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Black Americans' attitudes toward Black English

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Abstract

This study examines the attitudes which Black Americans hold toward Black English, otherwise known in current literature as "Negro dialect," or "nonstandard Negro English."

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study examines the attitudes which Black Americans hold toward Black English, otherwise known in current literature as "Negro dialect," or "nonstandard Negro English." Sociolinguists Ralph Fasold and Walter Wolfram define the parameters of this variety of English in the following manner:

> Negro dialect, then as the term is used here, is a cohesive linguistic system which is substantially different from Standard American English dialects. It is spoken by some, though not all Negroes, particularly those of the lower socioeconomic classes. Further, almost all the features associated with Negro dialect alternate with Standard English in actual speech.[1]

This definition suggests a cultural relationship between social class, identity, and language. In order to study the attitudes which Black Americans hold toward Black English I will examine how these attitudes are historically and socially determined. Also under investigation is the question of whether the use of Black English is associated with racial identification and social class among Black Americans and if

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[1]Ralph Fasold and Walter Wolfram, "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect," in Language, Society, and Education, ed. Johanna DeStafano (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones, 1973), p. 117.

such a relationship exists, the degree of correlation.

According to Bragdon, the term "Negro dialect" is the most objectionable of the many terms used to describe the language of Black Americans. The basis for this objection is threefold. The term is used repeatedly in literary context to mean the language of slaves. The word "Negro" is also offensive to many Black Americans and finally, the word "dialect" has inferior connotations because some authorities use it to mean a nonstandard form of English without structure. Black English is the most acceptable term and will be used throughout this study although to some sociolinguists, educators, psychologists and others, the terms are interchangeable.[2]

Standard English is defined as the "English in which most of the books, magazines, and newspapers we read are written."[3] It is viewed as the prestige language of American society and since the introduction in the 1960's of research focusing on Black English, researchers from various disciplines have centered much of their efforts around the issue of the advantages of speaking Standard English. It is seen as the "currency of opportunity" and the positive relationship between an individual's use of Standard English and

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[2]Ida Brownlee Bragdon, "An Essay on a Linguistic Issue: What is Black English?" The Journal of Negro Education 43 (Summer 1974):265-266.

[3]J. Mitchell Morse, "The Shuffling Speech of Slavery: Black English," College English 34 (March 1973):835.

success in the mainstream culture is often made. Attitudes toward Black English may be seen as a reflection of the dominant society's devaluation of it. This attitude is best summarized in the following statement taken from a handout which a senior English professor at a major American university distributes to all his students at the beginning of each term:

> Black English is a respectable dialect, but it is not acceptable on tests, exams, papers in a university like this one. If you are black, you only handicap yourself if you do not learn to speak and write the language (or dialect) of the whites--White English--i.e., reasonably decent, correct, conventional modern English, the same kind of English that every student in the university is supposed to use in all his (her) courses as the catalogue states somewhere which is reasonable enough to expect of any student who has been admitted into a college or university. If a student doesn't think so or is unwilling to or incapable of learning to speak and write such English, he (she) doesn't belong in college, but in a trade school or a veternarian [sic] or a beauty school or should be driving a truck, clerking in a store, babysitting. . .[4]

The use of Standard English has positive connotations such as "correct" and "decent" while the use of Black English is viewed by a supposedly educated person as a "handicap."

Black English is not ethnic slang nor can it be assumed that all and only Black Americans speak it because it is also spoken by individuals of other racial groups who have lived with and among Black Americans who speak it. In order to comprehend the scope of Black English one must examine

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[4]Ian F. Hancock, "Identify, Equality, and Standard English," The Florida Foreign Language Reporter 12 (Spring/Fall 1974):49.

the characteristics which distinguish it from Standard English and also the social context in which it is often spoken. These basic characteristics are as follows:

1. In speaking, the rate of delivery is comparatively slower than Standard English.

2. Black English sentence structure, on the average, is less complex than white middle class sentence structure.

3. In observing the various techniques such as "rapping," "capping," plus the use of tonal inflections and physical gestures, which is known as Black kinesics, one is able to view Black English as oftentimes an art of performance. This researcher recognizes these techniques but will not examine them in this study.[5]

Black English is distinguishable from Standard English by its pronunciation and grammatical features which form a linguistic system. This position contradicts those educators and other professionals who view Black speech patterns as merely the same as Southern white speech patterns. Below are some of the most frequently observed contrasts in grammatical forms of Black English and Standard English.

Variable	Black English	Standard English
Linking verb	He __ goin'	He is going.
Possessive marker	John__ cousin.	John's cousin.
Plural marker	I got five cent_.	I have fine cents.

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[5]Henry Mitchell, "Black English," in Language, Communication, and Rhetoric in Black America, ed. Arthur L. Smith (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 93.

Variable	Black English	Standard English
Subject expression	John he live in New York.	John ___ lives in New York.
Past marker	Yesterday he ain't had no money for the bus so he walk___ home.	Yesterday he didn't have any money for the bus so he walked home.
Verb agreement	He run___ home.	He runs home.
"If" construction	I ask did he do it.	I asked if he did it.
Negation	He ain't go.	He didn't go.
Indefinite article	I want a apple.	I want an apple.
Pronoun form	He book.	His book.
Preposition	He over to his friend house.	He is over at his friend's house.
Be	Statement: He be there.	Statement: He is here all the time.
Been	He been ate all the chicken.	He ate the chicken a long time ago.
Do	Contradictions: No, he don't.	Contradiction: No, he isn't.
Modals	He might could go.	He might go.
Wh question	What it is?	What is it?
Verb form	I drunk the milk.	I drank the milk.[6]

The above variables characterize some of the distinct grammatical differences between Black English and Standard English. In reviewing this list, one must consider the linguistic and

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[6]Joan C. Baratz, "Language Abilities of Black Americans," in Comparative Studies of Blacks and Whites in the United States, eds. Kent S. Miller and Ralph Mason Dreger (New York: Seminar Press, 1973), p. 144.

social context in which these variables are used.

The sociological significance of this study is concerned with the determination of possible attitude changes of Black Americans toward Black English from those discovered in previous studies which have focused on this area. These studies include DeStafano's "Black Attitudes Toward Black English: A Pilot Study" (1971), Language Behavior in a Black Urban Community by Mitchell-Kernan (1971), "White and Negro Listeners' Reactions to Various American English Dialects," by Tucker and Lambert (1969), and Buck's study entitled, "The Effects of Negro and White Dialectal Variations Upon the Attitudes of College Students," published in 1968. A study completed and published in 1966 by Hurst and Jones entitled, "Psychosocial Concomitants of Sub-Standard Speech," also examines the attitudes which Black Americans hold toward Black English.

In addition, the present research considers the influence of social context on Black English and how this compares with previous studies which have focused primarily on Black Americans living in large metropolitan areas or in communities where the population is primarily that of Black Americans. DeStefano's study was researched in the San Francisco Bay area while Mitchell-Kernan's population was composed of the West Oakland, California, community which is predominantly Black American. Hurst and Jones' study centered upon the student population of Howard University in Washington, D.C., while Buck's study focused upon the college

population of Hunter College in New York City. In each of these cities there is a large and varied population of Black Americans. The sample for the present study is composed of forty Black American students attending Illinois State University in Normal, Illinois, who are enrolled in the class, "Minority Students and Social Forces," Sociology 193. The total population of the town of Normal is 26,296 residents. The total number of Black Americans in Normal is 442 which is 1.7 per cent of the total population. Bloomington, which is the city contiguous to Normal, and approximately one mile from Illinois State University, has a total population of 39,992 residents with 3.9 per cent of the population being Black American.[7] Black students attending Illinois State University number 1,529, which is 8 per cent of the total student body of 19,048.[8]

Social class is being considered in this study in terms of how it affects the subject's attitude toward, and his/her use of Black English. The concept of social class, according to Wolfram and Fasold, is "a group within a society whose members hold a number of distinctive statuses in common and

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[7]U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1970, General Population Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-B15, Illinois, Table 27.

[8]Department of Institutional Research, Illinois State University.

develop the operation of roles associated with these statuses."[9] In previous studies which included social class as a variable, it was measured in terms of the values and lifestyles of the dominant society, primarily that of White middle class. The most prevalent features on this social class scale are the objective criteria including the amount of education attained, income, and occupation. Subjects in the present study indicated the membership of their parents in one of three social class categories: upper class, middle class, or lower class and state the criteria for their membership. Through the use of this subjective class identification, the subjects showed their awareness of the existence of class distinctions and the identification of their parents' membership according to social class in each of the following areas: (1) within their parents' neighborhood, (2) within the Black Culture, and (3) within the larger society. Through this examination of social class and the criteria which the subjects used to denote membership in a particular social class, I hope to determine the effect, if any, the dominant society has on Black Americans' perception of social class.

Reference group theory, as first proposed by Hyman in 1942, is considered in this study. Robert K. Merton, one of

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[9]Walter A. Wolfram and Ralph Fasold, The Study of Social Dialects in American English (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 17.

the later developers of this theory states, "Reference groups, are in principle, almost innumerable; any of the groups of which one is a member . . . can become points of reference for shaping one's attitudes, evaluations, and behaviors."[10] Also included in reference group theory are the group or groups to which membership is aspired to by an individual. Language, being a component of culture as well as a social identifier, is significant in determining reference groups of individuals. The reference group or groups in this study will be determined by the racial composition of his/her friendships, the organizations, if any, of which he/she is a member, the identity of the most influential person in his/her life, and the individual's self identification along with their evaluation of Black English. For example, a subject may exhibit a positive attitude toward Black English which, as an element of Black American culture, would depict his/her positive relationship toward his/her own racial membership group. There exists a school of thought which theorizes that the greater the orientation a Black American holds toward the White middle class culture the less positive membership to the Black American culture. This is juxtaposed to the idea of many Black Americans that irrespective of social class as a reference group, Black Americans tend to

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[10]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, enlarged ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1968), p. 287.

identify with the Black culture, perceiving the Black American reference group as the most critical. This study will also explore these ideas.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Review of Historical Literature

In order to trace the development of Black English, it is necessary to examine the maritime relations between several European countries with Africa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the trade languages which developed through these relations. Also vital to the study is a review of the social history of the African slave in America along with the stages and the effects of the language socialization process.

African and several European countries initiated their maritime relations during the sixteenth century, and in order to facilitate communication between merchants, trade languages, otherwise known as lingua france, evolved. These trade languages were a derivation of both African and European languages and with the Portuguese originating trade relations with Africa, Black Portuguese became the first lingua franca.[1] As other European countries penetrated Africa, such as Holland and France, new trade languages

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[1]Ivan Vansetima, "African Linguistic and Mythological Structure in the New World," in Black Life and Culture in the United States, ed. Rhoda Goldstein (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1971), p. 18.

developed in a manner similar to that of Black Portuguese. Black English emerged as not merely a combination of English and African languages but also of other trade languages. According to David Dalby, a sociolinguist who has done extensive research in the area of the development of Black English,

> An African merchant from the Erik tribe of Calabar in Nigeria, kept a diary in a form of Black English in the 1780's with the remaining fragments of this diary representing one of the oldest available texts of Black English.[2]

A form of Black seamen's English was established by African crews working on British vessels during the late eighteenth century.[3]

The history of African slavery in America is one of both physical and cultural oppression. Slavery in America dictated that the enslaved behave according to the commands of their masters. When the African people were imported as slaves for colonial America they were seen as speaking a savage gibberish. This patois was actually the initial stage for the formation of a new language for the slaves. In the language socialization process, the native language of the speaker was used as the foundation with the other contact language, in this case English, being supplementary. The results of the fusion of these was a language which

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[2]David Dalby, Black Through White: Patterns of Communication (Bloomington, Indiana: University of Indiana, 1970), p. 11.

[3]Ibid.

accommodated the early slaves' basic speech needs on the plantation in the New World.

The mixture of the two or more languages with no one predominant language resulted in the dispersion of a pidgin language which was very much influenced by the speaker's native tongue. Creole was the result of the pidgin becoming the native language of a community. The early slave pidgin evolved into present day Black English due to the partial acculturation of the slaves to white speech norms in the United States. Evidence of this partial acculturation is documented by the research done by Dr. Lorenzo Turner in the Sea Islands, off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. In his work entitled, Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect, published in 1949, Turner discovered over four thousand African words, names, and numbers. The Gullah dialect is quite similar to that of the early slaves with the basic similarities being the use of the pronoun "me" as the subject noun and the lack of the use of the verb "to be."[4]

In order to communicate in the New World, it was necessary for the slaves to adapt their mother tongues to the languages spoken in the colonies. According to early American standards, the slaves failed to learn the English language properly because of their "intellectual inferiority and

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[4]Romeo B. Garret, "African Survivals in American Culture," in Language, Communication and Rhetoric in Black America, ed. Arthur L. Smith (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 372.

physiological differences" along with their "large lips and oversized tongues."[5] The linguistic concept of interference explains the development of these speech patterns. According to Haskins and Butts, interference refers to the tendency of individuals to make the language they are learning conform to the sound and structure of their native tongues.[6] The process of "interference" was prevalent among immigrant groups but was compounded with the slaves because of the many tribal languages spoken by them along with the colonial policy of combining slaves of different tribal origins so they could not communicate and thus plan escapes from slavery.

In a totally different environment, both culturally and physically, from their native Africa, the early slaves clung to their oral tradition of Nommo, the spoken word, and passed this tradition of speech from generation to generation. One of the major reasons for the perpetuation of this custom was that most slaves were unable to read or write and were forbidden in most states to learn, and as a result, the spoken word became their primary vehicle of communication. Some enslaved Africans consistently refused to abandon their linguistic bonds with their homeland. An example of such behavior is noted in the autobiography of a slave, Forty-Seven

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[5]Vansetima, "African Linguistic and Mythological Structure," p. 14.

[6]Jim Haskins and Hugh F. Butts, The Psychology of Black Language (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1973), p. 38.

Years a Slave by Samuel Hill. The mother of the author was captured in Liberia by slave traders and is depicted by her son as being typical of many of the older slaves. Mr. Hill describes his mother in this manner: "The mother would never work after she was sold into slavery, but pined away, never learning the language of the people of this country."[7] The language of his mother was the only tie to her homeland.

The major sources of language learning for the slaves was their overseer or native born slaves with the variety of language being dependent upon the manner in which it was learned. The language of the white overseer was generally nonstandard as compared to upper class whites and thus served as a poor linguistic model for the slaves. There were basically three language groups among the slaves. There were those who learned English through the dialect of their masters by working as domestics and those who were contracted to work in nearby towns with their language development being similar to that of the freedman. Plantation creole was the second variety being spoken by the native born fieldworkers, and lastly, there were those slaves who were recently imported to America who brought with them their native language and perhaps some basic usage of the trade languages to which they had been exposed.[8] As a result of these different language

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[7]John W. Blassingame, The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Ante-Bellum South (New York: Oxford, 1972), p. 22.

[8]J. L. Dillard, Black English (New York: Random House, 1972), p. 97.

learning processes, some slaves were more socialized to the English language than others. Those slaves working as domestics were of a privileged class in the slave community. They had close contact with their masters, many from childhood and according to Frazier, "they early acquired the speech of their masters, a fact which set them off from the more isolated fieldhands who spoke a dialect."[9] In years to come, these domestic slaves were to form the foundation of the Black middle class.

Age was an important factor which influenced language development. Some Africans were able to converse in English after only several months, although for some older enslaved Africans it took several years to add a few English words to their vocabulary. In 1724, the Reverend John Falconer declared that the adults among the Africans imported to Virginia were "never . . . able to speak or understand our language perfectly."[10] One Maryland resident reported in 1822 that a group of African "boys have been three months only among the English and they now speak better than most blacks in these Southern states."[11] Length of habitation as well as locality were also influencing factors in the development of language.

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[9]E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 12.

[10]Blassingame, The Slave Community, p. 22.

[11]Ibid.

The language of White Americans was affected by the speech of the slaves. Those who had Black playmates as children often spoke a form of Black English. As early as 1746, a British traveler in the American colonies reported in The London Magazine that,

> One thing they [the English settlers] are often faulty in, with regards to their children . . . is when young, they suffer too much to prowl among the young Negroes, which insensibly causes them to imbibe their manners and broken speech.[12]

The transition from the Black English of their youth to Standard English is described by John Bennet in this manner:

> It is true, up to the age of four, approximately, the children of the best families, even in town, are apt to speak almost unmodified Gullah, caught from brown playmates and country bred nurses; but at that age refinement of cultivation begins and "the flowers 'o the forest are a' weed awa!"[13]

At that same age Black children were utilized on the plantation in the workforce, training as domestics and fieldworkers and interracial playing was ended.

