and arithmetic in the years to follow (Labov 1972a: 229-230)

Studies reveal popular language ideologies. Matched-guise tests have shown that nonstandard varieties are rated low in cognitive, status, and educational aspects, but high in friendliness (Labov 1972a, Edwards 2009, 2010); in fact, speakers of low-prestige varieties themselves rate their language use in this way, (Edwards 2009: 90-93), a 'minority group reaction' (Edwards 2010: 146-147). Obviously, "[t]he fact that language differences do not represent deficiencies is an important premise for any educational program" (Wolfram and Christian 1989: 62).

The language perceptions and macrosocial ideologies described above are apparent to urban minority students and their teachers, and contribute to the type of linguistic tensions encountered daily in microsocial settings such as classroom interactions. In the next subsection, associations of language and power are explored relevant to these macrosocial ideologies and microsocial language practices.

2.1.2 LANGUAGE AND POWER

Sociolinguists know that linguistic discrimination is often a cover for racial, class, or ethnic discrimination (Edwards 2010: 152; Wolfram and Christian 1989: 19). As Hymes (1977: 197) speculates, "[i]f accents and dialects and vernaculars were to disappear and no longer be

available as ways of discriminating, if everyone spoke standard English, we might simply substitute a finer lens in the microscope of correctness." Children at the lower social strata have much to overcome, not only in terms of economic status, but also in terms of others' linguistic and academic value judgments (Edwards 2010: 2, Wolfram and Christian 1989: 11); these judgments are not lost on the students themselves (Jonsberg 2001: 52).

Linguistic discrimination, like all types of discrimination, is an abuse of a power differential that becomes replicated through subsequent abuses (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981: 3).

> "…[A] general rule seems to be that when social stratification is associated with linguistic variation, arguments will be made for the grammatical, lexical or phonological superiority of the variety used by those in power. Social power typically and very easily turns what we now understand to be simple variation into better-and-worse assessments. And since social preferences and prejudices form the foundations of social interactions, the net result is that differences are regularly translated into deficiencies. It is one thing to lay out the rational bases for rejecting inaccurate perceptions – one thing, and a very important thing – but it is quite another to effect real change in these popular evaluations," (Edwards 2009: 68).

Wolfram and Christian (1989) discuss value judgments of language varieties based on factors other than communication. "The value placed on a certain way of saying something is very closely associated with the social status of the people who say it that way" (1989: 8-9). They maintain that those who make these judgments of others are those who have traditionally held the power in these societies (1989: 13), who often "make erroneous assumptions about the [nonstandardized dialect] speaker's intelligence, ambition, and even morality. When a teacher or other school official reacts this way, the result can be detrimental to a student from a nonmainstream background" (1989: 15), giving credence to the concept of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Furthermore, studies examining the communicative competence of minorities have

historically been conducted in atypical contexts by White researchers speaking the prestige dialect (Giles and Coupland 1991: 4).

Giles and Coupland go on to say that language "…not only reflects objective indices of context, but is also a barometer of how individuals define the situation, as they see it, and their own identity at that time. Power enters the 'language reflects context' paradigm because it is usually 'the establishment' that dictates what is normatively appropriate language behaviour in formal public settings… it is very uncommon for the dominant group to acquire the linguistic habits of the minority." (Giles and Coupland 1991: 18-20).

One study by Ryan and Sebastian (1980) found that judgments of speakers of American and Mexican-American descent became more similar when subjects were told that the speakers were both of middle-class backgrounds. Guskin (1992) found negative language attitudes toward Spanish speakers, that many White people tolerate linguistic diversity only when the diversity is confined to the home.

As discussed above in terms of risk to identity and to social mobility, choices are limited for the language minority speaker. "The condition of being culturally different in a social setting in which different ethnic groups are ascribed varying degrees of power and prestige may encourage either one's ethnocentrism and cultural orthodoxy, on the one hand, as a means of preserving and defending what one's individual and social life has been, or one's assimilation, on the other, as a way of surviving within a social group in which one's social history is considered negatively," (Maldonado-Guzman 1992: 449).

Of course, all speakers produce a range of styles, which as Wolfram and Christian (1989: 13) point out, does not mean the speaker has suddenly become a speaker of a nonstandardized variety when he or she adjusts his or her language to the situation at hand. "The hegemony of

English is defined as the social creation of a particular, hierarchical global linguistic order by actually existing human actors. In other words, language does not create a hegemonic linguistic order, the people who socially produce language do." (Demont-Heinrich 2010: 297). The linguistic behavior of speakers of prestige varieties may be patronizing or belittling to interlocutors who speak devalued varieties.

The implications of the relationship among language, identity, and power that seem so clear to sociolinguists have not been addressed satisfactorily by others in education and other parts of society. Critical pedagogy may follow when students are given a position of authority (Torres-Guzman 1992: 486). "The linguistic principles must be embedded in a larger perspective that recognizes these children as intelligent and well-adjusted products of their own culture. It is only in such a perspective that the standard language can be presented as an avenue towards educational advancement and the improvement of economic opportunity. Otherwise, it will continue to serve as an additional barrier to social mobility that will ensure further downward movement for the black citizens of the United States" (Labov 1995: 59).

This study aims to bring a new perspective to the issue of language and power between speakers of a prestige variety of American English and speakers of a non-prestige variety of American English. While the teachers in this study are certainly of higher status, as is their language, the students are entrusted with the evaluative power to judge the teachers' linguistic performance, which is unlike the communicative contexts found in previous studies. How the teachers perform and how they are evaluated by students will be discussed at length in Chapter 4.

2.2 AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH

"[The White man] cannot afford to understand [Black English]. This understanding would reveal to him too much about himself, and smash that mirror before which he has been frozen for so long" (Baldwin 1997: 16).

At this point, the reader should be well aware that linguistic variation is not limited to variation in languages, but also dialects, styles, and registers. Teachers and students in this study come from backgrounds in which their home languages are English, Spanish, or a mixture; within those language backgrounds, a variety of dialects are represented. The two most prevalent dialects in the home linguistic systems of the students and teachers are Mainstream American English (MAE) and African American English (AAE). It should also be noted that students from Spanish-speaking backgrounds interact frequently with African American students, and pick up features of their dialects; as Edwards (2010: 170) explains, AAE is something of a poster child for denigrated language varieties. As readers of an academic tome such as this would be expected to be familiar with MAE, this section provides some background on AAE's features, usage, and stigmas. Mufwene (2001: 258) asserts that intolerance of linguistic variation leads to the assumption that AAE is somehow deviant. Green (2002) explains that linguistic variation in the classroom is more likely to be tolerated if other varieties of English are included in classroom content. For further discussion of acceptance of variation in the classroom, see section 2.3 LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION.

In one of the earliest serious linguistic studies of AAE, Labov (1972a) explained AAE (BEV, in his terms) as a systematic language variety spoken mainly by Black youth aged 8-19 and involved in street culture. He notes the difficulty in understanding BEV without comparing

it to Standard English (SE), as such little investment had been made toward understanding the linguistic complexities of this language variety at the time of his writing (1972a: 11). As Baldwin's quote illustrates, the variety is often misunderstood, if understanding is endeavored, by White people. As shown in several scholarly works below, this assertion is not without grounds. Work by Labov and others in the field of linguistics and elsewhere have made significant gains in understanding AAE as a variety of English that follows many of the same rules as other varieties of English, but has some subsets of rules that govern it as a sophisticated language variety in its own right, a subsystem of English (Labov 1972a, Edwards 2009: 73). Labov also demonstrated that African American subjects fully engage in language processing and decoding, refuting claims of deficiency or deprivation by the likes of Bereiter and Engelmann (1966) and Bernstein (1970). Ogbu (1999: 149) adds that the rules of Black English (BE) are different from MAE in both structure and culture.

Readers should note that the use and teaching of AAE is quite controversial now, and has been historically, even among African Americans (Labov 1972a: 289). Labov (1995) discusses the work on AAE and consensus of linguists at the Black English trial in Ann Arbor, Michigan in the late 1970s. He characterizes Black English thusly (1995: 43):

> It is a subsystem of English with a distinct set of phonological and syntactic rules that are now aligned in many ways with the rules of other dialects.
> It incorporates many rules of Southern phonology, morphology and syntax; blacks in turn have exerted influence on the dialects of the South where they have lived.
> It shows evidence of derivation from an earlier Creole that was closer to the present-day Creoles of the Caribbean.
> It has a highly developed aspect system, quite different from other dialects of English, which shows a continuing development of its semantic structure.

While Labov (1972a: xiii) describes AAE as "relatively uniform", and that was linguists' understanding of the variety at that time, more recent scholarship (Alim 2009, Cramer and

Hallett 2010, and others) attests to AAE variation within the United States. Happily, our understanding of the features of African American English as an overarching variety has become more sophisticated. In the next section, some features of African American English are explained.

2.2.1 FEATURES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH

A Black child's language does not "represent a pathology, a failure to learn the rules of a linguistic system, but rather it represents the fact that he has learned some different, equally highly structured, highly complex rules of language behavior" (Baratz 1969: 892).

As noted above, African American English is systematic, rule-governed, and distinct in a number of ways (such as tense and aspect) from prestige dialects of American English (Labov 1972a: 61). Through the understanding some of the features of African American English, it is less likely that the 'deficit' viewpoint will be adopted (Jonsberg 2001: 52-53). Furthermore, teachers who are familiar with features of AAE are less likely to brand students' classroom language strategies as deviant or wrong, but as influenced by the students' home dialect (for further discussion of AAE in education, see section 2.3; for discussion of dialect acquisition, see section 2.4). It is known that there are negative attitudes toward AAE, but we do not know if this aversion is to particular features of the dialect (Edwards 2009: 88, Edwards 2010: 164). The features discussed in this section are among the most common features of AAE: copula deletion, habitual *be*, consonant cluster simplification, existential *it*, */r/*-deletion, multiple negation, invariant *is* and *was*, possessive -*'s* deletion, and third-person singular –*s* deletion. As will be shown in section 4.4.3, these features are also present in the speech of the students in the study.

Labov (1972b) distinguishes variables of a linguistic variety into indicators, markers, and stereotypes. Within a given community, speakers are metalinguistically aware of stereotypes, which are socially significant in that they are strongly associated with negative images of the language variety and the people who use it. Markers are socially meaningful in that they are associated with social categories such as race and class, and fall into distinct patterns of variation. Unlike stereotypes, markers are not at the level of explicit awareness (to the non-linguist) and are thus not subject to conscious manipulation. Indicators are unstable features in free or random variation that are not at the level of metalinguistic consciousness of the speakers, and are not socially significant because they are not subject to a discernible pattern. The extent to which a dialect is acquired is contingent upon a speaker's awareness and command of the appropriate D2 stereotypes and markers. According to Siegel (2010: 125), stereotyped or stigmatized features of a dialect are not likely to be acquired.

According to Labov (1972a: 7), "[m]any features of pronunciation, grammar, and lexicon are closely associated with black speakers – so closely as to identify the great majority of black people in the northern cities by their speech alone." Labov goes on to say that most of the features of AAE are also shared by Southern White Vernacular English (SWVE), although the frequency and distribution of these features may vary by region (1972a: 8). Wolfram and Christian (1989: 35, 63) point out that grammatical features of AAE are more subject to stigma than are pronunciation features.

Lippi-Green (1997) discusses AAE stereotyping of features related to the verb 'to be'. "The two grammatical features of AAVE which seem to be the most salient and which are most likely to engender poor reactions from non-blacks have to do with the verb 'to be' (copula

deletion, and singular –s marking) and with double negatives" (1997: 255). Furthermore, phonological processes are said to affect the copula in AAE (Labov 1972a: 25).

The copula is attested to exist in the grammars of AAE speakers (Labov 1972a: 48-51, 68-72; Wolfram and Christian 1989; Perez 2000). Brasch (1981) discussed copula deletion as a misunderstood feature of AAE, as it is often misused in the media to portray negative viewpoints of African Americans through their language use (see subsection 2.1.2). Copula deletion is a feature of African American English and other varieties of American English (Cukor-Avila 2001, Labov 1995, Wolfram 2001, Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011) as well as Australian English (Siegel 2010), with quite explicit rules for usage (Edwards 2009: 74, Edwards 2010: 115, Green 2002, Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011). Many scholars explain one rule for deleting *is* and *are* in AAE as applicable in situations in which the 'be' verb may be contracted, as in *She's hungry now* --> *She hungry now* (Green 2002: 52; Labov 1972a: 49-51, 73-74, 90; Lippi-Green 1997: 15). Lippi-Green (1997: 245) maintains the opposite is true; if MAE forbids contraction, AAE forbids deletion. Labov and Wyatt give a number of constraints conducive to copula absence, including pre-NP, pre-AP, pre-locative, pre-negative, pre-progressive verb, and pre-*gon'*, in second-person contexts, and in third-person singular contexts; it is not deleted in first person singular contexts, after relative pronouns, in the past tense, or in clause- or sentence-final positions (Labov 1972a: 67-68; Wyatt 2001).

The copula shows up (or doesn't) in other features of AAE. Auxiliary copulae can also reduce or be omitted in such positions that the meaning of the sentence remains clear in their absence, as *He is playing baseball* --> *He playing baseball* (Green 2002: 36-43). Perhaps the most misunderstood feature of AAE is habitual *be* (Rickford 1999). The use of habitual *be* dates back to the late 19th century (Cukor-Avila 2001), and may also be a feature of Southern White

Vernacular English (SWVE) (Rickford 1999: 186, Green 2004: 48-54, 81; cf. Labov 1972a: 51-55). This feature is used, frequently by younger African Americans (Labov 1995), to show action that is durative in nature (Lippi-Green 1997, Green 2002, Siegel 2010), as in *She (habitually) gets on my nerves*
--> *She be getting on my nerves*; a grammatical feature showing habitual action of this nature is not present in MAE (Lippi-Green 1997, Rickford 1999). Habitual *be* may be converted to an interrogative form or emphasized with *do* (Green 2002, Labov 1972a: 51-55), as in *Do she be getting on your nerves too?* or *She do be getting on my nerves*. This feature is often used in the media as a negative stereotype of African Americans, although it is frequently used inaccurately (Green 2004: 89).

Another feature of some controversy in AAE is consonant cluster simplification (CCS), as its realization often sounds similar to base forms in English, such as *past* being realized as *pass* (Wolfram and Christian 1989, Labov 1995, Green 2002). CCS is another feature attested in other, often working class, varieties of American English (Brasch 1981, Labov 1995, Rickford 1999, Bailey 2001). When CCS occurs in these contexts, interlocutors, including teachers, may find that the speaker is making an error in English, often resulting in a great deal of confusion and frustration, especially in the classroom (Labov 1995). Labov (1972a: 15-18) gives contexts for consonant cluster simplification, such as word-final position and with certain combinations of phonemes such as *–st*, *-nd*, and *–nt*. Labov (1972a: 48) and Green (2002: 107-115) concur that underlying forms of the phonemes and of the past tense are present in the grammars of AAE speakers, as demonstrated by the use of *acceptable* even when *accept* is realized as *accep'* and *tol'* as the past tense of *tell*. Green (2002: 107-115) suggests that CCS may stem from the

phonotactic constraints of West African languages, many of which did not have final consonant clusters.

Existential *it* is a one-to-one correlation with existential *there*, as in *There's a fly in my soup* being realized as *It's a fly in my soup* (Brasch 1981). This feature is used less frequently in the media than the features we have examined so far in this section (Brasch 1981, Rickford 1999, Green 2002), placing it as a marker rather than a stereotype according to Labov's classifications. Cukor Avila (2001) attests that this feature predates habitual *be* by at least 25 years, and it is not attested in other varieties of American English (Green 2002).

The AAE phonological feature of post-vocalic */r/*-deletion is another stereotype exploited by the media, as in *sure* being realized as *sho'* (Brasch 1981). This feature is common to both AAE and SWVE speakers (Lippi-Green 1997, Bailey 2001), most frequently occurs in contexts that are pre-consonantal, and contributes to the simplification of consonant clusters (Rickford 1999).

Multiple negation is another well-known AAE feature shared by a number of varieties of English (Labov 1995: 42, Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011), and has been attested in AAE since the mid-19th century (Cukor-Avila 2001). This is a stereotyped feature (Hagemann 2001) that is used systematically (Perez 2000, Edwards 2010: 116) to realize negation at a number of points (Lippi-Green 1997), negating "the auxiliary and all indefinite pronouns in a sentence" (Rickford 1999: 8), as in *She don't know where nothing is*. Negation may be used for emphasis (Labov 1972a: 186) and can also be inverted: *Ain't nothin' happenin' 'n' shit* (Labov 1972a: 60); the rules for negative concord in AAE are detailed in Labov (1972a: 130-131, 145-149, 152, 155, 177, 226-229). He mentions that use of multiple negation may be proportional to group membership, in that lames do not use this feature consistently (Labov 1972a: 181). Labov also

points out that multiple negation is a typical feature of many world languages, and that MAE eschewed this practice at the hands of 18th century grammarians (Labov 1982a: 131). According to Green (2010: 119), "Although negative concord is a stigmatized pattern, it does not present the type of interpretation challenges for speakers who do not understand AAE patterns that constructions such as aspectual *be* sequences present. That is, American English-speakers who do not speak varieties of English in which negative concord is acceptable generally do not have problems understanding it."

Invariant *is* and *was* (Lippi-Green 1997) is found in SWVE and AAE (Cukor-Avila 2001, Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011), and essentially levels *is* and *are* to *is*, and *was* and *were* to *was*, as in *We was worried about you*.

Other kinds of *–s* deletion occur in AAE as well: third-person singular *–s* deletion (Lippi-Green 1997, Perez 2000, Hagemann 2001) and possessive *–'s* deletion. Third-person singular *–s* is dropped such that the present-tense verb is realized as the verb's base form (as in *He talk a lot*), and is, as Lippi-Green (1997) stated above, a stereotype of AAE. Possessive *–'s* deletion is another feature of AAE (Labov 1995: 42, Edwards 2010: 116) where the juxtaposition of possessor and possessed implies ownership, as in *See my mama car?*

Other features of AAE worth mentioning are inverted word order in embedded questions, as in, *I asked Alvin could he play basketball* (Labov 1995: 42), *ain't* as 'be' + 'not' as in *She ain't seventeen* and as 'have' + 'not' as in *He ain't been to France*, and stressed *been* as remote perfect and obvious to the listener, as in *I been had my eyebrow pierced!* (Labov 1995: 42). Pragmatic features of AAE such as call and response and signifying (Siegel 2010) will not be discussed here.

As will be discussed in Chapter 3: RESEARCH METHODS, features under study here are multiple negation, habitual *be*, possessive *–'s* deletion, third-person singular *–s* deletion, copula deletion, existential *it*, and consonant cluster simplification, as they have been attested in the students' language. It is important for teachers and school staff to be aware of the dialect features that students bring with them to the classroom, as judgments about language affect students not only in their classroom interactions, but also in terms of special education placement, aptitude and achievement testing, and program implementation (Wolfram and Christian 1989, Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011). According to Wolfram and Christian (1989: 64), "*The teaching of standard English should be based on an understanding of the systematic differences between the standard and vernacular forms*" (original italics). The authors suggest starting with the features that are most prevalent and stigmatized.

2.2.2 AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH IN LITERATURE

Rickford (1999) and Hallett (2009) argue that teachers might tolerate linguistic variation more if they were to include dialect literature in their teaching. This section gives some very brief background on AAE in literature.

African American English has been represented in mainstream literature since at least the mid-1800s, by White authors such as Mark Twain and Harper Lee as well as many Black authors such as Lorraine Hansberry and Terry McMillan, and grew greatly in popularity during the Harlem Renaissance (Hess 1996). Green (2002) raises some problems that may occur with the creation of AAE-speaking characters, namely that the characters can be portrayed as negative, thereby making African Americans appear to have negative characteristics by virtue of their language use. She also brings up authors' misunderstanding of features as potentially

misrepresentative, with the chance of propagating negative social messages (2002: 165). One example of this propagation is the use of "eye dialect", whereby the language of the Black characters, even when it is the same variety as that of the White characters, is spelled out phonetically (Green 2002: 178). Skilled authors such as Harper Lee (Hess 1996) and Terry McMillan (Ween 2003, Hallett 2009) are able to show the depths of their characters' language through codeswitching and multiply-embedded discourse.

The literary canon has had a complicated relationship with African American English. AAE characters have been portrayed in negative ways by authors who are either malicious or unskilled at using the variety. Talented authors are able to multiply embed a variety of macrosocial discourses within the language of their characters (Bakhtin 1981). A glance at AAE literature of the past 160 or so years gives insight into the complex views of this variety of English.

Hallett (2009) pushes for the inclusion of dialect literature in the urban classroom, and Reaser (2010) discusses the success of literature-based dialect units on students' performance on standardized tests.

Although by now there have been many studies on AAE, there are still gaps in the research (Pandey 2000). The understanding of AAE as a systematic and valid variety of English "regrettably, remains unavailable to the public in general and [is] poorly understood among teachers in particular" (Edwards 2009: 75-76). The research presented in this dissertation not only gives insight into the amount of knowledge some urban teachers have of this variety of English, but goes as far as to break down that knowledge by specific feature and by competence versus performance. Unfortunately, given the negative racial stereotypes engendered in social

cues outside of language, learning a more socially acceptable variety of English may not be of great benefit to minority students (Edwards 2009: 94). Edwards asserts the possibility "that a BEV-'proper' English diglossia will prevail for some time to come" (2009: 94).

2.3 LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

Language has had a complicated role in education in the United States. This section touches on political and legal issues that have impact on language use in the classroom, such as the 1996 Oakland Unified School District proclamation (that fueled the "Ebonics controversy"), the statistically improbable overplacement of minority students in special education classes, differentiated education, and bilingual education.

Suggestions are also provided to transform "the school as a primary site of language ideological combat" (Alim 2009: 214) to a safe, inclusive, and productive institution of education.

2.3.1 ENGLISH VARIATION AND EDUCATION

"One would want to know how the relationship between language use in school and language use outside of school is viewed, where there is community, where conflict, where compartmentalization" (Hymes 1977: 170).

There have historically been three explanations for educational issues for minority language students: that genetic inferiority leads to deficiencies (and the related eugenics movements), that bad environments lead to deficiencies, and that there is environmental variation leading to differences rather than deficits (Edwards 2010: 42). As already discussed above, the

viewpoints of "difference" and "deficit" in terms of minority education persist (these viewpoints are also presented in Baratz 1969), and while "difference" is certainly progress from "deficit", Edwards (2010) states that this viewpoint still does not address any student agency in terms of language choice. Whether the issue is called difference or deficit "is extremely germane to the kids of programs we are developing…" (Baratz 1969: 890). Furthermore, home-school discontinuity is at the root of language devaluation (Edwards 2010: 41), and schools enforce prescriptivism (Baron 2009: 3). Hagemann (2001) argues that Standard English is required for school success: "…for working class, language minority students who typically speak various Englishes that are considered nonstandard, the transition is much more difficult [than for their middle class counterparts]. The rules of their home discourses don't overlap as much with those of the academic world. As a result, many language minority students struggle with the rules and conventions of speaking and writing 'school talk'" (Hagemann 2001: 75).

According to Edwards (2010: 43-44, 47), "[Disadvantage] arises at points of contact between groups that are at once distinguishable and yet part of the larger society, which is why it is generally most noticeable in educational contexts: the classroom is the earliest and arguably the single most important point of contact between social groups and sub-groups. Since disadvantage always involves a comparison between socially unequal populations, an implication is that many values and attitudes considered disadvantageous are only so when judged against a standard imposed from outside the group itself." Teachers frequently tend to fulfill their own expectations about students, often based on students' language (Giles and Coupland 1991: 45; Edwards 2010: 160, 167).

Heath (1984: 268) explains academic discourse as that which calls for recitation, sequences, specific argumentation forms, specific turn-taking rules, and citations, which she then

juxtaposes with home and community discourse in which these linguistic strategies are replaced by those of stories, direct imperatives, and proverbs. She says that middle class children learn to talk about language and meaning in certain ways that are compatible with what's transmitted in writing and asked of them at school (1984: 267). "Replacing oral transmission patterns and genres such as storytelling or proverbial reminders with formal schooling means literacy learning through decontextualized information which removes another human being as the primary agent of teaching and shifts the learner's display of knowledge to composition-centered written tasks" (Heath 1984: 268).

Linguistic prejudice in the classroom and elsewhere may be seen as symptomatic of other types of prejudice (Fields-Carey and Sweat 2010, Wolfram and Christian 1989). According to Maldonado-Guzman (1992), a combination of ethnocentrism, orthodoxy, motive, attraction, and ideology may be to blame for teachers' differential treatment of students. While African American students have comprised a large portion of minority English groups under study, these struggles and prejudices apply to other devalued groups and their language varieties as well. Maldonado-Guzman continues, "…students who represent what in the teachers' view is American education, or possibly Puerto Rican American, and who also do not speak either standard English or standard Spanish, will be censored and an attempt may be made to uproot them from their everyday cultural context. These teachers may try to impose a new history upon the children's actual history, in effect denying the legitimacy of these children's life experiences" (1992: 453). Pedraza and Pousada (1992) discuss home language surveys and language tests in the placement of bilingual students as inaccurate and inauthentic as they only assess a narrow form of student language use. Zentalla (1992: 221) discusses the mixing of devalued language varieties as being further problematic to students: "…when the children of *el bloque* [a Puerto

Rican neighborhood in New York] enter the schools, their oral bilingual skills are not seen as assets. They feel under attack because they speak Puerto Rican Spanish, because they speak Black English Vernacular (BEV), and because they mix these together."

Edwards (2009: 82-83) reiterates the disconnect between academic and lay beliefs about language. Yet much as the armchair philosophers and folk theorists, the academy has been slow to offer enlightening perspectives on the plight of the minority student, particularly with respect to language. Bereiter and Engelmann (1966) are among the most famous of these academic assailants (see Labov 1972a: 204-205), reporting that lower class children dispense with language whenever possible. "Given the data that Bereiter presents, we cannot conclude that the child has no grammar, but only that the investigator does not understand the rules of grammar" (Labov 1972a: 225). This work was followed (or perhaps carried) by Bernstein (1971), who argued that black children's linguistic deprivation resulted in their restricted storytelling/ recounting abilities. While there is scholarly debate about whether Bernstein's work has been misinterpreted, Edwards (2010: 97-101) argues that he still did a great deal of damage as the poster boy for deficit theory. "The most useful service which linguists can perform today is to clear away the illusion of verbal deprivation and to provide a more adequate notion of the relations between standard and nonstandard dialects… Of particular concern is the relation between concept formation on the one hand, and dialect differences on the other, since it is in this area that the most dangerous misunderstandings are to be found" (Labov 1972a: 202, see also Labov 2001).

These early studies also failed to distinguish performance and competence (Edwards 2010: 96), taking for granted that experimental conditions with unfamiliar White researchers would be likely to tap into minority students' knowledge of linguistic structures (see also Labov

1972a: 207-225). Current ideologies have not progressed to the point that the issues that arose decades ago have been satisfactorily addressed. Edwards (2010: 93) states, "…disadvantage may be understood as arising in part from differential mastery of this subtle and unarticulated style [classroom language] that combines both knowledge and its appropriate display. One important advantage of this perspective is that it invokes teachers as well as pupils." According to Labov (1972a: xiv), minority underperformance in the classroom, particularly with respect to reading, is due mainly to "political and cultural conflicts in the classroom." These conflicts may be boiled down to "ignorance of standard rules on the part of speakers of nonstandard English and ignorance of nonstandard English rules on the part of teachers and text writers" (Labov 1972a: 3). Torres-Guzman (1992: 487-488) adds, "…our schools are not equipped to understand how to educate a culturally-diverse youth population that finds itself in the midst of social change and must be educated for participation in social change."

While the majority of this study centers on dialects of English, it would be irresponsible not to include a word about multilingual and multicultural education, as many of the students in this study and in urban centers of the United States come from language backgrounds other than English. There are three basic types of bilingual education: submersion (the most aggressive, replacive form of language teaching), weak bilingual education (often transitional from home language to target language over a period of time), and strong bilingual education (dual-language or heritage language programs whereby students are educated in both home and target language and taught to respect both) (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, Edwards 2010: 251-52). Bilingual education is mentioned here as a reminder to the reader that urban students in a mainstream classroom may be in one of these programs, or have recently completed a transitional program.

Furthermore, bilingual education in each state is quite often in flux, with more and more programs moving toward speedier transitions to an all-English curriculum.

Multicultural education should also be addressed briefly, as the spirit behind it may be lost in practice. Edwards (2010) discusses multicultural education efforts, lamenting the "show-and-tell" nature of school programs for which food, dress, or languages are brought in and paraded around for students. He also warns that, for example, giving Black kids Black education and Hispanic kids Hispanic education is missing the point completely (2010: 223). Instead, Edwards advocates a critical inquiry approach to multicultural education (2010: 225).

A number of approaches have been suggested to address minority language use and abuse in the classroom. Teachers can help disadvantaged students without making them lose what they already have (Jonsberg 2001, Edwards 2010: 49, Jackendoff 2010: xiv). We have to accept the language varieties children bring to the classroom, and then educate them about different varieties (Britton 1970: 134, Kubota 2001: 51, Edwards 2010: 287).

Many scholars have offered strategies for teaching AAE and English as a language of wider communication (Carter 1998, Baumgardner 2008). Teaching stigmatized varieties has actually been shown to contribute to the acquisition of the standard dialect (Siegel 1999: 701). Siegel discusses three types of pedagogies that deal with stigmatized varieties of English in a supplemental rather than a suppletive manner in order to preserve students' self-respect (Siegel 1999: 705-706), which is integral to student achievement (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981: 235).

Some authors have suggested empowering students to use their linguistic expertise through inquiry-based instruction (Wolfram and Christian 1989: 78). Alim (2009) led students through Critical Hip Hop pedagogies, in which they analyzed the music style for linguistic variation. Chisholm and Godley (2009) taught Critical Language Awareness strategies through

student inquiry-based instruction. Students used their metalinguistic awareness to discuss language variation, identity, and power in the United States. Jonsberg (2001: 53) suggests opening up languages of wider communication to all students through language play in the classroom. "If we are going to celebrate diversity in our classrooms, we must learn to be respectful not just of various literatures, but of the various knowledges, rooted in various languages, that our students bring with them into the classroom" (Jonsberg 2001: 52). Zitlow (2001) reviews a number of books that are useful for pre- and in-service teachers and sometimes even students, to generate discussions about language ideologies.

Hagemann (2001: 75) says that working class students need literature in "Standard American English" ("standard" because it is drawn from writing [2001: 76-79]) to supplement their home languages, as well as a comparative education on the similarities and differences of the varieties. Wolfram and Christian (1989: 65) advocate teaching MAE through comparison, translation, and role-playing. Contrastive analytic approaches such as these are explained in more detail in 2.3.3 TEACHER EDUCATION. Skutnabb-Kangas calls it "an elementary mistake" to apply bilingual/ majority group mother tongue language pedagogies to low-status minority groups (1981: 64), but feels that "insights gained from research into bilingualism can often help us… to a better understanding of the difficulties faced by dialect-speaking children or by working-class children who are confronted at school with the demand that they master middle-class language" (1981: 65).

A number of scholars advocate specific education programs designed for the minority language student. Hollie (2001: 54) promotes the Linguistic Affirmation Program designed for students who are not proficient in Standard American English. "This program incorporates into the curriculum research-based instructional strategies that facilitate the acquisition of Standard

American English in its oral and written forms without devaluing the home language and culture of the students" (Hollie 2001: 54). This program also involves the education of teachers about nonstandard Englishes and their speakers, second language acquisition, multiple intelligences, and culture, and helps teachers integrate this knowledge into their classrooms. (Torres-Guzman 1992: 480-482; Hollie 2001: 54-55).

"Teachers who are, themselves, well-informed can gradually make clear the contexts in which standard usage is most appropriate and where, therefore, its use is likely to be most beneficial" (Edwards 2010: 124). These teachers need not be like the students in order to respect them and address their pedagogical needs (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981: 236). "Race, ethnicity, gender, class, and special needs will all have to be considered as interactive variables in the equation of educating historically undereducated populations… Strategies for dealing with diversity that facilitate such developments and which create healthy educational environments will be needed" (Saravia-Shore and Arvizu 1992c: 499). Saravia-Shore and Arvizu (1992b: xxii) note that teachers' integration of multicultural elements into their educational practices will result in students' ability to approach problem solving more effectively.

Teachers wishing to know more about students' linguistic backgrounds may learn by looking for patterns in their students' speech both in and out of the classroom. Wolfram and Christian (1989: 27-31) recommend the following approach. Teachers notice a linguistic phenomenon in one or more of their students, and then listen to language use outside of the classroom, noting if others participate in this phenomenon as well. They then encourage teachers to write down examples of the speech, and hypothesize about the linguistic environments in which this usage occurs, continuing to check and reformulate these hypotheses as necessary. Teachers may verify this usage with more examples (and potentially elicitations), and decide

when they have enough evidence to make an educated prediction about the use of these features. The authors give the example of copula deletion, where it does and does not occur, in what tense, and with what subjects (see 2.2.1 FEATURES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH for further discussion). The understanding that comes from this type of teacher research may be enough to prevent the formation of damaging self-fulfilling prophecy (1989: 57).

A fuller picture of minority language use in the classroom and the education of teachers to help minority language speakers achieve success will be addressed in subsections 2.3.2 AAE AND EDUCATION and 2.3.3 TEACHER EDUCATION.

2.3.2 AAE AND EDUCATION

African American students remain behind their peers in all tested subjects. Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011: 122) relate testers' unfamiliarity with student language variation to inappropriate accommodations for and placement of many students. Historical, social, and political reasons contribute to this lag, but to date no solution has been found (Siegel 2010: 162ff). Speakers of AAE have historically been linguistically profiled and marginalized (Alim 2009: 213) in their social and academic lives, contributing to the high disengagement and dropout rates, which perpetuates the self-fulfilling prophecies of many teachers and administrators (Siegel 2010: 162ff). As Hollie (2001: 54) explains, "…many African American students will walk into classrooms and be discreetly taught in most cases, and explicitly told in others, that the language of their forefathers, their families, and their communities is bad language, street language, the speech of the ignorant and/ or uneducated. They will be 'corrected' and told that 'she be' should be 'she is' and that two negatives equals a positive; therefore, they should not use multiple negation." Such misunderstandings of AAE by

educators, and the continued educational defeat of minority children, have raised questions about connections between language and educational performance that have piqued the interest of educators and linguists alike. Cheshire and Edwards (1998) discuss unnecessary teacher correction when communication is achieved, and feel that such correction is confusing and a waste of time. This section presents relevant studies on AAE in education, and explores potential avenues of further inquiry and practice in the interest of better serving students who speak historically devalued varieties of English.

Studies of African American English in education have historically focused on AAE-speaking students acquiring the prestige dialect of the classroom. In one early study, Baratz (1969) engages Black and lower middle class White children in a repetition task. Perhaps not surprisingly, the Black children did better repeating nonstandard stimuli, and the White children did better repeating standard stimuli. She found that Black children are not bidialectal, and felt that assessment of Black children's language skills should involve their knowledge of nonstandard forms as well as standard forms (1969: 889). Baratz addresses the similar behaviors of the Black and White children as evidence that there is no deficiency in the Black children's language, but rather difficulty in code-switching from a more familiar language variety to a less familiar language variety (Baratz 1969: 898).

Some studies have found that familiarity with school English (SE) has been associated with better reading achievement, and we have already seen in section 2.2 that AAE has features that differ from those in MAE (Charity et al 2004). "Furthermore, in conjunction with other educational barriers that African American children may encounter in classrooms, the mismatches between dialects might also (or instead) have a more indirect effect on the child's motivation and attitude toward literacy, including a loss of confidence in the alphabetic system

and reduced educational aspirations" (Charity et al 2004: 1341; see also Labov 1995). Charity et al (2004) examine student repetition of school English sentences for evidence of familiarity with the variety. Their participants were K-2 African American students in three US cities and White control students. They found that White students of similar socioeconomic status to the Black students have higher familiarity with school English. They speculate that students' abilities to produce AAE sentences from school English sentences may be evidence of metalinguistic ability (Charity et al 2004; see also Goodman and Buck 1973, who observed that AAE-speaking students 'translated' passages into their own dialects when reading aloud, thereby processing and constructing meaning). If teachers are aware of dialect differences, as discussed further in subsection 2.3.3 and section 2.4, they will have better indication of content or processing errors versus dialect intrusion, and will thus be better equipped to help their students (Goodman and Buck 1973).

To this end, Fogel and Ehri (2006) took features of AAE found in student writing and taught them in various ways to pre-service teachers in order to learn 1) how these student teachers best learned the features, if at all, and 2) if their attitudes toward AAE in the classroom changed at all. "Others have argued that the cause [of AAE-speaking students' difficulties in school] is not dialect differences in students but rather teachers' lack of knowledge about dialect and their negative attitudes that interfere with student learning (Goodman 1969, Goodman & Buck 1973, Smitherman 2000)" (Fogel and Ehri 2006: 465-466). They found that the teachers struggled with some of the features, but learned them best through a combination of exposure, explanation of strategies, and guided translation. Labov (1995: 51) states that Black teachers vary widely in their abilities to shift styles. Jonsberg (2001: 51) noticed that bidialectal black

students did not know the history of AAE, and apologized for using it. Negative attitudes about AAE persist among every group involved in minority education.

Labov (1995) laments that even though researchers know a good deal about AAE, we still haven't figured out how to use this knowledge to improve AAE speakers' learning of reading. In fact, the reading scores of African American children in Harlem drop more and more relative to other students' scores, which is all the more alarming because these children start out with motivation (Labov 1995: 41). According to Labov (1972a: 35), children's loss of confidence in reading occurs in 3rd or 4th grade and persists, resulting in many nonreaders. Furthermore, there is an overrepresentation of African Americans in special education and speech therapy (Ogbu 1999: 148, Edwards 2010: 170, Fogel and Ehri 2006: 466-467, Siegel 2010: 168), which Siegel (2010: 189) argues further separates and marginalizes speakers of different dialects, as interactions are drastically reduced. Linguists and educators, as well as parents, children, and administrators, are desperate for solutions. Labov (1972a: 36) plainly states, "[I]f we do not accept the fact that BEV has distinct rules of its own, we find that the speech of black children is a mass of errors and this has indeed been the tradition of early education research in this area."

There are acknowledged linguistic sources of reading problems due to the structural differences between AAE and classroom English. Labov (1972a: 29-31, 1995: 43-44) discusses issues in correlation between sound and spelling, particularly with respect to final consonant cluster simplification, past tense '–ed' and other confusing realizations: 'told' and 'toll' (and 'toe' and 'tow'), 'passed' or 'past' and 'pass', 'feel' and 'fill', and 'you'll' and 'you'. The word 'their' is often realized as 'they' and 'your' as 'you' (Labov 1972a: 23-24). According to Labov, "in one experimental approach, AAVE speakers were able to transfer past tense information to

derive the correct pronunciation of *read* in *Last month I read the sign*, but not in *When I passed by, I read the sign*" (1972: 31 in Labov 1995: 44). There are additional problems with /-s/ suffixes, plural, third-person singular, and possessive (Labov 1972a: 31-33, see discussion in section 2.2). He suggests that AAE speakers lose confidence in the alphabet, which leads to abstraction in their minds between the alphabet and the words the letters represent. (1995: 44). Pronunciation does not reflect comprehension in read-aloud tasks; *-ed* may be understood, but not pronounced, for example (Labov 1972a: 33). However, it is important for the teacher to get to the root of the situation to determine the appropriate strategy (Labov 1972a: 34).

Aside from the difference in syntax and phonology, some scholars find discrepancies between Black and White children's rhetorical strategies. Giles and Coupland (1991: 117) discuss teachers' questioning strategies (such as hinting) as more in line with the experience of White children. Some of the shared features of AAE and MAE (see section 2.4 for further discussion) may cause confusion in the classroom, as in this example from Smitherman (2000: 25):

> Teacher: Where is Mary?
> Student: She not here.
> Teacher: She is *never* here!
> Student: Yeah, she be here.
> Teacher: Where? You just said she wasn't here.

In the above example, the teacher is frustrated because she feels that the student is taunting her. The reality is, the teacher does not understand the rules for copula deletion and habitual *be* (see 2.2.1 for further discussion), such that "She not here" means that the student is not presently in class, whereas "She be here" means that the student is typically in class. These instances of misunderstanding build over time, causing unnecessary stress and frustration on the part of teachers and students alike.

There are further complicating factors in minority education in the United States. Acquiring MAE does not guarantee financial success (see also Smitherman 1986, Alim 2009), and as stated previously, linguistic discrimination often masks deeper prejudices (Baron 2000: 11-12, 15). Researchers in language and education have not always helped matters. "Bereiter and Engelmann, Deutsch, and Jensen are giving teachers a ready-made theoretical basis for the prejudice they already feel against the lower-class black child and his language" (Labov 1972a: 230). Furthermore, relationship-building between students and teachers may suffer due to cultural differences in demonstrating and interpreting emotions (Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011: 127).

Ogbu (1999) approached AAE-speaking students' performance in school from a more ethnographic standpoint, bringing in macrosocial factors aside from language to help explain home/ school conflicts. He also interviewed a number of parents and community members in order to assess how their beliefs connected with those of the children and the school system (1999: 147). He found examples of miscommunication or misunderstanding among students, parents, and teachers (1999: 167-168), and compares the issues faced by the African American children to those that would be faced by White children assessed on their progress in "slang English" (Ogbu 1999: 179, see also Fogel and Ehri 2006).

Baron (2000: 5-6) notes the continued stigmatization of urban Englishes, even though their value is recognized in arenas such as literature and culture. One manifestation of this stigmatization is in the discourse surrounding what is popularly known as "The Ebonics Controversy".

In 1996, the Oakland Unified School District proposed a measure whereby African-American English, termed "Ebonics" in that context (coined in 1973 by psychologist Robert

Williams), be taught alongside Mainstream American English (Baron 2000: 5, Edwards 2009: 77-82, Edwards 2010: 175). The goal of the resolution was to teach MAE forms to those students whose language backgrounds did not include this variety, while at the same time advocating respect and value for AAE and providing strategies for students to move between the two varieties (Baron 2000: 5-6). The resolution was drafted without help from linguists (Baron 2000: 11, Edwards 2009: 77-82).

One sticking point in the "Ebonics controversy" was the resolution's appeal for bilingual funding for Ebonics education, which required that African American children be labeled limited English proficient (LEP) (Baron 2000: 6-7). The labeling of AAE as a language sparked further controversy (Baron 2000: 13, Edwards 2010: 177). African American communities were (and continue to be) divided on the education of African American children in a language variety that seems to hold no value for upward mobility and may be of further social detriment to its speakers (Baron 2000: 8, Edwards 2010: 180-185, Siegel 2010: 188).

Further problematic was the use of the word "genetically" in the resolution (Oakland Unified School District Board of Education 1997), referring to the relationship between Ebonics and African languages. This term was often misunderstood to mean that African Americans were genetically predisposed to speak this language variety. Of course, Ebonics does not correspond directly with race, and is intelligible to speakers of other varieties of American English, and has been demonstrated to share enough structure and features to be considered a variety of English (see Section 2.2). An amended resolution in 1997 recanted this statement to clarify that Ebonics is not inherent in Black DNA, and changed the plan to teach Ebonics to teachers rather than to students. "After all, no one is advocating the use of Ebonics as *an end in itself*" (Pandey 2000: 103, see also Siegel 2010: 188-189). The amendment satisfied linguists

and many African American politicians (Baron 2000: 9, Edwards 2010: 176). Unfortunately, the damage was already done, and the media descended on the resolution, the language variety, and its speakers (Ogbu 1999).

Following the failed resolution, racist jokes proliferated (Baron 2000: 8). The movement to grant power to the speakers of a devalued language variety had been ill-conceived and poorly executed, causing further desperation as those speakers became the joke of the nation (Baron 2000: 13, Edwards 2010: 179, Siegel 2010: 185-186). These negative public opinions have arisen in other issues of educational policy, such as the 2005 proposal by the San Bernardino City (California) Unified School District to include AAE in the curriculum (Siegel 2010: 185). "As the Oakland case makes clear, no other subject in language is fraught with as much controversy as Black English… how can teachers teach standard English in a way that respects and maintains the culturally distinct communication styles of many African American students, while ensuring that these students acquire standard English?" (Perez 2000: 34).

Oakland was not the first case of its kind. In 1979, failing African American students at King Elementary in Ann Arbor, Michigan won a monumental court case against a school system that ignored their home language varieties, thereby hindering their educational prospects. This case brought to light teachers' negative attitudes about students' language, and the detrimental effects these attitudes have on student learning. (Ball and Lardner 1997). "In the Ann Arbor case, the Court identified teachers' language attitudes as a significant impediment to children's learning," (Ball and Lardner 1997: 472). Despite these findings, these negative attitudes took center stage in the Oakland case, and persist today all over the country.

Baratz (1969: 899-900) cautions researchers and teachers against understanding Standard American English (SAE) as equivalent to 'language'. "It is traditional to explain a child's failure

in school by his inadequacy. But when failure reaches such massive proportions, it seems to us necessary to look at the social and cultural obstacles to learning and the inability of the school to adjust to the social situation" (Labov 1972a: 232).

Hollie (2001) pushes for the Linguistic Affirmation Program (LAP) as mindful of the needs of minority dialect American English speakers trying to learn the English of the classroom, and cites the support for this program by scholars such as Geneva Smitherman. LAP is claimed to address both the cultural and linguistic aspects of students' home dialects (2001: 59). A contrastive analytic bridge program designed by Black English experts in curriculum design had been used in the late 1970s and was successful to some degree, but was ended due to backlash from parents and teachers. Furthermore, this program used easily-dated vernacular and would have to be used in mostly-black schools (Labov 1995: 46-51).

Alim (2009) suggests using Critical Hip Hop Language Pedagogies (CHHLPs) to address students' cultural tensions and help students gain the metalinguistic abilities to question linguistic power structures. CHHLPs position the students as language experts, claiming "urban, working class BL [Black Language] as its prestige variety" (Alim 2009: 215). The students in Alim's study examine hip hop music for phonological variation, explore the relationship between language and power, and with their teachers become "agents of change" (Alim 2009: 228). The medium of hip hop can also enable students to engage their creative writing skills while studying. Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011: 133-34) provide the example of Dameon, an African American high school student committing SAT vocabulary to memory by writing the words in meaningful contexts into a rap song.

Edwards believes that dialect reading materials will help reduce gaps in reading between AAE-speaking students and MAE-speaking students; however, he does acknowledge issues with

some of these materials (2010: 121-124). He proposes a solution whereby MAE materials are retained, but students are given more freedom to interpret them (2010: 124). Siegel (1999: 721) points out that "…there is no basis for claims that using a stigmatized variety in the classroom increases interference or gets in the way of acquisition of the standard. On the contrary, research findings indicate that appropriate teaching methodology incorporating students' vernaculars may actually help them acquire the standard. Theory and research in psycholinguistics and SLA help explain these findings." Furthermore, students who work in their mother tongue (and by extension, dialect) perform better in many facets of their education, including English and math (Siegel 2010: 190). Siegel (2010: 198-217) discusses educational approaches for second dialect acquisition including teaching standard English as a second dialect and using dialect readers.

Labov (1995: 45) discusses the lack of success with AAE linguistic training for teachers (discussed further in the next section). He suggests cultural education as the real issue in teacher attitudes toward their minority dialect speakers. Labov (1995: 52-53) proposes Language Arts in the Integrated Classroom as a model for a reading program. The principles of this program dictate that:

1. Teachers should distinguish between mistakes in reading and differences in pronunciation
2. Teachers should place more attention on the ends of words
3. Words must be presented to students in those phonological contexts that preserve underlying forms
4. Teachers should use the full forms of words and avoid contractions
5. Grammar should be taught explicitly (Labov 1995: 32-33)

These follow from Labov's previous suggestions that teachers distinguish mistakes from differences, accept pronunciation differences and work on reading, and work on perception and comprehension over pronunciation (1972a: 34). He also suggests that teachers pay special attention to final consonant clusters and to homonyms in order to determine what can and cannot be distinguished (Labov 1972a, Labov 1995).

A number of contrastive analytic models have been proposed. Pandey (2000) compares bidialectal students to low-level ESL students by using the TOEFL (acknowledging the known differences due to the similarity of the two dialects; for further discussion, see section 2.4), and lamented the lack of dialect teaching materials grounded in second language acquisition theory. Pandey had her AAE-speaking students discuss the issues surrounding the Ebonics controversy, read dialect literature, and use contrastive analysis to focus attention on linguistic differences between SAE and MAE (2000: 96-97). She found that raising awareness of the differences in the two varieties was beneficial for students, and advocated courses on AAE for teachers (2000: 103-104). Perez (2000) also advocates bidialectalism through explicit contrastive techniques, and for understanding of dialectal differences, registers, domains, etc., and presents ideas for activities (2000: 35-36).

One model that has achieved some success in the bidialectal classroom is Wheeler and Swords' (2006) Codeswitching in the Classroom model, whereby contrastive analytic methods are used to teach features "formal" and "informal" language. Mayer and New (2010) used this model to target writing, teaching students how codeswitching is used to create voice in literature.

Labov (1972a: 241) suggests that the discussion of how best to alternate between and among language varieties should be left up to the educators. Changes in the classroom lead to changes on a larger scale, and this process of change must be well-informed. Smitherman (1986: 241) offers, "I have suggested that teachers should be about the serious business of educating young black minds to deal with (and if necessary, on) a society of power politics and incredible complexity… As agents of change, teachers can work to help mold American society into a humane and pluralistic social universe. Effectuating changes in language attitudes and policies, in the classroom and beyond, is a major step in this direction."

Ball and Lardner (1997) concur that changes in attitude about AAE and its speakers are necessary, and that teacher knowledge of the systematic nature of AAE is certainly the bare minimum. However, the authors lament the disconnect between teacher knowledge and ability to translate this knowledge into useful practice (1997: 475). Despite Labov's contention that teachers decide what to do with the scientific evidence, the prejudices remain. "What we are most concerned with, however, is to find ways to raise teachers' awareness of their own processes of pedagogical discovery and change, to help teachers recognize what their own habits of reflection make accessible to them, and what these habits of mind leave out," (Ball and Lardner 1997: 477).

As stated elsewhere in this dissertation, collaboration among teachers and linguists may lead to constructive ideas about better educating minority dialect speakers. For Fogel (2010, p.c.) and others, "getting in the door" to access teachers, students, and administrators is one of the main difficulties. Wheeler (2010) discusses the problems in reception she faced in her early work with schools. In 2000, Wheeler began her study by examining urban student writing for features of AAE, and presented her data-filled results to local principals. Upon receiving the cold shoulder for years, she got some advice from sociolinguist Walt Wolfram: "Never name the variety" (2010: 131-132), and never agree to the connection with 'Ebonics' (2010: 135ff). When Wheeler began using the terms 'formal English' and 'informal English', she found that she was able to get not only reception, but also funding. She suggests that researchers avoid discussions of race, and instead call the research an attempt to address teachers' needs or student writing (2010: 133-135). By bringing in samples of student work and getting teachers to admit frustration, Wheeler was able to then offer useful strategies for teaching and learning. Teachers

are taught respect for language variation by discovery, and by teaching it themselves, which Wheeler finds to be a worthwhile endeavor (2010: 135ff).

Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011) discuss the tension that often occurs when teachers and students differ in their understanding of each other's language and culture.

> Yet, whereas nonstandardized English-speaking students are made to learn the standardized language and culture, educators who are largely familiar with and teach the standardized language and culture are not, in most cases, made to do the reverse – to learn the linguistic and cultural patterns of their nonstandardized English-speaking students. These inequalities may cause cultural, social, and academic rifts and resentments, as well as unintentional misunderstandings… (Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011: 77).

In the following section, issues of teacher education with respect to student language are addressed, and suggestions are made for reform such that educators and students are made more aware of variation in dialect.

2.3.3 TEACHER EDUCATION

> "Teachers… are the ones charged with the awesome responsibility of educating culturally and linguistically diverse students. They hold the same deeply entrenched set of folk linguistic mythologies and ideologies of language as most citizens, yet they are required to enforce 'rules' which reproduce the current sociolinguistic order in a very direct way through language teaching, thus placing them in a tremendous position of power" (Alim 2009: 216).

Unfortunately, many teachers' prescriptive tendencies (Baron 2009) stem from their lack of preparation to deal with linguistic and cultural diversity in the classroom (Charity-Hudley and Mallinson 2011, Edwards 2010: 1, 4ff). Teachers have had little to no linguistic training (Baron 2009, Jackendoff 2010), and may be highly misinformed about AAE (Alim 2009). Fogel and Ehri (2006) discuss the teacher training programs that so sorely lack preparation in linguistics and dialect variation. "In urban schools, it is common for students to speak nonstandard dialects of English, yet few teachers have been taught to recognize the features of these dialects" (Fogel

and Ehri 2006: 477). As a result, teacher attitudes toward minority dialects and their speakers are often misguided at best, and devastating at worst.

Battistella (2010: 23) explains that the onus is on linguists to persuade others, especially teachers, of the value of linguistics. Linguists have the power to help break down issues of dialect prejudice supported by the propagation of folk wisdom (Battistella 2010, Sweetland 2010). As echoed in many of the contributions to Denham and Lobeck's (2010) book, linguists should be involved in teacher training and curricular planning (Battistella 2010: 22-23, Edwards 2010: 10), and linguistics should be a valid part of the K-12 curriculum (Denham and Lobeck 2010b: 2, Lord and Klein 2010: 76-77, McNulty 2010). "There is no reason to believe that any nonstandard vernacular is in itself an obstacle to learning. The chief problem is ignorance of language on the part of all concerned. Our job as linguists is to remedy this ignorance…" (Labov 1972a: 239).

However, the collaboration between linguists and K-12 educators is not easy (Denham and Lobeck 2010b: 3-6, Reaser 2010); field specializations often preclude interaction, resources are lacking (Edwards 2010: 5), K-12 emphasis may be on high-stakes testing (Lord and Klein 2010, Peng and Ann 2010, Reaser 2010), and the prevailing associations of linguists as ivory-tower theory wonks and teachers as uninformed practitioners harbor negative attitudes that have to be addressed before productive work may begin (Heath 1984: 268, Denham and Lobeck 2010b: 4, Edwards 2010: 10).

Giles and Coupland (1991: 45) offer this insight about linguistic prejudice in the classroom: "Educational settings in general tend to encourage and reflect standard varieties of a language, the form used in writing and that associated with social advancement. Although teachers presumably have some responsibility to be alert to the prejudicial point of language

attitudes, it would be unreasonable to expect teachers, as members of society, to be totally immune to stereotyped evaluations of the sort we have been considering." Fogel and Ehri (2006: 474) suggest that pre-service teachers be educated both in dialect forms and in positive attitudes toward the use of such forms, including how best to address the use of dialect forms in the classroom (Fogel and Ehri 2006: 475-476, see also Washington and Miller-Jones 1989). "Whatever barriers to comprehension might exist between standard English-speaking teachers and AAE-speaking children can be bridged as easily by teaching AAE to the teachers as it can by teaching the children standard English" (Van Keulen et al 1998: 192). Zitlow (2001: 113) believes that all university students, including but not limited to pre-service teachers who plan to best serve their diverse populations of students, should be educated about language variation and use in order to be better citizens.

While teachers are not necessarily schooled in the same manner as linguists, "…much of what teachers already do is linguistically informed" (Denham and Lobeck 2010c: 231). Peng and Ann (2010) admonish linguists not to assume that they know more than the teachers with whom they are working, and that they should let the teachers take the lead. Mulder (2010) discusses the Australian context in which linguists and teachers collaborate such that linguists use their skills to set up the framework and teachers use their skills to implement the lessons.

What's more, linguistic approaches can be used in a number of different K-12 subject areas. Roh (2010) discusses teaching language-related phenomena relevant to literature and social studies units, such as Native American borrowings and oral storytelling strategies, or AAE and linguistic prejudice in the work of Langston Hughes. McNulty (2010) teaches morphology problems. Myhill (2010) and Fogel and Ehri (2006) married linguistics and K-12 education by assessing the dialect features that arose from student writing samples to inform the teaching of

grammar skills related to these features. "[T]he place of linguistics in the writing instruction classroom is twofold: firstly, to provide learners with the metalinguistic understanding to enable them to become confident crafters and designers of written texts; and secondly, to provide teachers with an understanding of how to assess children's development in writing and their instructional needs" (Myhill 2010: 108). It should be noted that reflective practices such as these are taught in teacher education programs.

Wolfram and Christian's (1989) book is written for teachers so they might understand their students' language varieties better in order to both help them succeed in school and show respect for the students' culture. Sweetland (2010: 164) suggests that linguistically-informed professional development for teachers incorporate information that teachers can use immediately, preferably through materials that they are already using in their classrooms (such as literature). Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011) recommend teachers learn about their students' use of language and build on that knowledge as they plan their lessons, "helping all students learn standardized English without diminishing their linguistic and cultural backgrounds" (2011: 9). To that end, they provide specific strategies teachers can implement to reach their Southern and African American English speaking students. These contrastive methods serve to educate both teachers and students about dialects other than their own, potentially leading to greater appreciation of these dialects.

The collaboration of teachers and linguists has begun to take off, but there is much work still to be done. Antiquated linguistic prejudices still prevail among K-12 teachers, and these prejudices must be heard and addressed before linguists introduce entirely new ways of looking at student language. The theory/ practice divide between linguists and teachers must be

eliminated, and both sides must feel they are contributing their talents for the betterment of student education.

Teachers are willing to learn about dealing with linguistic prejudice, and are most successful in improving their attitudes about minority dialects when they have the opportunity to teach about it; one day of professional development is not enough (Sweetland 2010: 169). As Alim (2009: 227) explains, "Teachers of linguistically profiled and marginalized youth often struggle with the contradictions emerging from their own ideological positions, training, lived experiences, and sometimes overwhelmingly antidemocratic school cultures and practices. To this end, more research on teachers' language ideologies and experiences is needed… Teachers, too, can benefit greatly from reflexive analyses of their own language behaviors and ideologies. In fact, it is only once teachers develop a meta-ideological awareness that they can begin to work to change them – and be more fully-prepared to teach all students more effectively." In this study, teachers' ideologies about students' language will be approached through the written translation task, the observation of what they do in the classroom, and the interview questions. The variety of approaches will reveal a fuller picture of teachers' beliefs about minority dialects in the classroom.

Charity-Hudley and Mallinson (2011: 3) "explain and advocate ways in which educators can adopt linguistically informed ways of teaching standardized English and understand how the structure and use of standardized English compare to the structure and use of non-standardized varieties that students may use at home."

One way this study will contribute to the goodwill between linguists and teachers is to provide a medium for feedback on the teachers' language strategies. The researcher has made the students' survey results available to the teachers (anonymously of course; see

3.6 STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRES) so the teachers may assess how their language strategies were perceived by their students. If the teachers elect to learn more about linguistics based on these responses, the door opens for a mutual education.

2.4 DIALECT ACQUISITION

"We know much more about the processes that students use to learn a second language (i.e., English) than we do about the processes that native vernacular speakers… use to learn a second dialect (i.e., Standard English)… Whether students acquire two languages or two dialects, their success depends on their ability to develop a different mental representation for each system" (Hagemann 2001: 76).

This study focuses mainly on the teachers' acquisition of their students' dialects, which are comprised to a large extent of AAE. Some background is provided on second dialect acquisition (SDA) in general, as well as on acquisition of the prestige dialect by non-prestige speakers (as in AAE-speaking students acquiring the English of the classroom), before discussing the teachers' situation of picking up features of a devalued second dialect when they already speak a prestige variety. Much of the information in this section is gleaned from the work of Jeff Siegel, who notes that his (2010) book *Second Dialect Acquisition* is the first book on the topic.

Dialects, generally, are varieties of a language that are mutually intelligible, but differ in terms of vocabulary, morphosyntax, or phonology, and are associated with people in distinct national, regional, or social groups (Siegel 2010: 2-3). Linguists feel that all languages and dialects are equal in that they are all rule-governed, complex systems. In practice, however, a different picture emerges. If "there are no inherently deficient or substandard varieties, there are

obviously dialects that possess greater status and prestige than others… in English as in many other languages, standard dialects are those that have risen socially with the historical fortunes of their speakers… Broadly speaking, a standard dialect is the one spoken by educated people, the one chosen in formal contexts, the one enshrined in print. Its power and position derive from political circumstances" (Edwards 2009: 66). Siegel (2010: 4) explains the national dialect as frequently understood as the 'standard' because it was spoken by the upper middle class of a particular region of a country. A social dialect, with which this manuscript concerns itself, is based on social characteristics such as class or race (Siegel 2010: 5).

The acquisition of a dialect is related to the acquisition of a language, and shares with it many qualities (Edwards 2009, Siegel 2010). Dialect acquisition is not 'all-or-nothing'; a dialect may be partially acquired (Edwards 2009: 29). According to Siegel (2010: 1), "The study of SDA examines how people who already speak one dialect (D1) acquire a different dialect (D2) of what their community perceive to be the same language." The type of SDA with which this study is concerned is *naturalistic SDA*, which is the (possibly unintentional) acquisition of a dialect without any overt teaching, and use in the acquirer's speech (Siegel 2010: 5). Dialect acquisition may be further delineated as *replacive*, in which the D2 replaces the D1, or *additive*, in which the D2 is added to the linguistic repertoire of the speaker (Siegel 2010: 56). Like second language acquisition (SLA), SDA is affected by variables such as age of acquisition, learner motivation and the relationship between dialect acquisition and identity (Siegel 2010: 83-84, 101-133; see also section 2.1.1 LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY).

Dialects share more similarities than differences (Edwards 2009: 75). AAE is not that different from MAE; all AAE speakers can understand MAE (Edwards 2010: 171). There is some discussion over whether dialect similarities make it easier or more difficult to learn a D2

(Wolfram and Christian 1989: 67, Hagemann 2001: 76, Siegel 2010: 2). Siegel (1999) and Hagemann (2001) concur that separate mental representations of the first (D1) and second (D2) dialects are necessary for acquisition, but that D2 learners have fewer features to acquire than do L2 learners (Siegel 2010: 136). However, the overlap in features between the D1 and D2 can be the source of confusion and frustration (see example from Smitherman 2000 in 2.3.2 AAE AND EDUCATION above).

What acquisition entails is another matter entirely. Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991: 40) employ a cutoff of 90 percent feature use to indicate acquisition (in SLA); previous research in SDA varies in terms of definition of acquisition (Siegel 2010: 23-55). Many questions arise in naturalistic SDA that are quite similar to unresolved issues of SLA: Does inconsistent use of a feature indicate partial acquisition (Siegel 2010: 74)? Can acquisition be broken down by feature ("…some learners appear to acquire some D2 features but not others" [Siegel 2010: 55; see also Siegel 2010: 84])? Can acquisition be broken down along phonological versus morphosyntactic lines? Is there a critical or sensitive period for SDA (Siegel 2010: 96-97)? These questions are only beginning to be explored in second dialect acquisition.

Inauthentic performance is another risk undertaken by the D2 acquirer, particularly in the case of a teacher in front of a room full of native speakers of the dialect. As Siegel (2010: 64) states, "[t]he use of features of another dialect is not always an indication of acquisition." The D2 acquirer may be pegged a "fake", a "wannabe", or even a racist, should the native speakers of the D2 feel the D2 acquirer is using features of the dialect to mock its speakers. This type of real or perceived mockery often follows from incomplete acquisition of the D2 (if the speaker is sincere) or the use of stereotyped features of the D2 for the purpose of mockery (Siegel 2010: 146-152; see 2.2.1 for more on linguistic stereotypes). Interestingly, stereotyped features are frequently the ones that are acquired first (Siegel 2010: 147). In the case of a D2 that is historically devalued, questions may be raised about the learner's motivations for using this dialect, and if he or she has the 'ownership' or 'membership' to have the right to do so, and the D2 native speakers may feel robbed of their linguistic identity or that it has been appropriated unfairly (Siegel 2010: 146, 152-153). However, "[w]hen speakers adapt their speech to the input because of either accommodation or linguistic ambience, rather than trying to impersonate a particular way of speaking for a performance, this leads to the psycholinguistic mechanism of acquisition… Once a system or subsystem is acquired, it can be accessed for use in

communication" (Siegel 2010: 76). Incomplete acquisition and hypercorrection/ overgeneralization are discussed further in section 4.3 TRANSLATION TASK, and responses to language use are elaborated in section
4.5 STUDENT SURVEYS.

According to Siegel (2010: 6), in "classroom SDA, the D2 is nearly always the standard dialect – the target language of the education system – and the students are generally children who come to school speaking a dialect markedly different from the standard…" This type of dialect acquisition makes up the bulk of previous research. The use of two different dialects in different situations is called *bidialectalism*, "and this is often put forth as the most reasonable goal for an oral language instruction program that deals with dialect differences" (Wolfram and Christian 1989: 62).

As stated above, it may be more difficult for students to acquire a different dialect of English, because so many features are shared. Students may be "…less likely to be motivated to make the effort to learn and use Standard English because they can already be understood by English speakers" (Hagemann 2001: 76). While Siegel (1999: 704) acknowledges the potential interference between dialects, he wonders if the use of the home dialect (D1) in the classroom actually gets in the way of students learning the 'standard' (D2). "[I]n situations when standard English is the target for speakers of stigmatized varieties, learners already recognize and produce some aspects of it as part of their repertoires, and separating the two varieties is often a problem" (Siegel 1999: 717). SLA theory is useful to some extent in understanding dialect acquisition, but teaching a D2 is not the same as teaching an L2; prior knowledge is not addressed, and motivation to be communicatively effective is not a factor (Siegel 1999: 718-719).