The attitudes of the overseer toward the language spoken by the slaves was one of amusement. The overseers not only imitated the speech of the slave, but painted their faces black before their white counterparts to impersonate their conception of what the slave was in speech, intellect, and manner--that being lazy, ignorant, and childlike. Among

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[12]William A. Stewart, "Continuity and Change in American Negro Dialects," The Florida Foreign Language Reporter 6 (Summer 1968):reprint, page number not available.

[13]Ibid.

the slaves themselves their newly acquired language served as a protective device, emphasizing double meanings, otherwise known as inversion. Inversion was a consequence of the reluctance of the slaves to permit the dominant culture to be more cognizant of their behavior and institutions than was strictly necessary. As described by Holt, inversion was

> . . . a linguistic survival process functionally related to the conflicts implicit in the American caste, class, and race. The slaves recognized that to learn the white man's language was in effect to consent to be mastered by it through the white definition of caste built into the semantic social system. Inversion becomes the defensive mechanism which enables Blacks to fight linguistic, and thereby, psychological entrapment.[14]

Grier and Cobb describe the inversion process used in the spirituals in this manner:

> To the uninformed listener the words spoke of religious longing; the singing provided a harmonious accompaniment to their work, and to the viewer, all was piety and submission. The true meaning of the spirituals, however involves a communication from one another, regarding plans for escape, hostile feelings toward masters, and a general expression of rebellious attitudes.[15]

Frederick Douglas documented his personal use of inversion in noting that,

> . . . a keen observer might have detected in our repeated singing of 'O Canaan, Sweet Canaan, I am bound for the land of Canaan' something more than the hope of reaching heaven. We meant to reach

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[14]Grace Sims Holt, "'Inversion' in Black Communication," The Florida Foreign Language Reporter 9 (Spring/Fall 1971):41.

[15]William H. Grier and Price M. Cobb, Black Rage (New York: Basic Books, 1968), pp. 122-123.

the North and the North was our Canaan.[16]

Besides serving as a protective device, the language of the slaves served as a source of identification and group solidarity.

With the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 came the breakdown of the plantation system and an expansion of educational opportunities for some, although mere contact with Standard English did not change the basic speech patterns of the slaves. As large numbers of freed Black Americans migrated to the large industrial centers in the North in search of employment opportunities, the various forms of Black English were perpetuated due in part to the establishing of black belts where large numbers of Black Americans lived and worked. Newspapers and magazines increased their coverage of Black Americans, often stereotyping them in a most negative fashion, using what they thought as an inferior dialect to portray them as ignorant and lazy in their speech and personal habits. In 1909, the editor of the Century Monthly justified the use of Black English in cartoons and short stories on the grounds that it, like other dialects, was not "an unimportant part of the United States' social history and has distinct value for folklore."[17]

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[16]John Lovell, Jr., Black Song: The Forge and The Flame (New York: Macmillan, 1972), p. 494.

[17]Rayford W. Logan, The Betrayal of the Negro From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson (London: Collier-Macmillan, Ltd., 1965), p. 373.

The language of Black Americans was often depicted in the press as an unintelligible dialect. During World War I, The Cincinnati Enquirer carried the headline "Yah Suh! Black Boys Are Happy!" referring to Black American troops in France.[18] This linguistic stereotyping continues today with individuals mimicing the speech of Black Americans, oftentimes using as representatives of this speech, the radio-television characters of Amos and Andy. Dillard explains linguistic stereotyping in noting that "it takes no explanation that the speaker is a Negro when a joke has someone passing through a graveyard who asks, 'Who dat say who dat say who dat?'"[19] Negative linguistic stereotyping is a reflection of an individual's attitude toward the speaker's culture.

To summarize, trade relations between Africa and Europe resulted in the development of various lingua franca including Black Portuguese, Black Dutch, Black French, and the first form of Black English. In America the early slaves, as a matter of survival adapted their culture, including their language, to their new environment in order to communicate among themselves and with the overseers and masters. The early recollections of this language socialization process depicted Black Americans in a negative manner. Sources of

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[18]Ibid., p. 382.

[19]Dillard, Black English, p. 214.

language learning varied according to the status, age, locality, and length of habitation of the slave in America. Inversion was used as a protective device against the dominant White society. With the Emancipation Proclamation, many slaves and their families migrated North and formed Black American communities in many of the large industrial centers. The press continued to stereotype the Black American in behavior and language as being ignorant, inferior, and lazy with this negative linguistic stereotyping continuing today.

Review of Theoretical Literature

An attitude may be defined as the predisposition of an individual to evaluate some symbol, object, or aspect of his/her world in a favorable or unfavorable light.[20] The individual's attitude toward a particular language different from his/her own can be seen as an extension of his/her attitude toward that culture and the people of that culture.[21] Language may serve as a clue to the status and race of a speaker and according to Williams, speech types

> . . . serve as social identifiers which lead to the formation of stereotyped attitudes, whether positive or negative, concerning the speaker with individuals behaving in accord with these stereotypes and thus

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[20]Richard V. Wagner and John J. Sherwood, eds., The Study of Attitude Change (Belmont, California: Brooks-Cole, 1969), p. 2.

[21]Frederick Williams, "Language, Attitude, and Social Change," in Language and Poverty, ed. Frederick Williams (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970), p. 382.

translate these attitudes into social reality.[22]

Williams continues in noting that,

> . . . we would expect to see not only that attitudes toward speech are highly tied to attitudes toward people, but that differences in these attitudes should vary with linguistic and dialect distinctions, perhaps even to the level of how people use speech in different situations.[23]

Linguistic ethnocentrism often accompanies cultural ethnocentrism with individuals tending to use their own language or the language of the dominant culture as the standard in evaluating the speech of others.

Sociolinguistics, the sociology of language, is the study of verbal behavior in terms of the social characteristics of the speakers, their cultural background, and the ecological properties of their environment in which they interact.[24] The deficit and difference theories in sociolinguistics are pertinent to this study. The three basic assumptions which deficit theorists make concerning Black English are:

1. Black English is a distortion of Standard English.
2. The structure and sound patterns differences are viewed as perverted variations of Standard English.

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[22]Ibid.

[23]Ibid., p. 383.

[24]John Gumperz, Language in Social Groups (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1971), p. 151.

3. Variations of Standard English are produced and perpetuated by sociolinguistic variables within a poor social environment.[25]

The deficit theory relies heavily on the early writings of Basil Bernstein, an English sociologist, who conducted extensive research in the area of language and social class in England. Bernstein's early works proposed that, at least in England, middle class and lower class parents employed different child rearing practices which resulted in different patterns of language and thought development. Middle class life is seen as being oriented toward values of order, rationality, and stability with the language of this class seen as using elaborate codes which describe feelings and emotions, and intentions. Middle class individuals are also viewed as better able to elaborate the reasoning for underlying decisions.[26] Members of the lower class are described as employing restricted codes with lower class parents seen as authoritarian and impulsive. This type of code is characterized by Bernstein in the following manner:

1. Sentences are short, simple, and often incomplete and syntactically weak.

2. There is repetitive use of conjunctions such as "so," "then," "and," and "because."

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[25]Donald Anderson, "Language and the Disadvantaged African American," The Negro Educational Review 26 (April-July 1975):86.

[26]Herbert Ginsberg, The Myth of the Deprived Child (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972), p. 59.

3. There is little use of subordinate clauses.

4. There is limited use of adverbs and adjectives.

5. Statements often confuse reason and conclusion so as to produce an unqualified statement.[27]

There are numerous examples of research concerning the deficit theory. Deutsch views the middle class parents as more verbal with their child than lower class parents and this results in the development of language skills.[28] Strodtbeck focuses upon the family decision making process, and the contrast between middle and lower class families. He is of the opinion that the middle class family solicits input from its members and thus encourages the value and use of language, while in the lower class family such decision-making is unilateral and as a result, hinders proper language functioning and development.[29]

The difference model, as its name implies, views all languages as different but equal. Wolfram summarizes the difference model in the following manner:

> The difference model considers each language variety to be a self-contained system which is inherently neither superior nor deficient. Nonstandard dialects are systems in their own right, with their own pronunciation and grammatical rules. And although these rules may differ from Standard English, they are no less consistent or logical than the rules of the

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[27]Ibid., p. 60.

[28]Anderson, "Language and the Disadvantaged African American," p. 92.

[29]Ibid., p. 91.

socially prestigious dialects.[30]

Language differences are seen as one part of the same cultural differences that distinguish one subculture from another and one speaker from another in a nonvaluative manner while meeting the needs of the speaker in his/her environment. Cognitive and expressive abilities basically do not lie in the individual dialect but in his/her mind and the ability of the individual to creatively use his/her language.[31] Proponents of this theory include William Stewart, Walter Wolfram, Joan Baratz, Stephen Baratz, and J. L. Dillard. Advocates of the difference theory attribute the negative connotations of Black English primarily to the educational system and the values of the dominant culture; both of the latter assuming that the only "proper and correct" language is Standard English.

As mentioned earlier, reference group theory is of relevance to this study. This study asserts that the individual tends to orient his/her values according to the normative reference group, which may consist of his/her membership group or one to which he/she aspires. Merton

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[30]Ralph Fasold and Walter Wolfram, "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect," in Language, Society, and Education, ed. Johanna DeStefano (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones, 1973), p. 23.

[31]Arthur J. Bronstein and others, "A Sociolinguistic Comment on the Changing Attitudes Toward Black English and An Experimental Study of Measure Some of These Attitudes," ERIC Reprint, 1970, p. 16.

suggested that subordinate group members tend to assimilate the sentiments of conformity with the values of the prestigious group, with conformity to the values of the latter serving as a means to gain acceptance into this group.[32] E. Franklin Frazier, in his study of the Black middle class entitled Black Bourgeoisie, has documented that many Black Americans aspire to the values of the dominant white society and that these middle class Black Americans have as a reference group, the White middle class. In a more recent study completed by Sampson in Chicago, it was discovered that middle class Black Americans in his study maintain a strong sense of identity culturally and racially. According to Sampson, "Middle class blacks are fairly positive toward themselves and other blacks. They expressed a strong sense of racial solidarity. They don't expect reverence from lower class blacks. They want black culture to be maintained."[33] This researcher will examine the reference group or groups of young adult Black Americans in this study, and the effect, if any, that these reference groups have on the subjects' attitudes toward Black English.

Inclusion of the variable, social class, in this study reflects its importance within the field of sociology. One of the basic differences between the Black American social

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[32]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, enlarged ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1968), p. 333.

[33]Lillian Williams, "Middle-Class Blacks' Racial Pride Told," Chicago Sun-Times, 14 May 1975, p. 50.

class structure and the White American social structure is their shape. St. Clair Drake describes the former as "pyramidal" because of the larger membership of the lower class, the smaller membership of the middle class, and the minute upper class, whose occupation and income would only make them middle class in the White American social class structure.[34] The structure of the latter is seen by the same author as "diamond" shaped with a smaller lower class, a larger middle class, and a small upper class.[35] The development of the separate Black American social class structure can be viewed as a result of segregation of the Black American from the American mainstream following the Emancipation Proclamation. Newly formed Black American communities across the nation needed, for example, teachers, ministers, morticians and doctors. Since many members of the White American society did not wish to become involved in occupations where they would have close contact with any members of the Black American community, the result was development of a professional class within the minority community. This professional class encompassed various occupations and was later to be composed of the upper class and middle class among Black Americans.

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[34]St. Clair Drake, "The Social and Economic Status of the Negro in the United States," in The Negro American, ed. Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark, Foreward by Lyndon B. Johnson (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), p. 17.

[35]Ibid.

The present study will focus upon the subjective treatment of social class. Previous research concerned with this variable has centered upon the researcher's criteria for membership in a particular social class. Willie, in his study entitled, "The Black Family and Social Class," used total income of the household to select nine families out of a possible two hundred case studies of Black American families. Three families served as representative for each of the income groups which included middle income, marginal or working class income, and lower class income. Lower class families' income ranged from $3,000-$6,000, working class families from $6,000 to $10,000 and the middle class family income ranged from $10,000 to $20,000. In his analysis, Willie stated that social class includes both economic resources as well as lifestyle.[36]

The middle class Black American family was labeled as the "affluent conformists" with their status being seen as a function of dual employment of husband and wife.[37] Permanency of employment along with a team effort between the spouses are also characteristic. To the middle class, the appearance and furnishings of their home and education of their children are of great importance, seeing education as

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[36]Charles V. Willie, "The Black Family and Social Class," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 44 (January 1974):52.

[37]Ibid.

one of the keys of social mobility. At least one parent has attended college, and oftentimes both, and are apt to be employed by school systems, government or industry. According to Willie, "middle class black families in America, probably more than any other population group in this society, manifest the Puritan orientation toward work and success that is characteristic of our own basic values."[38] Middle class families tend not to become involved in community organizations except for church affairs.

Black American working class families are characterized by an income between $6,000 to $10,000 with parents seldom having a college education and having limited career aspirations for their children. These families usually live in the same neighborhood for an average of ten years, with most owning their own homes. Willie notes that, "Home ownership for black working class families is not so much a symbol of success as an indication of respectability."[39] Church attendance is for the most part on a regular basis. The Black American working class is not a homogeneous group because it is composed of those lower class families on their way up the social scale or a middle class family descending the social and economic ladder. Willie notes that, "They strive to achieve the societal values and goals, are deficient in the possession of socially sanctioned means, but

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[38]Ibid., p. 54.

[39]Ibid., p. 55.

somehow overcome."[40]

The lower class Black American family is viewed by Willie as being distinctive for a number of reasons. Their income ranges from $3,000 to $6,000 with parents having limited formal education beyond grade school or high school. For some lower class families, religion is important and church attendance is regular. Willie sees the lower class as lacking trust in the larger society as well as the goal orientation of the Black American working class and middle class.[41] The family plays an important role in what trust does exist for these families and loyalty among siblings is a major characteristic.

Using Merton's five methods of adaptation by individuals to social organization which include conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion, Willie categorizes the Black American middle class family as conformists, the working class as innovationists, and the lower class as retreatists.[42] The values of the middle class Black American family are in agreement with, according to Willie, "the basic values and goals in American society and utilize appropriately prescribed means for their achievement. Its members are success-oriented, upwardly mobile, materialistic, and equalitarian."[43]

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[40]Ibid., p. 59.

[41]Ibid., p. 57.

[42]Ibid., p. 58.

[43]Ibid., p. 59.

Those members of the working class are viewed as having values similar to those of the middle class with one basic exception and that is the emphasis on the welfare of the family along with success being equated with respectability. Members of this class are for the most part unskilled and have limited education as compared to the middle class yet they strive to achieve, with Willie designating them as the "creative innovationists of our times."[44] The lower class Black American family is labeled as retreatists by Willie with the term defined as one who has "given up on the socially sanctioned values and goals as well as the means and is declared to be in a state of anomie and normlessness."[45] As a defense mechanism, members of this class may belittle membership in higher social classes and deny any wish for personal improvement. Willie concludes his study with the following three point summary:

1. The Black American family and the White American family share a common value system.

2. The Black American family and the White American family adapt to the society and its values in different ways, largely because of racial discrimination.

3. The unique adaptation by the Black American family is further differentiated by variation in lifestyle and social class.[46]

This researcher will probe and focus upon the assertion by

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[44]Ibid., p. 58.

[45]Ibid., p. 60.

[46]Ibid.

Willie that Black American families and White American families do share a common value system and if so, the effect on Black Americans' attitudes toward Black English along with their designation of criteria for their parents' membership in a particular social class and their reference group orientation.

To summarize, language, as a component of culture, serves as a social identifier in providing clues to the status, race, and ethnicity of the speaker. Attitudes toward language are seen as an extension of an individual's attitudes toward a particular culture and its members. The examination of the deficit and difference theories in sociolinguistics contributes to the relevancy of this study. The two conflicting perspectives toward language will not be resolved until more extensive research is completed. Reference group theory is also applicable in determining the reference group language as well as self identification of the Black Americans in this study. The subjective examination of social class of Black Americans is of value to the discipline of sociology, particularly in the area of social stratification, where most studies dealing with social class as a variable have either focused upon a White American population or assumed the same criteria for membership in the Black American social class structure as the criteria stated for membership in the White American social class structure.

Review of Research Literature

Various studies have been completed concerning Black English with much of this research focusing on language identification and the determination of attitudes toward different language communities. Some of the more recent research is concerned with teachers' attitudes toward Black English with other research primarily centered upon adult or college age populations.