In bidialectal communities such as Oakland, California (site of the 'Ebonics controversy' discussed in 2.3.2 above), children learn minority dialects as their mother tongues (Ogbu 1999:150). Siegel (2010: 175-177, 215-217) details some studies of AAE speakers learning D2

classroom English, noting the difficulties in teasing out competence from performance when students may feel uneasy about using prestige forms.

As mentioned in section 2.1 LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, AND POWER, acquiring a new dialect may be more than a matter of aptitude and proficiency; the D1 is quite often tied up in the speaker's identity (Edwards 2009: 95-97). Changing one's dialect is risky, and may lead to marginalization from the peer group (Edwards 2009, Ogbu 1999). On this point, parents of AAE-speaking children are often conflicted (Ogbu 1999, Edwards 2009, Charity-Hudley and Mallinson 2011). "Sending their children contradictory messages about proper English is a normal course of dialect socialization in the Lafayette speech community" (Ogbu 1999: 178). Home language has symbolic value and intimacy (Edwards 2010: 101-102), so many scholars advocate additive, rather than replacive, dialect acquisition (Edwards 2010: 113).

Replacive techniques were employed by Fogel and Ehri in their 2000 study of AAE-speaking students learning MAE (Fogel 2010, p.c.). They found that these students had difficulty adjusting their language strategies without explicit guidance when their dialects intruded on their classroom English. The impetus for their (2006) research was the education of teacher trainees in recognizing AAE features.

Calculating the risks of acquiring a D2 involves a cost-benefit analysis, or what Bourdieu (1986) terms "linguistic capital". Embodied linguistic capital "presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor . . . The work of acquisition is work on oneself (self-improvement), an effort that presupposes personal cost, an investment, above all, of time" (Bourdieu 1986: 243). Siegel (2010: 68-69) discusses the difficulty in achieving true bidialectalism.

Clearly, change in ideologies must occur to effect real positive change in the academic performance of non-prestige dialect-speaking students. One way in which to effect change is through the education of teachers in the dialects of their students. However, proponents of critical language awareness (see Siegel 2010: 228-232 for a discussion of these) insist that a critical examination of the status quo occur in order to make changes that would positively affect those who suffer as a result of the current order, such as minority dialect speakers. Furthermore, those who benefit from the current order (such as White children) would attain a more comprehensive view of the macrosociological systems that empower them and denigrate others, which in turn may effect change toward equality.

Charity et al (2004: 1350) found that there is no apparent correlation between children who are exposed to AAE-speaking teachers and the children's production of AAE features. Fogel and Ehri (2006: 465-466) argue that [t]eachers who lack knowledge of AAE structures are unable to recognize when student errors are dialect based… Teacher rejection and repeated correction of such instances without some acknowledgement of their source are likely to result in students' feeling linguistically inadequate, insecure, and confused" (see also Giles and Coupland 1991: 100 and Taylor et al 1985: 61). Fogel and Ehri (2006) chronicled 73 pre-service, mostly White teachers' proficiency in and attitudes about African American English and their ensuing education. They selected seven features of AAE found in local students' writing, and assessed the teachers' facility with these features through a 'translation task' (see Chapter 3 for more on this methodology) and a writing task. The teachers' attitudes about AAE were measured through attitude scales by responses to hypothetical scenarios. As a result of the different types of training, Fogel and Ehri found that the groups varied with respect to their translation abilities. Those told to pay attention to AAE forms did not acquire the features (2006: 471). The writing

task scores correlated strongly with the scores on the translation task scores; more practice led to better acquisition (2006: 473). While there was an increase in positive attitude with more exposure and practice, "those who learned more about AAE syntax did not also exhibit a more positive attitude toward the use of AAE by students." (2006: 474). Fogel and Ehri argue that exposure to features is not enough to lead to acquisition, particularly when the dialects are as similar as AAE and MAE (2006: 476).

It is possible that length of residence, a factor in second dialect acquisition (Siegel 2010: 102-105, could be said to correspond to years teaching, since teaching may be the only contact the teachers have with AAE speakers. In SDA, as in SLA, learners do best with extended interaction with speakers of the target variety (Siegel 2010: 111). The teachers' performance on the translation task, discussed in section 4.3 TRANSLATION TASK, their performance in the classroom, discussed in section 4.4 CLASSROOM RECORDINGS, and their networks outside of school, discussed in section 4.2 INTERVIEWS, sheds some light on possible correlations between contact with AAE speakers and acquisition of features of AAE as a D2. Siegel (2010: 105ff) describes studies in which D2 learners hit a "plateau", or fossilized, in their feature acquisition after their first few years of residence. The examination of the teachers' translation tasks over time (see section 4.3 TRANSLATION TASK) may be illuminating in this respect.

Siegel (2010: 201-202) discusses the Language and Curriculum Research Group's ill-fated dialect acquisition course for AAE-speaking students learning MAE as a D2. This course included a manual for teachers that helped them recognize features of AAE and the cultural components of the language their students bring to the classroom. Unfortunately, the course was never picked up by publishers, and to date has never been made available. Siegel states that

many of the ideas presented in this curriculum are found scattered among other suggested approaches by linguists and educators, many of which are mentioned in this section and in 2.3.2 AAE AND EDUCATION.

"The first step in implementing an awareness approach is educating the teachers themselves" (Siegel 2010: 211). If teachers are familiar with AAE speakers' language and culture, the door opens wider for successful strategies to be implemented. According to Siegel (2010: 223), "literacy skills can easily be transferred [from the D1] to the D2." Furthermore, more positive teacher attitudes will emerge from greater awareness of dialect features (Siegel 2010: 223; cf Fogel and Ehri 2006 for another finding) and negative self-fulfilling prophecies will decrease. Student motivation and self-esteem will increase as students are led to the conclusion that their language is systematic and valid (Siegel 2010: 224-225).

Again, contrastive, awareness, or 'noticing, comparing, and integrating' approaches are advocated by researchers in dialect acquisition (Ellis 1994b, Siegel 1999: 711, Siegel 2010: 210-220), who argue that in addition to the acquisition of the dialects, benefits may include validation of the home language, and thus the students who speak it (Hagemann 2001: 77). Contrastive methods also have the advantage of teaching prestige-variety speakers some language sensitivity (Siegel 1999: 721). According to Winer (1989: 170-171), "A teaching approach which consciously used positive transfer and focused on areas of overlap which are difficult for learners to disentangle on their own should serve to decrease hypercorrections and negative transfer in English by increasing the perception of language distance and by facilitating recognition of difference as well as true similarities between the two languages." He advocates using dialect literature, as it allows the student to understand patterns inductively. This type of analysis has been proposed for decades, and remains slow to take hold in educational contexts. McWhorter

(1998) suggests dialect immersion programs, which according to Siegel (2010: 184-185) are more likely to be effective if the D1 is of higher prestige than the D2 (as in the case of the teachers acquiring the students' dialects). In the case of students learning the prestige dialect as the D2, their home dialect is devalued, and immersion may become 'submersion' (see also Skutnabb-Kangas 1981).

One last SDA issue of interest is whether acquisition can be said to be reflective of competence alone or whether performance must be involved (Siegel 2010: 74). This study aims to approximate these types of knowledge through different types of assessment, written (with no audience) and spoken (with an audience of D2 speakers). While the pitfalls of these methods are acknowledged (see Chapter 1: "Delimitations and Limitations"), they aim to contribute to a better understanding of teachers' naturalistic D2 acquisition. It should also be noted that studies examining motivations for learning a D2 when the D2 is a devalued variety are rare (Siegel 2010: 117). This study aims to help fill the gap in the literature where acquisition of a non-prestige D2 is concerned.

According to Siegel (2010: 22-23), performance data are the best way to assess naturalistic SDA. By examining observable behavior (in this case, performance on the translation task and use of the D2 in the classroom) for particular linguistic variables (in this case, those features of AAE detailed in Chapter 3), this study aims to understand the degree of teacher acquisition of these features of African American English. Chambers (1992: 676) muses, "[t]he distinction between long-term accommodation and dialect acquisition may, with further research, prove to be terminological rather than substantive," a statement with which Siegel (2010: 71-72) cautiously agrees if, as in this case, there is frequent contact with speakers of both the D1 and D2. Siegel cites studies such as Auer and Hinskens (2005), which finds

accommodation to be skewed toward a D2 learner's conceptual model of the dialect rather than to the actual language use of the D2 native speakers, as further complicating the connection between accommodation and SDA (Siegel 2010: 73). In the next section, linguistic accommodation is discussed in further detail.

2.5 LINGUISTIC ACCOMMODATION

Coupland and Giles (1988: 178) succinctly explain communicative accommodation as "… the full range of interpersonal addressee-oriented strategies in discourse whereby speakers 'attune' their talk to some characteristics of the hearer." That is, in any speaker-hearer dyad, the speaker will adjust his or her language with respect to perceived social distance from the hearer and interest in maintaining or changing that distance. "[A]ccommodation is to be seen as a multiply-organized and contextually complex set of alternatives, regularly available to communicators in face-to-face talk. It can function to index and achieve solidarity with or disassociation from a conversational partner, reciprocally and dynamically." (Giles and Coupland 1991: 60-61). According to Edwards (2009:31), speakers may accommodate without their awareness of doing so.

Speech Accommodation Theory was born out of Labov's (1966) awareness of his subjects' attention to speech, which Labov contended was context-dependent. Labov (1966) had found that when asked about a scenario in their lives in which they were in danger of dying, participants became emotional, and their vernacular features were manifest in their speech. Giles (1973), intrigued by emergence of accent, proposed Speech Accommodation Theory as an interlocutor-dependent linguistic strategy (Giles and Coupland 1991: 62). According to Krauss (1987:96), "[T]he addressee is a full participant in the formulation of the message – that is, the

vehicle by which meaning is conveyed – and, indeed, may be regarded in a very real sense as the cause of the message. Without the addressee that particular message would not exist. But the message, in the concrete and particular form it takes, is as much attributable to the existence of the addressee as it is to the existence of the speaker."

Unlike Labov, Giles and Powesland (1975) believed that language style or code choice was not governed solely by race, class, or social status; rather, they maintained that the speaker is strategic in his or her linguistic choices. Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) "attempts to integrate addressee-considerations with a host of other variables in the socio-psychological environment of the speaker/ hearer dyad" (Coupland and Giles 1998: 178). As these considerations and variables may affect both speech and non-verbal behavior (Giles and Coupland 1991: 9), the name of the model was changed from 'Speech Accommodation Theory' (SAT) to 'Communication Accommodation Theory' (CAT) (Coupland and Giles 1988:176, Giles and Coupland 1991: 63). Giles and Coupland find accommodation strategies relatable to all speakers, as we have all at one time or another found ourselves adjusting our speech and other communication strategies to our interlocutors, and have been sensitive to the accommodation or lack of accommodation by others. Thus, the authors position accommodation theory as a model to explain strategic language choice in maintaining and changing social and sociolinguistic distance (Giles and Coupland 1991: 60).

The reasons for a speaker to accommodate to her interlocutor are complex. Coupland and Giles place social approval as one of the foremost motivating factors for accommodation (Coupland and Giles 1988: 176-77). "Accommodation means change, however, and change costs something" (Edwards 2009: 31); thus accommodation is only advisable when the speaker may benefit from taking this linguistic risk. Raising individual or group status, increasing

likeability, and distinguishing groups are all viable reasons to engage in accommodative practices (Edwards 2009: 32). Communication Accommodation Theory stems from the idea (Byrne 1971) of 'similarity attraction' – "as one person becomes 'more similar to' another, this increases the likelihood that the second will like the first" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 72).

In analyzing speaker accommodation, a number of scholars have proposed models for motivations. Wish and Kaplan's (1977) subjects related situational episodes based on power and formality. They categorized accommodative strategies according to their level of cooperation vs. competition, intensity vs. superficiality, formality vs. informality, dominance vs. equality, and task-orientation vs. non-task-orientation. Bradac (1990) tries to understand speakers' motivations for accommodative behavior, and finds that for normative values such as status and solidarity, hearers positively perceive convergence. Reciprocation and perpetuation of successful accommodative strategies has been attested by Street and Hopper (1982). Watzlawick et al (1967) discuss complementary accommodative strategies in power-differential situations, such as the relationship between teachers and their students, which perpetuate these differences in status (Giles and Coupland 1991: 82). Krauss and Fussell (1988) appraise communicative situations for similarities between interlocutors in terms of "(a) background knowledge in topic-relevant areas, and affective orientations to these; (b) situational definition, goals, plans, and task orientations; (c) definition of the relationship (for example, intimacy); (d) definition of the speaking situation (for instance, norms of appropriate behaviour)" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 90). According to Giles and Coupland (1991:119), situational constraints may supercede linguistic constraints.

Giles and Coupland (1991: 69) break down accommodative strategies along lines of subjectivity vs. objectivity; in this case accommodation is based on what people think they're

hearing, and may be based on initial impression. When assessing relationships conducive to accommodation, "[i]t is important to emphasize that complementary relationships require a measure of consensus from the participants involved" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 82).

These studies are indeed relevant to the research at hand. The power differential is there; teachers are of higher status than the students they teach. Given the studies cited above, the teachers' status, perception, and desire to perpetuate the power differential may motivate their accommodative strategies. Teachers' non-accommodation to their students may serve as a maintenance of the power structures in place (Giles, p.c.; Soliz and Giles n.d. 5). In order for the traditional classroom power structures to hold, students must then accommodate to their teachers by changing their language use to closer of that of the middle class mainstream, or converging to their teachers.

Perhaps as interesting a question as what motivates linguistic accommodation is the question of how linguistic accommodation is realized, or, as Coupland and Giles (1988:180) ask, "[w]hat criteria can we securely identify determining which speakers, or prototypes, are selected, consciously or not, as target sociolinguistic models, when and how?"

We have seen that likeability is a motivating factor in linguistic accommodation; Giles and Coupland also maintain that interlocutors who view each other favorably tend to be more verbose and forthcoming than do those interlocutors for whom there is not a sense of mutual attraction. For the latter speakers, more silence is expected (Giles and Coupland 1991: 9). Giles and Coupland note that a speaker's accommodation strategies vary depending on the hearer, so a speaker may likely appear consistent over situations with the same interlocutor (1991: 4).

According to Giles and Coupland (1991: 88), there are types of strategies a speaker may use: *approximation strategies* are used to approximate the language of the interlocutor, and

include convergence, divergence, and complementarity; *attuning strategies* are used to adjust the discourse according to ongoing assessments of the interlocutor; *discourse management* is the modification of discourse-level strategies; and *control strategies* are larger discursive strategies. In situations of uncertainty, experimentation happens until the discourse is accepted.

This research focuses mainly on accommodation strategies of *convergence* and *divergence,* which will be explained in the following section.

2.5.1 CONVERGENCE, DIVERGENCE, AND MAINTENANCE

Accommodation theory as conceived by Coupland and Giles (1988: 176-77) predicted that social approval would be obtained through strategies of speech convergence, and eschewed through strategies of speech divergence. Speech convergence is defined as a strategy by which a speaker reduces the dissimilarities between herself and the hearer, and speech divergence as a strategy by which a speaker emphasizes the differences in speech style between herself and the hearer. SAT "originated in order to elucidate the cognitive and affective processes underlying speech convergence and divergence…" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 63).

Convergence may entail both spoken (utterance length, speech rate, phonology) and non-verbal (gaze, gesture, smiling) strategies whereby interlocutors index affiliation (Giles and Coupland 1991: 63). Some studies in linguistic convergence include assessing levels of formality in the Watergate trials (Levin and Lin 1988), and the variation in speech style by a travel agent (Coupland 1984).

"Divergence" was the term conceived to refer to the way in which speakers accentuate speech and non-verbal differences between themselves and other. Strategies of divergence include 'content differentiation', disagreement, and physical distancing. (Giles and Coupland

1991: 65). Scotton's (1985) understanding of 'disaccommodation' includes rephrasing or repeating the previous speaker's words (Giles and Coupland 1991: 65).

Convergence and divergence may also be broken down into 'upward' and 'downward' convergence and divergence; 'upward' involving "a shift toward a consensually prestigious variety and 'downward' "toward a consensually non-prestigious variety"… "shifting to street language in certain minority communities would be downward convergence" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 67). For the study at hand, it will be understood that a teacher who accommodates to his or her minority students' dialects is participating in a downward convergence, whereas a teacher who does not accommodate to his or her minority students is upwardly diverging (to the prestige variety of classroom English).

It should be noted, however, that convergence and divergence do not occur across all variables in all situational contexts (Giles et al 1987), are not mutually exclusive, and may be understood as domain-specific. Convergence and divergence may be symmetrical or asymmetrical, the latter being the situation under examination here (Giles and Coupland 1991: 67-68).

Motivations for convergence and divergence are as complex as those for accommodation in general. "[T]he dimensions of intergroup salience, the nature of communicative norms, and the degree of commitment to social identification are all crucial interacting variables in determining not only whether divergence occurs, but also the form it takes" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 81).

It has already been stated that convergence stems from a speaker's "desire for social approval: if people recognize positive cognitive, affective, and behavioural outcomes to follow from convergence, this is sufficient for us to consider that an approval motive may often trigger

it" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 72). Indeed, research has shown that these intuitions are correct. Giles et al (1973) examined this phenomenon with Montréal speakers, and found that those who converged more were rated more favorably, and elicited favorable responses in return (Giles and Coupland 1991: 63). "CAT proposes that speech convergence reflects, in the unmarked case, a speaker's or group's need (often non-conscious) for social integration or identification with another… It seems to follow from this that the greater the speaker's need to gain another's social approval, the greater the degree of convergence there will be" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 71-73).

With the understanding that identity is so often tied up with language, a speaker who wishes to assert, for example, racial, class, or ethnic identity will accentuate those features that index the group identity. This strategy is particularly salient in situations in which group identity eclipses individual identity in terms of importance. The accentuation of these group identity features then results in the convergence toward ingroup members while simultaneously diverging from outgroup interlocutors. In situations in which the importance is placed on the interaction of individuals (rather than that of groups), interlocutory convergence is much more likely (Giles and Coupland 1991: 17).

Also of importance is the perceiver's conception of factors motivating the speaker to converge, such as the speaker's ability to adopt the linguistic features of the individual or group with whom the speaker wishes to affiliate (Giles and Coupland 1991; see also LePage and Tabouret Keller's (1985) Acts of Identity model). Obviously, perception of motivation to converge is related directly to the reception of the act: favorable, insincere, etc. (Giles and Coupland 1991: 76). Studies such as Thakerar et al (1982) show that low-status speakers converge on what they think the high-status speakers are doing, and vice versa, which Giles and

Coupland (1991: 86-87) call "an act of cognitive organization, in order to promote comprehension."

In fact, convergence and divergence can be psychological, toward cognitive organization; this process is manifest in such strategies as foreigner talk and baby talk. It can also be a function of identity maintenance, in that hearers attend to linguistic features reflective of their own identities (Giles and Coupland 1991: 85-87). Sometimes divergence can occur even for convergent motives and vice versa (Giles and Coupland 1991: 82).

Divergence may also be used as "a strategy employed to bring another's behaviour to an acceptable level or to facilitate the co-ordination of speech patterns" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 87). A teacher who does not converge to his or her students' speech styles may be diverging for this reason.

As previously mentioned, in power-differential settings (such as the setting under examination in this study), the tendency is toward upward convergence (Giles and Coupland 1991: 73). Of course, speakers are not fully aware of their accommodative strategies, which include even bilingual codeswitching (Giles and Coupland 1991: 77). Post-convergence, speakers may also subconsciously "revert" to their preferred speech styles (Giles and Coupland 1991: 76).

Some previous research has examined how convergence and divergence are attempted and how successful the results may be. Bradac et al (1988) found that with respect to lexical diversity, subjects were better able to perceive downward accommodative strategies than they were upward accommodative strategies. Giles and Smith (1979) found that full convergence came across as patronizing to the hearers, and that the optimal strategy for effective convergence between individuals was that of convergence on content and speech rate.

Bilous and Krauss (1988) examined same- and mixed-gender dyads for strategies of convergence and divergence along a number of variables, including "total speech productivity… frequency of attempted interruptions; frequency of short and long pauses; frequency of back-channel responses; frequency of laughter" (1988: 185). The authors measured the difference in linguistic strategy from when subjects were paired in same-gender dyads to when they were paired in mixed-gender dyads, and found that women and men converged and diverged differently depending on the variable, so in a sense it is possible to converge and diverge at the same time. It is also possible to converge and diverge within the same utterance, as when a speaker repeats part of another speaker's utterance, and innovates another part of the utterance. This seemingly contradictory practice may serve to promote a good relationship while maintaining distance, or perhaps to educate (Giles, p.c.).

Communication accommodation theory also presents the possibility of *maintaining* linguistic distance, in which "a person persists in his or her original style, perhaps for reasons of authenticity or consistency, regardless of the communicative behavior of the interlocutor" (Soliz and Giles n.d.: 7).

It is conceivable that those whose approval we are still seeking are the ones we like better, which may explain the possible relation to incremental degrees of accommodation. A holistic view of accommodation may also be revealing, as "disapproval would be levied against those who diverge sequentially away more than against those who diverge fully on one occasion" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 79).

Of note is that divergence is not the only accommodative strategy that may result in distancing. A final situation worth mentioning is that of hyperconvergence (cf Bradac et al 1988 and Bilous and Krauss 1988) or overaccommodation, in which a speaker is perceived to accommodate

beyond what the hearer considers appropriate linguistic behavior. These strategies may be seen as patronizing or demoralizing, regardless of speaker intention. Convergence can also have drawbacks, such as loss of speaker identity and a perceived lack of positive qualities associated with non-converged speech style; furthermore, misunderstanding of speaker intention is common (Giles and Coupland 1991: 75, 77). Thus we see that accommodative strategies can in fact backfire (Giles and Coupland 1991: 89).

As can be surmised from the research presented here, the motivations for and the processes by which strategies of convergence and divergence are attempted and received are quite complex, as they entail examination of differences in power, intergroup vs. interindividual affiliation, and perception. All of these variables will be addressed in subsequent sections with respect to the teachers and students under study.

While Coupland and Giles (1988: 178) contended that focus on convergence, maintenance, and divergence somewhat oversimplifies the complex range of sociolinguistic strategies involved in the accommodative process, their solution was to consider orientation toward the hearer in order to get a more nuanced picture of the process. Given the relatively static positions of status under study here (specifically the power differential between teacher and students, and the racial and linguistic tensions inherent in the makeup of the class), the concentration on convergence and divergence is sufficient for the present study. A more nuanced picture emerges in the multimodal analyses presented later in the study.

Accommodation Theory is unique in that it addresses both macro- and micro-social elements (Giles and Coupland 1991: 61). Convergence is internal to the conversational context where divergence invokes strategies outside the conversational context (Giles and Coupland 1991: 80). Linguistic accommodation strategies "…can characterize wholesale realignments of

patterns of code or language selection, though again related to constellations of underlying beliefs, attitudes, and sociostructural conditions" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 60-61). Studies of accommodation tie in macrological sociolinguistic processes by analyzing microsocial interactions through a discourse analysis lens (Giles and Coupland 1991: 61).

2.5.2 IMPLICATIONS OF ACCOMMODATION STUDIES

Giles and Coupland (1991: 61) call accommodation theory "….a robust paradigm for communication research, in the particular sense that it is, perhaps uniquely, able to uttend (sic) to (a) social consequences of interaction (attitudinal, attributional, behavioural and communicative); (b) ideological and macro-societal factors; (c) intergroup variables and processes; (d) discursive practices in naturalistic settings; and (e) individual, lifespan and other language shifts, and group-language shifts."

The accommodation model addresses macrosocial norms and shifts in broader ideologies through a deep understanding of microsocial conversational interaction. Accommodation theory is an interdisciplinary framework, complementing the idea that language use is socially constructed, reflected in and perpetuated by strategies used by individuals who are constantly negotiating positions of power and solidarity (Coupland and Giles 178-79). Of the literature on teacher-student interaction, most is on verbal correction and feedback; there is a lack of literature on teacher accommodation to student dialect in the urban classroom. Soliz and Giles (n.d.: 23) encourage further CAT research to "examine the motivation and relational or instructional outcomes… associated with teacher-student (non)accommodation in and outside of the classroom…" Furthermore, Nussbaum et al (2012) suggest that "[c]ommunication accommodation theory could be useful in further uncovering the processes for language

convergence and divergence for student-teacher homophily." This research aims to help fill this gap in the literature by examining teacher and student use of AAE, teacher and student turn length, and teacher and student words per turn, and relating these findings to type of classroom engagement and student and teacher attitudes and affinities.

2.6 TEACHER DISCOURSE STYLE

In order to better understand the teacher-student dynamics presented in the classroom, a word about teacher discourse style is necessary. Central to this study is the work of Nystrand and Gamoran (1991), who explain the difference between procedural and substantive engagement in the literature classroom, and relate these types of engagement to student achievement. While this study does not tackle student achievement, the authors' research is quite relevant to the linguistic strategies of both teachers and students.

'Procedural engagement' involves discourse of two types. The first includes talk about school and classroom procedures (such as scheduling, grading, trips to the bathroom, etc.). The second includes discourse of a rote and predictable nature, with an initiation, response, and an evaluation, typically of a perfunctory and low-level nature (1991: 264). This style is one of recitation "according to the teacher's preplanned agenda of questions" (265), which does not lend itself to engaging discussion or student creativity. Wells (1993: 3) considers the recitation style of initiation-response-follow-up[1] a method of teaching cultural replication.

'Substantive engagement' involves a more malleable discourse in which students and teachers ask authentic questions, and student responses are often incorporated into further discussion. Where there is teacher evaluation, it is of a higher level (1991: 261), and includes

[1] When used appropriately, the initiation-response-follow-up sequence can be useful if used to co-construct meaning (Wells 1993:35).

uptake incorporating student responses into further discourse, an accommodative maneuver (264). In fact, substantive engagement frequently resembles conversation (265).

Chavez (2006: 86) called for better understanding of teacher discourse style on academic achievement. According to Nystrand and Gamoran, "Significant academic achievement is not possible without sustained, substantive engagement, which transcends procedural engagement" (1991: 262). To that end, the authors collected data from 58 eighth-grade classrooms of varying demographics, examining the classes for procedural versus substantive engagement (focusing on uptake and level of evaluation), and administered tests of achievement on literature that had been taught to all the students, controlling for reading and writing abilities. They found that "substantive engagement, as indicated by the quality of classroom discourse, reveals a significant tie to academic achievement" (282). Nussbaum et al (2012) refer to several other studies that make similar links between teaching style and student educational achievement, incorporating student evaluations of teachers' style in terms of similarity to their own.

While the study at hand does not attempt to link type of engagement to academic achievement, the procedural/ substantive distinction serves well in understanding the types of linguistic choices that the students feel enabled to make in the classroom, and call for further research on these choices with respect to subsequent discussion, and student achievement on authentic measures.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS

This research was conducted longitudinally at a small Catholic high school on Chicago's South Side. A mixed-methods approach was used. An ongoing ethnography of the classrooms and the school was conducted throughout the 2010-2011 academic year. Teacher interviews were conducted in November 2010 and June 2011. Tasks asking teachers to translate from MAE to AAE were administered four times throughout the 2010-2011 academic year. Each class was videotaped monthly from November 2010 to May 2011, for a total of seven recordings. Finally, a questionnaire about teacher language strategies was administered to students in mid-to-late May 2011.

3.1 PARTICIPANTS

Participants in this study were four teachers and the students in one of each of their classes. The first teacher, T1, is a 23-year-old White female in her second year of teaching. She was raised in an area not far from the school, and is not a certified teacher. The second teacher, T2, is a 66-year-old male in his forty-third year of teaching. He is originally from a different area of the state, a rural area, and is a certified teacher who has spent his entire career teaching at this school. The third teacher, T3, is a 47-year-old White/ Asian female in her third year of teaching. She is a certified teacher from a different area of Chicago, and has changed careers from sales to teaching. The fourth teacher, T4, is a 38-year-old Hispanic female in her eleventh year of teaching. She is from an area of Northwest Indiana very close to the school area in terms of both location and demographics. She is not certified, and has been teaching at the school her entire career.

T1's class is a grade 10 U.S. History class comprised of seventeen students: eight male and nine female; seven African American and ten Hispanic. T2's class is an advanced placement grade 11 U.S. History class comprised of twelve students: seven female and five male; five Hispanic, one Asian, and six African American. T3's class is a grade 9 Survey Literature class comprised of twenty-two students: eleven male and eleven female; thirteen African American and nine Hispanic. T4's class is a grade 12 World Literature class comprised of thirty-one students: fifteen male and sixteen female; sixteen Hispanic and fifteen African American.

3.2 ETHNOGRAPHY

Ethnographic methods are used to address cultural and macrosocial issues outside of linguistic interaction. Duff defines ethnography as "a range of qualitative, holistic, participant-informed techniques that can be applied to context-based, socially-significant settings such as education, in which connections may be made to larger socio-politico-historical discourses" (1995: 507). Within a school, there is a social organization, exchange of services, belief systems, and rituals, all of which comprise the ethnography of the classroom (Erickson 1973: 13-14). Ethnography is not meant to be used to generalize studies, but rather to situate them (Duranti 1988: 218).

Traditional linguistic ethnography acknowledges the mutual shaping of language and society (Rampton et al 2004: 2). Saravia-Shore and Arvizu (1992c: 500-501) advocate ethnographic research in teacher education programs so teachers get a better sense of students' cultural backgrounds.

One type of ethnography is the Ethnography of Speaking model is credited to Hymes (1962) (Bauman and Sherzer 1975). The "SPEAKING" model is comprised of eight facets of discourse: setting (scene), participants (personnel), ends, act, characteristics, key,

instrumentalities, norms, and genres (Bauman and Sherzer 1975). Labov and others have used this model to situate linguistic interactions involving African American participants (Bauman and Sherzer 1975). According to Duranti (1988: 210), "[Ethnography of Speaking] views discourse as one of the main loci for the (re)creation and transmission of knowledge and social action" (see also Bakhtin 1981). The Ethnography of Speaking model involves background on the interactants as well as a revisitation of what happened in an interaction (Duranti 1988: 223). The latter will be achieved to some extent through the teacher interviews and student questionnaires detailed below.

Another type of ethnography is critical ethnography, advocated by Madison (2005). Critical ethnography entails investigation beyond the surface for specific social conditions, with an aim of research for social justice, and critical ethnographers acknowledge the subjectivity inherent in their research (Simon and Dippo 1986, Madison 2005: 5-9). Critical ethnography cannot assign intentionality, but can assign historicity (Simon and Dippo 1986: 198).

New ethnographic studies should be replicable and culturally-relevant (Manning and Fabrega 1976: 39-40). "Traditional ethnography properly applied to urban education or urban schooling can provide rich and valid descriptive data that can be used for theoretical and practical objectives" (Ogbu 1981: 5). Trueba and Wright (1992) review ethnographic studies in the classroom, and compare traditional and microethnographic studies. Microethnography of the type encouraged by Ogbu (1981: 9) may be used to help account for minority school failure based on teacher-student interaction. Ogbu (1981: 5) insists on participant observation in ethnographic research. Scollon and Scollon (2004: 152ff) provide comprehensive guidelines for conducting meaningful ethnographic studies of discourse.

Several linguistic studies have incorporated ethnography as a way to situate micro-level discursive practice in macro-level social discourses. Duff (1995) uses ethnography in her examination of discourse in English immersion classes in Hungary to understand the macro-level Soviet discourse practices replicated there. Mitchell (1992) looks at career-oriented high schools and their African American students in Chicago to learn how these particular students succeed where their peers in other schools fail. She finds that fictive kinship systems and mentor relationships with teachers make the difference. Saravia-Shore and Martinez (1992) conduct an ethnographic study of Puerto Rican students in New York and find that there are clashes between home and school value systems that are difficult to reconcile in the typical classroom setting, but are compatible in the adult GED class setting. Moll et al (1992) look at Spanish-English dual language bilingual classrooms to understand and compare the different approaches used with the same group of students. They find that the teachers' styles varied as a result of one teacher's misunderstanding students' decoding abilities.

The high level of subjectivity involved in ethnography can be problematic (Hymes 1977). Furthermore, Edwards (2010: 28-30) expresses his displeasure with the divisive paths ethnographers have taken. Erickson (1973: 13-15) and Madison (2005: 5ff) caution the ethnographer to be honest with his or her audience about the subjectivity involved, and not to produce caricatures of his or her subjects that may be interpreted negatively. "Representation has consequences: how people are represented is how they are treated" Madison 2005: 3-4).

"The limitation of linguistics proper has been that, despite the potentiality of its methodological principle, it tends to stop short of the full range of form-meaning covariation, and to stop short of ethnography" (Hymes 1977: 174). In this study, ethnography is used to situate the social, cultural, political, and educational climates within which the students and

teachers operate. "[W]hen teachers and students come from different cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds, and thus do not share the same communicative etiquettes, there are "mismatches" in communication or interaction styles that adversely affect students' learning… Methodologically, the culturally patterned communicative styles can be identified in a heterogeneous classroom through content analysis of repeated videotaping of selected classroom activities involving teacher-pupil interaction, supplemented with observational notes" (Ogbu 1981: 9). As Simon and Dippo (1986: 198) explain, critical ethnographic inquiry complements, but does not replace, quantitative research. Ethnography is one of five methods used to present an accurate picture of language practices in these classrooms, and descriptions of the others follow.

3.3 TEACHER INTERVIEWS

In order to critically understand what teachers are trying to do in their interactions with their students, two interviews were conducted at the beginning of the study in November 2010, and at the end of the study in late May and early June 2011. These interviews lasted 30-40 minutes, and were conducted with each teacher individually in a classroom, teachers' lounge, or the school library. Many of the questions in the first interview focused on relationship- and rapport-building strategies. The teachers' responses to the interview questions are detailed in section 4.2 INTERVIEWS.

Interview #1

1. How does the word 'relationship' fit into your understanding of teachers and their students?
2. Do you care about building this kind of relationship with your students?
    a. If so, how will you do so?
3. Have you consciously worked on building relationships with your students in previous years?
    a. If so, how/what did you do?

    b. If not, why not?
4. How do your attempts to build relationships with your students work out? Do you feel they are successful? How do you measure success?
5. What are the strategies you use to build these relationships?
6. Can you give a few examples of specific students you remember having an easy time with in building relationships? a difficult time?
7. What have you learned from your experiences about making the student-teacher relationship work well?
8. What doesn't work well?
9. Now, I want you to think about the word 'rapport'. How is the concept of rapport related to what we've been talking about?
10. Do you think you consciously/ work consciously to build rapport with your students?
    a. If so, why?
11. Describe how you build rapport with your students.
12. Do all of your students seem receptive to your attempts?
13. How do they show acceptance or rejection of your attempts?
14. Thinking about those students with whom you feel you have established 'rapport' -- how would you define 'rapport'?
15. Do your strategies for building rapport with your students change during the course of a school year?
    a. If so, how? why?
16. Are you ever sorry for having built this kind of rapport with a student? why or why not?

The second teacher interview was again conducted one-on-one at the conclusion of the study in late May or June 2011. This time, the questions focused more explicitly on the linguistic strategies teachers use in their classrooms, and thoughts the teachers had on the use of non-prestige dialect in their classrooms. The questions in the second interview also asked teachers to reflect on the classes under study.

Interview #2

1. Do you think you built a good rapport or relationship with your students this school year?
    a. How did you do it?
    b. What would you have done differently?
2. Do you think you were deliberate about building this rapport/ relationship with your students this year?
    a. If so, what did you do?
    b. If not, why not?
3. Do you feel you were successful in building rapport/ relationships with your students?
    a. How can you tell?
4. Thinking just about your language use/ verbal interactions, what things did you say to build relationships/ rapport with your students?
5. Overall, would you say you came across as “real” or “authentic” to your students?
    a. Why/ not?

6. Do you think your students found that you related to them/ their lives and experiences?
7. Do you think you talk the way your students do?
    a. What might be similar or different?
8. What do you think of your students' use of informal English?
    a. Do you "correct" it?
    b. If so, why? When? What do you say to "correct" it?
    c. If not, why not?
9. Do you think you use features of your students' dialects when you're teaching?
    a. When would you find using students' home language (as a teacher) appropriate or inappropriate?
10. How do you think your students feel about your language style?
11. How did you feel doing the translation tasks?
12. Have you ever wanted to learn features of African American English?

3.4 TRANSLATION TASK

The purpose of this task is to gauge teachers' knowledge of African-American English (AAE) forms at various points throughout the 2010-11 academic year.

3.4.1 STRUCTURE

Ten sentences are provided in a prestige variety of English, which subjects are asked to translate into AAE. There are four versions of the translation task, all from the same test specification (shown below). Each sentence has a counterpart in the other three instruments testing the same AAE features, although items appear in different order in each of the tasks. Knowledge of seven features of AAE is assessed, and features were selected for their common usage and regional relevance. The seven features are copula deletion, multiple negation, consonant cluster simplification, possessive *–'s* omission, existential 'it' for 'there', habitual 'be', and third-person singular *–s* omission. The opportunity for providing each feature is presented four times in each administration of the task (for a total of 28 possibly opportunities). Each sentence contains between two and four opportunities for feature translation.

3.4.2 RATIONALE

This task is based on one used by Fogel and Ehri (2006), in which 'Standard' American English-speaking teachers were taught African-American English forms. In order to explore a potential cause of the great scholastic difficulties experienced by non-prestige English-speaking (namely, African American English [AAE]-speaking) students, Fogel and Ehri (2006) state that scholars of AAE and education "have argued that the cause is not dialect differences in students but rather teachers' lack of knowledge about dialect and their negative attitudes that interfere with student learning." (2006:465). Fogel and Ehri's idea was that teachers who knew AAE forms would be better equipped to recognize the differences in their students' literacy-based errors and dialect-based forms.

In the interest of exploring this potential cause for difficulty, Fogel and Ehri taught three groups of teachers who spoke "standard" American English (SAE) (total n=73) seven features of AAE (common to the geographical area of the study, and collected from writing samples of students in the area) by three different methods. To assess the effectiveness of these teaching methods, which focused on the differences between SAE and AAE, an assessment instrument was required. In this particular study, the assessment of acquisition was fully written. Two written language tests were developed (to reflect proficiency in AAE), as well as a language attitude scale and responses to hypothetical scenarios (to reflect attitudes toward the use of AAE) (2006:468).

The teachers were given a diagnostic assessing prior knowledge, and a sentence translation and story-writing task after the training to assess the effectiveness of the three methods of training. The translation tasks consisted of the translation of five SAE sentences into AAE forms, a task modeled loosely after Baratz (1969). Each sentence included at least one of

the seven target AAE features: omission of the possessive -*'s*, omission of past tense –*ed*, omission of third-person singular present tense –*s*, omission of plural –*s*, omission of the copula, subject expression, and invariant *a* for indefinite article. The story-writing posttest scored for correct usage of seven syntactic features of AAE relative to opportunity for correct usage. An additional post-test presented potential classroom scenarios and asked teachers what they would do in these cases. Both pre- and post-tests were accompanied by attitude scales regarding AAE use in the classroom. The battery of tests was modeled after similar tests in another experiment in which AAE speakers were taught SAE forms (Fogel 2010, p.c.).

The tests seemed to work well for measuring the subjects' ability to translate sentences from SAE to AAE, as the scores varied by training method. An interesting case arose with regard to the feature of subject expression – the subjects had a difficult time acquiring this feature. It should be noted that this is the only feature of AAE in this study that is additive, rather than reduced or deleted, as in "David goes to school" realized as "David he go to school." (469). When asked if he would use this feature again in his experiment, Howard Fogel (2010, p.c.) said he would, as it caused the subjects to struggle with the acquisition of the form, thereby placing them in a similar position to students acquiring a second dialect.

This study began in the mid-90s with SAE-speaking students learning SAE forms, and graduated to the present study around 2000. Fogel's starting point was to examine students' writing for evidence of AAE features, and to select seven of the most common features for further study. In this way, he was able to focus on only those features common to the population of students in the geographical area for both the 2000 and 2006 studies (Fogel 2010, p.c.). Fogel's test instrument was inspired by Baratz (1969), which was the first translation task of varieties of English he had ever seen (Fogel 2010, p.c.). However, Baratz (1969) is a lengthy

test, ill-suited to the time and location of Fogel's study. Figuring one instance of each feature was not enough for the translation task, Fogel devised a total of nine sentences in which each feature appeared four times (there were several features addressed in each sentence). In this way, he managed to whittle down the time frame of the test for the interest of the teachers.

The responses Fogel received from teachers and linguists were all "pretty positive" (Fogel 2010, p.c.). Fogel cited Bill Stewart as a champion from whom he received good feedback, and the responses from school professionals were so positive that they resulted in the implementation of a program designed by Fogel. His biggest critics were the linguists who pushed Fogel to address issues of linguistic variation, which he admitted was not his forte (Fogel 2010, p.c.).

With respect to the design of the test battery, Fogel felt that the translation task was somewhat artificial, even though it got at teachers' knowledge of rules for AAE. It is for this reason that he added the story-writing task, and was able to get at different types of learning and application (Fogel 2010, p.c.).

Modeling this instrument on Fogel and Ehri's instrument, I have retained three of the features tested (possessive –*'s* deletion, 3rd-person singular -*s* deletion, and copula deletion) and changed four to be more reflective of those found in Chicago (multiple negation, consonant cluster simplification, existential 'it' for 'there', and habitual 'be'). Not included are the features of past tense –*ed* omission, plural –*s* omission, subject expression, and indefinite article vowel hiatus, as there are features more prevalent in Chicago; based on my personal experience attending and teaching high school in Chicago, these features vary widely even in the usage of the individual speaker. However, I have included two feature that was neither a reduction nor a deletion of SAE, namely existential 'it' for 'there' and habitual 'be' (habitual 'be' is of additional

interest, as it is often used inappropriately by those outside the community; for further discussion, see the review of features of AAE). As discussed in 3.5.2 STUDENT AAE USE, all of these features are attested to some degree by the usage of the students in the study.

The attitude assessment is also not included here; while Fogel and Ehri attested that an increase in teachers' positive attitudes was evident with more exposure and practice, "those who learned more about AAE syntax did not also exhibit a more positive attitude toward the use of AAE by students" (2006:474). Furthermore, my focus here is on what teachers know about AAE and do in the classroom, and the teachers reveal much of their language ideologies through the interviews. I also omit the story-writing task, as this study is corroborated by recordings of the teacher interacting with students in the classroom. By combining the sentence translation task with these recordings, a fuller picture is presented of teachers' abilities to apply AAE forms in different settings, as well as of teachers' authentic performance with an audience of AAE speakers.

Wolfram and Christian (1989: 116) note that dialect features vary within the individual, and test situations are inauthentic. While the drawbacks of using this type of instrument are acknowledged, the benefits are that this type of task is short, addresses a number of AAE features that are attested in linguistic literature, is easily rated, and seems to get at teachers' acquisition of AAE features.

3.4.3 TIMING

Four tasks were administered to each teacher: the first October 29-November 1, 2010; the second January 18-31, 2011; the third on March 25, 2011, and the fourth on June 1, 2011.

3.4.4 PROCEDURE

Teachers were directed to write a translation of each of the given sentences into the variety of English spoken at home by their students. All punctuation and content should remain unchanged.

3.4.5 SCORING

For each opportunity to translate into an AAE feature, there is one possible point, for a total of 28 possible points on each task administration. If a subject provided an acceptable AAE feature for a given opportunity, he or she was awarded one point. Every effort has been made to eliminate the possibility for other features to be added outside the seven features being tested; in any case, points will only be allocated for the four instances of the seven features under study here. However, where teachers did add features that were under study or attested in AAE literature, these items were noted and discussed in section 4.3 TRANSLATION TASK.

3.4.6 TEST SPECIFICATION

The test specification was modeled after Davidson and Lynch (2002) and fine-tuned based on communication with Davidson (2010: p.c.).

1. [habitual 'be'], [consonant cluster simplification], [copula deletion], [existential 'it']
2. [multiple negation], [habitual 'be'], [consonant cluster simplification]
3. [3rd person singular –*s* omission], [copula deletion], [multiple negation]
4. [possessive –*'s* deletion], [consonant cluster simplification]
5. [existential 'it'], [multiple negation], [possessive –*'s* deletion]
6. [copula deletion], [3rd person singular –*s* omission]
7. [habitual 'be'], [multiple negation]
8. [existential 'it'], [possessive –*'s* deletion], [habitual 'be']
9. [copula deletion], [3rd person singular –*s* omission], [3rd person singular –*s* omission]
10. [existential 'it'], [possessive –*'s* deletion], [consonant cluster simplification]

While much consideration was put into the design of this task, it should be acknowledged that its measurement of teachers' competence in AAE does not directly correlate to the

measurement of the teachers' performance in the classroom (discussed below). Written tasks may be revised; the time spent on them varied from teacher to teacher as some completed the tasks immediately while others returned the tasks after several days. These issues complicate the competence/ performance comparison, but do not render the comparison invalid.

3.5 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

According to Ogbu (1981: 10), microethnographies of teacher-student interaction may be the basis for understanding minority students' failures due to teacher-student communication issues; furthermore, microethnographies shed due light on the deficit model. This section presents the methodology for analysis of classroom interactions between teachers and students.

Discourse analysis (DA) is the overarching framework used to analyze the recorded classroom discourses. According to Labov (1972a: 298), "The first and most important step in the formalization of discourse analysis is to distinguish what is said from what is done." Scollon and Scollon (2004) detail different types of discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) closely examines how macro-social power structures are replicated in discourse. Interactional sociolinguistic DA focuses on alignments and identities, the management of topics, and styles and registers used. Linguistic anthropological DA is more macrological in nature, examining the replication of cultural ideologies and understanding the larger social "scripts" that may be internalized in the discourse. Motive analysis seeks to understand the explanatory factors for participants' discursive strategies, and to learn how the participants characterize their actions. Motive analysis will be brought into this study through the teacher interviews (see sections 3.3 and 4.2).

Labov (1972a) used discourse analysis (DA) to analyze African American pragmatic styles such as sounding and signifying, playing the dozens, and yo mama jokes. Labov (1972a: 229-339) was able to discern rules and patterns from these rhetorical games, such that there are limitations in terms of topic and theme; that "eat shit" generally applies to Whites, that sounds are not denied, but personal insults may be; and that hyperbole is what keeps playing the dozens from becoming personal. "The Jets' mothers do not look like Flipper or Howdy Doody; they are not the Abominable Snowman; they do not eat Dog Yummies or fried dick-heads" (Labov 1972a: 339). Labov also used such methods as asking the famous "danger of death" question, such that respondents got so emotional about their response that they forgot to monitor their language with a researcher (1972a: 354). As Labov's subjects were often prized more for their narrative style than for their academic writing ability, he looked for patterns for narrative construction and evaluation, and found that fully-formed narratives have 1) abstract, 2) orientation, 3) complicating action, 4) evaluation, 5) result or resolution, and 6) coda (Labov 1972a: 362-369).

Moll et al (1992) apply similar strategies to the education arena. They use a sociohistorical approach, which examines the sequences of events that comprise a lesson in order to determine the "act or system of acts by which learning is composed" (1992: 342). These sequences include question-answer/ discursive patterns, are perpetuated through the students' own problem-solving strategies, and are often teacher-mediated.

Edwards (2010: 25-36) discusses the pitfalls of discourse analysis in that its proponents are selective in their sampling, so the use of DA often confirms what is obvious anyway. He also laments that many previous DA studies skirt issues of race (2010: 30). CDA approaches, while purporting to crusade for social justice, still place the power of interpretation in the hands of the

researcher, rather than the participants, which Edwards finds unsettling and decontextualized (Edwards 2010: 34-36).

For this study, seven videorecordings (of 30-50 minutes each) have been collected monthly for each of four classes (total = 28 recordings). The videos are transcribed at the word level. Attention is paid to teachers' accommodative practices of convergence, including repetition of students' language, and use of syntactic features or vocabulary of the students' dialects; to practices of divergence, including linguistic distancing or the disfavoring of student language strategies; and to turn number and length for both students and teachers. Student use of AAE and teacher response is also discussed.

3.5.1 TEACHING STYLE AND ENGAGEMENT

According to Nystrand and Gamoran's (1991) classification, classroom discourse is labeled 'procedural', 'substantive', 'non-engagement', or 'unclear' with respect to the engagement involved when students use features of AAE. As explained in section 2.6 TEACHER DISCOURSE STYLE, 'procedural engagement' is understood as discourse involving classroom or school procedures, or known-answer questioning style. 'Substantive engagement' is understood here as student engagement with material in meaningful ways, such as paraphrasing, summarizing, presenting, explaining, and questioning. 'Non-engagement' refers to off-task discourse, and 'unclear' to when the context does not readily fall into one of the other categories.

3.5.2 STUDENT AAE USE

The classroom transcripts were examined for AAE use by students, and labeled for date, teacher, student (including gender and ethnicity), utterance, AAE feature, context, type of engagement, and teacher response (if any). This information was tabulated and analyzed qualitatively and

quantitatively in order to understand who is using these features, in which classes, which features are being used, what type of context/ engagement is conducive to the use of these features, and what the teachers' responses are.

3.5.3 TURN LENGTH

The length of each teacher and student turn is assessed per number of words. The total number of student and teacher turns is tabulated for each teacher (all seven recorded classes), and related for the purpose of understanding whether the discourse style is very back-and-forth between students and teachers (indicated by a similar ratio of student to teacher turns) or more student-centered or discussion-style (indicated by a relatively higher student-to-teacher turn ratio).

Total numbers of student and teacher words per set of classes are also tabulated and percentages are calculated per total words per class. Additionally, average words per turn are calculated by students and by teacher. These results give a fuller picture of how much of the discourse is coming from the teacher as opposed to from the students, contributing to the understanding of that teacher's typical style.

3.6 STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRES

After the completion of all classroom recordings, the teachers were asked to leave for one class period and the researcher assumed control of the classroom. The researcher administered questionnaires to the students regarding their teachers' language use in the classroom. Upon anonymous completion of the questionnaires, the students returned them directly to the researcher, bypassing the classroom teachers.

These questionnaires were meant to assess the effectiveness of the teachers' language strategies from the students' perspective, and to indicate whether the students' and the teachers' beliefs about what happened in the classroom were compatible.

A copy of the questionnaire as administered appears below.

1. How important do you think it is for your teacher to relate to his or her students?
2. Did your teacher this year relate to you? How did or didn't he or she relate to you?
3. Do you feel like your teacher has tried to build a good relationship with you and your classmates this year? What has he or she said that makes you feel that way?
4. Do you feel like your teacher understands you? Respects you? What has he or she said to make you feel this way?
5. Does your teacher ever say things that make it seem like he or she "tries too hard" to appeal to her students? Can you give any examples off the top of your head?
6. Do you feel like your teacher can relate to your life experience? Why or why not? What has your teacher said to make you feel this way?
7. Does your teacher come across as "real" or "fake"?
8. Do you feel like you and your teacher talk the same way? Describe what's similar. Describe what different.
9. Do you feel like your teacher's way of speaking to you and your classmates has changed over the course of this school year? If so, how?
10. What does your teacher say when he/ she is:
    a. Teaching you something new?
    b. Reviewing material?
    c. Playing a game?
    d. Teasing you or your classmates?
    e. Correcting you or someone else?
    f. Trying to get the class to focus or change activities?
    g. Joking?
11. What does your teacher say that makes you laugh?
12. What does your teacher say that makes you angry?
13. Does your teacher ever use slang with your class?
    a. Is it slang that you and your classmates use outside of school?
    b. If so, how does this language use make you feel? If you can think of anything, please give some examples of slang that your teacher has used.
14. What effect do you think a teacher's language style has on his or her students' learning?
15. Is it easier to learn new material when it is presented in a language style you're more familiar with?
16. Do you feel like this class is preparing you well for college? Work? Life?

3.7 THE RESEARCHER'S ROLE

As mentioned above, the researcher worked at the school where the research was conducted. The teachers in the study were the researcher's colleagues and friends; some of the students were the researcher's students. If complete objectivity were ever possible in this type of study, it is most definitely not present here.

Of course, there are benefits of the researcher's employment at the research site. The participants were comfortable with the researcher's presence in the classroom, and were comfortable answering interview questions. Parent consents came in steadily and were immediately placed in the researcher's mailbox. The researcher had access to many of the parents at school events such as report card pickup, and had opportunities to explain the research to them individually. The school principal trusted the researcher enough to allow her to use the school's recording equipment. The benefits of the researcher's involvement in the school culture outweighed the drawbacks.

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Approval for this study has been given by the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board (IRB), and a copy of the IRB applications and approvals is on file with the University of Illinois Office of University – School Research Relations (OSURR) office. Per IRB approval, the following ethical considerations apply to this study:

1. All teacher participants have signed consent forms for videorecording and interview purposes, and for their participation in the translation tasks.

2. All student participants have signed assent forms for videorecording purposes and for their participation in the student questionnaire.
3. All student participants have had a parent or guardian sign a consent form for videorecording purposes and for student participation in the student questionnaire.
4. Students who did not wish to or were not authorized to participate were seated off-camera for the recordings and given an alternate activity for the questionnaire.
5. Students and parents were advised that the students' participation in any facet of this research was voluntary and does not affect their classroom grade in any way.
6. All video and audio files were transcribed. No video or audio of any participant will appear directly in any presentation of the research.
7. All transcription is coded such that anonymity is preserved.
8. All consent forms are stored in the RPI's office under lock and key, and will be destroyed after a period of two years.
9. All video and audio files and transcriptions are stored digitally and password-protected.
10. All student questionnaires are anonymous, and classroom teachers at no point have access to the original questionnaires. After aggregation, the original questionnaires were filed under lock and key in the RPI's office and will be destroyed after a period of two years.

Additionally, the following ethical considerations have been made:

- The school principal has a copy of the IRB proposal and a blank student questionnaire, and has approved all proposed research at the school.
- All classroom teachers were privy to the student questionnaire prior to administration, and have approved its use with their students.
- As a courtesy to the teachers, student responses were typed up, and anonymized and emailed to the teachers in aggregate so they may adjust their teaching accordingly if they wish.

It has already been disclosed that the researcher was an employee of the school, and is familiar with the teachers, students, and many of the parents associated with this research. The researcher would also like to disclose the use of the school's videocameras as offered by the principal, as well as the services of the school's technology expert. Of course, the researcher assumes all responsibility for errors or inconsistencies presented in this research.

CHAPTER 4: DATA

4.1 ETHNOGRAPHY

St. Nicholas of Myra High School[2] is a co-educational Catholic high school located on the far south side of Chicago. Students at this school come from all over the south side and some of the south suburbs, even from northwest Indiana. Some information is provided below to situate St. Nicholas of Myra and its students within the education system in Chicago.

According to Kozol (2005: 19), Illinois was one of the most segregated states for Black students in terms of education, and while desegregation was successful for a time after Jim Crow, it began to reverse itself in the 1990s. Illinois per-pupil spending differs by $47,000 between upper-class and lower-class minority students (Kozol 2005: 60). National high-stakes testing pushes have created a culture of teaching-to-the-test that involves a stilted, scripted teaching style that leaves little room for creativity or analytical thinking on the part of teachers or students (2005: 111, 125). Less than thirty percent of Chicago's African American male students graduate with their classmates (Kozol 2005: 282). While the school under study is a Catholic school and thus is subject to different constraints and standards than publicly-funded schools, the students in this school live in neighborhoods that are served by public schools such as those mentioned above, and would otherwise attend these schools. This information is provided to give a fuller picture of the environments in which the students circulate.

[2] The school's name has been changed.

4.1.1 NEIGHBORHOOD INFORMATION AND DEMOGRAPHICS

The neighborhood around the school has been through a number of changes. Area steel mills that flourished in the mid-20th century began closing down in the 1980s and 1990s, leaving many semi-skilled steel workers unemployed. During the 1960s through the 1990s, the area also saw an influx of Mexican immigrants, who make up a large percentage of the neighborhood's population (Northeastern Illinois University: Chicago's East Side Community, 2011).

2000 U.S. Census data (U.S. Census Factfinder, 2010) show that 23.6% of the zip code's 96,288 residents are White, 54.6% are Black, less than 1% are Asian or Pacific Islanders, and 34.3% are Hispanic or Latino (of any race). The median age of residents is 32.1 years. Average household size is 3.04 people, and average family size is 3.56 people. 68.6% of residents have at least a high school diploma; 13.0% have less than a ninth grade education and 18.5% started but did not finish high school. 13.4% of residents have a bachelor's degree or higher, and 4.5% have graduate or professional degrees.

84.5% of this zip code's residents were born in the United States, with 15.5% foreign-born. Of those born outside the U.S., 86.9% come from Latin American countries. Only English is spoken in 67.2% of the homes, with 32.8% of residents speaking languages other than English at home, mostly Spanish. 30% of the residents of this zip code report Mexican ancestry, 3.1% of the residents report Polish ancestry, 2.6% report other Hispanic or Latino ancestry, 1.8% of residents report Subsaharan African ancestry, 1.7% report Puerto Rican ancestry, 1.6% each report Irish or Italian ancestry, and 1.5% of residents report German ancestry (U.S. Census Factfinder, 2010).

Most area residents work in one of the following areas: management, professional, and related occupations (25.3%), service occupations (17%), sales and office occupations (29.4%),

and production, transportation, and material moving occupations (19.2%). Education, health, and social services (23.8%) and manufacturing (12.6%) are the dominant industries in this zip code (U.S. Census Factfinder, 2010).

The median household income is $35,534, with 14.5% of households earning less than $10,000 annually, 7.3% between $10,000 and $14,999, 13.8% between $15,000 and $24,999, 13.7% between $25,000 and $34,999, 16.9% between $35,000 and $49,999, and 18.1% between $50,000 and $74,999. Median family income is $39,604, and per capita income is $15,226. 17.3% of families in this zip code are below the poverty level; 20.5% of individuals are below the poverty level (U.S. Census Factfinder, 2010).

While income information for students at St. Nicholas de Myra is not available, the makeup of public high schools in the area may offer some revelation. There are seven public high schools in the zip code, four of which are small schools housed in one building, which used to be one large high school. The first of these schools is called G.R.O.W. (Growth in Reading, Oratory, and Writing) High School[3], which served 350 students in the 2009-10 school year. 95.4% of G.R.O.W. students are from low-income backgrounds[4], 21.4% receive special education services, and 0.9% are English language learners. 95.1% of G.R.O.W.'s students are Black and 4.6% Hispanic/ Latino. The school has low academic standing[5], and is on probation. The second school on this campus is City Science High School, serving 397 students in the 2009-10 school year. 96.2% of City Science students are low-income, 18.6% receive special education services, and 7.3% are English language learners. 59.2% of the students are Black,

[3] The name of this school and all subsequently mentioned high schools have been changed, but the demographic data are accurate and representative of the schools.
[4] Income level is determined from free and reduced lunch applications.
[5] "The CPS Performance, Remediation and Probation Policy (or "Performance Policy") is the District's accountability policy. Schools earn points for various levels of performance and progress on a wide range of metrics and are then assigned to a performance level… based on the number of points earned. The Performance Policy is used to determine the Probation status for CPS schools" (The Chicago Public Schools Office of Performance 2011).

and 40.3% Hispanic/ Latino. This school also has low academic standing and is on probation. The third school on this campus is Worldview High School, serving 215 students in the 2009-10 school year. 96.3% of these students are from low-income backgrounds, 25.1% receive special education services, and 1.4% are English language learners. 98.3% of the students are Black, and 9.8% Hispanic/ Latino. This school is also of low academic standing, and is on probation. The fourth and final school on this campus is Future Vision High School, serving 228 students in the 2009-10 school year. 93% of these students are from low-income backgrounds, 17.5% receive special education services, and 0.9% are English language learners. 93% of the students are Black and 5.7% Hispanic/ Latino, and while it is the only one of the four small schools on this campus that is in good standing, it is also on probation (Chicago Public Schools School Search Results, 2011).

Another high school in the area is Career Technology High School (CTHS), housing 1438 students. 96.9% of CTHS students are from low-income backgrounds, 21% receive special education services, and 0.1% are English language learners. 98.7% of the students are Black, and 0.9% Hispanic. This school is of low academic standing, and is on probation. The other public non-charter high school in the zip code is Polk High School, with 1450 students. 88.1% of its students are low-income, 16.3% receive special education services, and 7.8% are English language learners. According to the Chicago Public Schools, Polk is a neighborhood college preparatory high school, but it too is of low academic standing and is on probation.

The final non-private high school in the zip code is Alan Alda Charter High School (AACHS), serving 119 students in grades 9 and 10. 95.8% of these students are low-income, 15.1% receive special education services, and 2.5% are English language learners. 69% of

students at AACHS are Black, and 9.8% are Hispanic. No information is currently available for AACHS's academic performance rating.

Public school information is provided here to present something of a profile of the typical student in this zip code in order to understand some likelihood of the background of students at St. Nicholas of Myra High School. Naturally, this information does not account for the level of parent involvement and means (while many SNoM students receive financial aid, all students are required to pay at least some tuition) that would be inherent in the choice of Catholic education, nor does it correspond to the sending area for SNoM, many of whom, as previously mentioned, hail from a broader area of the city and some suburbs. This non-overlap may also explain why there are more Hispanic/ Latino students at St. Nicholas of Myra than at other area schools.

4.1.2 SCHOOL INFORMATION AND STUDENT DEMOGRAPHICS

Twenty-three teachers at St. Nicholas of Myra handle the mathematics, theology, history, sociology, computer, geography, science, street law, French, Spanish, art, graphics, English, physical education, speech, reading, music, and Title I classes available to students. The principal is a former art teacher at the school. There are two counselors and a marketing director, as well as a president. One of the P.E. teachers also serves as dean of students, whose assistant also handles attendance issues. Additional workers comprise maintenance, cafeteria, IT, front office and business office staff and alumni relations. One security guard monitors the cafeteria and the front of the building after school. There are also about nine coaches who do not teach or work at SNoM full-time. Class sizes range from three to over thirty students, and students may pursue concentrations in Honors Diploma, College Preparatory Diploma, or General High School Diploma. St. Nicholas of Myra boasts a 15:1 student-to-faculty ratio,

according to promotional materials, about half the teachers have been at the school for over ten years, and about a third have master's degrees.

Tuition at St. Nicholas of Myra is $7,300 per year excluding fees, and it is not uncommon for students to work for the school over the summer to earn tuition, or for their parents to work as staff or substitute teachers during the school year. It should be noted that this tuition rate is far less than that of many other Catholic schools in the city ("St. Nicholas of Myra"[6] website, 2011).

According to the school's promotional materials, over 80% of students receive financial aid of some kind, and deep discounts are given to siblings who attend or legacy students. In order to be considered for financial aid, students must maintain solid academic and disciplinary standing and fulfill service requirements, and their parents must be involved in some school events. The school markets itself to prospective students through open houses and shadow days, in which eighth graders can follow current students to their classes over the course of a day.

Demographic data for students attending St. Nicholas of Myra for the 2010-2011 academic year reveal that of the 290 students, 50.7% are male, and 49.3% are female. The majority of students are Black (48.28%) or Hispanic/ Latino (46.55%), with White students making up 4.48% and Native American and Asian students 0.34% each ("St. Nicholas of Myra" Nonpublic Registration, Enrollment and Staff Report 2010-11). Promotional materials state that over 35% of current students are not Catholic. According to the school's marketing materials, almost 45% of current students attended public grade schools, and just over 50% of students are from the communities around the school.

Freshman admission and placement is based on a placement test (upon which scholarships are often awarded) and a credit check to ensure parent financial responsibility, and

[6] Not the actual website name.

sometimes completion of a summer bridge program to boost skills. A non-discriminatory policy is stated overtly in promotional materials and the student handbook.

4.1.3 SCHOOL CULTURE

St. Nicholas of Myra is a small school housed in a three-storey building, the top floor of which it shares with an overcrowded public grade school whose main building is one block away. There has been a decline of students over recent years, and sharing its top floor is only one of many efforts to increase funding to the school.

Despite the decline in student population, SNoM's core is strong; many of the alumni send their own children to school here. Most of the teachers live within a few miles of the school or grew up nearby, and most are intimately familiar with Catholic schools in the area and Chicago Catholic school culture.

St. Nicholas of Myra's athletics are an important part of the school culture. The Penguins[7] participate in football, basketball, baseball, soccer, volleyball, wrestling, and softball in the Chicago Catholic League (boys) or Girls Catholic Athletic Conference (girls) of the Illinois High School Association. Students may get involved with a number of clubs and organizations, including Student Council, Computer Club, World Youth in Science and Engineering, Art Club, Band, Cheerleaders, Spirit Club, Spanish Club, French Club, Varsity Club, History Club, Student Ambassadors, Yearbook, Newspaper, Drama Club, Campus Ministry, and National Honor Society. There is also a Parents' Club that helps raise money for the school.

A variety of remediation efforts are available to students, including peer tutoring, Title I and remedial classes, and academic probation, and students with behavior issues may be

[7] Mascot name has been changed.

ineligible to participate in school activities. Resources such as two computer labs and a library with computers are available to students before and after school. Students have strict dress guidelines, including wearing school uniforms. Activities such as "Spirit Days" offer students the opportunity to wear St. Nicholas of Myra sportswear and be out of uniform. Pep rallies occur seasonally to rally support for the sports teams.

4.1.4 CLASSROOM CULTURE

The four classes observed here differ quite a bit in classroom culture as well as language strategies.

T1, who is a 23-year-old White female second-year teacher, teaches history and theology. The class under observation is a regular-level sophomore world history class made up of seventeen students: eight male, nine female; seven African-American and ten Hispanic/ Latino. There are some bulletin boards displaying artifacts related to religion and history, and on the teacher's desk a bowl of candy. The classroom is incredibly neat; all desks face forward in rows unless students are doing group work, and the teacher's desk is off to the front left-hand side from the students' view. Usually, the teacher conducts her class from a podium at the front center of the room. When showing a video or a Power Point presentation, a screen is pulled down on the left wall from the students' view, and students are allowed to move in order to see. On occasion, the teacher circulates among the students' desks, as when she is checking in work. She often greets her students at the door as they enter. The students are well-behaved and rarely excitable, although the tenor of the class changes when groups compete against each other in review sessions. The main source of information in the class is the history textbook used by the students, supplemented by some videos and Power Point presentations. Students typically ask questions directly related to the readings, and the class rarely diverges from this material.