"Psychosocial Concomitants of Sub-Standard Speech," by Hurst and Jones (1966) examines the levels of language proficiency and their relationship to certain psychological, sociological, and attitudinal variables using a sample of five hundred sixty-six (566) male and six hundred forty-three (643) female Black American freshmen attending Howard University. Low proficiency speech was defined as "dialectolalia" by the authors and was characterized by mispronunciations and phonetic distortions.[47] Each student was administered the following test instruments: (1) a socio-economic and cultural questionnaire containing items of the Index of Status Characteristics developed by Warner, Meeker, and Eels; (2) a speech and attitude scale that assessed students' attitudes toward speech and language; (3) an instrument for evaluating the speech of the individual,

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[47] Charles G. Hurst, Jr. and Wallace L. Jones, "Psychosocial Concomitants of Sub-Standard Speech," The Journal of Negro Education 35 (1966):410.

his/her family, and his/her peers; (4) Edwards' Personal Preference Schedule; (5) the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey; and (6) the California Psychological Inventory.[48] Each student's speech was tape recorded and evaluated by a panel of qualified judges and then rated as low proficiency, moderate proficiency, or high proficiency. Three hundred twenty-three (323) were judged to be low proficiency speakers, two hundred thirty-four (234) as high proficiency speakers, and six hundred fifty-two (652) subjects were judged to be moderate proficiency speakers.[49]

The authors discovered that high proficiency speakers tended to come from families which were similar to the White American middle class, with at least one parent a professional and whose combined family income was greater than $15,000. These speakers also judged their own speech and that of their family and peers as very good to excellent and also showed highly developed characteristics of leadership, dominance, self-confidence, independence, aggression and spontaneity on the personality tests that were administered. According to the authors, these findings are "consistent with the widely accepted belief that verbal ability is an important and necessary prerequisite for successful intragroup and intergroup communication."[50] High proficiency speakers are viewed as

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[48]Ibid., p. 412.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Ibid., p. 418.

individuals whose characteristics are valued by society and thus serve as a means of upward mobility.

The parents of low proficiency speakers are found to be employed in either semi-skilled or unskilled jobs with their level of education being that of a high school graduate or less. Their combined family income is considerably below the national average. Low proficiency speakers judge their own speech and that of their family and peers to be fair to poor with their scores on the numerous personality tests well below that of the high proficiency speakers. The authors of this study concluded that there exists a strong relationship between speech proficiency and socioeconomic level along with the individual's self image of himself/herself as it relates to their speech.

Buck (1968) instructed a sample of women students attending Hunter College (enrolled in introductory voice and diction classes) to listen to four different three-minute tape recorded passages. The four speakers were a Standard English White American, a Standard English Black American, a Nonstandard English White American, and a Nonstandard English Black American. Twenty-five students in the first experimental group were instructed to rate the four speakers according to a seven point adjectival scale of Osgood's Semantic Differential.[51] The second experimental group,

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[51]Joyce Buck, "The Effects of Negro and White Dialectal Variations Upon Attitudes of College Students," Speech Monographs 35 (1968):182.

also composed of twenty-five students, was directed to rate the same four speakers on the Speaker Credibility Scale developed by Berlo and Lemert.[52] This second group was also asked to identify the skin color of each of the speakers. The White American speaking Standard English was judged significantly more favorably than that of the Nonstandard English Black American and White American speakers. Both the Black American and the White American Standard English speakers were judged as more competent than the Nonstandard English speakers regardless of race. The majority of those in the second experimental group racially misidentified the Black American Standard English speaker. The findings of this study clearly indicate that Standard English is preferred and valued as compared to Nonstandard English.

Tucker and Lambert (1969) directed White American and Black American Northern and Southern college students to identify the race of the speakers from tape recordings of the following six different speech groups: (1) Network Standard English, (2) Educated White Southern English, (3) Black American Southern Educated English, (4) Howard University speech, (5) Black American Mississippi English, and (6) New Yorkese. The authors found that White American students could identify the ethnicity of the Black Mississippi, White Southern Standard, and Network speakers over 90 percent

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[52]Ibid., p. 183.

of the time. Howard University speakers were correctly identified 75 percent of the time and the Black American Southern Educated speakers were correctly identified racially only 50 percent of the time. The authors also discovered that both Black American and White American subjects rated Network Standard English as the most acceptable while there was disagreement as to the least acceptable. White American college students rated Mississippi speech as least desirable while Black American college students rated White American Southern speech as least desirable.[53]

DeStefano's study entitled, "Black Attitudes Toward Black English: A Pilot Study," (1971) discovered that the attitudes expressed by the three female and one male Black American subjects living in the San Francisco Bay area of California seemed to fall into two categories: those attitudes that viewed Black English in a positive manner as an expression of Black culture and those that viewed it as a form of substandard English. The author employed five quotations which dealt with the nature of Black English. (See Appendix B of this study.) The questionnaire was administered by the author with the subject being instructed to read each quote and then verbally voice their opinion to the author. Subjects were also asked their opinion concerning the use of

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[53]Richard G. Tucker and Wallace A. Lambert, "White and Negro Listeners' Reactions to Various American English Dialects," Social Forces 47 (1969):468.

Black English readers in grade school.

Subjects were split in their opinion on quotation #1 by LeRoi Jones with two agreeing with Jones and two disagreeing. Quotation #2 by Claude Brown was thought to be too extreme. One female subject said of this quotation, "He's crazy making so much of soul. Sounds like some kind of militant."[54] The third quotation by William Stewart received another split in opinion with two subjects agreeing with the author and two subjects disagreeing. One female subject felt that Black English "wasn't good speech, mostly caused by laziness and ignorance."[55] She continued by saying that, "A lot of Negroes just don't want to help themselves, they just don't try."[56] The fourth quotation by Mrs. Robert C. Weaver received agreement by all four subjects concerning her view that job opportunities were limited for those young Black Americans who could speak Black English although two subjects disagreed with Mrs. Weaver's statement that Black English was incorrect speech.[57] Finally the fifth quotation by Charles Hurst was felt to be too extreme by all four subjects.[58]

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[54]Johanna S. DeStefano, "Black Americans' Attitudes Toward Black English: A Pilot Study," The Florida Foreign Language Reporter 9 (Spring-Fall 1971):25.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Ibid., p. 26.

Because of the small sample in this study, the findings cannot be conclusive but the method used by DeStefano is of interest to this author.

Language Behavior in a Black Urban Community by Mitchell-Kernan and published in 1971, had as its population the Black American community of West Oakland, California. The major goal of the research was to examine the "acquisition of communicative competence in the Black working class community."[59] Data were gathered through both formal and informal interviews with informants. According to the author,

> As one moves from household to household and indeed within households one is impressed by the amount of individual variation among speakers with regard to the use of nonstandard variants. Differential access may account for some of this variation. Values and attitudes also play a major role. While Blacks frequently express the attitude that they prefer Standard English to Black English, in day to day life they more often choose the speech of other Blacks as a linguistic model.[60]

The informants of this study were asked to differentiate between "good" English and "bad" English. A good speaker was defined as one whose pronunciation was clear and distinct and a person who "put words in the right place."[61] "Bad" speech was seen as being "country," "flat," or "sounding southern." These speakers, according to the informants,

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[59]Claudia Mitchell-Kernan, Language Behavior in a Black Urban Community (Berkeley: University of California, 1971), p. 11.

[60]Ibid., p. 29.

[61]Ibid., p. 34.

mispronounced words, did not speak distinctly, and "put words in the wrong places; with examples of the latter including, "I can't get no more," "Don't ask me for none of my crayons," and "He done ate up."[62] Within the Black community, some aspects of Black speech were labeled by informants as illiterate and the speakers sounding uneducated.

Parents in this study expressed a positive view on having their children use "good" English, seeing it as an identity carrier along with being a means for better employment opportunities for them and characteristic of an upwardly mobile person. Informants also noted that in formal situations there existed a conscious effort to speak "correctly" and, "when they slip and make a mistake they are embarrassed and feel foolish."[63] Often individuals may censure or "mark" the speech of another individual whether they are speaking "good" or "bad" English depending upon the appropriateness of the situation as seen by the audience.

"Monitoring" is a concept used in the Black American community meaning "trying to talk proper."[64] An individual who monitored to Standard English was seen as one who tried to be superior and distant. The use of Black English in the community of West Oakland was seen as a means of identification and solidarity between the speaker and his/her audience.

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[62]Ibid., p. 35.

[63]Ibid., p. 51.

[64]Ibid., p. 55.

Mitchell-Kernan noted the linguistic insecurity prevalent within the community and viewed this as a result of the low esteem in which many informants held Black English as compared to Standard English, this being most apparent when a speaker of Black English was in what he/she defined as a formal situation which he/she felt called for the use of Standard English.[65]

Through the data collected in this study, Mitchell-Kernan concluded that the use of Black English was seen as inappropriate in formal situations and as less prestigious than Standard English. The author attributes language variation from speaker to speaker to two factors; one being that individuals may have differential access to prestige variants, with this including differing levels of education, and a second being that individuals may vary in their ability to maintain the prestige norms of speech.[66] The attitudes which the informants held toward Black English were seen to be influenced largely by those held by the larger society.

A study entitled, "The Magic Boxes: Pre-School Children's Attitudes Toward Black and Standard English," by Rosenthal (1974) examined the social awareness of language differences in young children. A total of one hundred thirty-six children between the ages of three years and five years

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[65]Ibid., p. 110.

[66]Ibid., p. 108.

of age composed the total population with Population A consisting of ninety (90) upper class urban/suburban White American children attending a private kindergarten. The second population, labeled B, was composed of forty-six (46) semi-rural Black American children enrolled in a public day care facility and public kindergarten.[67] Both populations were in the same community of Washington, D.C., but were not part of the same neighborhood.

Rosenthal investigated three aspects of language awareness, as follows: discrimination, categorization, and attitude awareness. Discrimination was defined as the ability to linguistically differentiate between Black English and Standard English.[68] Categorization was defined as the ability to classify individuals on the basis of language identification according to racial stereotypes.[69] Finally, attitude preference referred to the indication of attitudes and value judgments toward representative speakers of Black English and Standard English.[70] This author will only review the attitude preference section of the research due to its relevancy to the present research.

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[67]Marilyn S. Rosenthal, "The Magic Boxes: Pre-School Children's Attitudes Toward Black and Standard English," The Florida Foreign Language Reporter 12 (Spring-Fall 1974): 56.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Ibid.

"Magic Boxes" proved to be the appropriate research vehicle for this young population. These were two identical cardboard boxes which were decorated identically with faces. Each box had a hidden cassette recording, one of Black English who was identified as Kenneth and the other of Standard English, who was identified as Steve.[71] According to Rosenthal,

> Steve and Kenneth did not translate each others' speech. They attempted to say the same thing semantically, but in a way characteristic of the particular variety they were representing. The two samples differed characteristically in pronunciation, intonation, and vocal quality as well as syntax.[72]

The attitude study was composed of two sections which included a "Taking" subtest and a "Giving" subtest with each subtest consisting of questions structured to elicit individual personal preferences and attitudes toward Standard English and Black English. This was accomplished in a very interesting manner. Each subtest forced a choice of taking a gift or giving a gift from one of the magic boxes with the choice being based upon the subject's positive or negative perception of the speech of each box. Two examples of the speech stimuli are as follows and are for the Give subtest.

> Kenneth (Black English): Ain't you gon give me the paper? My sister, she's like to have it. She real good drawer. If you give me the paper, my sister,

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[71]Ibid., p. 57.

[72]Ibid.

she be real happy.[73]

> Steve (Standard English): Aren't you going to give me the paper? My sister would like to have it. She's very good at drawing. If you give me the paper my sister would be really happy.[74]

After each child would listen to each speech stimuli, the interviewer would ask the child which box wanted it more, which box needed it more, which sounded nicer, which box the child wanted to give it to and the reason for the choice.[75]

Both populations perceived the Black English speaker as more needy although the Standard English Magic Box was seen as wanting it more and sounding "nicer."[76] Some of the reasons which members of Population B gave when asked why they picked a particular Magic Box to give the paper to are listed below.

> Steve (Standard English): "He talked more better. I like the way he talk to me." "I like him; dats why I pick him."
>
> Kenneth (Black English): "Cause I like the way he talk." "Steve talk better but I want to give it to Kenny."[77]

As Rosenthal notes, the members of Population B chose Steve on the basis of his speech and in the case of one five year old, the choice of Steve over Kenneth was based on an

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[73]Ibid., p. 59.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Ibid.

[76]Ibid., p. 60.

[77]Ibid., p. 62.

association of upward mobility. Rosenthal, in regard to that individual, makes the observation that, "This child, at age five, has already been socialized to think that 'white is better' or that the road to higher socioeconomic status is paved with Standard English."[78] There remains the question as to whether this socialization process is intentional.

In Population A, the attitudes were clearly expressed as a positive evaluation of Standard English and a negative evaluation of Black English. The responses given by members of this population to Kenneth in the "giving" subtest also depict the stereotypes of the larger society. One child thought, "He [Kenneth] needs it cause he doesn't talk clearly, so he needs a pad to write it down. He better write than talk." while another child said, "I like Steve but I'm afraid of Kenneth."[79] These findings are consistent with negative linguistic stereotyping, with the use of Standard English being associated with higher socioeconomic status and other favorable characteristics. Population B preferred Kenneth as a speaker while Population A preferred Steve although there was definite stereotyping in both groups. Throughout most of the recorded comments, Population A primarily expressed many of the learned stereotype images of the Black English speaker as "silly," "harmful," and "poor."[80]

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[78]Ibid.

[79]Ibid.

[80]Ibid., p. 92.

The Standard English speaker was seen as gentler and by Population B as being a success symbol.[81] From this study, one is better able to understand that attitudes, both positive and negative, are formed early in an individual's life with the early socialization of such attitudes stemming from experience or through transmission from adults.

Much of the more current research on language attitudes has focused upon the measurement of teachers' attitudes toward Black English, as well as the style of English spoken by Mexican Americans. Guskin (1970) directed her research to the question of whether the teacher's expectations of a child's ability may be related to the teacher's perception of his/her language differences.[82] The sample was composed of eighty-seven (87) future teachers who were asked to specify their expectation of academic success along with personality traits on the basis of two identical readings by a ten year old White American male and a ten year old Black American male. The findings are consistent with previous research in that the white speaker was judged more favorably on the scale of personality traits and also in terms of future academic success than the Black American speaker.[83]

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[81]Ibid.

[82]James F. Ford, "Language Attitude Studies: A Review of Selected Research," The Florida Foreign Language Reporter 12 (Spring-Fall 1974):54.

[83]Ibid.

Hewett's study was also concerned with the attitude of future teachers toward both Black American and White American Standard and Nonstandard speakers. The nonstandard speakers were rated less favorably on a scale of personality traits and were also judged as being members of the working class while Standard English speakers were viewed as being White Americans and professionals in class standing.[84] Hewett also used a control group of White American freshman English students whose response to the same speech samples was in agreement with those of the future teachers. The important point to note in both these studies is the possibility of the negative attitude of the teacher toward nonstandard speakers being transmitted to the speakers themselves and affecting not only their self concept but also their participation in the classroom experience.

A study entitled, "Black High School Students' Reactions to Black Speakers of Standard and Black English," by Hensley (1970), examined the attitudes of Black Americans toward Standard and Black English by use of the "matched guise" technique. Subjects were instructed to rate the personality characteristics of a Black American bidialectal speaker in both Black English and Standard English guises. The author discovered that "her subjects, who were Black English speakers themselves rated the Standard English guise

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[84] Ibid.

as more favorable than the Black English guise."[85] Hensley concluded that the subjects of her study had assumed the language values of the dominant society, this being consistent with previous findings.

The following studies employ a different technique in language attitude measurement than those previously reviewed. The attitude measurement instrument for the following studies is the Language Attitude Scale, which is also used in the present study, a Likert type scaling instrument developed by the Center for Applied Linguistics. According to Orlando Taylor, who used the Language Attitude Scale, it was described as "designed to solicit data on what teachers think about nonstandard and Black English, and how (or if) this dialect should be used in the classroom."[86] The scale is composed of twenty-five items which focus on the structure, and educational and social value of nonstandard and Black English.

Taylor's study entitled, "Teachers' Attitudes Toward Black and Nonstandard English as Measured by the Language Attitude Scale," (1973) examined the attitudes held by four hundred twenty-two (422) teachers, both male and female, Black and White Americans who represented nine geographic

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[85]Ibid.

[86]Orlando Taylor, "Teachers' Attitudes Toward Black and Nonstandard English as Measured by the Language Attitude Scale," in Language Attitudes: Current Trends and Prospects, ed. Ralph W. Shuy and Ralph W. Fasold (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University, 1973), p. 174.

regions in the United States. The results of the Taylor study were not consistent with previous findings from studies which have investigated teachers' attitudes toward nonstandard and Black English and the author noted that, "contrary to popular opinion, a substantial number of American teachers are favorably disposed toward language variation."[87] Taylor did admit that there existed "a substantial core of negative attitudes which must be dealt with."[88] These negative attitudes dealt primarily with the linguistic structure of Black English and nonstandard English.

Bronstein and others (1970) administered the Language Attitude Scale to sixty-four (64) faculty members at Shaw University in North Carolina and also to two hundred (200) elementary and secondary teachers from the same area with subjects indicating their race on the personal data sheet attached to the testing instrument.[89] The questionnaire was completed following the playing of a tape-recorded Black English speaker and an Appalachian English speaker. The authors discovered that the college faculty sample held a more positive attitude toward Black English than did the elementary and secondary teachers. As in the Taylor study, the majority of negative responses on the Language Attitude

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[87]Ibid., p. 197.

[88]Ibid.

[89]Bronstein and others, "A Sociolinguistic Comment on the Changing Attitudes Toward Black English," p. 3.

Scale were noted through the responses to questions concerned with the structure of Black English and nonstandard English.[90]

Ford (1974) administered the Language Attitude Scale to four hundred seventy-two (472) teachers to determine whether future foreign language teachers would hold a more positive language attitude toward Black English and nonstandard English than future teachers in other disciplines such as mathematics, English, and social studies. Ford's sample responded substantially more positive than negative but significant trends were discovered in each of the four groups. The future English teachers responded more positively than the other groups while the social studies group was more neutral and negative.[91] As with the other studies using the Language Attitude Scale, Ford found the entire sample more negative in their response to the questions concerned with the structure of Black English and nonstandard English. The author concluded that "This pattern suggests that a substantial number of teachers and prospective teachers find it difficult to agree that dialects of nonstandard English are legitimate linguistic systems in their own right."[92] Ford attributes this primarily to the educational systems, on all levels, which present Standard English as the prestige language.

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[90]Ibid., p. 6.

[91]Ford, "Language Attitude Studies," p. 100.

[92]Ibid.

To summarize, the majority of research concerned with language attitudes has discovered that both Black Americans and White Americans view Standard English as the prestige language and perceived it in a more positive manner than Black English. This may be attributed, at least in part, to the language socialization process which begins in childhood. The varied research which pertained to teachers' attitudes toward Black English is of significance. Since the educational system is one of the major socialization agencies in society, the impact of a teacher's negative evaluation toward a speaker of Black English in the classroom can be related to an individual's own conception of himself/herself and his/her language. The study by Hurst and Jones discovered a relationship between language and self image, including an individual's language as related to psychological, sociological, and attitudinal variables. This demonstrates a need for future research in this area.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Conceptual Framework

The dependent variable in this study is the evaluative attitudes of Black English by Black Americans. This variable is defined as the tendency to assess Black English in a positive or negative fashion with either response being based upon the subject's conception of the social value of Black English. The evaluative attitudes toward Black English are to be measured in terms of the subject's responses to questions numbered 39 and 40. (See Appendix A.) Responses concerning the degree of accuracy or the degree of inaccuracy of five quotations which focus on the nature and the social value of Black English also serve as means of evaluating the subject's attitude toward Black English. (See Appendix A.) Attitudes are also measured by the Language Attitude Scale which was developed by the Center for Applied Linguistics. (See Appendix B.) This questionnaire is composed of twenty-five statements, both positive and negative, regarding the nature and social value of Black English with the subjects responding to each statement on a five-point Likert type scale.

There are twelve independent variables being considered in this study and they are as follows:

1. Age of the subject. The age of the subject is defined as the subject's numerical years of age. Subjects are directed to denote their age in years on the personal information questionnaire.

2. Sex of the subject. The sex of the subject is defined as his/her gender and is classified as either male or female. Subjects are instructed to denote their sex on the personal information questionnaire.

3. Birthplace of the subject, his/her mother and his/her father. Birthplace is defined as the place of birth. The subject is instructed to designate the city and state of his/her birth, his/her mother's place of birth, and his/her father's place of birth on the personal information questionnaire.

4. The educational background of the subject. The educational background of the subject includes his/her present class standing at Illinois State University and is denoted by membership in one of the following categories: freshman, sophomore, junior, senior, or other. Educational background also includes the subject's specifications of the region of the country which he/she attended grade school, junior high school, if applicable, and high school. (See Appendix A.) Subjects also designated as to whether the grade school, junior high school, if applicable, and high school are

located in either rural or urban areas. A rural area is defined as a city, town, or village with a population of less than 2,500 inhabitants while an urban area is defined as a city, town, or village with a population of 2,500 or more inhabitants. (See Appendix A.) The subject is instructed to indicate the racial composition of the grade school, junior high school, if applicable, and high school which he/she attended according to the percentage of White students and the number of nonwhite students in attendance at each respective school. The subject specified as to whether he/she perceived his/her grade school, junior high school, if applicable, and high school which he/she attended as either segregated or integrated along with the same designation for the university they presently attend. A segregated school is defined as one whose enrollment was less than 20 percent of the students in attendance being members of the minority racial group at the time of the subject's attendance. An integrated school is defined as one whose enrollment was more than 20 percent of the students being members of the minority racial group at the time of the subject's attendance.

5. Racial composition of the subject's parent(s') neighborhood. This variable is defined as the subject's parent(s') permanent place of residence. Subjects are instructed to denote the city and state of their parent(s') neighborhood and its racial composition which ranges from a predominantly white neighborhood to an all Black neighborhood.

6. Social class of the subject's parent(s). The variable of social class is defined as the designation by the subject of the membership of his/her parents in one of the following divisions: (a) upperclass, (b) middle class, and (c) lower class in each of the following areas: (1) within their neighborhood, (2) within the Black culture, and (3) within the larger society. Directly preceding each question requesting designation of social class in each of the three areas, the subject is to state the criteria for his/her parent(s) membership in the social class which he/she specified.

7. Present experience with Black Americans. Present experience with Black Americans is defined as the formal and informal relationships of the subject with Black Americans. This variable includes the racial composition of the church which he/she attends most frequently, if applicable, along with the frequency of attendance at the specific church. Also included is the subject's possible membership in Black American clubs and organizations on the Illinois State University campus and the extent of his/her participation in those organizations of which he/she is or has been a member with the subject denoting any office(s) held in these organizations. Also considered is the racial composition of the subject's friendships, specifically whether his/her friendships are primarily with Black Americans, with both Black and White Americans, or primarily with White Americans.

8. Knowledge of Black English. This variable is defined as the subject's perception of Black English. The subject is directed to respond to five quotations concerning the nature and meaning of Black English, with three of these quotations describing Black English in a positive manner and two quotations describing Black English in a negative manner. After reading each quotation the subject responds on a Likert type scale according to his/her perception of the degree of accuracy or inaccuracy of each quotation.

9. Racial self identification. Racial self identification is defined as the subject's racial perception of himself/herself. The subject is directed to choose one of the eight possible descriptive terms which denotes his/her racial awareness and his/her reference group.

10. Personal use of Black English. This variable is defined as the subject's use of Black English and focuses on the use or nonuse of Black English, with whom the subject uses Black English and the circumstances under which Black English is used by the subject.

11. Relatives and/or friends from the South. This variable includes the possibility of the subject having relatives and/or friends from the South who live with him/her, his/her parent(s), or in his/her parent(s') neighborhood. If the subject does have any relatives and/or friends from the South, he/she is directed to denote the city and state his/her relatives and/or friends are from.

12. Reference group of the subject. This variable is defined as the individual, individuals, or institutions which is(are) seen by the subject as most influential in his/her life. The subject is instructed to designate who influences his/her life.

The variables for this research were chosen on the basis of previous research in this area of study. Sex and social class were discovered to be of significance in Roger Shuy's sociolinguistic study of Detroit (1967). There has been extensive research concerning the relationship between educational and social background and the attitudes toward and use of Black English by, among others, Baratz (1973), Wolfram (1969) and DeStefano (1970, 1973). The variables concerned with present experience with Black Americans are formulated for this study and are vital to the already existing body of reference group literature. Research by DeStefano (1970) shows that the subject's knowledge of what Black English is affects his/her attitude toward it. Hurst and Jones (1968) discovered a relationship between the use of Black English, which they termed as dialectolia, and identification and self image. An individual's personal use of Black English was found to be relevant by Mitchell-Kernan (1971). William Stewart (1969) examined the relationship between migration patterns of Black Americans from the South and Black English.

The hypotheses which were tested can be considered within five categories. First, are those which focus upon the background variables and the subjects' attitude toward Black English which are designated by his/her response to each of the five quotations (Appendix B) and their achieved scores on the Language Attitude Scale. (See Appendix D.) These hypotheses are as follows.

1a. Male subjects will hold positive attitudes toward Black English while female subjects will hold negative attitudes toward Black English.

2a. Those subjects who attended a segregated grade school, a segregated junior high school, if applicable, and/or a segregated high school will hold positive attitudes toward Black English while those subjects who attended an integrated grade school, an integrated junior high school, if applicable, and/or an integrated high school will hold negative attitudes toward Black English.

3a. Those subjects whose parent(s) live in a segregated neighborhood will hold positive attitudes toward Black English while those subjects' whose parent(s) live in an integrated neighborhood will hold negative attitudes toward Black English.

4a. Those subjects who have relatives and/or friends from the South living with them, with their parent(s) or in their parent(s') neighborhood will hold positive attitudes toward Black English while those subjects who do not have

relatives and/or friends from the South living with them, with their parent(s') or in their parent(s') neighborhood will hold negative attitudes toward Black English.

5a. The higher the designated social class of the subject's parent(s) the less positive attitudes the subjects will hold toward Black English. (See Appendix A, questions 21, 24 and 32.)

6a. Those subjects who are members of a church which has a predominantly Black American membership will hold positive attitudes toward Black English while those subjects who are members of a church which has a predominantly White American membership will hold negative attitudes toward Black English.

7a. Those subjects who have friendships primarily with Black Americans will hold positive attitudes toward Black English while those subjects who have friendships primarily with White Americans will hold negative attitudes toward Black English.

8a. Those subjects who describe themselves in terms of racial identification (See Appendix A, question 37, responses 6, 7, or 8 which are Black American, Afro-American, or African American, respectively.) will hold positive attitudes toward Black English while those subjects who describe themselves in nonracially oriented terms (See Appendix A, question 37, responses 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 which are Person, American, Ethnic minority, Colored, or Negro, respectively.) will hold negative attitudes toward Black English.

Similar relationships were predicted between the background variables and the subjects' frequency of use of Black English as that described in the preceding hypotheses, as follows:

1b. Male subjects will use Black English more frequently than Standard English while female subjects will use Black English less frequently than Standard English or will use solely Standard English.

2b. Those subjects who attended a segregated grade school, a segregated junior high school, if applicable, and/or a segregated high school will use Black English more frequently than Standard English while those subjects who attended an integrated grade school, an integrated junior high school, if applicable, and/or an integrated high school will use Black English less frequently than Standard English or will use solely Standard English.

3b. Those subjects whose parent(s) live in a segregated neighborhood will use Black English more frequently than Standard English while those subjects whose parent(s) live in an integrated neighborhood will use Black English less frequently than Standard English or will use solely Standard English.

4b. Those subjects who have relatives and/or friends from the South living with them, with their parent(s) or in their parent(s') neighborhood will use Black English more frequently than Standard English while those subjects who do not have relatives and/or friends from the South living with

them, with their parent(s) or in their parent(s') neighborhood will use Black English less frequently than Standard English or will use solely Standard English.

5b. The higher the designated social class of the subject's parent(s) the less frequent use of Black English by the subject.

6b. Those subjects who are members of a church which has a predominantly Black American membership will use Black English more frequently than Standard English while those subjects who are members of a church which has a predominantly White American membership will use Black English less frequently than Standard English or will use solely Standard English.

7b. Those subjects who have friendships primarily with Black Americans will use Black English more frequently than Standard English while those subjects who have friendships primarily with White Americans will use Black English less frequently than Standard English or will use solely Standard English.

8b. Those subjects who describe themselves in terms of racial identification (See Appendix A, question 37, responses 6, 7, or 8 which are Black American, Afro-American, or African American, respectively.) will use Black English more frequently than Standard English while those subjects who describe themselves in nonracially oriented terms (See Appendix A, question 37, responses 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 which

are Person, American, Ethnic minority, Colored, or Negro, respectively.) will use Black English less frequently than Standard English or will use solely Standard English.

The third set of hypotheses to be tested in regard to the response to each of the five quotations (Appendix B) and their relationship to the frequency of use of Black English are as follows:

1c. Those subjects who believe in the accuracy of quotations 1, 2, or 3 will use Black English more frequently than Standard English while those subjects who do not believe in the accuracy of quotations 1, 2, or 3 will use Black English less frequently than Standard English or will use solely Standard English.

2c. Those subjects who believe in the accuracy of quotations 4 or 5 will use Black English less frequently than Standard English or will use solely Standard English while those subjects who do not believe in the accuracy of quotations 4 or 5 will use Black English more frequently than Standard English.

The fourth set of hypotheses to be tested in regard to the response to each of the five quotations and their relationship to scores on the Language Attitude Scale are as follows:

1d. Those subjects who believe in the accuracy of quotations 1, 2, or 3 will achieve scores designated as high on the Language Attitude Scale while those subjects who do

not believe in the accuracy of quotations 1, 2, or 3 will achieve scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale.

2d. Those subjects who believe in the accuracy of quotations 4 or 5 will achieve scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale while those subjects who do not believe in the accuracy of quotations 4 or 5 will achieve scores designated as high on the Language Attitude Scale.

Finally, the hypothesis to be tested in regard to the frequency of use of Black English by the subject and its relationship to the score achieved on the Language Attitude Scale is as follows:

1e. Those subjects who use Black English more frequently than Standard English will achieve scores designated as high on the Language Attitude Scale while those subjects who use Black English less frequently than Standard English or who use solely Standard English will achieve scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale.

Collection of Data and Research Instrument

Approximately forth Black American students attending Illinois State University in Normal, Illinois, are subjects in this study. Contact wad made by this researcher through the Director of the Black Affairs Council of Illinois State University, with the questionnaire being administered by himself in his class entitled, "Minority Students and Social Forces," Sociology 193, in the fall semester of 1975.

The data collection instrument is composed of three parts. Part I is concerned with obtaining personal information relating to the subject and his/her family. The second part of the testing instrument focuses on the subject's knowledge of what Black English is through the use of statements made by both prominent Black and White Americans on the subject of Black English. Responses are based on the subject's perception of the degree of accuracy or the degree of inaccuracy of these statements. These quotations were used by Dr. Johanna DeStefano in the study entitled, "Black Americans' Attitudes Toward Black English: A Pilot Study," and were read orally by Dr. DeStefano to each of the four subjects in the study and are categorized in the following manner: Quotations numbered 1, 2, and 3 by LeRoi Jones, Claude Brown, and William Stewart, respectively, are seen as expressing a positive attitude toward Black English while the quotations numbered 4 and 5 by Mrs. Robert C. Weaver and Charles G. Hurst, Jr., respectively, are viewed as expressing negative and highly negative attitudes toward Black English.[1] The quotation by Mr. Hurst was somewhat revised for the present study. After the completion of the second part of the testing instrument the subjects were then instructed to listen to a five-minute tape recording of Black English

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[1]Johanna S. DeStefano, "Black Americans' Attitudes Toward Black English: A Pilot Study," The Florida Foreign Language Reporter 9 (Spring-Fall 1971):25.

spoken by a Black American male. (See Appendix C.) Following the tape recording, the subjects were directed to complete the third test instrument which is the Language Attitude Scale, developed by the Center for Applied Linguistics for the purpose of the investigation of attitudes held by teachers toward Nonstandard and Black English. This scale is composed of twenty-five statements, both positive and negative, regarding the nature and social value of Black English with possible responses, on a five-point Likert type scale, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The twenty-five statements are described across four content categories and are as follows: (1) the structure and inherent usefulness of Black English, (2) the consequences of using Black English in the educational setting, (3) philosophies concerning the use of and the acceptance of Black English, and (4) cognitive and intellectual abilities of speakers of Black English. Statements were revised to be relevant to this study. The Language Attitude Scale was analyzed according to the procedures developed by the Center for Applied Linguistics. The scoring system for coding subjects' responses to the Language Attitude Scale are as follows:

1. One point for strong disagreement with a positive statement.
2. Two points for mild disagreement with a positive statement.
3. Four points for mild agreement with a positive statement.
4. Five points for strong agreement with a positive statement.

5. One point for strong agreement with a negative statement.

6. Two points for mild agreement with a negative statement.

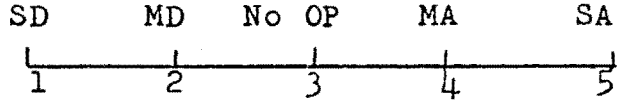
7. Four points for mild disagrement with a negative statement.