T2, who is a 67-year old White male in his 43rd year of teaching, teaches history, street law, and sociology. He used to be the principal of the school. The class under observation is an AP-level senior history class with twelve students: five male, seven female; five African-American, one Asian, and six Hispanic/ Latino students. The room is sparsely decorated, and a messy stack of papers sits atop this teacher's desk. He can often be found in his room very early in the morning, and is heavily involved in school activities. This class is conducted more in the fashion of a seminar, and the teacher will move about the room from his desk to the blackboard to a rolling chair at eye level with the students. He is the main source of information, and teaches largely from memory. Students sit in rows facing the front of the room. When he sits among the students, it is not unusual to find them asking him questions related to or peripheral to the material they have read. He brings in many personal or historical anecdotes and seems to entertain the students' questions seriously. This teacher frequently jokes or makes sarcastic comments. The atmosphere is at once relaxed and focused.

T3, who is a 47-year-old White/ Asian female teacher in her third year, teaches English, reading, and speech. The class under observation is a remedial English literature class made up of 22 students: eleven male, eleven female; thirteen African-American and nine Hispanic/ Latino students. Books, laptops, extra handouts, and collected work sit atop her desk, which is also in the front left corner of the room. On the white board lining the left-hand wall of the room, her sophomore homeroom has scrawled their names in various colors along with their graduation year and the teams they are on. She has photos of her pets taped to her cabinet. On the blackboard in the front can be found assignments for all of her classes, and on the right wall she has bulletin boards with folders holding extra copies of work for students who are absent, and also shelves of books. The desks are typically arranged in rows unless students are working in

pairs or groups, which happens often. There are about five students who command frequent attention of various kinds, and as these students have most of their classes together, they know each other well. The teacher often jokes with her students or makes sarcastic comments that are well received, and she clearly knows these students well (they see her for two periods each day, so she knows them better than many teachers know their students). Activities in this class are constantly changing; a typical day might bring a movie clip (shown at the front of the room), cooperative work on a worksheet, individual essay writing, acting of parts, or group project presentations. This teacher occasionally uses the podium at the front of the room, but more often sits atop a student desk near the blackboard or circulates among the students. She uses individual books (such as *Night* or *Romeo and Juliet*) rather than a textbook, supplementing material with frequent writing assignments and worksheets.

T4, who is a 38-year-old Hispanic/ Latina teacher in her eleventh year of teaching, teaches upper-level English. The class under observation is a regular-level senior English literature class made up of 31 students: fifteen male, sixteen female; fifteen African-American and sixteen Hispanic/ Latino students. Students sit in rows facing the front of the room, and as with the other teachers, the teacher's desk is at the front left corner from the students' view. The book is the major source of information, supplemented by the teacher's knowledge. When reading Hamlet, students took on parts and read them aloud from their seats. This teacher is highly involved in school activities, and has information and school clothing on display in her room, along with a preponderance of books. She typically teaches from the podium at the front of her room, circulating to check work. Students ask questions relevant to material, but do not diverge much. On several occasions, students present summaries or answers to chapter

questions. When they are poorly behaved, it is because they are chattering excessively. On these occasions, the teacher rolls her eyes and comments on their maturity level.

4.2 INTERVIEWS

The teacher interviews were conducted one-on-one between the researcher and each individual teacher in the teachers' classrooms or in the school library, with the first set conducted in mid-November 2010, and the second set conducted in early June, 2011, after all classroom recordings, translation tasks, and student questionnaires had been completed. This section contains summaries of the interviews and discussion about each. For the reader's convenience, age, race, gender, and year teaching are included respectively in parentheses following the teacher's pseudonym.

T1

In her first interview, T1 (23WF, Y2) says that she is very deliberate in building relationships with her students. She measures her success in building relationships by her students' physical demeanors, such as eye-rolling, attentive posture, etc. She finds she has the easiest time with athletes and outgoing students, and feels that a better teacher-student relationship leads to more success in class. With respect to her age relative to that of her students, she says, "We've been socialized the same way," and mentions how she and her students are probably listening to the same music as they drive up to school. T1 also grew up in the area, so she feels a strong identification with her students. She preferred to use the term 'relationship', as the term 'rapport' seemed nebulous to her.

T1's second interview revealed more in terms of her ideas about language. Her statement, "Uh, like, very, what they're very well know for is the double negative? Constantly? And, I think as a regular person it happens once in a while and you don't think about it?" demonstrates an emerging awareness of AAE forms. With respect to dealing with student dialect features, she states, "Would I correct that?... Probably not. Any time of like, written work, where they turn in, even when it's something not necessarily for grammar, I might um, make a note of it, actually, probably for that I would? But actually, I probably don't, don't correct it, so maybe they assume that's okay… Yeah, no, it's okay, maybe in some way kinda, same way to me, like… 'Can you kinda clarify that… for the rest of the class… But I don't think that's… really a problem."

T1 also indicated frustration about the translation tasks. "It's interesting because I wonder one day how I translate it, compared to on another day… maybe I translate it different… there's certain things… where I was like, 'Well, no, they definitely wouldn't say this.' Um, but then again… what student are we talking about?... it's kinda difficult trying to picture what student am I thinking the generalize thing… it wasn't a student, but I definitely kept within like the African-American demographic… Male… But that's interesting. Out of everybody in this school, and like the mix of who we have and stuff, that that's who I picked." While she never planned to seek an education on AAE, T1 did say, "you'd be absolutely ignorant if you didn't take it all in, but it's never been something that ooh, I'm intrigued by that or wanna learn more, but I've definitely been receptive to it."

When asked about her "teacher hat", or her very formal teaching style in terms of language and content, T1 was aware of this characteristic. "Yeah, I do, actually. I know what you mean, and it's kind of like that idea of like, uh, playing a role… but I think it's just

something um… I'm surprised more teachers don't have that. Well, it's interesting because… I don't think I'm necessarily that much different in the classroom opposed to out of the classroom, but I definitely, I have a teacher voice… Um, I think it's more, I don't know if I pronounce my words clearer? Um, it's a little bit louder?... it's just clearer, more concise, louder." When asked if she thought this style was related to the small age difference between her and her students, she responded, "Oh, absolutely… I think you're right, actually, opposed to… someone who's older, that already, um, defined themselves as an older, studious person, so maybe it's trying to express some sort of authority?" Nevertheless, she felt that she came across to her students as authentic, only venturing to use informal language in terms of vocabulary such as "bogus". T1 stated that she uses her teacher voice more with the sophomores to build credibility. Her overenunciation of /t/ is part of her idiolect, and no one else in her family does it.

T2

In the first interview, T2 (66WM, Y43) says he builds relationships by incorporating student interests into his class content. He sees himself as a resource linking the students to the school infrastructure. He gauges success in building relationships by the number of students who come by to talk to him outside of class, initiate conversations, or return to see him after they graduate. Students who offer to help T2 with school-related work also indicate successful relationships. T2 admits to struggling with building relationships with his Hispanic students, perhaps because of language issues, and finds it easier to relate to boys because of athletics; furthermore, he feels that cultural taboos prevent him from getting close to his female students. Regarding the connection between 'relationship' and 'rapport', T2 felt that 'rapport' is a recognition of important things and is teacher-driven, while 'relationship' is more permanent and

follows from rapport. T2 finds himself more deliberate in building relationships at this point in his career. He stated that his rapport-building strategies have changed over the years because of his decreasing involvement in school athletics and because he now teaches juniors (who are the subjects of high-stakes testing such as the ACT).

The second interview with was revealing not only in terms of language, but also of ethnicity, particularly with respect to his Latino students. "I sometimes think that culture, particularly language, plays some role in that. I- I just feel that if I were a Spanish speaker, I would instantly connect with some that, um, I don't want to say they're not trusting, that's not the case, but in a sense you're not one of them." The dichotomy of us-them emerges frequently in T2's discourse about Latinos.

T2's approach to building rapport with his students is deliberate. "One of the… techniques that I try to use to do this is there's a certain amount of outrageousness in what I say and what I do… so much of this, uh, reflects hyperbole, kids smiling is a pretty good indication that they're… kind of comfortable with it and are tapping into what you are saying and doing." However, T2's approach does sometimes backfire. "You can do it with people that you think are open to that, as opposed to someone you really don't know well, and they might go home in tears… so you pick and choose. I… also… try… I have… a Mexican girl, and we were doing uh… something on American immigration into Mexico, and so, knowing that her brothers… both of whom I have… that they're very much into immigration reform, and… I brought her up, sat her right next to me, and posed some questions to her… 'Do you think it was reasonable of the Mexican government to expect Americans moving in to speak Spanish?… that they adopt the culture of Mexico?', knowing full well that that is some of the attitudes that non-Mexicans harbor towards people coming in [to the US]… if she says, 'Yes, that's a reasonable expectation,'

I want her to confront, uh, sort of how people might view that today. It's not just about Mexicans, because in the twenties we were talking Poles, Serbians and Croatians, and Russians…" T2 admits that this was a student whose relationship with him has deteriorated, which he attributes to her unreasonable expectations about grades.

T2 believes that his own language use is very much authentic, and acknowledges that his students probably did not feel that he related well to them, using the alienating term "shin-dig" as an example. "I do choose words, uh, that will, uh, have… double meanings, as a way of keeping them focused, because they'll be listening... On occasion, I will speak in the vernacular?... [Students at St. Nicholas] historically have been blue-collar kids with… blue-collar norms, and sometimes, uh, talking to them in everyday language can be very effective. It always runs the risk, that on occasion it can also be inappropriate…" When asked to explain, T2 described an incident in which he tried to help the students see the term, "That's so gay" as something offensive. "And so I made the point of saying, 'Suppose you had said, "Oh, that's so Mexican," now how does that sound?'"

When asked whether he ever speaks like the students, T2 replied, "No… I speak uh, much more in standard English, and around me, they speak very much in standard English, but when they, uh… gravitate to their peers, and our, our school is definitely multicultural, multiracial, it's as diverse as you can get, there's a certain amount of homogenization that has gone on in American culture…, if I said, 'We're going,' they may well say, 'We going,' 'I going.'… that's happening a lot out there, and even uh, uh, 'You bad.' Uh, it even creeps into us, by osmosis, but generally speaking, I'm much more standard in my… language, they are in their writing, they usually are in the classroom, but I think… you go into a different mindset, when you're not required, or not expected to be more formal… Yes, they're expected to use… standard

English, and to follow the standard rules of grammar… they will speak a lot with you in the vernacular… that's less important in the classroom because interaction is not expected to be at the highest level of standard, uh, language, so that is really not a problem. Sometimes, you call them on that, uh, as does my very good friend Judge Judy. What would be ideal, is that they would recognize that, so that they would say… 'I need to get out of my, uh text language and into my standard English,' or various things in between."

T2 stated that he will 'correct' students in the context of ACT, a practice that divorces race from the dialect. "[I]t's not about how they speak, it's about knowing the difference so that when they get to the ACT, or when they're writing, um, their personal statements as seniors... there's a need to have the best possible, uh, use of language so that it looks as though they've had a quality education, and uh, but it's never about, 'That's not the way you're supposed to talk.'"

The translation tasks upset T2. "I hated it… [b]ecause …it implied that I should write, um, the way I believe the kids would speak. And, given that we have a diverse population… racially and ethnically, gender, and socioeconomically, I tended to think in one… stereotypical way, and that was as I thought African-Americans might speak, thinking that the Hispanic population probably speaks somewhat closer to the way I do, um, on the other hand, I also think there has been a certain amount of homogenization of the language… people many times speak the same way… "My sister, she," uh, and things like that. And that cuts across all… those demographic categories." While T2 did mention a desire at one point to learn Spanish, he never had any desire to learn features of African-American English. "Uh, and that's because, uh, I don't know what features there are to learn. Like Spanish, is uh, is a language, whereas I consider what is spoken by African-Americans to be variations of American English… Um, but it's, it's a

little bit like me wanting to, have I ever been interested in learning the dynamic, the uh, the linguistic dynamics of um, uh, of America's social elite, and how they talk."

T3

T3 (47W/AF, Y3) feels that building relationships with her students is important, and she is careful not to cross the line. She explains, "I'm not your friend; I'm your teacher!" This teacher does not feel that she is deliberate in building relationships with her students, and that this non-strategy results in a more authentic, not-fake persona. She says, "You can't be anything you're not because the kids'll see right through it… You can tell when a kid doesn't like you." Like some of the other teachers, T3 measures her success in building relationships with students by their stopping in to visit outside of class, by asking her to advocate for them to other teachers and administrators, and by asking her for letters of recommendation. She can measure her success in student work over time and in their physical expressions. This teacher feels that her sales background inspires relationship-building: "I'm selling learning." As a teacher of freshmen, she feels she often has to "break" the students into the high school atmosphere, and progressively the students mature and become more reflective. T3 equates 'relationship' and 'rapport', and adds that both can be positive or negative. She sees herself in a nurturing role rather than as a buddy, as "the mom that yells at you but still loves you." As a result, she finds that the students respect her as they would a parent.

As will be explored in further depth in sections 4.4.1 TYPE OF ENGAGEMENT and 4.4.2 DISCUSSION STYLE AND TURN-TAKING, T3 has a classroom manner that is far less formal and teacher-centered than the other teachers' styles. When asked about her language style, T3 asked if I meant code-switching, which I then asked her to define. "I just mean that,

switching back and forth to use their vernacular versus how I would normally speak to adults… I know I do that, because I've seen myself on video doing it? Well, just … speaking like them… I don't… curse or anything, but I'm saying sometimes when they'll say stuff to me, like, 'All right,' or 'Aiight' or whatever, and I'll do it… it comes a little more natural? Because I did grow up in the city and I can relate to them… 'cause then, it's not like it's forced? Once in a while it is, just to get a reaction… sometimes I do it and I don't realize I'm doing it? But, I don't mind doing it… because I figure that's how to teach them how to speak in a professional atmosphere and how to speak in the rest –" She goes on to explain that this is a sort of a contrastive lesson. "Right… kids do know that, I think they do, instinctively… it's not like conscious modeling? But I am modeling… Because believe me, I could speak… real ghetto with my friends if I had to."

T3 explains the latter type of speech as what she picked up working with her African American and Hispanic friends in her previous career. "Well, let's see, the five years before I started teaching, that's when I worked with all African Americans and Hispanics…so, I guess you do, with, being with them, and that would've been quite a study… that's where I really picked it up, not from the classroom… I would talk on the phone… and my husband would go, 'What the hell?' because it was totally different… you just do it naturally… so it's not like you're being fake?" When asked if knowing these dialects helped her as a teacher, T3 responded, "Probably not knowing features of the language so much, but maybe knowing more about culture?... I try to teach my kids… when we talk about race, I'm like, that's something that's taught to you… it's not like, and I know that from my own experience, racism and things… It wasn't until I was an adult that I started to realize, wow… there's a real divide." As will be shown in the following sections, T3 actually has not acquired much in terms of AAE features, although she does use vocabulary gleaned from the students while she is teaching.

T3 does feel that she comes across as authentic to her students. "I think so… [on reflections] most of 'em say that. You say, 'How would you describe [T3]? and a lot of students will say, 'Real.'… 'Keepin' it real,' or whatever, 'She seems real.'…in the classroom for the most part, I have a teacher voice… trying to be more… in control, commanding, less reaction… [with] my family, I'll say, "What the hell?!" or something; you're not gonna do that in the classroom… I probably project differently, I think my voice is louder, I think I probably articulate a little more and I pause a little more, probably use… less vernacular slash dialect, whatever you wanna call it, in the classroom, unless it's something that lends itself to it?... Like some type of reading… what are you gonna say?"

T3 feels that her experience growing up with a single mother, in an area of Chicago affected by violence, gangs, and drugs, in an apartment, qualifying for free lunch at school, enables her to relate to her students because they have had similar experiences, despite the age difference and unequal status in the classroom. However, she does not feel that she talks like the students. "[T]he kids say, 'Well, ooh, he's speaking White.' Quote unquote 'White'?... I always tell them this is how you need to speak for the professional world, it's not a matter of being Black or White… but I think education and experience, it makes you more conscious of what you're saying." With respect to how the students use their home dialects in the classroom, "I don't like think there's room in a classroom for students to… say things like… 'Hey, Mrs. T3, I'll be finna get my homework.' 'Uh, no you're not, you're going to what?' 'Oh, I'm going to go get it.'… They correct themselves… I feel like teachers also have to, especially in urban schools, have to model that code-switching, basically." Her misunderstanding of the use of 'finna' aside, T3's claim that she makes the students repeat themselves will be examined in section 4.4.3 STUDENT AAE USE AND TEACHER RESPONSE.

T3 says she does not tolerate anything but standardized English in writing. "Well in written, of course I correct it. Always. And that's just the English teacher grammar thing, but I can't help myself… But again, kids surprise you. They may speak one way and write another, or vice versa, so, sometimes I'm shocked." As for whether she talks in the students' dialects, T3 states, "Yeah, but I don't think it's my students' dialect, I think it's my own." Based on the data analyzed in the following sections, T3 apparently does not interpret the students' dialects to be syntactic in nature. In fact, while the students use many features of AAE syntax in T3's class, T3 only incorporates one phonological feature of AAE, and some instances of vocabulary when she's trying to "get a laugh… get a reaction". She actually never uses AAE syntax in the classroom recordings. It is the familiarity with students' culture, rather than language, that T3 believes teachers should pursue.

T4

In interview #1, T4 (38HF, Y11) says she builds relationships by relating her experiences to her students. "They can see I am human… they say I am approachable." She says she tries to connect class material to life experiences, and occasionally allows students to teach. She explains how her strategies have changed over the years: "In my early years I thought they should be learning from me… they were resistant; they lost interest in the subject." Like the teachers above, T4 gauges relationship-building success in students who confide in her, ask her for letters of recommendation, and return for visits. She finds she can easily relate to her students because she grew up in a similar area and went to a similar high school. T4 finds it easiest to relate to students who are from tight-knit families as she is, and more difficult to relate to students from atypical family situations. She is also nervous about adequately serving special

needs students. Her clarity of class expectations leads to better relationships, and T4 feels that her relationships with her students gel after Christmas. T4 prefers the term 'relationship' to 'rapport' because 'relationship' comes across to her as more personal, whereas 'rapport' sounds more civil, professional, or businesslike. She feels she consciously builds rapport with students through trust and transparency, and by giving them more power (which she acknowledges is easier for her because she teaches juniors and seniors). If she is unsuccessful in building relationships with her students, she believes it may be the result of enabling or "mothering" the students excessively.

T4 reveals more about her approach to language in the second interview. She feels that she comes across as authentic in her teaching, which makes it easy for students to relate to her. "I came from a school and a neighborhood that's pretty much the same demographics… minorities, fifty percent Hispanic, fifty percent Black… working class, blue-collar to poverty level, neighborhoods… I usually, like, try to convey that in some way… So they know that… I like, have some understanding of what they're going through… I do remember a student saying they appreciated me because I was real."

With respect to her language use in the classroom, "I always tell them… there's a time and place, and when it's… time to do the serious stuff, then the teacher hat comes on… the language changes, and it's formal… when we're… having conversations… 'What did you do over the weekend?'… Then, the language and the teacher mode is a little more relaxed… They would come in and… I'd just say, 'What up?' and they'd get a laugh… 'What's the new word for "tweaking"?'… they're able to… teach you something… it gives… a sense of connection… being the teacher for the moment." However, T4 insists she does not talk the same way the students do. "No. Um, obviously I don't go so far as to say, 'I finna go,' or I'll call them out on

that, I mean, there's… a line that I don't cross (laughs)… only when I'm, I'm being super playful will I ever use that language… I'll use maybe some of the newer words, like… 'She put you on blast.'… the grammatical like, he be going, that's where I draw the line." She does not think it is appropriate for teachers from other dialect backgrounds to use the students' dialects with them. "I don't think so because then they really do come off as trying too hard. I think the kids can really pick up on… who's genuine, who's not… if some teachers try that then it could come off as them mocking the students?"

T4 is the only Spanish-speaking teacher in this study, so I asked her if she ever uses Spanish in class. "Yes… Just in casual social mode, and sometimes… Instead of saying, 'Excuse me,' it's, in Spanish, it's '*Mande*.' I beg your pardon, you say *Mande*. And sometimes I'll catch myself saying that. And of course… the Spanish-speaking kids will pick up and laugh, and say, and just repeat themselves, but then like the kids that don't speak Spanish are like, 'What?' And I'm like, 'Oh, I'm sorry!' …I don't know why, it's just, I know Spanish was my first language; I didn't learn English 'til kindergarten." T4 does not believe that most of the students at St. Nicholas would be placed in ESL classes, which are not offered at the school anyway. "I would say maybe one percent. I think there's about two or three students out there, that I can see it in their writing, they put like, the noun before the adjectives, and things like, you do in Spanish."

A certain level of formality is expected in T4's classroom. She tells the students, "'Think of who your audience is.' … hopefully they do the switch… slang, in informal settings doesn't bother me... when it becomes more… grammatical or syntax errors… that's where I try and like correct… Well, just, actually, I turn it back around them, 'Did you just say...?' or… 'What was that sentence again?' and then they actually correct themselves. And then they switch into the

formal… the slang, the buzzwords, that doesn't bother me, but… with the subject verb disagreements… I feel like I have to at least point that out… I can see that in their writing, and that's one of the problem areas that I don't wanna indulge by letting it slip…"

As shown in 4.3 TRANSLATION TASK, T4 shows remarkable proficiency in producing the features of written AAE, and claims to have enjoyed the process of doing the translation tasks. She stated earlier that she grew up around an AAE-speaking community, but was not herself a member. "Right… I didn't follow that lifestyle and at least I like tried to follow formal language… I think that's what… gives me that pass, because I can understand the language?... I think for most, [students] accept [my language]. I don't know that I'm…. in the club, I don't know that I'm like, ready to like, hang out in their 'hood, like they told me the other day… 'You can't walk in the 'hood.' And I'm like, 'Why not? I grew up in the 'hood… the situation like has to present itself… Because if I like forced it, then it would come off as fake."

Interestingly, T4 did not pick up the AAE features she knows from exposure alone, growing up or as a teacher. "[I]f you gave me that test my first year coming in? I- I don't know that I'd be able to like, find those little, I don't want to call them errors, 'cause it's like a cultural, like, language… I think it's just years of listening, and there's a pattern. Instead of just saying, 'They are,' they just… I wanna say that it's lazy, but it's like a shortcut, they just say 'They's'… 'He' instead of 'He is'… you just hear it in the way they speak …because they're comfortable, and that's… how they communicate. But then when they… oftentimes talk to me, I think most of our kids know how to like, switch over…" The syntax bothers her more because she feels that it affects students' writing in a way that lexical items do not.

Despite having grown up in a similar demographic, "I don't know that I heard it… I hung out with the smart kids?… they're a little more… they had two parents… they had educated

parents… if I were to hang out with the single-parent kids… maybe, like the education would be a little lower, on their parents, therefore influencing their language… with the Hispanic community, you don't hear, the 'they's' and… I guess my translations were based on the African-American race then."

It seems like T4 was motivated to learn these features from the students, as not all the teachers in the study picked up these features. "…I learned that early… my mistake as like a first, second year teacher is saying, 'This is the proper grammar. This is the way you should say' and that turned a lot of kids off. That's… saying, 'Your culture doesn't matter to me.'… I made it a point to like understand how… the translations happen, from like 'there is' to 'they's' to… 'He gonna', and then just know what it is they're trying to say… 'cause when you grade a paper, you grade on content and you grade on grammar… So you have to understand what the content is?... And give them credit for that." T4, whether or not she was aware of doing so, took Wolfram and Christian's (1989: 27-31) advice about understanding students' dialect features (see 2.3.1 ENGLISH VARIATION AND EDUCATION for further discussion).

While T4 has substantial competence, she does not use AAE syntax in class, but she does feel that it is important for teachers to learn the syntax of AAE or other varieties of English if for no other reason than to "understand where that student is coming from and try to build a rapport, say, 'Okay, I know this is how you speak at home, but we need to work on this'… but if you can't identify it … then you've just created a wall, and a level of distrust… and then you just lose that student altogether." T4 thinks her grading strategies have changed since she has acquired some of these features. "I would think there is a difference because now they know… what I'm looking for?... at the beginning… they wrote the way they spoke… I think gradually, with time… there was an improvement in their writing."

Naturally, these four teachers are all interested in building relationships with students because they are of a group that is willing to participate in a longitudinal study about teacher-student interactions. Also, the research site is a very small school that prides itself on its close teacher-student ratio and student-centered atmosphere. What are interesting are the differences in these teachers' strategies for building relationships and rapport, and how these strategies manifest themselves in their in-class performance and are evaluated by the students. A comprehensive picture of rapport-building strategies emerges from the analysis of all research methods employed in this study.

The interviews unfortunately revealed some deeper ideologies the teachers hold about their African American and Latino students that emerged from the discussions about the teachers' and students' language. T1 refers to her students' language as "laxed". T2 frequently positions Spanish speakers and Mexicans as outsiders, as in, "Uh, the Hispanic kids, I sometimes feel, are a little more distant, and I sense that if I could just speak Spanish, if they knew that I spoke Spanish, it would build kind of a cultural bridge to them, sort of as, as sort of a trust," "Hispanic kids, um, in some cases, are a little more reticent, I think, I sense, they're reticent to trust, but that may not, that may not be what's going on in their mind," "There are some, uh, that keep you at arm's length, for whatever reason. I sometimes think that culture, particularly language, plays some role in that. I- I just feel that if I were a Spanish speaker, I would instantly connect with some that, um, I don't want to say they're not trusting, that's not the case, but in a sense you're not one of them," "I have a uh, a, a Mexican girl, and we were doing uh, something, this is not so much hyperbole, we were doing uh, something on American immigration into Mexico, and so, knowing that her brothers, one of whom, both of whom I have taught, knowing that they're very much into immigration reform, and, and, having reason to believe that she very

much is, uh, in tune with that, I brought her up, sat her right next to me, and posed some questions to her, uh, saying, uh, 'Do you think it was reasonable of the Mexican government to expect Americans moving in to speak Spanish? Do you think it was reasonable, of the, of the Mexican government of the Americans moving in that they adopt the culture of Mexico?', knowing full well that that is some of the attitudes that non-Mexicans harbor towards people coming in [to the US]. And if she, if she says, 'Yes, that's a reasonable expectation,' I want her to confront, uh, sort of how people might view that today. It's not just about Mexicans, because in the twenties we were talking Poles, Serbians and Croatians, and Russians –" The same student had said, "That's so gay," and T2 responded, "Suppose you had said, 'Oh, that's so Mexican,' now how does that sound?'"

In her second interview, T3 says, "Because believe me, I could speak, you know, real ghetto with my friends if I had to. You know what I mean?" 'Talking ghetto' has become a commonplace term for using African American English; however, there are obvious negative implications inherent in using this expression, such as the equation of a language with a location of poverty and whatever other conditions have come to be associated with the term 'ghetto'. T4 refers to the use of *finna* and habitual 'be' as "a line that [she doesn't] cross." She also refers to the use of AAE as a "lifestyle" she didn't follow, later saying, "I wanna say that it's lazy, but it's like a shortcut," and that her exposure solely to the smart kids in her own classes prohibited her exposure to AAE. Perhaps most appalling, T4 states of her friends growing up, "You know, they're a little more on the like, you know, they had two parents, you know, they had educated parents, you know, I think that has a lot to do with um, you know, the language that's used at home. Um, if I were to hang out with the single-parent kids, or you know, maybe, like the education would be a little lower, on their parents, therefore influencing their language, I don't

know, I think economics has a lot to do with the language that is learned at home." She then conceded that the language issue was likely more racial than economic, but T4's associations of AAE with children of poor, uneducated single parents are startling.

While the initial intent of the interviews was to get a more well-rounded picture of the teachers' linguistic rapport-building strategies and their own linguistic backgrounds, quite a bit more was revealed through this method. In addition to beliefs and practices related to what the teachers felt about non-prestige language varieties in the classroom, underlying ethnocentric and arguably racist language ideologies emerged. If and how these ideologies are presented to the students will be discussed in sections 4.4 CLASSROOM RECORDINGS and 4.5 STUDENT SURVEYS.

4.3 TRANSLATION TASK

The results from all four teachers' performance on all four translation tasks are presented below. Some explanation is necessary to understand the data. In the tables, the '+' indicates a teacher's use of an attested feature of AAE that was not targeted, or in a context that was not targeted. The researcher felt it important to include whatever information the teachers provided about their knowledge of AAE, and so these additions were given 'credit', for lack of a better term. Occasionally, these additions included features that while attested in AAE literature, were not present in the recorded speech of the students. It is acknowledged that absence of evidence is not evidence of absence; however, it is interesting that these features would be included when there is no evidence of the students using them. Furthermore, examples of hypercorrection are noted, where the teacher posited a form of AAE that is not attested, and represents an improper application of an AAE grammatical rule.

The teachers participating in this study are all adults, but according to Siegel (2010: 84) it should be easier for younger adults (in this case only T1) to acquire D2 lexical and grammatical features. Actually, T1 arguably did the worst of all the teachers on this task, only beginning to show the acquisition of the feature of multiple negation.

Test #	# of features	Which features
1	0	N/A
2	1 +1	Mult neg Mult neg
3	1	Mult neg
4	1	Mult neg

Table 1. T1's written competence of AAE features

T1 has been teaching for the least amount of time, so her exposure to the students' dialects may be of the most limited degree. In her second interview, she mentions "double negatives" as a feature of AAE, but admits she has never overtly pursued any acquisition of AAE features.

T2's performance is considerably different from T1's performance, as it employs a greater range of AAE features, including multiple negation, copula deletion, third person singular *–s* deletion, possessive *–'s* deletion, and one example of consonant cluster reduction. Of these features, his most consistent performance is on multiple negation, copula deletion, and on the later tests third person singular *–s* deletion. He also included features attested in both the literature and the students' speech, such as *ain't* for *hasn't*, and *be*-leveling (see Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011 for extensive discussion on these two features).

Also of note is T2's use of subject expression on the translation task, worth mentioning in that subject expression is not a feature the researcher has found in her teaching experience in Chicago over the past ten years. In fact, while Fogel and Ehri (2006) included this feature in their training of pre-service teachers, this researcher excluded the feature (perhaps justifiably, as it only appeared once in the students' speech throughout all of the recordings). Interestingly, Fogel and Ehri found that subject expression was the most difficult feature for their teacher trainees to learn, perhaps because of its additive nature.

Test #	# of features	Which features
1	2 +4	Mult neg (1), poss –s del (1) Subj exp (1), "ain't ate"(1), 'was' del (1), CCS (1)
2	3 +4	Mult neg (1), cop del (2) Subj exp (1), 'have' del (1), cop del (1), mult neg (1)
3	11 +8	Mult neg (2), 3ps –*s* del (5), cop del (3), poss –*s* del (1) Subj exp (4), 'is' leveling (1), cop del (2), "whole life" > "ho life" (1)
4	4 +14	Mult neg (2), 3ps –*s* del (2) Subj exp (3), 3ps –*s* del (1), reduction (7), cop del (3)

Table 2. T2's written competence of AAE features

Even though T2 has been teaching longer than any of the others (combined, for that matter), he does not have the highest level of performance on this task. As he said in his interview, he has also not consciously pursued the acquisition of features of AAE.

T3 shows some acquisition of multiple negation, and a fairly consistent demonstration of *don't* leveling, but overall, there is nothing to indicate that her exposure to AAE in the classroom or in her previous career has had much effect on her understanding of AAE syntax. When she refers in her interview to the dialect being not the students', but hers, it's hard to say what she means. An analysis of what speakers like T3 do when they think they are speaking AAE would be a fascinating study, but is unfortunately out of the scope of this dissertation.

Test #	# of features	Which features
1	0	
	+1	Doesn't → don't (1)
2	0	
	+2	Doesn't → don't (1), mult neg (1)
3	0	
	+2	Doesn't → don't (1), plural *–s* del (1)
4	3	Mult neg (3)

Table 3. T3's written competence of AAE features

As shown in Tables 4 and 5, T4 demonstrated the highest level of AAE feature acquisition based on her performance on the translation tasks. She showed almost complete application of several features in the expected environments, the features of multiple negation, copula deletion, third person singular *–s* deletion, and possessive *–s* deletion. Less consistent were her application of habitual *be* and consonant cluster reduction, and like the other teachers did not include existential *it* at all.

Attested features she added were metathesis from *ask* to *aks*, post-vocalic /l/ deletion from *whole* to *ho,* post-vocalic /r/-deletion in two examples of *for* to *fo'* and *fo,* and *don't* leveling. She also substitutes *they's* or *theys* for *there's* in contexts where existential *it* would be expected (existential *it* shows up six times in the students' speech, where *they's* does not appear at all). While *they* for *there* has been attested, it "seems to be found only in southern-based vernaculars" (Wolfram and Christian 1989: 145), so it is curious that T4 would apply this rule to these Chicago speakers, especially given that she is from the same area and conducted her own dialect research with her students. The researcher can only guess that T4 picked up this feature from books or other media.