8. Five points for strong disagreement with a negative statement.

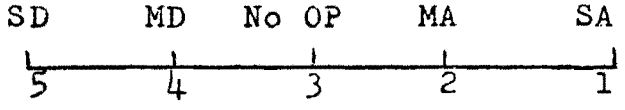
9. Three points for any no opinion responses.[2]

A diagram of this scale is shown below:

Positive statement



Negative statement



Each statement was coded according to the above scoring system with the numerical responses added to obtain the total score for each subject. The maximum score is one hundred twenty-five while the minimum score is twenty-five. The mean was tabulated and cut-off points of high scores and low scores were established. Total scores were computed only for those subjects who completed all twenty-five items in the Language Attitude Scale. If a subject checked two opposing responses (i.e., agree and disagree) of the five

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[2]Orlando Taylor, "Teachers' Attitudes Toward Black and Nonstandard English as Measured by the Language Attitude Scale," in Language Attitudes: Current Trends and Prospects, ed. Roger W. Shuy and Ralph W. Fasold (Washington, D.C.: George Washington University, 1973), p. 176.

possible responses to a statement, the response was designated as a noncodeable response. For the statement in which two responses were checked by the subject which were on the same end of the scale (i.e., agree and strongly agree) the response was coded according to the response of the lesser degree.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Description of the Sample: Background Information

The sample in this study is composed of twenty-five female and fifteen male Black American students enrolled at Illinois State University with 98 percent of this group being members of the freshman class. Four students refused to participate in this study and two questionnaires were returned, with one having only Part I and the other having only Part II completed.

Eighty-three percent of the subjects were born in the North although the majority of their parents were born in the South, with 76 percent of the subjects' mothers and 47 percent of the subjects' fathers being born in the latter. The subjects' formal educational background can be described as basically taking place in Northern urban areas. Seventy-two percent of the subjects attended grade school in the North and 22 percent in the South with urban areas being designated as the location of the grade school by 90 percent of the subjects. Sixty-three percent of the subjects perceived the grade school they attended as segregated while thirty-seven percent characterized it as integrated. Sixty-eight percent of the total attended junior high school with 70 percent

being located in the North and 26 percent being located in the South. Of the total, 85 percent of those who attended junior high school described the area in which it is located as urban. Fifty-six percent described the junior high school which they attended as segregated while 44 percent perceived it as integrated. Eighty-five percent of the total attended high school in the North while 13 percent indicated attendance in the South. Ninety percent of the subjects specified the location of their high school as in an urban area with 51 percent of the subjects considering their high school as segregated and 49 percent as integrated. Eighty percent of the subjects responding characterized Illinois State University as being integrated while 20 percent described it as being segregated.

In regards to the subjects' families, all the subjects' mothers are living, with 98 percent of these individuals making their home in the North as are 70 percent of the subjects' fathers. Forty percent of the subjects described their parent(s') neighborhood as an all Black-American neighborhood while 28 percent of the subjects described the neighborhood as mixed but mostly Black-American while 23 percent of the total characterized their parent(s') neighborhood as almost all Black-American. One subject designated his parent(s') neighborhood as mixed but mostly White American with another subject specified the racial composition of the neighborhood as half Black-American and half White American.

The perceptual variable of parental social class was examined in three areas: (1) within the parent(s') neighborhood, (2) within the Black culture, and (3) within the larger society. In all three areas, the classification of middle class membership was predominant and this could possibly be due to the subjects' use of the process of elimination in specifying the social class of his/her parent(s). This may further be explained by a statement by one subject who, in placing her parents in the middle class membership, noted in stating the criteria for membership that, "Because I am sure were [sic] not lower class, and I'm positive were [sic] not upper class." Approximately nine subjects used similar reasoning in classifying their parent(s) as middle class in all three areas.

Within the subjects' parent(s') neighborhood, 8 percent of the subjects classified their parents as upper class, 78 percent designated middle class membership and 14 percent characterized their parents as lower class. A variety of criteria for membership in a specific social class was noted although income was the most frequently mentioned factor and was indicated by 49 percent of the subjects. Other criteria included occupation and type of neighborhood, each accounting for 8 percent with the level of education attained by the subjects' parents being used by 5 percent of the subjects. Parental living pattern was stated by 10 percent of the subjects as criteria for membership in a particular social

class.

The perceived parental social class within the Black culture had a similar distribution as that of designated social class within the subjects' parent(s') neighborhood. Seventy-three percent of the subjects specified their parent(s) as members of the middle class with 17 percent designating upper class membership and 8 percent of the subjects characterizing their parent(s) as members of the lower class within the Black culture. Income was the predominant criterion given for membership in a particular social class and was used by 47 percent of the subjects. Other criteria stated for membership followed a similar pattern as that reported in the discussion of parental social class within their neighborhood.

Six percent of the subjects classified their parent(s) as members of the upper class within the larger society, 62 percent designated middle class membership, and 32 percent characterized their parent(s) as being members of the lower class within the larger society. Again, income was the criterion mentioned most often for membership in a specific social class and was designated by 45 percent of the subjects. The comparatively large membership in the lower class in this area could be attributed possibly to the differing perceptions of social class within these three areas as noted by one subject who stated after placing her parents in the lower

class in the larger society while placing them as middle class within the Black culture, "When dealing with the larger society my parents social class goes down because they can't competite [sic] with the larger society and it seems my parents have less values." No new criteria were stated in this category and for the most part, subjects referred to previously stated criteria in the other two areas.

Only 32 percent of the subjects stated that they have any relatives and/or friends from the South who live with them, with their parent(s), or in their parent(s') neighborhood. Of this total, 15 percent of the subjects specified that their relatives and/or friends are from the states of Mississippi with the remaining number being from Georgia, Arkansas, and Alabama.

Eighty percent of the subjects stated that they do have a religious preference, with Baptists accounting for 54 percent of those designating a Protestant preference--which is 72 percent of the subjects responding--while Catholics compose 9 percent of the total. Church attendance varied with 32 percent of the subjects stating they attend church one to ten times per year and 24 percent indicating weekly church attendance. Nineteen percent of those responding attend church twice a month while 8 percent attend church more than once a week, 8 percent attend church once a month and 8 percent of the subjects never attend church. The racial composition of the church the subjects most frequently

attend was described by 65 percent of the subjects as having an all Black-American membership with 16 percent of the subjects characterizing their church membership as almost all Black-American. Five percent of the subjects attend churches whose memberships is mixed with mostly Black-Americans, although there are some White Americans who are members. Three percent of the subjects described their church's racial membership as half Black-American and half White-American; 5 percent characterized their church as being composed of mostly White-Americans although Black Americans are members and 5 percent described the church which they most frequently attend as having a predominantly White-American membership.

Only nine subjects, or 22 percent, are members of any Black-American organizations. The lack of involvement in such activities can be attributed to the age of the subjects plus their class rank, with 98 percent designating themselves as freshmen having attended Illinois State University only for three months when this questionnaire was given.

Sixty-nine percent of the subjects indicated that their friendships are primarily with Black-Americans while 31 percent of the subjects described their friendships as with both Black-Americans and White-Americans. In terms of self identification, 42 percent of the total number of subjects described themselves as Black-Americans, 13 percent as Afro-Americans and 18 percent as African-Americans. Otherwise stated, 73 percent of the subjects described themselves in

racially oriented terms while 26 percent described themselves in nonracially oriented terms. The family unit was stated by the majority of the subjects as having the most influence on his/her life, with parental influence accounting for 60 percent of the total and brother(s) and/or sister(s) seen as influential by 8 percent of the subjects. Close friend(s) were designated by 11 percent of the subjects as being influential in their lives with religious influence noted by 11 percent of the subjects.

Concerning the use of Black English, 54 percent of the subjects stated that they use Black English more than Standard English, 38 percent of the subjects used Black English less than Standard English and 8 percent of the subjects used only Standard English. In terms of with whom the subject uses Black English, 50 percent of the subjects indicated they use Black English with Black-Americans and White-Americans equally while 26 percent of the subjects use Black English with Black-Americans and some White-Americans. Eight percent of the subjects use Black English with only relatives and friends who are Black-Americans, and only 3 percent of the subjects stated they use Black English with only Black-Americans. Thirteen percent of the subjects stated that they do not use Black English. The circumstances for the subjects' personal use of Black English included 8 percent of the subjects using Black English when they are feeling comfortable and/or happy while 42 percent of the subjects use Black English in

situations where Standard English does not allow them to express how they feel. Thirty-three percent of the subjects use Black English anytime, regardless of the situation with 8 percent of the subjects stating that they do not use Black English. None of the subjects indicated use of Black English to assert personal identification with the Afro-American culture.

The personal information concerning the subjects depict a somewhat homogeneous group of individuals, particular with regard to their formal educational background as well as their present religious and social experiences. The finding concerning the subjects' perception of the social class of which their parent(s) are members within the three areas discussed are noteworthy in that middle class membership is predominant with the criterion used by nine of the subjects designating such classification, as explained previously, a result of a process of elimination. The criteria given for membership in a particular social class is basically the criteria used by the dominant society. There is a noticeable increase in lower class membership in the area of the larger society as compared to membership of social class within parent(s') neighborhood as well as within the Black culture. The influence of the family on the subject's life is not surprising and may be considered as possibly due to the individual's age and class standing. Seventy-three percent of the subjects described themselves in racially oriented

terms. Black English is used more than Standard English and equally with both Black Americans and White Americans and is used by subjects to express themselves in a manner which they view as lacking through the use of Standard English.

Description of Sample: Reactions to Quotations

The results of Part II of the testing instrument, composed of five quotations concerning the nature of Black English, are now discussed. Quotation #1 by LeRoi Jones is categorized as a positive position concerning Black English. Eighteen percent of the subjects viewed the quotation as completely accurate, 18 percent considered the quotation as mostly accurate, and 41 percent had no opinion. Ten percent of the subjects denoted the quotation as mostly inaccurate while 13 percent viewed the quotation as completely inaccurate. The second quotation by Claude Brown is also categorized as a positive statement concerning Black English. Sixteen percent of the subjects responding indicated the quotation as completely accurate, 29 percent considered it mostly accurate and 39 percent of the subjects had no opinion. This quotation was considered to be mostly inaccurate by 8 percent of the subjects while 8 percent viewed it as completely inaccurate. Quotation #3, by William Stewart, is viewed as a positive statement regarding Black English. Forty-five percent of the subjects indicated the quotation as completely accurate while 21 percent considered the

quotation as mostly accurate, with 18 percent of the subjects having no opinion. This quotation was thought to be mostly inaccurate by 13 percent of the subjects and as completely inaccurate by 3 percent of the subjects. The fourth quotation, by Mrs. Robert Weaver, is considered to present a negative view toward Black English. Nineteen percent of the subjects perceived this quotation as completely accurate, while 26 percent considered the quotation as mostly accurate and 29 percent of the subjects had no opinion. Those subjects who viewed this quotation as mostly inaccurate totaled 24 percent while 2 percent indicated the quotation as completely inaccurate. Quotation #5, by Charles G. Hurst, Jr., is viewed as a highly negative position regarding Black English. Ten percent of the subjects considered this quotation as completely accurate, while 16 percent indicated the quotation as mostly accurate and 28 percent of the subjects had no opinion. Twenty-six percent of the subjects perceived the quotation as mostly inaccurate while 20 percent of the subjects indicated the quotation as completely inaccurate.

Analysis of Language Attitude Scale

Scores for the Language Attitude Scale were compiled only for those twenty-nine subjects, sixteen females and thirteen males, who completed this section of the testing instrument. High scores, which are equated to positive attitudes toward Black English ranged from 87-113, while low

scores equated to negative attitudes toward Black English ranged from 57-86. Of the total number of subjects responding, 62 percent had scores designated as high, while 38 percent of the subjects had scores categorized as low. Fifty-six percent of the female subjects achieved scores specified as high, while 44 percent of these subjects achieved low scores. Sixty-nine percent of the male subjects achieved scores denoted as high and 31 percent achieved scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale. The total mean score was 90 with the male mean being 91 and the female mean calculated as 95. The same number of male subjects and female subjects achieved high scores. A complete listing of the results of the Language Attitude Scale, according to gender and rank of score, appears in Appendix H.

In analyzing the Language Attitude Scale according to the four Content Categories it is noted that the twenty-nine subjects expressed the most negative attitudes toward the linguistic structure of Black English. Statements number 5 and 15 were two of the eight statement which focused upon the structure of Black English with both of these statements being negative. Of the total number of subjects responding to statement number 5, 14 percent strongly agreed, 28 percent agreed and 31 percent had no opinion with 24 percent having disagreed and 3 percent strongly disagreed. The response to statement number 15 is also considered because no firm conclusions could be made. Of the total number responding,

7 percent strongly agreed with the statement, 27 percent agreed with the statement, while 31 percent had no opinion, 27 percent disagreed while 7 percent strongly disagreed with this statement.

In terms of the gender of the subject, males expressed the most negative attitudes toward the linguistic structure of Black English while female subjects expressed the most negative attitudes toward the philosophies concerning the use and the acceptance of Black English. Male subjects followed a similar pattern as that of the total in their response to statements numbered 5 and 15. Of the thirteen male subjects responding to statement numbered 5, which is negative, 8 percent strongly agreed, 38 percent agreed while 38 percent had no opinion, and 8 percent designated disagreement and 8 percent strongly disagreed. The response of the female subjects to this statement is noteworthy in that of the sixteen female subjects, 19 percent strongly agreed with this negative statement, 19 percent agreed, while 25 percent had no opinion concerning this statement with 37 percent designating disagreement with this statement. Of the male subjects responding to statement number 15, 8 percent strongly agreed with the negative statement while 38 percent agreed, 31 percent had no opinion while 23 percent denoted disagreement.

Statements numbered 16 and 24 are two of the ten statements which focused upon the philosophies in regard to the use and acceptance of Black English. Only female subjects

responded in a negative fashion to statement number 16 while their response to statement number 24 was greater in terms of a positive reaction than the male subjects. Of the sixteen female subjects who responded to the statement, 6 percent strongly agreed, 31 percent agreed, while 19 percent had no opinion, 31 percent disagreed with this statement and 13 percent strongly disagreed. Statement number 24 is negative regarding the philosophies on the use and the acceptance of Black English. Of the female subjects, 6 percent strongly agreed with this statement, 25 percent agreed, 56 percent had no opinion while 13 percent disagreed with this statement. Male response to this statement was also relatively positive in that 23 percent of this group agreed with the statement, 61 percent had no opinion while 8 percent disagreed and 8 percent strongly disagreed with this statement.

Content Category two focused upon the consequences of accepting Black English in the educational setting. Statement number 3 is one of the six statements in this Content Category. Although a positive statement, response was negative in that 10 percent of the total strongly agreed with this statement, 28 percent agreed, 10 percent had no opinion while 42 percent disagreed with this statement and 10 percent strongly disagreed. According to the gender of the subject, more males than females disagreed with the statement which was positive. Of the male subjects, 39 percent disagreed with the statement while 15 percent strongly disagreed.

Of the female subjects, 44 percent disagreed with the statement while 6 percent strongly disagreed. Complete results of the Language Attitude Scale are found in Appendix H.

Categorization of Selected Variables

In the cross tabulation process of the data the following choices within each of these variables are combined due to the modest membership. The racial composition of the subject's parent(s') neighborhood is categorized as either segregated or integrated. A segregated neighborhood is defined as being composed of almost all Black Americans or all Black Americans. An integrated neighborhood is described as either a predominantly White American neighborhood, mixed but mostly White American neighborhood, a half Black American and half White American neighborhood, or a mixed but mostly Black American neighborhood. The racial composition of the church which the subject most frequently attends is described in the same manner. Concerning the question of with whom the subject uses Black English, category one is designated for those subjects who specify that they do not use Black English with the second category including responses which indicate that the subject uses Black English only with relatives and close friends who are Black, only with Black people, and with Black people and some White Americans. Finally, the third category includes those responses who indicate their use of Black English is with Black Americans and White Americans equally. In the analysis of the responses in Part II which

is the five quotations concerned with the nature of Black English, three responses are considered with the responses of completely accurate and mostly accurate being designated as accurate, no opinion responses remain as stated and the responses of mostly inaccurate and completely inaccurate are designated as inaccurate.

Tests of Hypotheses

A summary of the cross tabulations of the background variables and the subjects' attitudes toward Black English follows. With regard to Hypothesis 1a, the subject's gender was found to not be statistically significant, as shown in Table 1. Hypothesis 2a which focused on the racial composition of the grade school, junior high school and high school which the subject attended is examined in Tables 2, 3 and 4, respectively. Tables 2 and 3 reveal that both variables of the racial composition of the grade school and the racial composition of the junior high school which the subject attended to not be statistically significant. It was hypothesized that those subjects who attended segregated high schools would hold positive attitudes toward Black English while those subjects who attended integrated high schools would hold negative attitudes toward Black English. Only the response to quotation #2 proved statistically significant as shown in Table 4, although these findings did not support the hypothesis. Of the subjects responding who characterized the racial composition of the high school which they attended

as integrated, 68.4 percent viewed quotation #2 in a positive manner, 21.1 percent had no opinion while 10.5 percent considered this quotation as negative. On the other hand, of the subjects responding who described the racial composition of their high school as segregated, 22.2 percent viewed quotation #2 in a positive manner, 55.6 percent had no opinion and 22.2 percent believed the quotation to be negative. (See Appendix I, contingency table 1.)

TABLE 1

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENDER AND ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK ENGLISH

Attitude	X^2	p	N
Quotation 1	.601	NS	39
Quotation 2	2.36	NS	38
Quotation 3	1.13	NS	38
Quotation 4	1.54	NS	38
Quotation 5	2.08	NS	39
Language Attitude Scale	.587	NS	29

TABLE 2

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE GRADE SCHOOL THE SUBJECT ATTENDED AND ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK ENGLISH

Attitude	X^2	p	N
Quotation 1	.643	NS	37
Quotation 2	1.17	NS	36
Quotation 3	.409	NS	36
Quotation 4	4.10	NS	36
Quotation 5	1.16	NS	37
Language Attitude Scale	.486	NS	27

TABLE 3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL WHICH THE SUBJECT ATTENDED AND ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK ENGLISH

Attitude	X^2	p	N
Quotation 1	1.21	NS	26
Quotation 2	1.68	NS	27
Quotation 3	.012	NS	25
Quotation 4	3.76	NS	25
Quotation 5	1.39	NS	26
Language Attitude Scale	5.84	NS[a]	17

[a]Fisher's Exact Test

TABLE 4

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE HIGH SCHOOL WHICH THE SUBJECT ATTENDED AND ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK ENGLISH

Attitude	X^2	p	N
Quotation 1	.950	NS	38
Quotation 2	7.98	.01	37
Quotation 3	.949	NS	37
Quotation 4	3.77	NS	37
Quotation 5	1.02	NS	38
Language Attitude Scale	4.58	NS[a]	28

[a]Fisher's Exact Test

Hypothesis 3a predicted that those subjects who described their parent(s') neighborhood as segregated would hold positive attitudes toward Black English while those who characterized their parent(s') neighborhood as integrated

would hold negative attitudes toward Black English. Although statistically significant results appeared with regard to quotation #2, they did not support this hypothesis as shown in Table 5. Of the subjects who described their parent(s') neighborhood as integrated, 75 percent viewed quotation #2 as positive, 16.7 percent had no opinion while 8.3 percent considered this same quotation as negative. Of those subjects who characterized their parent(s') neighborhood as segregated, 32 percent viewed quotation #2 in a positive manner, 48 percent had no opinion, while 20 percent considered the quotation as negative. (See Appendix I, contingency table 2.)

TABLE 5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE SUBJECT'S PARENT(S') NEIGHBORHOOD AND ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK ENGLISH

Attitude	X^2	p	N
Quotation 1	5.69	NS	38
Quotation 2	6.04	.04	37
Quotation 3	1.16	NS	37
Quotation 4	.359	NS	37
Quotation 5	2.58	NS	38
Language Attitude Scale	2.84	NS[a]	28

[a]Fisher's Exact Test

Hypothesis 4a pertained to the relationship between the variable of the subjects' relatives and/or friends from the South who live with the, with their parent(s) or in their

parent(s') neighborhood and the subjects' attitudes toward Black English. As shown in Table 6, this variable did not produce statistically significant results. Hypothesis 5a focused upon the subjects' designated parental social class within three areas, which included: (1) the subjects' parent(s') neighborhood, (2) the Black culture, and (3) the larger society. None of the variables produced statistically significant results, as noted in Tables 7, 8, and 9, respectively.

TABLE 6

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELATIVES AND/OR FRIENDS FROM THE SOUTH AND ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK ENGLISH

Attitude	X^2	p	N
Quotation 1	.061	NS	39
Quotation 2	.016	NS	38
Quotation 3	1.32	NS	38
Quotation 4	1.63	NS	38
Quotation 5	1.02	NS	39
Language Attitude Scale	.188	NS[a]	29

[a]Fisher's Exact Test

The variables of racial composition of the subjects' church (Hypothesis 6a), the racial composition of the subjects' friendships (Hypothesis 7a), and racial identification (Hypothesis 8a) all failed to produce statistically significant differences in how the respondents evaluated the five quotations, as shown in Tables 10, 11, and 12.

TABLE 7

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIGNATED PARENTAL SOCIAL CLASS WITHIN THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD AND ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK ENGLISH

Attitude	X^2	p	N
Quotation 1	5.76	NS	36
Quotation 2	2.56	NS	35
Quotation 3	2.87	NS	36
Quotation 4	7.19	NS	35
Quotation 5	8.11	NS	36
Language Attitude Scale	.438	NS	26

TABLE 8

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIGNATED PARENTAL SOCIAL CLASS WITHIN THE BLACK CULTURE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK ENGLISH

Attitude	X^2	p	N
Quotation 1	7.04	NS	34
Quotation 2	6.32	NS	32
Quotation 3	3.10	NS	33
Quotation 4	1.42	NS	33
Quotation 5	3.90	NS	33
Language Attitude Scale	1.68	NS	24

Regarding Hypotheses 1b-8b which focused on the relationship between the background variables and the subjects' frequency of use of Black English, no variables proved to be statistically significant as shown in Table 13.

The relationship between the subjects' responses to each of the five quotations and the subjects' frequency of

TABLE 9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIGNATED PARENTAL SOCIAL CLASS WITHIN THE LARGER SOCIETY AND ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK ENGLISH

Attitude	X^2	p	N
Quotation 1	4.07	NS	33
Quotation 2	2.54	NS	32
Quotation 3	3.52	NS	33
Quotation 4	2.32	NS	32
Quotation 5	1.73	NS	33
Language Attitude Scale	1.88	NS	23

TABLE 10

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEMBERSHIP IN A SEGREGATED CHURCH AND ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK ENGLISH

Attitude	X^2	p	N
Quotation 1	3.25	NS	36
Quotation 2	1.90	NS	35
Quotation 3	4.56	NS	35
Quotation 4	.902	NS	35
Quotation 5	.794	NS	36
Language Attitude Scale	.078	NS[a]	26

[a]Fisher's Exact Test

use of Black English was predicted in Hypotheses 1c and 2c. As noted in Table 14, only with respect to quotation #2 did statistically significant results appear at the .05 level. It was predicted that those subjects who viewed quotation #2 as positive would use Black English more frequently than Standard English while those subjects who considered this

TABLE 11

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE SUBJECT'S FRIENDSHIPS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK ENGLISH

Attitude	X^2	p	N
Quotation 1	3.38	NS	38
Quotation 2	2.19	NS	37
Quotation 3	3.26	NS	37
Quotation 4	1.76	NS	37
Quotation 5	5.53	NS	38
Language Attitude Scale	.750	NS[a]	28

[a]Fisher's Exact Test

TABLE 12

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SUBJECT'S RACIAL IDENTIFICATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK ENGLISH

Attitude	X^2	p	N
Quotation 1	5.92	NS	37
Quotation 2	.870	NS	36
Quotation 3	3.72	NS	36
Quotation 4	.303	NS	36
Quotation 5	3.98	NS	37
Language Attitude Scale	1.63	NS[a]	28

[a]Fisher's Exact Test

same quotation in a negative manner would use Black English less frequently than Standard English or would use solely Standard English. The results somewhat supported this hypothesis. Of the subjects responding who stated more frequent use of Black English than Standard English, 61.9

TABLE 13

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND FREQUENCY OF USE OF BLACK ENGLISH

Variable	X^2	p	N
Gender	.145	NS	39
Racial composition of grade school	.106	NS	37
Racial composition of junior high	.310	NS[a]	26
Racial composition of high school	.085	NS	38
Social class: neighborhood	2.27	NS	36
Social class: Black culture	.925	NS	34
Social class: larger society	2.76	NS	33
Racial composition of neighborhood	.630	NS	38
Relatives and/or friends	.0007	NS	39
Racial composition of church	1.01	NS	36
Racial composition of friendships	.016	NS	38
Racial identification	.008	NS	37

[a]Fisher's Exact Test

percent of this group viewed quotation #2 as positive, 33.3 percent had no opinion while 4.8 percent considered this same quotation in a negative manner. Of those who denoted less frequent use of Black English than Standard English or who used solely Standard English, 18.8 percent viewed quotation #2 as positive, 50 percent had no opinion, while 31.3 percent considered the quotation as negative. (See Appendix I, contingency table 3.)

Hypotheses 1d and 2d examined the relationship between the responses to each of the five quotations and the responses

TABLE 14

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE RESPONSE TO THE FIVE QUOTATIONS AND THE FREQUENCY OF USE OF BLACK ENGLISH

	X^2	p	N
Quotation 1	1.31	NS	39
Quotation 2	8.46	.01	37
Quotation 3	.462	NS	37
Quotation 4	1.34	NS	38
Quotation 5	.865	NS	38

to the Language Attitude Scale. In Table 15 it is noted that only with respect to quotation #5 did statistically significant results appear at the .05 level. It was hypothesized that those subjects who viewed quotation #5 in a positive manner would score low on the Language Attitude Scale while those subjects who viewed this same quotation in a negative manner would score high on the Language Attitude Scale. The findings support this hypothesis. Of those subjects responding who viewed quotation #5 as positive, 75 percent of this group achieved scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale while 25 percent achieved scores designated as high on the Language Attitude Scale. No opinion responses accounted for 34.5 percent of the subjects responding, with 20 percent of this group achieving low scores and 80 percent scoring high on the Language Attitude Scale. Those who considered the quotation as negative totaled 37.9 percent of those responding, and of this group,

27.3 percent achieved scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale while 72.7 percent achieved scores designated as high on the Language Attitude Scale. (See Appendix I, contingency table 4.)

TABLE 15

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESPONSES TO THE FIVE QUOTATIONS AND THE LANGUAGE ATTITUDE SCALE

	X^2	p	N
Quotation 1	3.10	NS	29
Quotation 2	1.56	NS	28
Quotation 3	1.90	NS	28
Quotation 4	1.06	NS	29
Quotation 5	6.56	.03	29

The relationship between the subjects' frequency of use of Black English and the responses, designated as either high or low scores, to the Language Attitude Scale is predicted in Hypothesis 1e. The variable of the frequency of use of Black English produced statistically significant results at the .05 level ($X^2 = 4.06$, Fisher's Exact = .04, N = 29). It was predicted that those subjects who use Black English more frequently than Standard English would achieve scores designated as high on the Language Attitude Scale while those subjects who use Black English less frequently than Standard English or who use solely Standard English would achieve scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale. The findings supported these predictions. Of

the subjects who use Black English more frequently than Standard English, 20 percent achieved scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale while 80 percent achieved scores characterized as high on the Language Attitude Scale. Of those subjects who use Black English less frequently than Standard English or who use solely Standard English, 57.1 percent achieved scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale while 42.9 percent received scores designated as high on the Language Attitude Scale. (See Appendix I, contingency table 5.)

Summary of Hypotheses Supported by the Data

The following hypotheses were supported by the results.

1. Hypothesis 3b. Those subjects whose parent(s) live in a segregated neighborhood will use Black English more frequently than Standard English while those subjects whose parent(s) live in an integrated neighborhood will use Black English less frequently than Standard English or will use solely Standard English.

Findings. Of the subjects who described their parent(s') neighborhood as segregated, 62 percent of this group designated more frequent use of Black English than Standard English while 38 percent indicated use of Black English less frequently than Standard English or said they used solely Standard English. Of the subjects responding who characterized their parent(s') neighborhood as integrated,

42 percent specified more frequent use of Black English rather than Standard English while 58 percent denoted use of Black English less frequently than Standard English or use of solely Standard English.

2. Hypothesis 5b. The higher the designated social class of the subjects' parent(s) the less frequent use of Black English by the subject.

Findings. Within their parent(s') neighborhood, 8 percent of the subjects designated upper class membership for their parent(s) and of this group, 33 percent indicated more frequent use of Black English than Standard English and 67 percent specified use of Black English less frequently than Standard English or use of solely Standard English. Seventy-eight percent of the subjects specified parental middle class membership with 46 percent of this group having indicated more frequent use of Black English rather than Standard English while 54 percent denoted less frequent use of Black English than Standard English or use of solely Standard English. Parental lower class membership within their neighborhood was designated by 14 percent of the subjects with 80 percent of this group having specified more frequent use of Black English than Standard English while the remaining 20 percent denoted less frequent use of Black English or use of solely Standard English.

Within the Black culture, 18 percent of the subjects specified parental upper class membership and of this group,

33 percent designated more frequent use of Black English rather than Standard English while 67 percent denoted less frequent use of Black English than Standard English or use of solely Standard English. Seventy-four percent of the subjects responding specified parental middle class membership and of this group, 48 percent indicated more frequent use of Black English than Standard English while 52 percent noted less frequent use of Black English than Standard English or solely Standard English. Nine percent of the subjects characterized their parent(s) as members of the lower class within the Black culture and of this group, 67 percent used Black English more frequently than Standard English while 33 percent designated less frequent use of Black English or solely Standard English.

Within the larger society, 6 percent of the subjects specified upper class membership for their parent(s) and of this group 50 percent denoted more frequent use of Black English or use of solely Standard English. Sixty-four percent of the subjects described their parent(s) as members of the middle class within the larger society with 38 percent having specified more frequent use of Black English than Standard English and 62 percent indicated less frequent use of Black English than Standard English or solely Standard English. Lower class membership within the larger society was denoted by 30 percent of the subjects and of this group 70 percent designated more frequent use of Black English than

Standard English while 30 percent specified less frequent use of Black English or solely Standard English.

3. Hypothesis 6b. Those subjects who are members of a church which has a predominantly Black American membership will use Black English more frequently than Standard English while those subjects who are members of a church which has a predominantly White American membership will use Black English less frequently than Standard English or will use solely Standard English.

Findings. Eighty-one percent of the subjects responding characterized the church of which they are members as having a predominantly Black American membership and of this group, 59 percent designated more frequent use of Black English than Standard English while 41 percent specified less frequent use of Black English than Standard English or solely Standard English. Of the 19 percent of the subjects who described the membership of the church of which they are members as predominantly White American, 29 percent denoted more frequent use of Black English than Standard English while 71 percent indicated less frequent use of Black English than Standard English or use of solely Standard English.

4. Hypothesis 8b. Those subjects who described themselves in terms of racial identification (See Appendix A, question 37, responses 6, 7, or 8 which are Black American, Afro-American, or African American, respectively.) will use Black English more frequently than Standard English while

those subjects who described themselves in nonracially oriented terms (See Appendix A, question 37, responses 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 which are Person, American, Ethnic minority, Colored, or Negro, respectively.) will use Black English less frequently than Standard English or will use solely Standard English.

Findings. Seventy-six percent of the subjects responding used racially oriented terms in self-identification and of this group, 54 percent specified more frequent use of Black English than Standard English while 46 percent indicated less frequent use of Black English than Standard English or use of solely Standard English. Twenty-four percent of the subjects used nonracially oriented terms for self-identification and of this group, 44 percent designated more frequent use of Black English than Standard English while 56 percent denoted less frequent use of Black English or use of solely Standard English.

5. Hypothesis 1c. Those subjects who believe in the accuracy of quotations 1, 2, or 3 will use Black English more frequently than Standard English while those subjects who do not believe in the accuracy of quotations 1, 2, or 3 will use Black English less frequently than Standard English or will use solely Standard English.

Findings. Only in response to quotation #2 was this hypothesis supported. Forty-three percent of the subjects responding viewed this quotation as accurate and of this

group, 81 percent designated more frequent use of Black English than Standard English while 19 percent indicated less frequent use of Black English than Standard English or use of solely Standard English. No opinion responses accounted for 41 percent and of this group, 47 percent denoted more frequent use of Black English than Standard English while 53 percent specified less frequent use of Black English than Standard English or use of solely Standard English. Sixteen percent of the subjects perceived this quotation as inaccurate and of this group, 17 percent designated more frequent use of Black English than Standard English while 83 percent denoted less frequent use of Black English than Standard English or use of solely Standard English.

6. Hypothesis 1d. Those subjects who believe in the accuracy of quotations 1, 2, or 3 will achieve scores designated as high on the Language Attitude Scale while those subjects who do not believe in the accuracy of quotations 1, 2, or 3 will achieve scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale.

Findings. Only in regard to the response to quotation #1 was this hypothesis supported. Thirty-one percent of the subjects responding viewed this quotation as accurate and of this group, 78 percent achieved scores designated as high while 22 percent achieved scores characterized as low on the Language Attitude Scale. No opinion responses accounted for 41 percent and of this group, 67 percent achieved scores

specified as high on the Language Attitude Scale while 33 percent achieved scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale. Twenty-eight percent of the subjects responding perceived this quotation as inaccurate and of this group, 37 percent achieved scores designated as high on the Language Attitude Scale while 63 percent achieved scores characterized as low on the Language Attitude Scale.

7. Hypothesis 2d. Those subjects who believe in the accuracy of quotations 4 or 5 will achieve scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale while those subjects who do not believe in the accuracy of quotations 4 or 5 will achieve scores designated as high on the Language Attitude Scale.