Test #	# of features	Which features
1	15 +5	Mult neg (5), 3ps –*s* del (2), cop del (4), poss –*s* del (3), hab 'be' (1) 3ps –*s* del (1), "there is" > "they" (1), "there was" > "theys" (1), **hyper (2) [alway' (1), hi' (1)]**
2	16 +9	Cop del (4), mult neg (4), 3ps –*s* del (4), CCS (2), poss –*s* del (2) 3ps –*s* del (2), CCS (1), aks (1), da' (1), "there's" > "they/ theys" (2), **hyper (1) [PT cop del (1)]**
3	14 +12	Cop del (3), mult neg (4), hab 'be' (2), CCS (1), 3ps –*s* del (4), poss –*s* del (2) 3ps –*s* del (1), "there's" > "theys" (5), "whole" > "'ho" (1), post-v –*r* del (2), hab 'be' (1); **hyper (2) ["'ll" del (1), hab 'be' (1)]**
4	15 +11	Cop del (4), mult neg (2), CCS (1), 3ps –*s* del (5), poss –*s* del (3) 3ps –*s* del (4), "there's" > "theys" (3), hab 'be' (1), mult neg (1), doesn't > don't (1), plural –*s* deletion (1)

Table 4. T4's written competence of AAE features

Also of interest is T4's hypercorrection in several places; although none of the errors is particularly surprising, they show that she has not completely mastered the rules for copula deletion, habitual *be*, and –*s* deletion. The phoneme/ inflection –*s* may be omitted in several contexts in AAE as explained in section 2.2.1 FEATURES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH. One example is third person singular verb forms, in which the form is subjected to leveling so as to be consistent with other verb forms (*I walk, you walk, he walk*…). Another environment is possessive –*'s* deletion, in which the null form replaces the –*'s* clitic (*My friend dog, Mr. Johnson chair*), but where possession is clearly indicated by the proximity of the two nouns. Yet another environment is plural –*s* deletion, which is sometimes tied up with final consonant cluster reduction (*twenty book, all of our desk/ des*), but where the plural form is often indicated superfluously in the modifier. Deletion of –*'s* can also be applied when the clitic represents the word *is*, in which case there is copula deletion. What T4 did in her responses was to change the word *always* to *alway'*, showing overapplication of –*s* deletion in inappropriate

contexts, and *his* to *hi'*, which may be the aforementioned overappplication or may be confusion about possessive –*s* deletion rules.

In addition to the hypercorrections involving –*s*, T4 applies copula deletion to the past tense, which violates the rule that you can omit the copula in cases where an 'apostrophe s' would have been used, in *but that in the past*. She also deletes the modal *will* from *no way he'll make a sound* to *no way he make a sound*. The final example of T4's hypercorrection is with the use of habitual *be* in the MAE sentence *Our dog's getting fat, but he moves fast and catches squirrels*. The expected change to AAE would have been *Our dog getting fat, but he move fast and catch squirrels*. Alternatively, *move* and *catch* could have been made habitual if the speaker/ writer wanted to show that the moving and the catching were habitual activities. What T4 wrote was *Our dog be gettin fat but he move fast and be catchin squirrels*. T4's sentence is akin to the MAE *Our dog is habitually getting fat, but he moves fast and habitually catches squirrels*. The use of habitual *be* in *be getting fat* does not make sense in the same way that *habitually catches squirrels* does. Habitual *be* is well-known to be a stereotyped feature (see section 2.2.1), which Siegel (2010: 125) notes are less likely to be acquired by speakers of other dialects.

T4's hypercorrection is of interest, especially because she is clearly the most proficient in AAE of all of the teachers in the study. Siegel (2010) discusses "overshooting" in terms of the learner's exaggeration of the D2 target form: "… some learners produce linguistic forms that are not found in their D1 but are not in the D2 either." (Siegel 2010: 55, 58-59). This may be what happened in the case of T4's hypercorrection or overgeneralization of AAE forms on the translation tasks, which has been found in cases where the D1 is of higher prestige than the D2 (Siegel 2010: 59-60, see also Baugh 1992, Cutler 1999, and Cutler 2010). "Thus, as a

consequence of incomplete SDA, learners will often use phonological or morphological interdialect forms – intermediate, overgeneralised or simplified. These would sound not quite right to a native speaker of the D2 and clearly identify the user as a non-native" (Siegel 2010: 60). Further discussion of the teacher's linguistic authenticity can be found in section 4.5.

The reader may wonder why the researcher would even expect the teachers to produce features of AAE when asked to envision the speech of their prototypical student, when only half the school population is identified as African American. This would be a fair question, and admittedly, it was a risk to expect that the teachers would do so. However, T1, T2, and T4 overtly mentioned that they had pictured an African American as their prototypical student, even though African American students only comprise about half the school's population. T3 insisted she did not have a particular student in mind at all, and thinks she would have done better had the task been oral rather than written, because "I don't write the way I speak either. That's, my writing is extremely formal, I mean, you know, I went to graduate school."

The interview responses proved to round out the study of acquisition nicely. In her first interview, T1 mentioned multiple negation, which is the only feature she shows evidence of acquiring. In their second interviews, T2 and T4 mentioned copula absence, a feature with which they show remarkable familiarity, and which is the most common feature present in the speech of the students in the recordings. Both T3 and T4 mentioned the term *finna* in their interviews (which represents 2% of the AAE features present in student speech), which T3 says she won't accept and T4 seems to prefer to habitual *be*, a feature that is relatively common among the students and with which T4 has some familiarity. T4 also mentions *they's* in her second interview, a feature of a different variety of AAE discussed earlier in this section.

Feature	T1	T2	T3	T4
Multiple neg	**0-2-1-1**	**1-2-2-2**	**0-1-0-3**	**5-4-4-3**
Cop del	**0-0-0-0**	**0-3-5-3**	**0-0-0-0**	**4-4-3-4**
3ps –*s* del	**0-0-0-0**	**0-0-5-3**	**0-0-0-0**	**3-6-5-9**
Poss –*s* del	**0-0-0-0**	**1-0-1-0**	**0-0-0-0**	**3-2-2-3**
Hab 'be'	0-0-0-0	0-0-0-0	0-0-0-0	1-0-3-1
CCS	0-0-0-0	1-0-0-0	0-0-0-0	0-3-1-1
Exist. 'it'	0-0-0-0	0-0-0-0	0-0-0-0	0-0-0-0

Table 5. Overall acquisition by feature.

Based on the information presented in Table 5, we may infer some tendencies about the order of AAE feature acquisition. From the data on T1 and T3, it may be that multiple negation is one of the first features to be acquired, and from T2's data, this feature may be followed by copula deletion, third person singular –*s* deletion, and possessive –*'s* deletion. However, based on T4's data, full grasp of grammatical rules for copula deletion may not be quickly acquired through naturalistic means. Only T4 uses third-person singular –*s* deletion and habitual *be*, possibly indicating that these features are acquired later. Since none of the teachers showed evidence of acquiring existential *it*, it may be inferred that this is a feature acquired only by advanced speakers of this dialect.

The teachers' performance on the translation tasks is also of interest in light of the students' actual use of these features. As will be explained in section 4.4.3 STUDENT AAE USE AND TEACHER RESPONSE, students most frequently used the feature of copula deletion (26.8%), followed by third person singular –*s* deletion (11.7%), habitual *be* (10.7%), and multiple negation (8.3%). It might be expected that teachers' acquisition of these features correspond with the students' actual use of the features, but this is clearly not the case. Most notably, why was multiple negation so readily acquired when copula deletion occurred in the students' speech more than twice as often, with only two of the four teachers showing any

acquisition of copula deletion? Habitual *be* is another interesting case. This feature is the third most prevalent in the students' speech, at 10.7%, and yet only T4 used it appropriately in the translation task. Furthermore, she attempted to use the feature inappropriately on one occasion.

Charity Hudley and Mallinson (2011) and others have attested to the use of multiple negation in other varieties of English besides AAE, and indeed in other languages such as French and Hebrew. As Green (2010: 119) explained, negative concord or multiple negation is much easier for non-AAE speakers to understand, especially as compared to aspectual uses of *be* in AAE. This research contributes to the understanding of multiple negation by adding that it is not only the feature most easily understood but also produced, apparently even in a context as unnatural as a written task.

Furthermore, copula deletion and habitual *be* are frequently misunderstood features of AAE (Rickford 1999), as explained in section 2.2.1 FEATURES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH. This misunderstanding has been known to lead to parody and mockery (Green 2004: 89; see also Hallett 2009 for further discussion of habitual *be* in literature), so it is unclear if the teachers' surprisingly low use of these features is a true lack of acquisition or perhaps a reluctance to risk coming across as stereotyping and offensive.

There is no doubt that T4 demonstrates the highest AAE feature acquisition of any of the teachers. She is not the youngest teacher, youth being claimed to be an asset in the acquisition of another dialect (Siegel 2010). She has also not been teaching the longest, so it cannot be assumed that her exposure to the dialect would be the most cumulative. T1 and T4 grew up in adjacent neighborhoods, with T3 being raised close by. The only thing T4 did to acquire these features that the other teachers did not do was to deliberately seek to understand them (cf. Wolfram and Christian 1989). According to her interview, T4 never intended to assert herself as a member of an AAE-speaking community, nor did she feel it would be appropriate for her to use these features in her own speech in the classroom. She sought to learn these features so she could be a better teacher, and while this study does not examine any evidence to determine if, in fact, she a) is a better teacher than she was or b) can attribute her skill as a teacher to her acquisition of these features, we will see in section

4.5 STUDENT SURVEYS that her students find her authentic and enjoy the relationship that she has built with them.

4.4 CLASSROOM RECORDINGS

T1 uses a highly formal tone in her class. Her speech is a high monotone, falling at the ends of her sentences. After students provide known answers, she typically repeats the students' answers. As students raise their hands, T1 addresses them by name. At one point, a student expresses confusion with a test item; T1 responds by saying that the student has the wrong edition of the textbook, hence the confusion. The teacher uses rhetorical "Okay?" frequently and "You know?" during the class. When T1 asks, somewhat out of character, "Do you think one of my questions is bogus?", students giggle. T1 congratulates high scorers on quizzes by name. In one class, a feeble joke about the Bering Strait falls flat. Overall, there is very little elicitation of student experience or connections. For the last few minutes of class there is little interaction as the teacher and students wait for the bell to ring.

T2 teaches somewhat "off-the-cuff". He often spends the first ten or so minutes of class at the board giving direct instruction. He relates some of his own family history, and asks the students for some of their family histories and current social statuses. He calls on the students by name, taking known answers; this portion of the class is highly interactive, but not overly creative. T2 jokes with his students, and feigns hurt feelings when a student uses the term "hillbillies". When a student asks about the preponderance of incest among hillbillies, T2 addresses the question seriously. He is not offended when students laugh at his hokey jokes and examples, and he too laughs at the jokes the students make. He calls on one girl to answer, whose brothers were T2's former students, and tells her that her brothers got this one right.

When she gets it wrong, T2 tells her, "I won't tell your brothers that you screwed up." The material in T1's and T2's classes is similar (both are U.S. History classes, although at different levels), but the teachers' styles are quite different.

T3 usually has her students seated in rows, but sometimes in groups, such as when students are working in literature circles. She circulates throughout the class. On one occasion there is a bellringer on the board in which sentences are to be corrected. One of these sentences reads, "I finna ate lunch." A student orally corrects it to "I fittin' to eat lunch", addressing the clear violation of tense in this sentence. The teacher repeats much of what the students say, uses a lot of rhetorical "Right?" and "Okay?", and incorporates pop culture and slang terminology into her teaching. Oddly, an issue arises again (see T1) with regard to students having different editions of a book. T3 resolves the issue quietly by going around to all of the students and finding the appropriate pages. She has a highly interactive manner, and provides positive feedback and gives thumbs up when checking books for annotations. When a student slips and addresses her as "Dude", she mocks offense: "DUDE?!" When another student lags behind his peers, she prods, "Come on, [student name], what's up?"

T4's class often begins with a review of whatever is being read, frequently involving providing known answers with clarification. T4 uses the board to further explain the answers, sometimes drawing diagrams. There is a great deal of repetition by T4 of what the students say, and a lot of "You know?"s. T4 occasionally tries to make analogies between the literature and the students' lives, at one point using popular slang that came across as funny when she said it. Referring to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern approaching Hamlet, she asks the class, "Who better to bring in than his BFFs?" Once when a student lazily answered a question with "Cuz.", T4

prodded, “Cuz, why?” For the majority of the classes, T4 remains at the podium in the front of the classroom.

While both T3 and T4 teach English literature classes, T3’s approach is much less formal than T4’s approach. It strikes the researcher, and seems to strike the students, as less jarring when T3 uses pop culture references and slang with the students, which is surprising given T4’s proficiency in AAE and her upbringing as more similar to that of her students.

Both T1 and T4 have similar classroom approaches – more scripted and conducted from the podium at the front of the room. T2’s approach is more one of lecture/ discussion, and T3’s approach is conversational, in which she is more like a guide than a repository of information. It should be noted that none of the teachers used AAE features in the recordings (not counting the aforementioned bellringer).

4.4.1 TYPE OF ENGAGEMENT

This section will briefly discuss the type of engagement found in each teacher’s classes, which will offer further insight into the environments most conducive to student use of AAE and the teacher’s responses to this linguistic practice.

T1’s classes are very predictable in their type of engagement. Most of the classes recorded involved highly textbook-regulated teaching, with T1 as the center of the discussion and student responses mediated through her, the possessor of the knowledge. This type of teaching style, as shown in example (1), falls into what Nystrand and Gamoran (1991) would consider procedural engagement.

(1) November 16, 2010

T1: What is the title of this map. Jordan?
Jordan: Geography of the Americas.

T1: Geography of the Americas. That's the only acceptable answer for that. Jordan, how did you know that's the title?
Jordan: It's in boldface on top.
T1: It's in bold letters and it's on the top. Good. Two – which empire flourished in the Yucatan peninsula? Kasey.
Kasey: The Mayan civilization.
T1: The Mayan civilization. The Mayans. [Students talking loudly but incomprehensibly in the back right]. Three, what mountain range is located at twenty degrees south latitude and sixty five degrees west longitude? What mountain range. Jelisa.
Jelisa: The Andes.
T1: The Andes mountains.

This style was quite commonplace for T1, who even used it when playing games with the students, as shown in (2). The team names are Gumdrops and Snorks.

(2) December 14, 2010

T1: All right, Gumdrops. Who was the ambitious military leader who was stabbed to death by his enemies because they worried that he planned to make himself king.
Gumdrop: Um, Julius Caesar?
T1: Julius Caesar. Snorks. Um, can you name for me a sacred text of Hinduism.
Snork: Bhagavad Gita?
T1: Bhagavad Gita.

T1 also incorporated a good deal of lecture into her class, which was manifest in the recordings as she showed slides of Renaissance artists and their work on one occasion, and on another spent about half the class explaining an assignment. When students participated in class, it was in a highly structured way: answering known-answer questions, asking for clarification, and reading from the textbook. Occasionally students deviated from the "script", but these deviations were incredibly rare. One such example is shown in (3).

(3) April 18, 2011

Pierre: Um, this is a weird question, um.
T1: Yeah.

Pierre: What would you think would happen, if we didn't have all these machines. I mean the machines supposed to make, make life easier. Um, so now, we get lazy.

T1: What is this, uh, um.

Pierre: No, this is just off the top of my head.

T1: [At podium, with hand over left eyebrow, leaning her head on her hand] Wall-E.

Pierre: Wall-E? [Class murmurs loudly].

Kasey: I didn't see that.

T1: Um, that's what, that's what Wall-E's about. Um, we have all this technology, um, and, and we're relying on it, and we, we waste all the, all the Earth [expands hands outward in front of her], and then we have this, like, other remote place [gestures upwards and out to her left] out here, kinda reserved here, essentially we rely on technology so much that we've become so lazy that we're absolutely useless.

Pierre: It was more organized like, without it, so do you think, like, in, like, the near future, it's gonna get worse?

T1: Okay. Um, I mean, that's one of those things you're really gonna have to look at, obviously we're becoming aware of a lot of problems? Uh, there's just the issue, we've got a, a movement to recycle? Uh, the idea of, global, global warming, um, being more proactive? We know the biggest concern now? Is obesity? Um, so reevaluating our diet plans? Um, our, youth, um, uh, organizations? Like sports organizations. So yeah, we have noticed that there has been a trend towards obesity, um, even looking at, uh, fast foods that are available and the way that food's processed nowadays? So, I think it's one of those concerns that, um, we're aware of it, and we're going to address it. But other concerns are going to come up. Uh, we just, um, I just, uh, seen this somewhere, um, uh, a big concern, probably about ten years ago? Was a lot kids, um, being autistic? And, and dealing with that? Not dealing with it, but just finding different means to [student coughs, so this word is unintelligible]. Um, the next wave, coming through, is anxiety and depression. Um, a lot of it is based on, um, uh, one study's actually Facebook. That by having a Facebook you're actually more prone to depression. Why do you think so.

Ty: Because of all the drama.

T1: Okay, so the drama? The anxiety of having to do something? Um, the fact that, when you see people on Facebook it's like everybody has a life but maybe you don't? Um, everybody updates their statuses, maybe, maybe they put a whole bunch of pictures up? Looks like they're having a great time? Uh, so that's actually a thing, so, um, whether you've experienced that or not? It's something that the next ten or twenty years, in the medical field, in the psychological field, they're gonna have to deal with. Uh, there's a lot of anxiety because there's a huge emphasis on formal education, uh, getting straight As, uh, and being prepared for college, going to the best college, etc cetera. So, I'm not gonna change the subject any, I know it's there, but I'm just saying the different problems that, arise within society and society just, uh, has to figure something out. Okay. Uh, the Dutch led the way tremendously?

Um, uh, the idea of dikes, having to set up, kind of like barriers to take advantage of all the land as possible? Uh, this is where they said, uh, also crop rotation, um, using fertilizer from livestock –

Pierre: Uh-oh.

In the exceedingly long example above, Pierre asks a thoughtful question that demonstrates that he is connecting to the material. T1 playfully suggests that he is reliving the plot of the movie *Wall-E*. A few opportunities present themselves for turning the course content into a substantive class discussion, in which students can talk about their own ideas and T1 can step out of the role of hub for a few minutes. Unfortunately, this substantive discussion was not what transpired; rather, the class diverged to a non-textbook topic but retained the procedural engagement.

T2's classes were very similar to Example (3). T2 rarely incorporates a textbook into his classes, but it is clear that he is the repository of all information (his age, time teaching, and subject of history doing nothing to convey otherwise). As will be shown in 4.4.2 DISCUSSION STYLE AND TURN-TAKING, his length of turn is comically long. Typically T2 will sit in a rolling chair at the front of the class, occasionally writing something on the board, but seated at the front or rolling around for the vast majority of the class period. It may help the reader to conceive of T2's manner as if he were the host of a talk show on which he is the only guest. He employs rhetorical questions and asides to a few of his students as if they were his bandleader. T2 laughs a great deal at his own jokes, and thinks he plays very well to the camera and to his "audience" of viewing students. When he does ask questions of his students, they are typically of the known-answer variety, although not evidently from a textbook, as T1's are. One example of this type of questioning is shown in (4).

(4) November 17, 2010

T2: I want to use the word status [writes on the board], but now you know I'm talking about class. What does status mean, um, Christopher? What is status?

James: Like, your rank in society?

T2: It's your rank, compared to other people, and although you haven't had sociology yet, what usually determines your rank.
Juan: Money?
T2: It's, it's typically money, and in, in, in contemporary American society, our money is a function of what. Where do we get our money.
Juan: Work? Profession?
T2: It, and, give me another word for profession. Not synonymous, 'cause many of you have folks that are not professionals?
Kristy: A job.
T2: It's their job. Your job determines the amount of money you make, money is one of the determinants, it's not the only one, it's one of the determinants of your status.

Again, the type of engagement shown in (4) is procedural, as it involves known answers. In (5), which is a continuation of the topic in (4), T2 attempts to relate the material to student experience.

(5) November 17, 2010

T2: Fabian, what's your wealth, in? Your family? Does your, is your family wealthy?
Fabian: Middle class. [Motorcycle passes by audibly.]
T2: Pardon?
Fabian: Middle class.
T2: Uh, does your family have wealth?
Fabian: Yeah?
T2: Sure does. And, uh, you're describing yourself as, uh, middle class? Is that correct?
Fabian: Sure.
T2: And what determines your wealth?
Fabian: Money.
T2: Typically, the- the amount of money that your family brings home from their jobs, you agree? How 'bout the name Ramirez [Fabian's last name]? Is that gonna impress Chicagoans?
Fabian: Is that gonna what?
T2: Impress Chicagoans?
Fabian: I doubt it.
T2: You got it right. On the other hand, if your name were Jesse Jackson, Junior? Would that impress Chicagoans?
Fabian: Maybe.
T2: It might. Your name, also will cause you to have some status. You'll learn this at your, sociology. But the very fact that you're a Kennedy, a Rockefeller, a Carnegie, uh, in Illinois a Jackson, if you come from a name that is familiar, then it'll probably give you a certain status, regardless, of your wealth. But for most of us, it is a case of wealth.

Example (6) shows something similar, again in an exchange involving T2 and Fabian. In (6), T2 repeats his question that has up to this point encouraged a long string of answers T2 considers wrong. He is agitated.

(6) May 10, 2011

T2: Who is the equivalent, in rap, of Elvis, Presley.
Fabian: Eminem.
T2: Eminem. [Fabian slaps his hands together in self-congratulation and smirks.] The White, who makes rap, respectable, and the White community, and others, get logged in, to the music.
Kevin: No.
T2: Well, it's not important whether you believe that, it's the case. And, and so, as a result, people like Eminem and Elvis Presley represent a bridge, to a whole new group of listeners, and uh, and so, as you go into the fifties, this will be one of the themes. Okay, from there, now you can take a look at the politics, and all that sort of stuff there, but I kinda wanted to set the tone for you in terms of, culture, [to Fabian] yes. [T2 wheels over.]

While the connections between the material and the students' lives can be said to have been attempted, the type of engagement is still procedural, as there is no larger discussion and there is nothing student-driven about the topic of conversation. In Example (7), the student drives the topic of conversation. Similarly to what happens to Pierre in (3) above, the teacher commandeers the floor, and no student-centered discussion follows.

(7) January 19, 2011

Jose: Why do the, why do the people prefer like a military person as president.
T2: I don't know, but you know, I can't say for sure, but it's happened a lot through history. And in fact, when Bill Clinton ran for office, I did not vote for Bill Clinton. I did not dislike Bill Clinton. But Bill Clinton was the first person that I knew, who had not served in the military. When I was born, Harry Truman, was president, he had served, in World War One. He was followed by Eisenhower, who had, uh, who had been the head of uh, uh, the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe. He was followed by Jackson, who had served as a soldier, in World War Two, he was followed by Nixon, who had served in World War Two, Kennedy, before Johnson, was a, was a uh, World War Two veteran and a hero. Jimmy Carter had been a graduate of the United

> States Naval Academy, he was a nuclear engineer, which brings you up I think to Ronald Reagan, it wasn't uncommon, for some of these people, to serve in the military, but they would serve stateside. Uh, and so, it may be that what they want Ronald Reagan to do is to do something with Hollywood. But wearin' the uniform, was a, was a badge of honor. And almost everyone in my lifetime because of World War One, Kore- World War Two, Korea, and then Vietnam, almost all those people were in fact, veterans of war.

T2 states he doesn't know the answer to Jose's question, which would be as good an opportunity as any to throw the question out to other students to try to answer. However, T2 proceeds to enumerate every president and their military records since T2 was born, effectively shutting down the opportunity for discussion on this topic.

At the completely opposite end of the spectrum are T3's classes. The seven classes that were recorded were all completely different from each other. In the first class, students were in groups, participating in literature circles, with T3 circulating through the room addressing questions and offering help. Because the students were asking questions of each other within their roles and with the pages they were assigned, the entire experience was indicative of substantive learning. In several of the classes, students gave presentations. Again, their presentations were student-driven within the parameters given, so the engagement was substantive. One of these presentations is shown in (8) below, in which Caleb raps about characters in *Of Mice and Men*.

(8) December 10, 2010

Caleb: Aiight, y'all. We gon' crunk! [Holding up his piece of art.] It's supposed to be the other way around right here, but I couldn't find the picture? This is where, he got his arm broke? In California her, Crescent Ridge. It's the White men chasing him, running from the police. He was a light heavyweight champion, 'cause that's where the boxing gloves, poom. [Rapping] He's really got no class, that's why Lennie broke his wrist like shattered glass, beautiful wife he treated like trash, [giggles] too bad she didn't last. I 'on' know. [Laughs. Other students and T3 laugh.]
T3: [Seated at her desk] Wow.
Caleb: So with that rifle in his hand, he was mad, didn't even care that his wife passed, on top of that, Big Boy didn't, when George said, he learned the hard way, got shot in the back of his head.
T3: Wow.
Caleb: Cold.
T3: Wow. [Students and T3 clap. Caleb walks over to T3's desk and hands her his collage.] Interesting. [Caleb swaggers back to his seat. T3 gets up and hold up the collage.] Did everyone see it? You can pass it around. [Hands it to student in front row.] All right. Does anybody have any questions for Caleb? Was that O.C.? [Caleb is known for saying, "O.C.", or "out of control", quite often.]

Presentations do not typically take up the whole period. A poetry analysis follows the *Of Mice and Men* presentations that is conducted largely in a procedural known-answer style. In a later class, T3 instructs the students about how to write a persuasive essay. While parts of the lesson are of the known-answer variety (such as where to put a thesis statement), T3 also incorporates the students' contributions into the larger lesson, as in (9).

(9) January 19, 2011

T3: Yeah. [Writing on the board.] Back it up. Right? If you're gonna persuade me of something, if you tell me to go, jump in Lake Michigan off the, Skyway bridge.
Ashley: You gotta say why.
T3: Better tell me why!
Reggie: 'Cause it's a, very hot day.
Lexi: 'Cause they don't want-
Reggie: 'Cause it's fun.
T3: Look! I've got all this persuasion, it's fun, it's a hot day, thanks, Reggie. [Students laugh.] You die, I don't know.
Reggie: You could die from the heat.
T3: Or you could say why you shouldn't drop off the, jump off the bridge, right?

The reader should not get the impression that T3's classes involve only substantive engagement; for example, there are plenty of occasions in which the class has a highly interactive discussion about topics that are far afield of the topic. These topics have included dog training, T3's high school cheerleading career, and pregnant gangbangers. Just as often, class discussion revolves around the class content. In example (10), the students discuss the books they've read in class, and whether they like them better than the book they're currently reading, *Monster*, in which the protagonist is in jail awaiting trial.

(10) May 10, 2011

Justin: [Holding up the book] Romeo and Juliet was easier than this. [T3 clutches her chest and reels back dramatically.]
Jennifer: Wowww. Romeo and Juliet, if you started reading, there was foreshadowing. Simile! Metaphor!
T3: Well, there is in this book too, you guys should be picking them up.
Jennifer: Whatever. I don't gotta do rhyme schemes.
Justin: I'd rather find oxymorons [Ashley laughs] and stuff like that, than look at this book, and read, a movie.
Jennifer: So? I don't-
T3: Okay, well, everybody's entitled to their own opinion. Thank you, uh, who does think this is the best book we've read so far. [A few students raise their hands.]
Jennifer: No! Night is.
Sarai: Night.
T3: Night too! Oh, my goodness, I could've saved Night for last. [Class erupts with loud interjections of "No!" and "Yeah!"]
Jabari: It was a field trip for Night, too. That was good.
T3: Oh, you liked the field trip.
Jennifer: Yeah, are we gonna go on a field trip for this book?
Lexi: No.
T3: Uhhhhhhhh, no.
Justin: Let's go to jail.
Lexi: We should do that!
T3: Hey!
Lexi: Let's go to prison.
T3: Let's all, let's all go to prison! Hey, let's elect, uh, Justin class officer, he can impress all of us.
Jennifer: Nah, I'm, I'm good.
Lexi: Justin, I love you.
T3: I do not wanna go to jail with all of you guys.

Jennifer: Have y'all ever seen Robocop? Be like him.
Justin: I wanna be a mall cop.
T3: You know what? Seriously. Shhh.
Caleb: So we can see if you be bad.
T3: No, he says we should go to a jail. I wish we could, uh, maybe next year, how's that?
Jennifer: Next year?! We not gonna have you next year!
Ashley: You're not gonna have us next year.
T3: That's okay.
Justin: We'll go with [the other English teacher] then.
T3: Yeah. Could you take 'em all to jail? Please.
Jennifer: Can we? Please. Please?
Lexi: He'll be like, I don't wanna.
T3: Yeah, really. Take 'em all to jail.
Jennifer: If we go to some museum where we see some people dying, why can't we go to jail where people alive? [Researcher laughs audibly at this question, as does the whole class.]

Even though the students are goofing off, it is clear from the discussion what they have accomplished over the school year: they have read *Romeo and Juliet* and *Night*, studied literary devices and rhyme scheme, and gone on a field trip to the Holocaust Museum. They are able to explain their preferences using terms they did not know at the beginning of the year. While printing this discussion is in no way a formal assessment of the students' aptitude in literature, it is indicative of the power of discussion and substantive engagement in getting students to internalize the content and relate it in meaningful ways to their own experiences.

T4's classes are similar to T1's in that there is quite a bit of known-answer, or procedural engagement; however, there is also a good amount of explanation that accompanies the known-answer questioning. While this type of engagement is still not student-centered, it attempts to connect the material to the students' experience.

An example of T4's typical post-reading classroom engagement is shown in (11), in which T4 is trying to help the students understand the scene in Hamlet where Polonius sends Reynaldo to Paris to get information about Laertes.

(11) November 15, 2010

T4: By what trick is Reynaldo supposed to get information about Laertes?
Marcus: Um, dishonor?
T4: Be more specific. [Waits.] If you're Reynaldo, how would you go about finding information about, Laertes, or someone else.
Marcus: Ask him?
T4: Directly?
Marcus: Well, send somebody to ask him. [T4 stares at Marcus with a pained look.]
Tim: Really?
T4: Okay. Let's say, um, let's say there's this girl that you like. Girl A. [Students laugh.] And, you know that Girl A hangs out with Girl B. [Writes A and B on the board, and draws stick figure girls underneath the letters. Students laugh.]
Tim: Who's prettier? [Researcher giggles.]
T4: If you wanna find information about Girl A, how could you get that information.
Tim: Girl B.
David: Talk to Girl B!
T4: Sh- you ask Girl B. Very good. All right, so, if you were Reynaldo, how would you find out information about, Laertes.

T4 is clearly trying to make the point that you would Reynaldo would talk to Laertes' friends if he wanted information about Laertes. The students took a long time to make the connection between Hamlet and their own lives, but T4's redirection did help. The argument could be made that T4's style is largely procedural, with very brief moments of substantive engagement for clarification.

Student presentations also occur in two of the classes, in which students are supposed to summarize the chapters and answer questions in the study guide (which all students are expected to understand for the unit test). In (12), Shawn has just presented his chapter for *Dracula*. T4 has teasingly encouraged Shawn's classmates to ask him questions to ensure his understanding.

(12) April 19, 2011

Efren: How do you feel about the chapter, Shawn? Tell us your feelings.
Shawn: It was good. [A couple of students laugh.] Yes, Colette.
Colette: What do you think the chapter foreshadows.
Shawn: What? [Class laughter.]
Colette: What do you think the chapter foreshadows.
Shawn: What's foreshadow.

Colette: Right. Basically, what do you think is gonna happen at the end?
Shawn: Oh. Well, I think, just like, I think he just has to come like, basically, I think Count is actually, I have a feeling, like, he's gonna, try to turn her? Because he seems like really to appear in her illusions? So I have a feeling she might like, and like Dracula's life or something like that.

Since the questions are coming from the students to other students, this exercise that began as T4 teasing Shawn resulted in some pretty substantive engagement, with one student even teaching another a literary term (granted, one he should have known). By stepping back from the center of the class, T4 has allowed the students the freedom to learn in a substantive way.

By employing the terms 'procedural engagement' and 'substantive engagement', we are better equipped to discuss the teachers' styles and the effects these styles have on the teachers' and students' language. As shown in section 4.4.3 STUDENT AAE USE AND TEACHER RESPONSE type of engagement will be very important in understanding student use of AAE.

4.4.2 DISCUSSION STYLE AND TURN-TAKING

In addition to the type of engagement, discussion style and turn-taking strategies reveal much about the kind of classroom environment that these teachers are fostering.

In the tables below, the number of turns for each teacher and all the students combined is tabulated per class (T1-1 is the first classroom recording for T1, T3-5 is the fifth classroom recording for T3, and so on), and totaled. The average number of turns overall for all teachers is 1655. Student-to-teacher turn ratio is calculated by dividing student turns by teacher turns, such that the smaller the number, the more teacher turns there are. This ratio is important because a low number would indicate a more teacher-centered classroom, in which the discourse is conducted around the teacher as the central hub. A higher number would indicate a more

student-centered classroom, in which students are not only engaging with the teacher but with each other, resulting in less back-and-forth discourse with the teacher.