Findings. Only in regard to the response to quotation #5 was this hypothesis supported. Twenty-eight percent of the subjects responding viewed this quotation as accurate and of this group, 75 percent achieved scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale and 25 percent achieved scores characterized as high on the Language Attitude Scale. No opinion responses accounted for 34 percent and of this group, 20 percent achieved scores specified as low on the Language Attitude Scale while 80 percent achieved scores designated as high on the Language Attitude Scale. Thirty-eight percent of the subjects responding perceived the quotation as inaccurate and of this group, 27 percent achieved scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale and

73 percent achieved scores characterized as high on the Language Attitude Scale.

8. Hypothesis 1e. Those subjects who use Black English more frequently than Standard English will achieve scores designated as high on the Language Attitude Scale while those subjects who use Black English less frequently than Standard English or who use solely Standard English will achieve scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale.

Findings. Fifty-two percent of those responding designated more frequent use of Black English than Standard English and of this group, 80 percent achieved scores designated as high on the Language Attitude Scale while 20 percent achieved scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale. Forty-eight percent of the subjects specified less frequent use of Black English than Standard English or use of solely Standard English and of this group, 57 percent achieved scores designated as low on the Language Attitude Scale while 43 percent achieved scores designated as high on the Language Attitude Scale.

CHAPTER V

INTERPRETATION AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE DATA

This chapter is concerned with the examination of (1) the reasons the majority of the findings were not found to be statistically significant, (2) the criteria for designated parental social class, (3) the subjects' admitted frequent use of Black English as compared to their use of Black English in written responses on the questionnaire, and (4) an analysis of this issue in terms of Merton's reference group theory.

First, the majority of the findings of this study were not found to be statistically significant for a number of reasons. As previously stated, the sample was relatively small in size and homogeneous in nature in regard to educational and personal background of the subjects and as a result, few meaningful comparisons could be made. An illustration of this was the response to the questions concerned with parental social class, with the predominant designation of parental middle class in all three areas probed as evidence in contrast to the small percentage of subjects who specified parental lower-class and upper-class membership. These factors prevented significant comparisons between these independent variables and the dependent variables.

In regard to the response to the five quotations, quotation #4 was viewed by this researcher as having expressed a negative attitude toward Black English. The subjects of this study did not respond to this quotation in this manner as in comparison to quotation #5, which was viewed as having expressed a highly negative attitude of Black English. This factor affected the results. Finally, of consequence was the no opinion responses which represented approximately 30 percent to each of the quotations and this affected the relation to the independent variable.

In reference to the Language Attitude Scale, twenty-nine subjects of the total of forty subjects completed the entire questionnaire and only these were processed. This factor hindered the author from making significant conclusions regarding the subjects and their attitudes toward Black English. Finally, the term "Black English" was foreign to many of the subjects of this study. The written illustration of one of the characteristics in Part I of the questionnaire, which was, "He ridin' a horse," was not seen as such by some of the subjects while still other subjects viewed Black English not as a language in its own right but slang. This lack of clarification between the researcher and the subjects may possibly have had an unmeasurable effect on the results of this study.

As noted previously, parental middle-class membership was predominantly designated, whether within the subjects'

parent(s') neighborhood, within the Black culture, or within the larger society, with sixteen subjects having indicated such membership having used basically the same criteria in all three areas. Only one subject specified upper class membership for his parents in all three areas and used the criteria of "their standards and courage," for such membership. One subject designated parental lower class membership in the three areas and used the criteria of parental income.

A significant finding was that eight subjects specified parental middle class membership for both within their neighborhood and within the Black culture but lower class membership within the larger society. The criteria for such responses were varied. One female subject wrote, "When dealing with the larger society my parents [sic] social class goes down because they can't competite [sic] with the larger society and it seems like my parents have less values." while another female subject noted that, "I feel that on the scale comparing the status of White to Black the class will always be on a different scale." One other female subject who viewed her parents as members of the lower-class within the larger society and middle-class within their neighborhood and within the Black culture said it was, "Because White and Black social classes are different because of average annual gross income." One male subject wrote regarding the criteria that his parents were members of the lower-class within the larger society but middle-class within their neighborhood and

within the Black culture, "Because my parents both work a eight hour job five and six day a week . . . they scuffle everyday to servive [sic]." As shown by the above illustrations of membership criteria income was one distinct factor which was viewed as separating those parents who were designated as middle-class in their neighborhoods and within the Black culture and lower-class within the larger society. A different set of criteria for White American and Black American social class membership was also seen for the decline in social class status within the larger society.

An interesting finding was noted upon examination of the subjects' written responses to specific questions on the questionnaire and his/her specified response of the frequency of the use of Black English. One female subject who indicated less frequent use of Black English than Standard English used characteristics of Black English in her written responses to the questions concerned with the criteria for parental membership in a particular social class. This subject described her parents as members of the middle class within their neighborhood, within the Black culture and within the larger society. In response to the question concerned with criteria used for designation of social class within her parents' neighborhood, the response was the following with the characteristics of Black English underlined;

> Because in my neighborhood their [sic] are family that have a lot of money and is concided [sic] upper class but my mother has enough. Not to [sic] less and not to [sic] much.

The same subject, in response to the question concerned with the criteria used for parental social within the larger society responded in the following manner:

> I place my mother in this social class because like #22--she do not have to [sic] little or to [sic] much money she have just enough to take care of herself, my brother, and myself.

In both of the above illustrations the grammatical contrasts which are distinctive of Black English as opposed to Standard English are: (1) the use of the singular form of the noun family as opposed to the plural form "families," (2) the use of the verb "is" which is in grammatical agreement with the noun "family" as opposed to the plural form of "are" which would then be in agreement with the plural "families." The second example depicts a similar pattern with the verb "do" in the plural form as opposed to the singular form of "does" in Standard English as is the verb "have" as opposed grammatically to the singular form of "has."

Another illustration of this same type of response was given by another female subject who indicated less frequent use of Black English than Standard English. This subject also designated middle class membership for her parents in all three areas. In response to the question concerned with criteria for social class membership within her parents' neighborhood the subject responded by using Black English: "Because my father hold top position in his job." In response to the question concerned with the criteria used for parental social class membership within the Black

culture the subject wrote,

> They have 2 students in College and this automatically put them in middle class position and the income.

The distinctive grammatical characteristics of Black English as contrasted to Standard English followed a similar pattern as that noted in the previous illustrations. In the first example the use of the verb "hold" as opposed to singular form of the verb "holds" appears which would then grammatically agree with the singular subject noun of "father." In the second example the use of the verb "put" as opposed to the Standard English tense of the verb "puts" appears which would then be in grammatical agreement with the noun "They."

Reference group theory is employed in the analysis of the inconsistencies in the subjects' admitted lack of frequency of use of Black English and written responses on the questionnaire. Those subjects who designated less frequent use of Black English than Standard English can be viewed as having as one of their frames of reference the White American middle class. The selected written responses of these same subjects are perceived as depicting a Black American frame of reference through their use of Black English characteristics. This conflicting perspective can possibly be attributed to the subjects' overt aspiration to a non-membership group, as represented by less frequent use of Black English than Standard English and the covert membership in the Black American culture represented by their

use of characteristics of Black English in the selected written responses.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Contributions of the Study

The contributions of this study to the discipline of sociology are numerous. The population is unique in comparison with previous studies cited because it contains the attitudes of Black American college students attending a predominantly White American college in a city located in central Illinois. Also of significance is the investigation and identification of subjects' reference group or groups and the effect which this variable has on his/her attitudes toward Black English. Parental influence is predominantly designated by the subjects and this could possibly be due to, at least in part, the subjects' age. This finding is also noteworthy in that a positive relationship within the Black American family is illustrated. The racial composition of the subjects' friendships is also of importance in the area of reference group theory as is the subjects' self-identification in either racially or nonracially oriented terms. Self-identification is racially oriented terms is an important factor in the expression of a positive relationship to the Black American culture and also contributes to the minority studies.

The consideration of the social class variable is of importance for a number of reasons. The subjective treatment of class in this study allows the respondent to designate his/her parent(s') social class according to personal criteria rather than to the criteria of a specific academic discipline and not through the view of White American middle class culture. By stating the criteria for membership in a particular social class, the subjects contribute to the already existing body of knowledge of social stratification and also to minority studies. By examining the three areas in which social class may play a varied role, this research responds to the statement made by St. Clair Drake concerning the differing structure of the White American and the Black American social class systems.

This attitude study is of particular interest because of the use of three different testing instruments. Part I covers a variety of areas with the information gathered concerning the subjects' frequency of use of Black English, the racial composition of his/her audience, as well as the circumstances under which the subject uses Black English of particular significance in contributing to the already existing literature concerned with Black English. Also of possible interest is the further investigation of the attitudes elicited in response to the five quotations in Part II which had previously been employed in DeStefano's study (1970) with their attitudes and those of the present

study being compared although the different forms of administration in the two studies should be taken into account.

The Language Attitude Scale was specifically designed to measure teachers' attitudes toward Black English and Nonstandard English and has been used in previous research solely for this purpose. This scale was revised in order that it might be relevant to this sample; the results then could contribute to the already existing literature on Black English and perhaps provide the impetus for further development of language attitude scale specifically for this area of study.

Limitations of the Study

The sample size is one of the major limitations of this study. With a sample size of forty subjects, one seriously questions if this is a fair representation of Black Americans' attitudes toward Black English. Also under scrutiny is the composition of the sample with all the subjects being freshmen. This does not provide a good cross-section of the Black American population of approximately 1600 students attending Illinois State University.

Another limitation is the use of the tape-recorded Black English, judged as such by myself and the two members of my thesis committee. Previous studies using tape recorded Black English have employed trained dialectologists in evaluating and categorizing speech communities. Tape

recordings of this nature were not accessible to this researcher. Another possible limitation concerning the tape recorded Black English in the present research is the question of whether the subjects can respond to the language patterns or to the content of the tape.

The time at which the questionnaire was administered is also a possible limitation. In October of 1975, the Black Affairs Council of Illinois State University presented a list of demands to the administration of the University which were concerned basically with the lack of minority representation in staff and faculty as well as in the University decision-making process.[1] The questionnaire was administered within the same week in which these issues were publicized. Because of the mood of the campus, especially among Black American students, some of the subjects suspected that my research was somehow connected to the administration. The events which occurred during the days that preceded the administration of the questionnaire may have had unmeasurable effects on the results of this research.

The sample size is relatively small due primarily to the lack of availability of respondents but due to the research design which was a combination of the survey method and experimental design, a larger sample of subjects,

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[1]"BAC Discusses Demands with ISU," The Vidette (Normal-Bloomington, Ill.), 21 October 1975, p. 1.

although desirable, is not necessary because this researcher does not generalize the findings of the present study to the larger population from which the sample was taken. A larger more varied sample could possibly include residents outside the university community as well as to different class levels instead of solely freshmen.

The problems of the evaluation of the tape recorded Black English could be resolved through access to already existing tapes which had been used in previous research or access to the expertise of a formally trained dialectologist, specifically trained to distinguish the particular traits of the Black American speech community under study. The limitation as to whether subjects responded to the content rather than to the language patterns of the tape-recorded message may be corrected through the use of a recording of Black English with the speaker reading a neutral passage from a book or newspaper.

The timing of the administration of the questionnaire was a possible limitation and I feel that the only possible concrete evidence this researcher could obtain concerning the possible effects of the described events would be a post-test, perhaps administered after the demands and issues were resolved.

Proposal for Future Research

The major suggestion for future research is a retest of the present sample in their senior year to compare their

past and present attitudes, investigating those variables which possibly influenced a change in an individual's attitude toward Black English. The same questionnaire as that administered in the present study will be used in the retest with some minor revisions. Among those variables considered previously, the possible increase in membership in campus and/or community Black American organizations is noteworthy. As stated previously, few subjects designate membership in such organizations and future membership in these organizations is conceivable due to the direct and/or indirect socialization process in the university community which influences the individuals' social and educational experiences along with the awareness of the existence of such organizations. Such increased membership in Black American organizations is predicted to have a positive effect on the subjects' attitudes toward Black English.

Also under consideration in the retest is the effect, if any, of the attendance at a four-year predominantly White American university on the subjects' attitudes toward Black English in this sample, the majority of whom attended what they characterized as segregated grade schools, segregated junior high schools, and high schools which they perceived as segregated, as well as describing their present friendships as primarily with Black Americans and identify themselves in racially oriented terms. This factor may have mixed effects on this sample who are now, and will be, in a

minority situation, at least racially for four years while attending Illinois State University. For some subjects, Black American solidarity on campus may increase and, as being one component of this solidarity, Black English would be viewed in a positive manner. The opposite response to minority status for other subjects may develop over a period of four years in that as a minority, these individuals become assimilated to the majority culture, including language, and thus view Black English in a negative manner.

The variable of the subject's possible enrollment in one or more Black American Studies courses over a four-year period while being a student is significant. Included in the retest would be questions specifically dealing with this variable along with a list of Black American Studies courses which were offered at the university while the subject was enrolled with the subject being instructed to indicate which course or courses, if any, he/she are presently or have been enrolled in. A course list is included due to the fact that the subject's independent recall over a period of time may not be reliable. The Black American Studies variable is considered to be significant in that enrollment in such courses may possibly increase an individual's cultural awareness while promoting positive racial identification and in viewing Black English as one of the many forms of the Black American culture, the individual may develop a positive or more positive attitude toward Black English.

Also noteworthy in a retest would be the researcher reviewing the changes, if any, over the four-year time period, in the population of Black American students enrolled at Illinois State University along with changes in the racial composition of the larger community. The role of the Black American as a minority on campus is worthy of investigation as is the examination of the possible resurgence of the Black Power movement or similar movements, either locally or nationally, which would heighten pride and promote positive attitudes toward Black English as a component of that culture.

The following additional hypotheses should be included along with those of the original study in the retest:

1. Those individuals who are presently or have been members of a university and/or community Black American organization will hold a positive attitude toward Black English while those subjects who are not or have not been members of a university and/or community Black American organization will hold a negative attitude toward Black English.

2. Those subjects who are or have been enrolled in Black American Studies courses will hold a positive attitude toward Black English while those subjects who are not or have not been enrolled in Black American Studies courses will hold a negative attitude toward Black English.

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APPENDIX A

Part I of Questionnaire

Dear ISU Student:

This questionnaire is concerned with measuring your attitudes toward Black English. Please complete Part I and Part II of the questionnaire. You will then listen to a tape recording. Following that, please complete Part III of the questionnaire. When you are finished, use a paper clip to fasten the total questionnaire together.

This research is being conducted for my thesis which is a Master's Degree requirement in the Sociology-Anthropology Department at Illinois State University. I feel that this research is significant in determining current attitudes toward Black English and will also contribute to the already existing literature on Black English.

Finally, all information received through this questionnaire will remain confidential with your anonymity guaranteed. Thank you very much for your time and help.

Sincerely,

Ms. Susie McIntee

Dr. William Tolone
Assistant Professor of Sociology

Dr. Mildred Pratt
Associate Professor of Social Work

SM:WL:MP/jk

Part I

Instructions: The first part of this questionnaire is concerned with personal information about you and your family. Please read each question carefully and answer by placing a check mark (✓) in the appropriate space unless otherwise designated.