Also represented in the table are the total number of words per teacher and all students combined, per class, and also overall. The total number of student words and teacher words are divided by the total words overall to give a percentage of words overall. Thus, we are able to see how much 'airtime' students are getting versus teachers in terms of number of words. A higher percentage of teacher words indicates a more teacher-driven class.

The last piece of turn-taking interest (which may be deduced from the others) is the average number of student and teacher words per turn. This number gives some insight into the type of discourse the students are having with the teacher. Low numbers for both student and teacher would indicate a high degree of quick back-and-forth discourse. High numbers for both student and teacher would indicate a deeper level of discussion on both sides. A high number of words per teacher turn with a low number of words per student turn would indicate a teacher lecture style, with students asking short questions or giving short answers, and a high number of words per student turn with a low number of teacher words per turn would be indicative of a deep level of student discourse with the teacher truly serving in the role of guide.

As shown in Table 6, T1's classes have a total of 1540 turns, which is close to the average total number of turns. The student-to-teacher turn ratio is 1.1, so this is a highly teacher-centered class. Student speech comprises 10.4% of the total speech per class, with teacher speech making up the other 89.6%, indicating that the teacher drives the vast majority of the discourse. The average number of student words per turn is low, at 4.7, and the average number of teacher words per turn is a relatively high 42.8, indicating a teacher lecture style.

	T1-1	T1-2	T1-3	T1-4	T1-5	T1-6	T1-7	Totals	
S Turns	78	162	102	80	118	140	112	**792**	
T Turns	76	155	102	76	113	120	106	**748**	
Total Turns	**154**	**317**	**204**	**156**	**231**	**260**	**218**	**1540**	
S-to-T turn ratio	1	1	1	1.1	1	1.2	1.1	**1.1**	
S Words	308	694	437	734	533	453	552	**3711**	10.4%
T Words	3875	3031	4853	6611	4143	5292	4220	**32025**	89.6%
Total Words	**4183**	**3725**	**5290**	**7345**	**4676**	**5745**	**4772**	**35736**	
Avg S Words/turn	3.9	4.3	4.3	9.2	4.5	3.2	4.9	**4.7**	
Avg T Words/ turn	51	19.6	47.6	87	36.7	44.1	39.8	**42.8**	

Table 6. T1's turn-taking strategies

Table 7 shows the turn-taking numbers from T2's classes. The number of total turns is low, at 1065, with an average student-to-teacher turn ratio of 1.1, again indicating a teacher-centered classroom. Student speech comprises a mere 5.6% of the total speech, with teacher speech making up the other 94.4%. The teacher drives almost all of the discourse. The average number of student turns is an extremely low 3.6, and the average number of teacher words per turn is a staggering 69.8, again a sign of a lecture style classroom.

	T2-1	T2-2	T2-3	T2-4	T2-5	T2-6	T2-7	Totals	
S Turns	190	57	27	108	69	37	80	**568**	
T Turns	162	45	26	90	60	34	80	**497**	
Total Turns	**352**	**102**	**53**	**198**	**129**	**71**	**160**	**1065**	
S-to-T turn ratio	1.2	1.3	1	1.2	1.2	1.1	1	**1.1**	
S Words	601	319	177	280	203	170	297	**2047**	5.6%
T Words	4255	5040	5464	5354	5753	4216	4633	**34715**	94.4%
Total Words	**4856**	**5359**	**5641**	**5634**	**5956**	**4386**	**4930**	**36762**	
Avg S Words/turn	3.2	5.6	6.6	2.6	2.9	4.6	3.7	**3.6**	
Avg T Words/ turn	26.3	112	210.2	59.5	95.9	124	57.9	**69.8**	

Table 7. T2's turn-taking strategies

T3's numbers are evidence of a different style of discourse, as shown in Table 8. The total number of turns is 2892, the highest of all the teachers' classes. Her student-to-teacher turn ratio is also the highest, at 1.5, which indicates that more than one student tends to speak before the teacher takes her turn again, so there is less evidence of T3 being the hub of conversation, and thus there is evidence of a less teacher-centered classroom.

The percentage of student words overall is also quite high at 39.2%, compared to T3's 60.8%. Students in this class maintained a higher percentage of the discourse than students in any of the other classes, indicating a more student-driven level of classroom discourse. Average number of student words per turn is also much closer to teacher number of words per turn, at 8.6 to 19. Relative to the other teachers' classes, T3's students' numbers are higher than T1 and T2's students, while T3's numbers are by far the lowest of all the teachers. As T3's numbers are still more than twice as high as her students' numbers, it cannot quite be said that her role is as guide and that this is a completely student-driven class; however, it would be fair to say that there is a relatively deep level of student discourse from which T3 steps back somewhat as compared to the other teachers.

	T3-1	T3-2	T3-3	T3-4	T3-5	T3-6	T3-7	Totals	
S Turns	115	296	300	140	324	213	312	**1700**	
T Turns	68	216	230	125	242	78	233	**1192**	
Total Turns	183	512	530	265	566	291	545	**2892**	
S-to-T turn ratio	**1.7**	**1.4**	**1.3**	**1.1**	**1.3**	**2.7**	**1.3**	**1.5**	
S Words	525	2643	1515	1597	2693	2700	2947	**14620**	39.2%
T Words	1726	4187	4419	3437	3994	1148	3787	**22698**	60.8%
Total Words	**2251**	**6830**	**5934**	**5034**	**6687**	**3848**	**6734**	**37318**	
Avg S Words/turn	4.6	8.9	5	11.4	8.3	12.7	9.4	**8.6**	
Avg T Words/ turn	25.3	19.4	19.2	27.5	16.5	14.7	16.25	**19**	

Table 8. T3's turn-taking strategies

T4's classroom discourse is like that of T1 in some ways and like that of T3 in others. The total number of turns for her classes is on the low side, at 1124. Her classes' student-to-teacher turn ratio is higher than T1's and T2's ratios, at 1.2, but much lower than T3's ratio, so still quite teacher-centered. The percentage of student and teacher words per class is similar to that of T3's classes (though not as even), with student words comprising 33.2% and teacher words 66.8%. Again, this is indicative of a move toward student-driven discourse. Students in T4's classes average 12.9 words per turn, the highest of any of the classes, indicating a deeper level of student discourse. T4 averages 32.4 words per turn, which is low for a teacher, relatively speaking, though not as low as T3's average number of words. T4 is neither a lecturer nor a guide.

	T4-1	T4-2	T4-3	T4-4	T4-5	T4-6	T4-7	Totals	
S Turns	145	60	95	96	46	81	101	**624**	
T Turns	119	53	80	80	38	56	74	**500**	
Total Turns	264	113	175	176	84	137	175	**1124**	
S-to-T turn ratio	**1.2**	**1.1**	**1.2**	**1.2**	**1.2**	**1.4**	**1.4**	**1.2**	
S Words	1203	320	903	619	384	2603	2040	**8072**	33.2%
T Words	4368	3038	1591	1318	2788	1410	1710	**16223**	66.8%
Total Words	**5571**	**3358**	**2494**	**1937**	**3172**	**4013**	**3750**	**24295**	
Avg S Words/turn	8.3	5.3	9.5	6.4	8.3	32.1	20.2	**12.9**	
Avg T Words/ turn	36.7	57.3	19.9	16.5	73.4	25.1	23.1	**32.4**	

Table 9. T4's turn-taking strategies

Not surprisingly, the results of the turn-taking analyses correlate well with the observations above of type of engagement. Classes that are high in percentage of teacher words and teacher words per turn tend to be more teacher-centered and procedural in type of engagement. Classes that have a high student-to-teacher turn ratio, percentage of student words, and student words per turn tend to involve more substantive engagement and be more student-centered. In section 4.4.3 STUDENT AAE USE AND TEACHER RESPONSE, we will see how type of engagement and discourse style relate to student use of AAE.

4.4.3 STUDENT AAE USE AND TEACHER RESPONSE

The teachers did not employ features of AAE syntax in their discourse, but the students did. While the fact that students used AAE is uninteresting, or at the very least unsurprising, the contexts for the AAE use were illuminating.

There were 205 total instances of recorded student AAE use. Figure 1 shows instances of student AAE use by ethnicity and gender. Obviously, the largest number of instances were spoken by African American students (n=194), but there were ten instances of Hispanic students

using AAE features (copula deletion [4], *was* leveling [1], vocabulary [2], existential *it* [1], and multiple negation [2]), and one instance of a White student using multiple negation. These data support claims that AAE is not only used by African Americans. Female students also used more features of AAE than their male peers, 111 to 94.

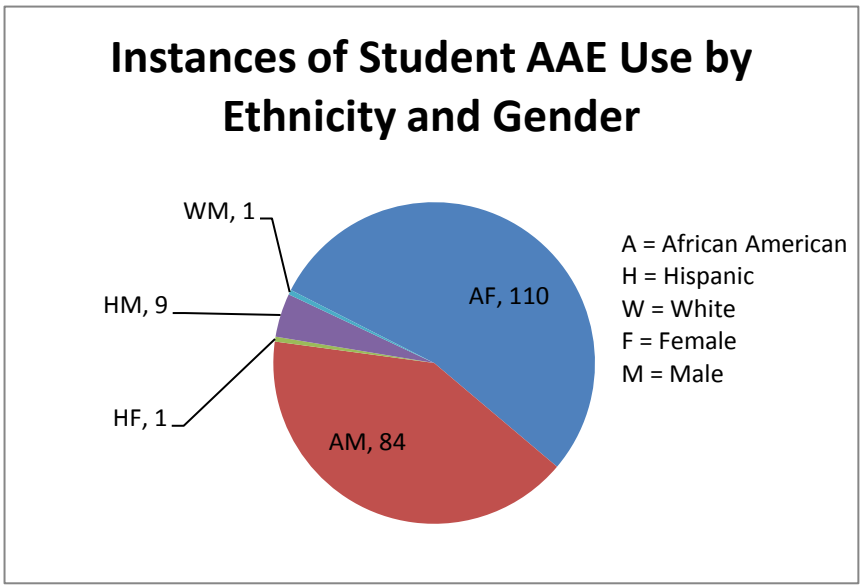


Figure 1. Instances of student AAE use by ethnicity and gender

Figure 2 shows the feature usage by number, with the red arrows representing features examined in the teachers' translation tasks. By far the most common feature in the students' speech was copula deletion at 55 (26.8%), followed by third-person singular *–s* deletion at 24 (11.7%), habitual *be* at 22 (10.7%), and multiple negation at seventeen (8.3%). Vocabulary items such as 'aiight' and 'cold' were used sixteen times (7.8%), *r*-deletion fourteen times (6.8%), *was*-leveling eleven times (5.4%), *ain't* and possessive *–s* deletion at seven each (3.4%), existential *it* six times (2.9%), and nonstandardized past participle use five times (2.4%). *A* for *an*, *fiitng to*/ *finna*, and *is*-leveling each occurred four times in the data (2%). Consonant cluster resolution and *don't* leveling each occurred three times (1.5%), and plural *–s* deletion, subject expression (see discussion above) and *them* for *those* occurred only once each in the data (0.5%).

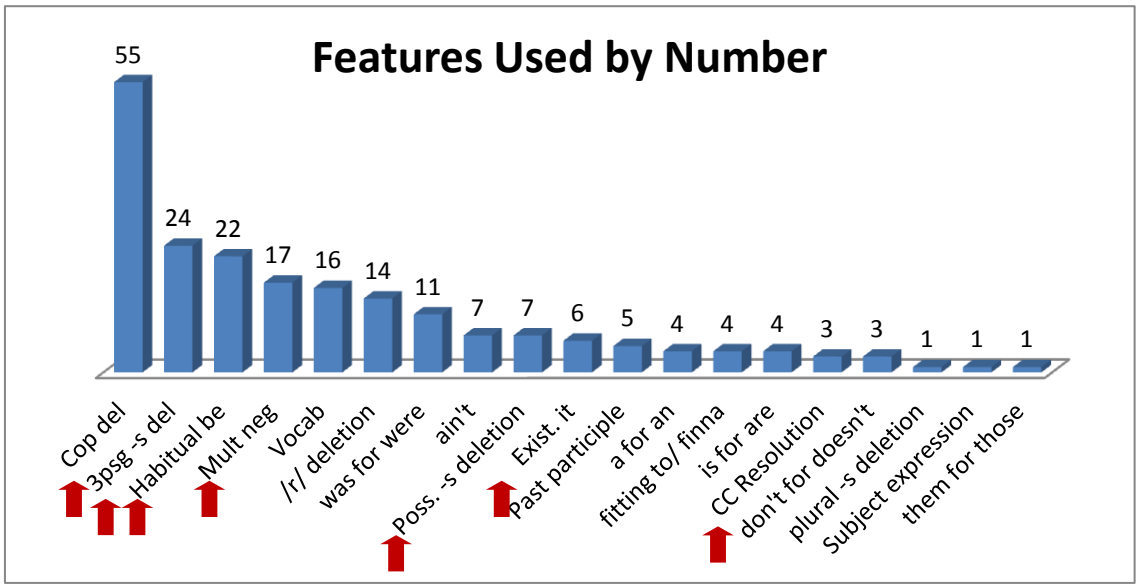


Figure 2. Student use of AAE features by feature

The picture becomes more interesting when we see in whose classes students are using AAE. T1's students use only 4% of the recorded features. T2's students use only 2% of the recorded features. T3's students use a whopping 87% of the recorded features. T4's students use 7% of the recorded features. What explains this distribution? One obvious answer would be that students said the most words in T3's class (14,620), so naturally they would be more likely to use AAE in her class. Another obvious answer is that T2's students said the least words in his class (2047), so they would be least likely to use AAE. We can check this theory by adding up total student words for all the teachers (28,450), and figuring percentages of student words for each teacher's class. The percentage of total words for T1's students is 13.0%, for T2's students 7.2%, for T3's students, 51.4%, and for T4's students, 28.4%. The breakdown of number of words spoken by each teacher's students cannot fully account for the distribution of AAE features among the classes.

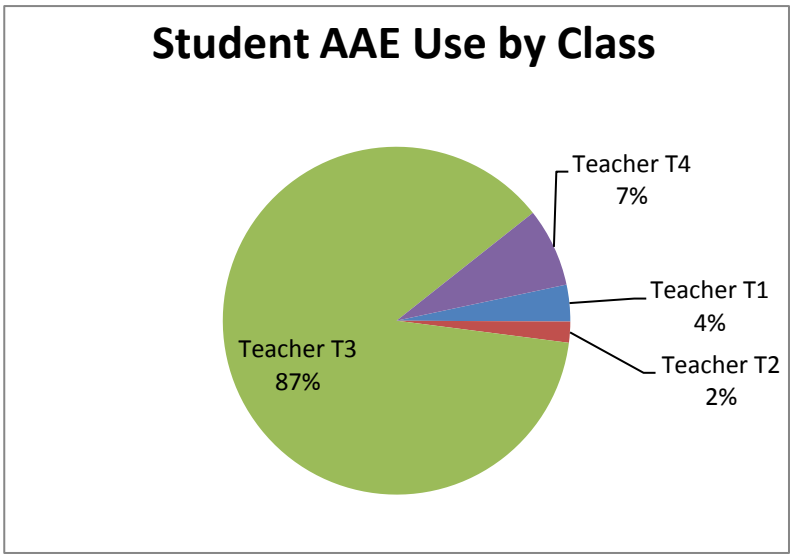


Figure 3. Student AAE use by class

Perhaps more illuminating is the type of engagement in progress when the student uses AAE. Figure 4 shows the student use of AAE by the type of engagement: procedural or substantive. Three additional types of engagement were added. Non-engagement is the case in which the student was either not participating in the goings-on of class or the exchange occurred before or after the teaching portion of the class. Digression from content is the term for in-class, teacher-supported discourse that is far afield of the topic. In a few contexts, the type of engagement was unclear. The examples below illustrate the use of AAE in during different types of engagement.

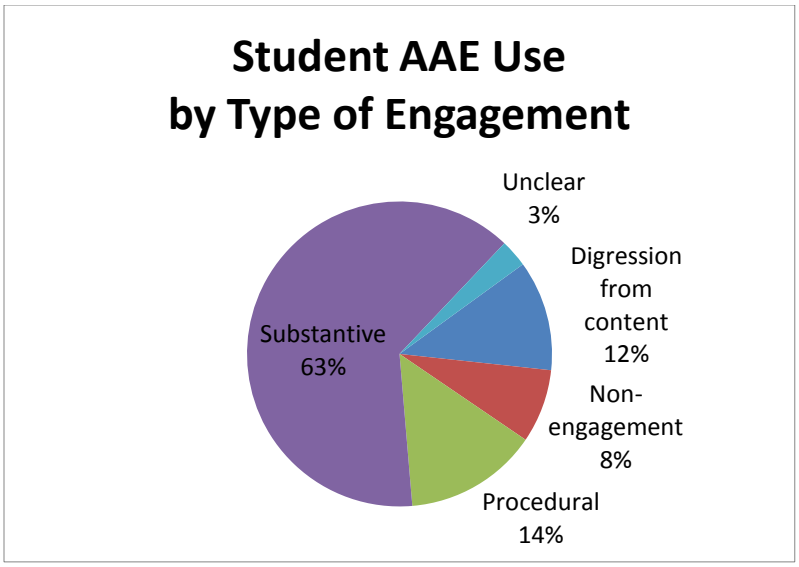


Figure 4. Student AAE use by type of engagement

In example (12), Dante explains to T1 why he hasn't turned in an assignment. His speech includes the use of habitual *be*, and T1 does not respond to Dante's statement, nor does she address his use of AAE.

(12) Procedural engagement; February 15, 2011

T1: Um, Dante. Remind me again. Did you not turn it in? Or was it a no.
Dante: Naw, it's not the fact that it's a no, it's just, I be so busy. And I could turn it in by tomorrow.
T1: Um, Miguel, just for today, can I have you, um, sit in back?

In (12) we can see that Dante uses AAE during procedural engagement with T1, in this case responding to a question about an assignment. Another example of AAE use during procedural engagement occurs in T2's class, in which T2 is pretending not to understand a student's question about incest among hillbillies.

(13) November 17, 2010

James: Is it true that hillbillies sleep with their family members.
T2: Well, uh, beds weren't real common, so it's entirely possible that uh, people were sharing beds.
Damon: No, he ain't talking about that.
James: I'm not talking about that.
T2: You're not talking about sleep?

In (13), Damon uses *ain't*, which T2 does not address (although interestingly, James uses the more prestigious form). Damon's contribution to the conversation is procedural because it is solely to help T2 understand James' question.

Example (14) shows two uses of AAE during substantive engagement, in which T3's class is discussing a poem.

(14) December 10, 2010

T3: Daughter, yes. Very good. So someone's daughter, all right? Some woman's daughter. Okay, good. And how do we know that. Bailey?
Bailey: 'Cuz.
T3: 'Cuz?
Bailey: 'Cuz she cleanin'
T3: 'Cuz she's cleanin'? So, are you saying like, only daughters can clean? Or, I'm just curious as to what your- go ahead. Very interesting. How do you know-
Bailey: It says her.
T3: It says her. But does it actually say that somewhere?
Ashley: Yeah.
Jennifer: It really don't tell you.
T3: It really doesn't tell you, does it.
Sarai: No.

In Example (14), Bailey uses the feature of copula deletion in "'Cuz she cleanin'", and Jennifer uses *don't* leveling in "It really don't tell you." In both of these instances, T3 restates the students' responses in MAE, but doesn't otherwise call a great deal of attention to the language; the discussion flows.

T4's students are leading discussions in Example (15), Faith is at the front of the room explaining the *Dracula* study guide questions.

(15) May 9, 2011

Faith: They believe she is safer with them, she say she must go because the sun is coming up, she may not be able, she might not be able again. She goin' because she feels safer with them. And, Dracula's coming for her, so something like that. Number four, briefly describe Van Helsing plan to stop Dracula. They plan to place a branch? Of the wild rose in a box that they have identified as Dracula's. [Waits.]

Faith employs two features of AAE in this turn. First, she uses third-person singular *–s* deletion in "she say she must go", then copula deletion in "She goin'". After this turn, T4 makes no comment about her language, only about the content Faith is discussing. Example (15) also shows substantive engagement with the material.

One example each of digression from content and non-engagement will suffice. In (16), T3's student, Jabari, tries to understand a well-known characteristic of dog training. This discussion followed the one about the poem in (14), which was about raising a child, and how raising pets is the closest the students would come to understanding parenting. What followed was a completely tangential foray into dog training.

(16) December 10, 2010

Jabari: Why they be putting they face in it, like some owners.
T3: Oh! You're saying why do owners kiss their pets and-
Jabari: No! Why do, say if a dog, why they be putting they face up in.
Caleb: Oh! Put the dog face up in there?
Jabari: Ye-e-eah.
Jennifer: You s'posed to. You s'posed to, right?
T3: Oh! You mean when you're training a dog?
Jennifer: Yeah.
T3: Ohhhh.
Jennifer: Put they nose in it.

A good number of AAE features turn up in Example (16). Jabari begins with both habitual *be* and /r/-deletion in "Why they be putting they face in it", and uses the same two features again in his next turn, "No! Why do, say if a dog, why they be putting they face up in." Caleb employs

possessive –*s* deletion in "Put the dog face up in there?" Jennifer uses copula deletion in her first turn, "You s'posed to. You s'posed to, right?", and /r/-deletion in "Put they nose in it."

In (17), Bailey has just finished giving her presentation for *Of Mice and Men*, and Reggie injects a comment that is related to absolutely nothing.

(17) December 10, 2010

Reggie:	'Cause, it's no light.
Several students:	Shhh!

In his comment, Reggie uses existential *it*. T3 does not respond at all, but several students tell him to be quiet.

This section explored students' use of AAE, in terms of who was using it, with what teacher, and in what type of engagement. It also showed a breakdown of the features that were used by students. If we consider the above data in the context of what the teachers said in their interviews, a fuller picture emerges. T1 said she doesn't "correct" students' use of AAE unless there is some problem with communication, which is true. T2 said he would correct students' use of AAE in the context of the ACT. There are so few instances of student AAE use in his class that there was no "correction" offered. T3, however, does call attention to students' language use, though inconsistently. On one occasion, she recasts "You're what?" in response to a student using *fittin' to*. Example (16) shows T3 responding to student AAE use by restating it in MAE. T3 did say that she addresses AAE use in these ways, but there are many more examples in which the AAE use goes unaddressed. In her interview, T4 said, "I'll call them out on that", "Did you just say…?" and "What was that sentence again?" However, there is only one example of the fifteen instances of student AAE that T4 addresses, through restatement in AAE, adding a possessive –*'s* during a digressive discussion. Based on the data, teachers do not typically address student language, even if they think they do.

4.4.4 SHOWING SOLIDARITY AND DISTANCING THROUGH LANGUAGE

The teachers are not using AAE in their classes. We know from the interviews that the only teacher who is proficient enough to use AAE features, T4, says she would not use them because she is not a member of the ingroup of speakers, and is more interested in applying her AAE knowledge to addressing the students' language use in writing. Also, Soliz and Giles (n.d.: 6) discuss the sincerity of convergence of bidialectal speakers, suggesting that sudden convergence may come across as inauthentic and offensive.

So are the teachers accommodating to their students, and if so, how? Since the teachers either cannot or do not use the students' home varieties of English, what are they doing with language? The answer varies by teacher.

T1's class has been shown to be very formulaic, with lots of known-answer type questions. Within these parameters, though, T1 is able to show linguistic convergence to her students by repeating the correct answers given by the students. In Example (18), T1 is about to begin teaching a unit on the Renaissance.

(18) January 21, 2011

T1: [Back at podium] All right, so we're gonna have a totally different change of pace with this chapter, especially with this section, we ended with the Black Death, the video we've just seen, now what is section one talking about? Jordan.
Jordan: The Renaissance.
T1: Renaissance. How many people before, uh, you read this section, ever heard of the Renaissance. [About half the students' hands go up]. Well, there you go. Good. Um, Terry, what does "Renaissance" mean?
Terry: Rebirth?
T1: Rebirth. Why would it be, uh, rebirth; why is that a good name for it? Jelisa?
Jelisa: Because of everything that just happened with the plague.
T1: Okay, can you go further with that?
Jelisa: They're building new buildings?
T1: New buildings.
Jelisa: Medical inventions –
T1: Medical inventions.

Jelisa: New findings.
T1: New findings, new ideas.

In (18), T1 repeats a number of the students' answers, including the words 'Renaissance', 'Rebirth', 'new buildings', 'medical inventions', and 'new findings'. This repetition serves as a strategy of linguistic convergence with the students (Giles, p.c.).

According to Soliz and Giles (n.d.: 5), "Interactants have expectations regarding optimal levels and rates of accommodation. These expectations are based on stereotypes about outgroup members as well as on the prevailing social and situational norms. Calibrating the amount of non-, under-, and overaccommodating one receives can be an important ingredient in investing effort in, or withdrawing from, an interaction." Thus, the strategy of validating the students' responses via repetition may serve to help maintain an optimal distance between T1 and her students, a distance she is still feeling out, as she indicated in the interviews: "…that's a huge aspect for me, is building these relationships? Um, but not necessarily life relationships. Um, different students, beside that, are more likely to kinda call out to you for those type of relationships, so, you know, it's important to me, um, but really, an in-school relationship."

T2 does something similar with his students when he is validating their responses. In (19), T2 discusses Chicago's mayoral election with his students.

(19) February 16, 2011

T2: Who's running for- who's running for mayor?
Fabian: I don't know.
James: Emanuel.
T2: Emanuel, uh, um.
Jose: Rahm.
Two students in succession: Chico, Chico.
T2: Chico. [Holds up two fingers.]
James: And that lady.
T2: Uh, and that lady that nobody knows. Who beat my favorite United States senator, beat my favorite United States senator, I couldn't believe it. [T2 slaps his forehead.]

T2 repeats ‘Emanuel’, ‘Chico’, and ‘and that lady’, giving validation to the students who offered those answers. However, T2 is not always so convergent in his language.

Example (20) offers some insight into T2’s language that serves to distance his students.

(20) May 10, 2011

T2: Chapter twenty-seven in here, if that helps you, in your do-gobbers?

In (20), T2 refers to the students’ study guides as their ‘do-gobbers’, a term with which they would likely not be using in their own discourse. In a previous transcript, T2 refers to a permission slip as a ‘do-jobber’ (December 14, 2010). Although the students understand him, there is no evidence of them using these terms in their own discourse, thus this vocabulary is divergent.

In another example of distancing language, T2 positions his Mexican (American) students as ‘Other’. The class is looking at an old newspaper cartoon that features Uncle Sam and his British counterpart, John Bull.

(21) February 16, 2011

T2: Uh, and Uncle Sam represents?
Jose: America.
Fabian: The United States.
T2: The United States. Uh, if this were, in Great Britain, do you know what their caricature is? In Great Britain?
James: John.
T2: John Bull. For those of you who are Mexican, and have Mexican newspapers, does Mexico have a caricature, like, uh, like Uncle Sam?
Isabel: Pancho Villa.
T2: That represents [whispering to student] I doubt it. [Regular voice now] The murderer, you mean? Pancho Villa? The murderer?
Isabel: You mean.
Jose: La Virgen de Guadalupe.
T2: Do they have, seriously. Do they have, is there a caricature? I mean, ‘cause most countries have, some sort of symbol, and so, w- we can see the symbol it represents. Well, whatever the case is, what is Uncle, how do you know it’s Uncle Sam.

In Example (21), T2 positions his Mexican American students in such a way that they may be construed as 'not American' as his question is juxtaposed with the establishment of Uncle Sam as the United States caricature. "For those of you who are Mexican" sets the Mexican American students apart from the non-Mexican Americans, including T2. He goes on to refer to Pancho Villa, the famous Mexican revolutionary, as a "murderer", with no further comment or context, and then shoots down one student's suggestion of the Virgin of Guadalupe as not serious. Despite T2's opinions on the matter, Pancho Villa is a significant figure in the history of Mexico, and La Virgen de Guadalupe is arguably the most important religious figure in Mexico. While these two would not be good examples of "caricatures" for Mexico, T2 did not explain why to the students. Thus, T2 not only misses a teachable moment, but also alienates his Mexican American students, potentially adding to the problems he and the students feel he has with them.

Like T1 and T2, T3 shows solidarity with her students by repeating and validating what they say, quite frequently. She also uses their vocabulary, not so much to be like them, but to make them laugh. Caleb has been using the expression "That's cold" to refer to anything of which he approves, and uses it to praise Matthew's presentation.

(22) December 10, 2010

Tyler:	That's cold.
Ashley:	Everything is cold to you. [Several students laugh.]
T3:	Okay, did he finish? What did I say about that? Shh. Go ahead.
Matthew:	But, also, the one thing I forgot to put on here was um, pretty much Curley's wife, which, in the story, they really did forget about her, even after she died.
T3:	Aaahhhh. Very clever.
Jennifer:	I get it, aww, I get that.
Matthew:	Hmmm.
T3:	That was a good save. You really did- did you really forget her on purpose, or?
Matthew:	[Smiling] Yeah.
T3:	Oh, ho. That's cold. All right.
Caleb:	That was, though.
Jennifer:	She said that. [Students and T3 begin clapping.]

T3: That's gonna be the catch phrase of the day. I want you to say that all day today to everyone, that's cold.
Caleb: You're gonna take my word?
T3: We're all stealing it. All of us.
Caleb: All right.

Caleb is good-natured about this playful ribbing, and it shows that he has a good relationship with T3 at this point. In another exchange, Caleb finishes a fake celebrity introductory speech with some music. T3 responds, "Hey, I like that, with the music, reminded me of the BET Awards or something." T3 shows convergence by making pop culture references with which she thinks they may be familiar.

T3's students take up her jokes and continue them, indicating a validation of her attempts to establish solidarity, as in (23).

(23) May 10, 2011

T3: Maybe you guys, you guys are young, so, you haven't been lying for years, like, adults do, just kidding, 'cause, we never lie. But anyway, um, ever. [Several students begin talking over each other.] No, I told you the truth, I said there is no Santa Claus.
Justin: There's no Santa Claus?
Jennifer: Noooo!
Ashley: [Laughing] Justin.
T3: Justin, we had this discussion. It just goes to show you weren't paying attention. Only if you, wanna play it off, yeah, just keep playing it off, you know, so you're-
Justin: My dreams are dust.

In (23), T3 jokes that adults never lie, and Justin pretends to be shocked by the non-existence of Santa Claus. Justin's uptake indicates that T3 was successful in her attempt to establish solidarity with the students through humor.

T4 also repeats and validates student answers, and she also jokes around with the students, though not as often, and frequently with a dry sarcastic edge. In (24), we see T4 mocking offense during a review of *Hamlet*.

(24) November 15, 2010

T4: All right, um, so Polonius gives, Ophelia a book, and says, you know, pretend you're reading this, it'll disguise your loneliness, 'cause, can you imagine if Ophelia is just roaming around the room with nothing to do? Hamlet will like suspect something's up, right? But if she's sitting there reading a book, then it wouldn't be as suspicious.
Shawn: I think it is.
T4: You would think it is suspicious?
Shawn: Yeeeah.
T4: Why. 'Cause girls don't read? Is that what you're trying to say? [Class laughs.]
Shawn: I know they read.
T4: Yeah, right. [Class laughs.] You wouldn't fall for that, Shawn? You'd think something's up?
Shawn: Probably.
T4: Hmmm.

T4's humor is taken up by the class through their laughter, so she continues with her sarcasm ("Yeah, right"), and is again validated. It is fairly safe to say that a solidarity has been established through T4's humor. On another occasion, T4 refers to the previous night's basketball game in which the St. Nicholas Penguins trounced the competition. She has a number of senior athletes in her class, as well as several of their fans. In (25), T4 praises the fans who painted the letters in PENGUINS on their chests in support of the basketball team, but adds a dig at their spelling prowess for humor.

(25) February 16, 2011

T4: Shh. All right you guys, um, I do wanna say I wanna commend you guys, uh, have gotten some school spirit and decided to um-
Several male students: Woo! Woooooo!
T4: Seniors. However! I was shocked, that it took you guys so long, to spell out-
Several female students: Penguins! [One male student laughs.]
Shawn: It was this guy coordinating us. And some of us were too hairy, so we had to like, you know, put the paint deep in there, to the skin?
T4: Yeah, but that still doesn't explain why you guys couldn't figure out which letter comes first.
Shawn: We had to write it out first. [Class erupts with laughter.]
Theo: [Who is a star on the basketball team] Yeah, hey, I'd say that was the best thing that happened to St. Nicholas in a long time.

T4's praise and joke are taken up by Shawn, who responds with the humorous description of painting hairy chests, and the self-deprecating statement about having to write out an eight-letter word before painting it on said chests. The students laugh, further validating the fun T4 is poking at the boys, and Theo closes the exchange with an expression of appreciation for the fan effort.

There really are very few examples of linguistic distancing strategies used by the teachers, but all of them use language to build closer relationships with their students. Repetition of student answers and use of slang terms, humor, and pop culture references are examples of strategies the teachers use to converge with their students and establish solidarity. That T1 did not use much humor, slang terms, or pop culture references may be indicative of her desire to maintain a position of authority, which could be difficult given her age. T2's linguistic distancing will be shown in the next section to be noted by the students.

4.5 STUDENT SURVEYS

According to Chavez (2006: 86), "it remains to be seen whether learners note the existence or the precise nature of differences in classroom-language use among teachers." While not asked to compare their teachers' linguistic styles, students were asked to reflect on the language use of their individual teachers under study. These surveys were administered and collected in late May, 2011.

Ten of T1's students took part in the questionnaire. All respondents felt it was very important for their teacher to relate to her students, and all but one felt that this teacher related to them, which she demonstrated through her interactions and from her age. All of the students felt that T1 had established a good relationship with them by asking for student opinions, showing

respect, making conversation, and relating personal anecdotes. They all feel that she understands and respects them, which T1 shows by greeting them, by the way she addresses them, and through her encouragement. Most of the students did not feel that T1 was inauthentic. There were mixed responses about whether T1 could relate to the students, because, "She didn't grow up in the hood", but several students said that she related to their experiences of high school and being a teenager. All of the students felt she came across as "real". The students mostly felt that T1 did not talk like they do, because "she doesn't show her slang side if she has one" and because she speaks with a more formal tone and sophisticated vocabulary, although she does use words like *guys*, *cool*, and *chill*. With respect to this last point, one student responded, "It makes me feel normal because she might act the same as us."

T1's class had some interesting responses to the question, "What effect do you think a teacher's language style has on his or her students' learning?" "The way she talks gives us insist (insight?) on the way she is." "The way the teacher talks may rub off on the students." "A lot because we might or might not lisen (sic) if she has no authority." "I think if the teacher speaks properly then so will the students b/c it'll influence them." "Some students may not be so familiar with the teachers (sic) vocabulary or some students might not even have a problem with it." "It makes it easier for a student to understand the chapter and remember things." "It will affect us by either giving us a chance to learn, or not understand it." "The teacher's language style effects (sic) the connectivity of the students and the teacher." "It makes a huge impact. If a teacher's language is boring, students won't listen." "Almost everything. If a student isn't interested in listening to a teacher verbally communicate, the teacher's voice will be tuned out and the student will not learn." They all felt that the class was preparing them well for college, work, and life.

Only six of T2's students participated in the questionnaire, and they made some strong points. Overall, they thought it was very important for a teacher to relate to his students, but only three of the six felt that T2 did: "He has made the effort to build a good relationship by showing up early to give us the chance to talk. He would ask about what's going on, games we would have or make comments on how our writing can improve." The others said things like, "No I do not believe he has tried to build a good relationship with me. He has told me that I irritate him, that he doesn't like the way I am, & other things he doesn't like about me" or that he just "goes along with the lesson plan". They mostly felt that T2 respected them, but fewer felt he understood them. One student said, "I don't know if he understand me because of how little I have said but there is no doubt that he respects the class. He messes around but in the end of the day he really tries to help us, even tells us that he believes we could become something." Another student said, "I do not feel that my teacher understands me or respects me. Whenever you disagree with him at any point he will not listen or respect your opinion." Most felt that T2 did not "try too hard" to appeal to them.

Five of the students felt strongly that T2 could not relate to their life experiences. "No, it's more his attitude of "I don't care" that makes me feel this way." "No, he grew up in a way different time period. He always talks about his past." Students were divided over whether T2 came across as "real" or "fake". None of the students felt that T2 talks in the same way as they do. "No, because I talk Spanglish, and he talks English (different). Also sometimes he uses words I don't even know. He can talk simple and I do too (similar)." "We're 50 years apart." T2's idioms, such as "honky dorry" (sic), make one student laugh. Another student says he or she laughed when "[T2]'s tried "dancing" in front of the class at one point, he sings to some girl in the class (kind of freaks me out at the same time)."

When asked what T2 has said to make the students angry, two students mentioned racist comments. "When at times he seems to say something racist or when he contradicts what he says." "Racist comments." A couple of other students wrote that they get angry when he talks/ lectures all period and doesn't listen. One student mentioned T2's use of profanity. In response to the question about the effect a teacher's language style has on student learning, students said the following: "The effect I think it has is it gets us (students) to pay attention. B/c if he has boring language we won't really pay attention, but when he uses slang or something we can relate to we right away pay attention." "His speech make one more comprehensive (aware? conscious?) of colorful language as opposed to common day speech. It prepares one to different styles." "It makes a giant effect its (sic) the difference of whether or not the students feel comfortable in class or in relation to the teacher." Two more students mention the effect of language style on student achievement. Also, most students felt that being taught in a familiar language style makes it easier for students to understand new material. Four of the six students felt that this course prepared them well for college, and maybe work and life.

Eleven of T3's students responded to the questionnaire. It should be noted that there was one response that was overall negative from a clearly disgruntled student. Overall, the students believed it was important for a teacher to relate to her students. About two-thirds of the students felt that T3 related to them, many because of her humor. "Yes, she did, the way she did was like she would us slang or comdian (sic) ways for us to pay attention." All but one student felt T3 tried to build a good relationship with them. "Yes she did by showing us movies and books about our background, like she really opens up to us." All but one felt T3 understood and respected them. "Yes I feel my teacher understands me. Like she know what it was like to be in our shoes its (sic) almost like she can switch her roles. First she's a mom, wife, & teacher, then

she's a 14 or 15 teenager" (It's not clear whether this comment refers to T3's shifts in behavior or was a reference to T3's teenage son). The negative student is the only one who felt that T3 "tried too hard" to appeal to them.

The students were split about whether T3 related to their life experiences. Those who felt she did offered reasons of her having been their age once. Those who did not felt that T3 did not know what they had been through. "No I don't think she can, because she don't know what I go through every day which I'm sure she doesn't go through it to relate." Most of the students felt T3 was "real". The students did not think T3 talked the way they did. "No, because I talk with a lot of slang and she really doesn't use that much slang." "No she talk a little more educational than me." "Sometimes we catch her saying something we say in class, like a classmate of mine says O.C meaning out of control and she will say it to us." They think it's funny when T3 does accents, makes jokes, and tells stories about herself. About half the students said T3 used slang with them, sometimes of the type they used, such as *yo*, *firshisil* (*fa shizzle*), *cold*, and *what up*. They overall appreciated her attempts, even though two said they found the usage funny: "It makes me feel comfortable," "like she conects (sic) with us," and "It make me feel good about her class because I see she is trying to relate to us." Most of T3's students felt a teacher's language style has a strong effect on their learning, one offering, "No, it ok I'm use to it. She knows the right time and place to laugh while teaching." They all felt that this class was preparing them well for college, work, and life.

In T4's class, 26 students responded to the questionnaire. Overall, they felt it was very important for a teacher to relate to her students, and they mostly felt that T4 related well to them, mentioning her understanding of their schedules and pushing them to do their best work. All of the students felt that T4 tried to build a good relationship with them based on her sense of humor,

short conversations she had with them, and her overall patience and caring. They all felt she understands and respects them, speaking to them as adults, giving second chances, calling the students by their names, and understanding how they learn. None of the students believed that T4 tried too hard to appeal to them, and they all believed that she came across as "real". Most felt that she could relate to their life experiences, many because she had been a teenager once. "I think she can because she has probably lived through similar things. There was one occasion to when she had talked to us a little about her life experience." "Yes because she grew up around here and knows what it's like." "Personally, no because she didn't have kids young but she know what its like to go through early pregnancy."

The students were divided over whether T4 spoke the same way they did. "Yes. She says things in ways we can understand. What's different is she has a greater range of vocabulary use." "No, I use slang a lot. But she does understand what I'm talking about." T4 is said to use slang rarely, if ever, and only lexical items such as "peeps" and "what up". This lexical play makes students feel more at ease, "[l]ike she relates and knows where we are coming from." They see it as her sense of humor, even joking, "Makes me feel cool, yo yo!" The students said that when T4 teases, she typically does so in an inoffensive way, making fun of students' crushes on Justin Bieber and using benign sarcasm. The students laugh at T4's teasing and sarcasm, again mentioning Lady Gaga and Justin Bieber, and her own crush on Johnny Depp. It amuses one student when "[s]he says my name all white about it when shes (sic) Mexican." Most of the students don't get upset with T4, except when they find the amount of work excessive, although one student feels that T4 favors the boys in the class.

According to the students, the teacher's language style affects student learning in a number of ways. "The better the teacher can say what they intend to say, the easier the

learning." "Everyone knows proper English, so its (sic) OK if she speaks slang, it has no influence on us at all." "[I]f anything it helps the student learn because she is talking in a way that they can understand it." The vast majority of the students felt it is easier to learn new material when it is presented in a familiar language style, and that the class prepared them well for college, work, and life.

T1 was quite astute at gauging her relationship with her students; it seems that her maintenance of her own linguistic style did not have a distancing effect on her students. If linguistic convergence was not responsible for her positive rapport with her students, T1 must have used nonlinguistic strategies to build these relationships, or strategies of a more phatic nature, such as asking them about their days, asking for their opinions, and relaying anecdotes. How she showed students respect, as several students attested, would need further investigation.

The number of references to T2's racism, disrespect, and lack of understanding was disconcerting. There was certainly no evidence of linguistic convergence, and the students felt that. Some possibilities for the students' feelings of distance might be T2's strategies of divergence (by his use of antiquated expressions such as "shin-dig" and "hunky dory"), his nebulous racism, or his extreme average turn length and percentage of words per class (69.8 words/ turn and average 94.4% total words per class, respectively).

In her interviews, T3 indicated that she can absolutely relate to the students' life experiences, so the students' responses were surprising. Based on what the students wrote, it is not clear whether T3 did not reveal details of her upbringing to the students, or if they did not reveal details of their lives to her (either because she didn't encourage them to do so or because they would have been reluctant to do so). T3 explained her language as "I don't think it's my students' dialect; I think it's my own," yet the students did not feel they spoke the same way. It

would seem that T3 sensed more linguistic convergence than her students did. Nevertheless, her goofing around with language had an overall positive effect on her rapport with students.

T4 was correct in that she only used nonstandardized lexical items, such as *peeps*, *what's up* and *y'all*. The student's statement about her saying his or her name "all white about it" brings up further possibilities for research on teachers' own stifling of linguistic identity.

The students of both T1 and T4 mentioned that their teachers showed respect by not calling them out of their name. 'Calling someone out their name' means calling someone by a name other than their given name, and is construed as disrespectful, particularly when the speaker and hearer are not particularly close. It can also, by extension, mean calling someone out in general, especially in a classroom setting (Charity Hudley, p.c.).

Examination of student responses to questionnaires is important because it allows the researcher to get a fuller picture not only of the teacher's language use, but also the effect the teacher's language use has on relationship building with the student. Based on these data, we know that teacher use of AAE was not important to the students in terms of relationship-building, but we learned that teachers' other strategies (asking the students about their days, joking around with them, etc.) had the intended effect of building good rapport with students. However, T2's use of antiquated vocabulary and sensitive topics of ethnicity, particularly when he didn't already have a close relationship with his students, served to alienate his students.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSION, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The research questions proposed at the beginning of this study examine a number of issues related to urban students' language and their teachers' linguistic strategies in the classroom. The questions consider teachers' metalinguistic knowledge about their own and their students' classroom language practices, including their demonstrated acquisition of African American English. Also of interest are the linguistic strategies that teachers use in the classroom, such as their use features of students' home dialects and other types of rapport-building strategies. This study aims to understand how teachers' linguistic strategies reflect teaching style and resulting student engagement, looking to word count, turn length and student/ teacher turn ratio for clues about the nature of classroom engagement. It examines whether there is a connection between student use of AAE in the classroom and type of engagement or teaching style. Finally, this study questions the effect of teachers' linguistic strategies on the students.

Each of these questions will be answered in the following subsections.

5.1.1 WHAT FEATURES OF AAE DO TEACHERS KNOW/ HAVE THEY LEARNED OVER THE COURSE OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR?

As explained in section 4.3 TRANSLATION TASK, T1 and T3 had almost no knowledge of any features of AAE, but showed signs of beginning to acquire multiple negation. Even though multiple negation is not the students' most frequently-used feature of AAE, it is present in many

varieties of American English (and other languages such as French), so may be more readily acquired.

T2 showed increasingly solid acquisition of multiple negation, copula deletion, and third person singular *–s* deletion, possibly indicating that the order of acquisition of these features by speakers of other dialects may be multiple negation, followed by copula deletion and third person singular *–s* deletion. T2 also showed some sporadic possessive *–s* deletion, perhaps indicating that this would be the next feature to be acquired.

T4 was by far the most proficient in written AAE, with a strong command of multiple negation, copula deletion, third person singular *–s* deletion, and possessive *–s* deletion, and an emerging knowledge of habitual *be* and consonant cluster simplification, with the latter two features possibly being among the next to be acquired. Existential *it* was not acquired by any of the teachers, so it may be among the most difficult for non-AAE speakers to acquire. The early acquisition of such features as multiple negation and copula deletion (and to some hypercorrection) may be the result of their status as stereotyped features of AAE (see 2.2 and 2.4).

Even though the sample size is too small to be generalizable, from the translation task results, it is reasonable to conclude that acquisition of AAE features is not aided by youth or teaching experience. Rather, teachers are shown to acquire features of AAE through deliberate observation and seeking to understand language patterns.

5.1.2 WHAT METALINGUISTIC KNOWLEDGE DO TEACHERS HAVE ABOUT THEIR OWN AND THEIR STUDENTS' CLASSROOM LANGUAGE PRACTICES?

Based on their interviews, T1 thought she had picked up some AAE features just from living in Chicago, but she showed evidence of only picking up one of the features under study. She was correct in saying that she did not "correct" students' use of AAE. T2 knew that his vocabulary was antiquated and perplexing to students. He thought that his lack of proficiency in Spanish may have been at the root of his strained relationship with his Mexican American students, but there is evidence to suggest other reasons for this strain. He said that he tries to veer students toward formal language as it is expected for high-stakes testing, but there is not enough evidence of informal language use by students to understand if that is indeed his strategy. T3 thought that she shared a dialect with her students, but if she did, she did not use it in the classroom nor write it in the translation tasks. She did use some AAE vocabulary and make reference to pop culture, but did not appear to have command of much AAE syntax. T3 indicated that she addresses student use of AAE by recasting, but there is just a small bit of evidence that she addressed AAE at all, in which case she restated the utterances in MAE, but did not interrupt the flow of class. T4 knew that her AAE proficiency was strong, having acquired it from careful observation and pattern deduction. She stated that she corrects the students' writing for formality, but this study did not examine student work, so this statement cannot be confirmed. T4 showed no evidence of addressing student AAE at all in class.

5.1.3 WHAT LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES DO TEACHERS USE IN THE CLASSROOM?

A fuller picture of linguistic strategies teachers use in the classroom through examination of the questions below.

5.1.3.1 DO TEACHERS USE FEATURES OF STUDENTS' DIALECTS TO BUILD RAPPORT?

Teachers do not use syntactic features of students' dialects to build rapport. Some teachers use some vocabulary sometimes to build rapport.

5.1.3.2 HOW DO TEACHERS' LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES REFLECT TEACHING STYLE AND RESULTING STUDENT ENGAGEMENT?

Turn length and accommodative strategies appear to correlate with teaching style and student engagement, but AAE proficiency does not appear to do so. T1's AAE proficiency is low. She leads a teacher-centered classroom in which she utters almost 90% of the words. T1 tends to lecture, and the type of student engagement is largely procedural. T2's AAE proficiency is medium. He leads a teacher-centered classroom in which he utters 94.4% of the words through a lecture style. The students' engagement is largely procedural. T3's AAE proficiency is low. She leads a student-centered classroom in which she utters 60.8% of the words, in which she is more of a leader or organizer than a lecturer. The student engagement is largely substantive. T4's AAE proficiency is high. Her classroom is teacher-centered, and she utters about two-thirds of the words. T4 conducts her class as more of a leader than a lecturer, and there is a combination of procedural and substantive engagement.

5.1.3.3 WHAT CAN MEASURES OF WORD COUNT, TURN LENGTH, AND STUDENT-TO-TEACHER TURN RATIO TELL US ABOUT THE NATURE OF CLASSROOM ENGAGEMENT?

To put the answer quite simply, the more turns and words per class students get (which may mean fewer turns if their turns are long), the more likely they are to be substantively engaged. Obviously, this study is not advocating a free-for-all atmosphere in which the teacher is non-participatory, but there is certainly a pattern in which teachers who let discussions flow about the material, or who allow students to present their work, have classrooms in which students are more engaged. Based on the questionnaires, these students seem to be happy with their teachers as well.

5.1.4 IS THERE A CONNECTION BETWEEN STUDENT USE OF AAE IN THE CLASSROOM AND TYPE OF ENGAGEMENT/ TEACHERS' STYLE?

Student use of AAE typically goes unaddressed by the teachers. Given that there is a pattern of student use of AAE features during substantive engagement, it may be best that teachers do not interrupt the flow of the discussion or presentation in which the AAE use occurs. As for the reason that students tend to use AAE features more in contexts of substantive engagement, it may be that they feel both fully engaged in the material (therefore paying less attention to using formal language) and free to let their expression flow. The environment provided by the teachers makes the students comfortable to slip into their home language styles. T3's classroom has the most opportunity for student-centered learning, and a high degree of student satisfaction as demonstrated by the student questionnaire responses, and her class has the highest feature use. T2's students have the fewest opportunities for input as shown by their miniscule amount of

words and turns, and a low degree of student satisfaction as shown by the questionnaire responses, and T2's students have the fewest demonstrations of AAE.

5.1.5 WHAT DO THE STUDENTS THINK OF THE TEACHERS' LANGUAGE STYLES?

With respect to performance based on classroom recordings, teachers who claimed in their interviews to be more deliberate in building relationships with their students are more formal in their speech (T1, in fact, overenunciated phonological features such that she did not sound to the linguistically-trained researcher to be from the Midwest at all, and she was raised just a few miles away from the school). T3's assertion that she is not deliberate in relationship building may have been the reason she seemed more at ease in her interactions with students. Of significant interest is the lack of correlation between knowledge of morphosyntactic AAE features and their use in class. Thus, knowledge of these features cannot be said to be related to rapport-building strategies used by the teachers either consciously or subconsciously.

T1's students felt that she did not speak like they do, but they did talk about the way she greeted them, asked about their lives, and showed them respect when she talked to them. The students generally seemed to like T1. T2's students were mixed about whether they felt he respected them or cared about them, but there was little doubt that their language styles were different. Several of the students felt that T2 used racist language. T3's students did not think she talked the way they did, but they liked her sense of humor and use of slang terms, and appreciated her attempts to establish solidarity with them. T4's students valued her sarcastic sense of humor and her teasing, and did not mind her formal way of speaking. One student saw something ridiculous in the inappropriate way she said his name, even though they are both Mexican, but overall the students saw her as authentic.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Some of the more important discoveries are tabulated in Figure 5 below.

	T1	T2	T3	T4
AAE proficiency	Low	Medium	Low	High
S/T turn ratio	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.2
S/T word percentage	10.4%/ 89.6%	5.6%/ 94.4%	39.2%/60.8%	33.2%/ 66.8%
Avg S/T words/ turn	4.7/42.8	3.6/ 69.8	8.6/19	12.9/ 32.4
S AAE use	4%	2%	87%	7%
Typical engagement	Procedural	Procedural	Substantive	Both
S response to Ts	Good	Mixed/ bad	Good	Good

Figure 5. Key discoveries

As stated above, a teacher's proficiency in AAE appears to be independent of his or her students' use of AAE or their approval of the teachers. Teacher AAE proficiency also appears to be independent of the type of engagement typically found in that classroom. However, a higher student-to-teacher turn ratio seems to correspond to a higher percentage of student words, a higher number of student words per turn, and a lower number of teacher words per turn. These numbers also seem to indicate a more substantive classroom engagement. Teachers wishing to provide an atmosphere with more substantive engagement would do well to loosen their holds on the conversation and give students room to discuss material more freely.

Student use of AAE also roughly corresponded to a more substantive classroom. As stated previously, students' use of AAE features may be indicative of their level of comfort and freedom to express themselves without judgment. Their use of AAE should emphatically not be seen as a negative behavior, but rather a reflection of a teaching style that values their home backgrounds.

As stated earlier, there are a few limitations that should be mentioned about this study. First, the researcher worked at the school at the time of the study, and was fairly well known to some of the students, and very well known to the teachers and some other students. While this

could be seen as a compromise of impartiality, I feel that any study of this nature would be such a compromise, and that my access to the parties involved served as far more of an asset than a hindrance.

Furthermore, the translation task is an acknowledged inauthentic measure of teacher proficiency and fluency, as it is a written measure of spoken language. One teacher suggested (regrettably, after the data collection was complete) that an audio component to the sentences given or translated would have been an easier (and possibly more accurate) measure. If I were to do a similar study in the future, I would seriously consider how to best incorporate that suggestion.

Sample size should also be briefly addressed. There were only four teachers involved in this study, so their AAE acquisition data cannot be said to be generalizable to a larger population, although the data are certainly illuminating. These data provide a starting point for further inquiry into teacher acquisition of student dialect, and future studies should examine order of feature acquisition as well as teacher reflection on how they acquire the dialect features. It would also be interesting to see how first-year teachers compare to each other in terms of acquiring features. I do not think that the small sample size should take anything away from the teacher interview data, which was quite revelatory of teacher ideology about students by way of their language. I believe that these sentiments are indicative of larger discourses within communities of educators, and need to be addressed.

Of course, I'm not the first person to raise these concerns. The literature on the systematic and rule-governed nature of AAE goes back to the 1960s with work by Labov and Baratz. The 1979 Ann Arbor King School case and subsequent scholarly work called for teachers (and administrators) to address the needs of their AAE-speaking students, and to

confront their ideologies about the language variety and its speakers. Wolfram and Christian (1989) encouraged teachers to study the patterns of their students' language in order to do their jobs better. The 1996 Oakland Ebonics case exposed persisting negative ideologies about African American children through the negative representations of their language in the media. Since then, a considerable number of scholars in the fields of linguistics and education have continued to attest to the legitimacy of the language variety and the people who speak it. Linguists and K-12 educators are partnering and writing accessible books that heed Ball and Lardner's (1997) call for strategies for practical implementation in the classroom (Wheeler and Swords 2006, Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011).

And yet, here we are. It's the end of 2012, and if the teachers in this study are any indication, our education system hasn't progressed much at all in terms of awareness of the features of the students' home language. Furthermore, negative associations of student language with the ghetto, with lack of education, with single parenthood, and with laziness not only persist, but are thriving. Has nothing changed over the past forty-some-odd years?

It would be a disservice to those teachers and linguists who have spent a good portion of their lives trying to improve the educations of minority students and promote awareness of student dialects to say that we have not made any progress. There have been many developments in education that include sound pedagogies incorporating students' cultural backgrounds in meaningful ways, such as with dialect literature. Many schools are hiring linguists and other specialists to do professional development with teachers, who are tired of marking up papers to little effect. And of course, making even one student's educational experience better is an improvement from where we started. However, it's not good enough and we still have a very, very long way to go. The percentage of minority students in special

education programs is staggering, and indicative of a racism that is institutionally endorsed. The high dropout rate, particularly among African American males, is evidence that what's been done has not been effective on the larger scale.

Ball and Lardner (1997) rightly discuss African American children's disenchantment with school, which is no surprise given the inability of teachers to address the needs of children whose language backgrounds differ so greatly from the language of their schools. Awareness of dialect features alone, however, is not enough to remedy this disenchantment, and certainly not via a mandate.

Teachers are professionals, but have not been treated professionally by administrators or government education programs. Given the movement to a test preparation culture, in which both students and teachers are measured by test scores, teachers are weary (and wary) of mandates requiring them to change their teaching. In order for teachers to feel that a more linguistically-sound pedagogy is more than a mere fad, they need to be in on the planning from the beginning, and administrators truly need to commit to groups of children who have been historically disserviced by the American education system. As a former high school teacher and as a linguist, I would make the following recommendations.

Where possible, entire school districts should buy in to professional development programs. Linguists should work with schools over the long term, and should begin by asking teachers to share their ideas about language in the classroom. Many linguists have found it helpful to approach the problem through the students' writing, asking teachers how they would address forms that are incongruent with an academic standard. If teachers feel respected by linguists, which is to say, placed in the position of experts, they will be less threatened by academics telling them how to do their jobs. Once they feel respected, the teachers will open up

and say what is working and what is not working. Frankly, this process mirrors that of the ideal relationship between teachers and their students. It is at this point that teachers are likely to reveal their ideologies about language and the people who speak certain varieties of English. It is crucial for the linguists to note these ideologies and begin working to address them.

"Addressing disposition as the most important variable, we have begun to push beyond internalization of knowledge about African American English in the teacher-education programs we are involved in. In doing so, we have found ourselves observing the ways preservice teachers encounter and contextualize the pedagogical ramifications of diversity," (Ball and Lardner 1997: 481-82). Ball and Lardner go on to recommend an experiential approach with teachers that attempts to relate their personal experiences with language to those of their students. As put forth by Ball and Lardner (1997), a tandem approach of sociological and dialect education must be complemented by ideas for practical implementation in the classroom that incorporate the wealth of linguistic resources presented by their bidialectal students. Programs that have failed have not addressed all three areas of awareness, ideology, and implementation over the long term.

There is also an attitude, untapped in this study due to the demographics of the participating teachers, of teachers having transcended class boundaries and expressing the opinion that others wishing to transcend the same boundaries should have to adjust culturally and linguistically. Siegel (2010) discusses the lack of acquisition studies of historically devalued D2s, and according to Giles and Coupland (1991: 20), "it is very uncommon for the dominant group to acquire the linguistic habits of the minority." Teachers' non-acquisition of their students' dialects may be just as indicative of a reluctance to shift (perhaps back) to a lower

social class as it is to the language of a different race. Sound professional teacher development should address ideologies about class as well as race and ethnicity.

It is my sincere hope that linguists and educators will be provided opportunities to help eliminate the racism and disservice rampant in the education system through productive collaboration, but it is imperative that both sides are willing to listen to the other. Additionally, teachers would do well to include the students' prior knowledge in any lesson on dialect; allowing students to be the experts on language lowers the affect that plagues many minority students trying to succeed in an environment that has traditionally devalued their language and culture.

5.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

While there have been many studies relevant to this research, very few have been conducted on D2 acquisition, and fewer still on dialect acquisition when the D2 is of lower prestige than the D1. None, to my knowledge, has been conducted on naturalistic acquisition. None has looked at written competence and verbal performance over the same period of time. None has situated the learning context ethnographically, or asked speakers and their interlocutors to discuss the motives or level of success for teachers' linguistic accommodation. It is hoped that these studies inspire a gush of research to follow that will fill in more of these gaps in our knowledge.

A number of questions arose from the data that would be welcome avenues for further research. One such item concerns the Hispanic students who use AAE. Unlike the teachers (whose use was also assessed unnaturally on paper), Hispanic students showed evidence of not only copula deletion (four instances) and multiple negation (two instances), they also showed use of *was* leveling (one instance) and existential *it* (one instance). Further study of the acquisition

of AAE features by peers who are members of other ethnic groups would greatly contribute to the scant canon of literature on the topic.

On further examination of the student AAE data, an interesting pattern comes to light. In the data from T1's class, the majority of student AAE use occurs during procedural engagement. In the data from T2's class, the student AAE use is split between procedural engagement and nonengagement. In T3's class, the vast majority of AAE use occurs during substantive engagement, and in T4's class, student AAE use is well-distributed among procedural engagement, substantive engagement, non-engagement, and digression from content. It may be that this breakdown simply mirrors the type of engagement the teachers employ, but I don't suspect this theory to be fully accurate. For example, five of the fifteen examples of AAE in T4's class occur during substantive engagement, but I would not say that a third of her teaching is substantive. This study does not quantify the teachers' style of engagement, but this pattern is deserving of further research.

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APPENDIX: TRANSLATION TASK VERSIONS (underlined sections are opportunities for translation)

Test #1:

1. Ricky always says he's broke, but there is usually some money in his hand.
   Ricky always be saying he broke, but it's usually some money in his han'.
2. Ms. Harris doesn't let anybody joke around, so people usually avoid her.
   Ms. Harris don't let nobody joke aroun', so people usually be avoiding her.
3. She thinks she's cute, but that girl doesn't impress anybody.
   She think she cute, but that girl don't impress nobody.
4. Mario's dad is no cook, but he can accept that.
   Mario dad is no cook, but he can accep' that.
5. There's this guy at my work who has never been in the manager's office.
   It's this guy at my work who ain't never been in the manager office.
6. Kiara's cranky when she gets hungry.
   Kiara cranky when she get hungry.
7. My mama yells all the time, and I can never calm her down.
   My mama be yelling all the time, and I can't never calm her down.
8. There's always some music on in my grandma's house, and she sings right along.
   It's always some music on in my grandma house, and she be singing right along.
9. He's ugly, but he dresses nice and draws pretty pictures.
   He ugly, but he dress nice and draw pretty pictures.
10. There was this one time Donell's dog ran away first thing in the morning.
    It was this one time Donell dog ran away firs' thing in the morning.

Test #2

1. Jasmine acts like she's smart all the time, but in fact, there's always someone smarter.
   Jasmine be acting like she smart all the time, but in fac', it's always someone smarter.
2. Michael doesn't have any brothers, so every day he hangs around with his sisters.
   Michael don't have no brothers, so every day he be hanging aroun' with his sisters.
3. My uncle thinks he's tough, but he doesn't scare anybody.
   My uncle think he tough, but he don't scare nobody.
4. Angelo's girlfriend used to be shy, but that was in the past.
   Angelo girlfriend used to be shy, but that was in the pass.
5. There's a boy I know who has never been to a teacher's house.
   It's a boy I know who ain't never been to (a/no) teacher house.
6. Ashley reads when she's bored.
   Ashley read when she bored.
7. My friends ask for help all the time, but I can never turn them down.
   My friends be asking for help all the time, but I can't never turn them down.
8. There's always some activity at my sister's school, and she volunteers for everything.
   It's always some activity at my sister school, and she be volunteering for everything.
9. My mom's nice, but she cooks nasty food and works too much.
   My mom nice, but she cook nasty food and work too much.
10. There were all these kids in my cousin's school who didn't know what had happened.
    It was all these kids in my cousin school who didn't know what had happen.

Test #3

1. Ronnie always talks loud in school when he's showing off, but in church there's no way he'll make a sound.
   Ronnie always be talking loud in school when he showing off, but in church it's no way he'll make a soun'.
2. My grandfather didn't ask anybody for one cent his whole life, but his cousins always ask him for money.
   My grandfather didn't ask nobody (alt: never asked nobody) for one cen' his whole life, but his cousins always be asking him for money.
3. He says he's fine, but he doesn't have any energy.
   He say he fine, but he don't have no energy.
4. I asked for a ride, but Sheila's car broke down.
   I ast for a ride, but Sheila car broke down.
5. There's this mall out south where Monica's cousins work, but I have never been there.
   It's this mall out south where Monica cousins work, but I ain't never been there.
6. Johnny gets hyper when he's excited.
   Johnny get hyper when he excited.
7. She doesn't ever let anybody tell her what to do.
   She don't never be letting nobody tell her what to do.
8. There's a word for 'hello' in Priya's language, but she says it too fast for me to hear.
   It's a word for 'hello' in Priya language, but she be saying it too fast for me to hear.
9. Our dog's getting fat, but he moves fast and catches squirrels.
   Our dog getting fat, but he move fast and catch squirrels.
10. There's this old cemetery by Danielle's house.
    It's this ol' cemetery by Danielle house.

Test #4

1. My teacher always gives us tests, but she's worried that there's not enough time to cover everything.
   My teacher always be giving us tes', but she worried that it's not enough time to cover everything.
2. Raquel has never missed a chance to write; she writes poems and stories all the time.
   Raquel ain't never miss' a chance to write; she be writing poems and stories all the time.
3. Mr. Johnson says he's educated, but he doesn't know anything useful.
   Mr. Johnson say he educated, but he don't know nothing useful.
4. I want Mama's pancakes for breakfast.
   I want Mama pancakes for breakfas'.
5. There's a guy in my neighborhood who doesn't do anything but fix people's cars.
   It's a guy in my neighborhood who don't do nothing but fix people cars.
6. She looks evil when she's angry.
   She look evil when she angry.
7. I don't know anybody who drinks pop everyday like Tony.
   I don't know nobody who be drinking pop everyday like Tony.
8. There are a lot of miles she drives to get to her boyfriend's house.
   It's a lot of miles she be driving to get to her boyfriend house.
9. Kanye sings and dances okay, but he's arrogant.
   Kanye sing and dance okay, but he arrogant.
10. There were a lot of my brother's classmates acting bad, but Frankie was the worst.
    It was a lot of my brother classmates acting bad, but Frankie was the worse.