1. What is your age? _____

2. What is your sex? (Check one)
   1. Male _____
   2. Female _____

3. What year are you in college? (Check one)
   1. Freshman _____
   2. Sophomore _____
   3. Junior _____
   4. Senior _____
   5. Other: specify _____

4. Where were you born? City _____ State _____

5. Where was your mother born? City _____ State _____

6. Where was your father born? City _____ State _____

7. In what region of the country did you attend grade school? (Check one) (See attached last page for explanation of region of country, rural/urban for questions 7, 11, and 15.)
   1. Northern rural _____
   2. Northern urban _____
   3. Southern rural _____
   4. Southern urban _____
   5. Eastern rural _____
   6. Eastern urban _____
   7. Western rural _____
   8. Western urban _____
   9. Other: specify _____

8. What percentage of the students attending your grade school were White? (Check one)
   1. 0 - 20% _____
   2. 20 - 40% _____
   3. 40 - 60% _____
   4. 60 - 80% _____
   5. 80 - 99% _____

9. What percentage of the students attending your grade school were nonwhite? (Check one)
   1. 0 - 20%_____
   2. 20 - 40%_____
   3. 40 - 60%_____
   4. 60 - 80%_____
   5. 80 - 100%_____

10. Do you feel your grade school was: (Check one)
   1. Segregated_____
   2. Integrated_____

11. In what region of the country did you attend junior high school? (Check one)
   1. Northern rural_____
   2. Northern urban_____
   3. Southern rural_____
   4. Southern urban_____
   5. Eastern rural_____
   6. Eastern urban_____
   7. Western rural_____
   8. Western urban_____
   9. Other: specify_____
   10. I did not attend junior high school: not applicable _____

12. What percentage of the students attending your junior high school were White? (Check one)
   1. 0 - 20%_____
   2. 20 - 40%_____
   3. 40 - 60%_____
   4. 60 - 80%_____
   5. 80 - 99%_____
   6. I did not attend junior high school_____

13. What percentage of the students attending your junior high school were nonwhite? (Check one)
   1. 0 - 20%_____
   2. 20 - 40%_____
   3. 40 - 60%_____
   4. 60 - 80%_____
   5. 80 - 100%_____
   6. I did not attend junior high school_____

14. Do you feel your junior high school was: (Check one)
   1. Segregated_____
   2. Integrated_____
   3. I did not attend junior high school_____

15. In what region of the country did you attend high school? (Check one)
    1. Northern rural_____
    2. Northern urban_____
    3. Southern rural_____
    4. Southern urban_____
    5. Eastern rural_____
    6. Eastern urban_____
    7. Western rural_____
    8. Western urban_____
    9. Ohter: specify_____

16. What percentage of the students attending your high school were White?
    1. 0 - 20%_____
    2. 20 - 40%_____
    3. 40 - 60%_____
    4. 60 - 80%_____
    5. 80 - 99%_____

17. What percentage of the students attending your high school were nonwhite? (Check one)
    1. 0 - 20%_____
    2. 20 - 40%_____
    3. 40 - 60%_____
    4. 60 - 80%_____
    5. 80 - 100%_____

18. Do you feel your high school was: (Check one)
    1. Segregated_____
    2. Integrated_____

19. Do you feel your university is: (Check one)
    1. Segregated_____
    2. Integrated_____

20. Where do your parents presently live?
    1. Mother: City_____State_____
    2. My mother is deceased_____
    3. Father: City_____State_____
    4. My father is deceased_____

21. Within your parents' neighborhood what is their social class? (Check one) Note: If parents are separated or divorced, answer for the parent whom you have the most information about.
    1. Upper class_____
    2. Middle class_____
    3. Lower class_____
    4. Both parents are deceased_____

22. Why do you place your parent(s) in this social class?

_____

_____

23. What is the racial composition of your parents' neighborhood? (Check one)
1. Predominantly white neighborhood_____
2. Almost all white neighborhood_____
3. Mixed--mostly white neighborhood_____
4. Half black and half white neighborhood_____
5. Mixed--mostly black neighborhood_____
6. Almost all black neighborhood_____
7. All black neighborhood_____
8. Other: explain_____

24. Within the Black culture, what is your parents' social class? (Check one) Note: If parents are separated or divorced, answer for the parent whom you have the most information about.
1. Upper class_____
2. Middle class_____
3. Lower class_____

25. Why do you place your parent(s) in this social class?

_____

_____

26. Do you have any relatives and/or friends from the South who live with you, your parent(s), or in your parent(s') neighborhood? (Check one)
1. Yes_____
2. No_____
3. If yes, where in the South are your relatives and/or friends from?
City_____State_____
City_____State_____
City_____State_____

27. Do you have a religious preference? (Check one)
1. Yes_____
2. No_____

28. If your answer to question number 27 is yes, what is your religious preference? (Check one)
1. Catholic_____
2. Jewish_____
3. Protestant_____
4. Other: specify_____
5. I have no religious preference_____

29. If Protestant, what is your denomination?_____

30. On the average, how often do you attend church? (Check one)
    1. More than once a week_____
    2. Once a week_____
    3. About twice a month_____
    4. Once a month_____
    5. One to ten times a year_____
    6. Never_____

31. What is the racial composition of the church you most frequently attend? (Whether that church is in your hometown or the one you attend while at school) (Check one)
    1. Predominantly white membership_____
    2. Almost all white membership_____
    3. Mixed--mostly white membership_____
    4. Half black and half white membership_____
    5. Mixed--mostly black membership_____
    6. Almost all black membership_____
    7. All black membership_____
    8. Other: explain_____
    9. I do not attend church_____

32. Within the larger society, what is your parents' social class? (Check one) Note: If parents are separated or divorced, answer for the parent whom you have the most information about.
    1. Upper class_____
    2. Middle class_____
    3. Lower class_____

33. Why do you place your parent(s) in this social class?

_____

_____

34. Are you a member of one or more of the following organizations? (Check the appropriate organization(s))
    1. Black Affairs Council_____
    2. Black fraternity_____
    3. Black sorority_____
    4. Black nationalist group_____
    5. Black Businessmen/Women, Ltd._____
    6. Interdenominational youth choir_____
    7. Other: specify_____
    8. I am not a member of any organization_____

35. Are you an officer in any of the above organizations? (Check one)
    1. Yes_____
    2. No_____
    3. If yes, list office(s) and name(s) of organization(s)_____
    4. I am not a member of any organization_____

36. Are your friendships: (Check one)
    1. Primarily with Blacks_____
    2. With both Blacks and Whites_____
    3. Primarily with Whites_____

37. Select the term below which you feel best describes yourself. (Check one)
    1. Person_____
    2. American_____
    3. Ethnic minority_____
    4. Colored_____
    5. Negro_____
    6. Black American_____
    7. Afro-American_____
    8. African American_____
    9. Other: specify_____

38. Which of the following influences your life the most? (Check one)
    1. Husband or wife (if married)_____
    2. Mother and/or father_____
    3. Sister(s) and/or brother(s)_____
    4. Close friend(s)_____
    5. Church_____
    6. Other: who_____

39. How often do you use Black English (example: He ridin' a horse.) as compared to Standard English (example: He is riding a horse.)? (Check one)
    1. I use only Black English_____
    2. I use Black English more often than Standard English_____
    3. I use Black English less than Standard English_____
    4. I use only Standard English_____

40. With whom do you use Black English? (Check one)
    1. Only with relatives and close friends who are Black_____
    2. Only with Black people_____
    3. With Black people and some Whites_____
    4. With Blacks and Whites equally_____
    5. I do not use Black English_____

41. Under what circumstances do you use Black English? (Check one)
    1. Only when I am feeling very confortable and/or happy_____
    2. When I find myself in situations where Standard English does not allow me to express how I feel_____
    3. When I feel the need to assert my identification with the Afro-American culture_____
    4. Anytime regardless of the situation_____
    5. I do not use Black English_____

LIST OF STATES

North

Michigan
Ohio
Indiana
Illinois
Wisconsin
Minnesota
Iowa
Missouri
Kansas
Nebraska
North Dakota
South Dakota
Oklahoma

South

Kentucky
Tennessee
North Carolina
South Carolina
Georgia
Alabama
Florida
Mississippi
Louisiana
Arkansas

East

Maine
Vermont
New Hampshire
Massachusetts
Connecticut
Rhode Island
New York
Pennsylvania
Maryland
West Virginia
New Jersey
Delaware
District of Columbia
Virginia

West

Montana
Wyoming
Colorado
Texas
New Mexico
Utah
Arizona
Nevada
California
Oregon
Idaho
Washington
Alaska
Hawaii

RURAL - City, town, or village with a population of less than 2500 inhabitants.

URBAN - City, town, or village with a population of 2500 or more inhabitants.

APPENDIX B

Part II of Questionnaire

Part II

For each of the following selections, choose the response which best describes your position concerning Black English. Check (✓) your responses.

1. "I heard an old Negro street singer last week, Reverend Pearly Brown, singing, 'God don't never change.' This is a precise thing he is singing. He does not mean 'God does not ever change.' He means 'God don't never change.' The difference is crucial."

1. This statement is completely accurate._____
2. This statement is mostly accurate._____
3. No opinion_____
4. This statement is mostly inaccurate._____
5. This statement is completely inaccurate._____

2. "To the soulless ear, the vast majority of the sounds of soul are dismissed as incorrect usage of the English language and, not infrequently, as speech impediments. But to Blacks so blessed as to have had bestowed upon them at birth the lifetime gift of soul, these are the most communicative and meaningful sounds to fall upon human ears, for example, the familiar 'mah' instead of 'my' . . ."

1. This statement is completely accurate._____
2. This statement is mostly accurate._____
3. No opinion_____
4. This statement is mostly inaccurate._____
5. This statement is completely inaccurate._____

3. "Long regarded by the public in general and educators in particular as the result of carelessness, laziness, ignorance, or stupidity, the non-standard speech patterns of American Negroes are now coming to be recognized as perfectly normal dialect forms which are just as much a product of systematic (though formally unspecified) linguistic rules as are the speech patterns of whites."

1. This statement is completely accurate._____
2. This statement is mostly accurate._____
3. No opinion._____
4. This statement is mostly inaccurate._____
5. This statement is completely inaccurate._____

4. "Children bring to the schools the speech of their parents. Teachers have tremendous power to undo early some of the habits that are tenacious by the time they are in fancy speech. I couldn't be less concerned about a Southern accent. But for Blacks it results in a lack of clarity, poor pronunciation and incorrect speech."

1. This statement is completely accurate._____
2. This statement is mostly accurate._____
3. No opinion._____
4. This statement is mostly inaccurate._____
5. This statement is completely inaccurate._____

5. "Negro dialect is 'defective speech . . . abnormal speech' and is full of 'oral aberrations involving phonetic distortions, defective grammar, misarticulations, limited or poor vocabulary, and faulty phonology.'"

1. This statement is completely accurate._____
2. This statement is mostly accurate.
3. No opinion._____
4. This statement is mostly inaccurate._____
5. This statement is completely inaccurate._____

APPENDIX C

Tape Transcription

Subject. (unintelligible) . . . guys from . . . guys from . . . ah . . . Minneanapoli, Minnesota, all up 'n down . . . my boat--my car was one of th biggah one that got it loaded jus that one from New Orleans . . . it's a terribly big car, you know, to speak of . . . an' . . . ah . . . at's wheah I did mo of all my woik. Before I (unintelligible) you had to woik er git fired, one er th two. If you want a job, you had to woik . . . so . . . you had to . . . you addicted yerself through woik. Ah . . . I don't have a job. So, for, what you want to do. If you need money, you got to woik, right? So anywhere you go you got dis in yer blood. Yer a workin man. You know what you got to do to git some money.

Interviewer. Well, you, either work or you steal.

Subject. Right! Hey, man, look . . . yer goin' do dis. If you don't woik, yer goin' steal. Yer goin' do sumpin wrong. An' I nevah stole nothin' my life. I got a (unintelligible) in the penitentiary behind me . . . down in Angora, Angora State Penitentiary, Louisiana, an' I know. I bin in jail a few times . . . for fightin', an' I think I went to jail a couple of times for gamblin' . . . somebody turn me in for fightin' . . . certain times . . . in jail for a cupla nights and something like tha, for fightin' . . . somethin' like that . . . nevah sole nothin' my life.

Interviewer. What kind of . . .

Subject. I coudda . . . huh?

Interviewer. What kind of work do you do?

Subject. Who? Me? Jus bout anything in construction you can call. I cun do a good day's woik. (unintelligible) I cun . . . ah . . . plaster a lil' bit. I mean . . . this . . . I ain't got no card for this. I didn't go to school for this. I'm a common laborer, but I can lay concrete, an I can do mos anything . . . if you want the truth . . . paint . . . I've paint bout six seb'n houses in this town . . . big houses I've paint. I laid some block for people . . . so . . . li'l things like that. I can do mos anything, but only I don' have no card for it, you know.

Interviewer. I see you got your truck all painted.

Subject. Yeah! Right! that truck . . . right now . . . I got to git the brake fix 'n git my . . . ah . . . safey stick . . . you know . . . when I . . . I make pretty good runs with my truck. When I--when it rains, you know, I go aroun and I haul a little sod, for Karen, you know Karen, an' . . . ah Bettys' son . . . haul stuff for him . . . anybody calls me up . . . call me to tell me to come haul something for them. I do a pretty good business with my truck now, so, few things I have to do keep the truck runnin'. It not so cheap, you know.

Second Subject. (interruption) (unintelligible) . . . I'll be out cheer try to git something. I'll be out cheer jivin'.

Third Subject (female). I know what cha mean J. B.

Subject. An' . . . ah . . . I treat everybody nice.

Everybody (unintelligible) know me . . . (unintelligible) man I . . . he know me hisself . . . he use go to mah church.

Third Subject. Well can't chu go up to . . . (unintelligible)

Subject. (unintelligible)

Third Subject. I ain' nevah seen you there.

Subject. I ain' nevah seen you there either.

Laughter.

Subject. Now. Willy, where you git dat laugh?

APPENDIX D

Part III of Questionnaire

Part III

For each of the following statements, choose the response which best describes your position concerning Black English. Check ( ) responses.

1. The scholastic level of a school will fall if teachers allow Black English to be spoken.

   1. Strongly agree_____
   2. Agree_____
   3. No opinion_____
   4. Disagree_____
   5. Strongly disagree___

2. Black English is a misuse of Standard English.

   1. Strongly agree_____
   2. Agree_____
   3. No opinion_____
   4. Disagree_____
   5. Strongly disagree___

3. Attempts to eliminate Black English result in a situation which can be psychologically damaging to Black people.

   1. Strongly agree_____
   2. Agree_____
   3. No opinion_____
   4. Disagree_____
   5. Strongly disagree___

4. Continued usage of Black English would accomplish nothing worthwhile for society.

   1. Strongly agree_____
   2. Agree_____
   3. No opinion_____
   4. Disagree_____
   5. Strongly disagree___

5. Black English sounds as good as Standard English.

   1. Strongly agree_____
   2. Agree_____
   3. No opinion_____
   4. Disagree_____
   5. Strongly disagree___

6. Black people should be allowed to use Black English.

   1. Strongly agree_____
   2. Agree_____
   3. No opinion_____
   4. Disagree_____
   5. Strongly disagree___

7. Black English should be discouraged.

   1. Strongly agree_____
   2. Agree_____
   3. No opinion_____
   4. Disagree_____
   5. Strongly disagree___

8. Black English must be accepted if pride is to develop among Black people.

   1. Strongly agree_____
   2. Agree_____
   3. No opinion_____
   4. Disagree_____
   5. Strongly disagree___

9. Black English is an inferior language system.

   1. Strongly agree_____
   2. Agree_____
   3. No opinion_____
   4. Disagree_____
   5. Strongly disagree___

10. Black English is cool.

   1. Strongly agree_____
   2. Agree_____
   3. No opinion_____
   4. Disagree_____
   5. Strongly disagree___

11. Black English should be considered a bad influence on American culture and civilization.

   1. Strongly agree_____
   2. Agree_____
   3. No opinion_____
   4. Disagree_____
   5. Strongly disagree___

12. Black English sounds sloppy.

1. Strongly agree_____
2. Agree_____
3. No opinion_____
4. Disagree_____
5. Strongly disagree___

13. If use of Black English were encouraged, speakers of Black English would be more motivated to achieve academically.

1. Strongly agree_____
2. Agree_____
3. No opinion_____
4. Disagree_____
5. Strongly disagree___

14. Black English is a clear, thoughtful, and expressive language.

1. Strongly agree_____
2. Agree_____
3. No opinion_____
4. Disagree_____
5. Strongly disagree___

15. Black English has a faulty grammar system.

1. Strongly agree_____
2. Agree_____
3. No opinion_____
4. Disagree_____
5. Strongly disagree___

16. When people reject Black English they do great harm.

1. Strongly agree_____
2. Agree_____
3. No opinion_____
4. Disagree_____
5. Strongly disagree___

17. A person should correct another person's use of Black English.

1. Strongly agree_____
2. Agree_____
3. No opinion_____
4. Disagree_____
5. Strongly disagree___

18. In a predominantly Black school, Black English as well as Standard English should be taught.

1. Strongly agree_____
2. Agree_____
3. No opinion_____
4. Disagree_____
5. Strongly disagree___

19. Widespread acceptance of Black English is imperative.

1. Strongly agree_____
2. Agree_____
3. No opinion_____
4. Disagree_____
5. Strongly disagree___

20. The sooner we eliminate Black English the better.

1. Strongly agree_____
2. Agree_____
3. No opinion_____
4. Disagree_____
5. Strongly disagree___

21. Acceptance of Black English will lead to a lowering of societal standards.

1. Strongly agree_____
2. Agree_____
3. No opinion_____
4. Disagree_____
5. Strongly disagree___

22. Black English should be accepted socially.

1. Strongly agree_____
2. Agree_____
3. No opinion_____
4. Disagree_____
5. Strongly disagree___

23. Black English is as effective for communication as is Standard English.

1. Strongly agree_____
2. Agree_____
3. No opinion_____
4. Disagree_____
5. Strongly disagree___

24. One of the goals of the American social system should be the standardization of the English language.

1. Strongly agree_____
2. Agree_____
3. No opinion_____
4. Disagree_____
5. Strongly disagree___

25. One successful method for improving the learning capacity of speakers of Black English would be to replace their dialect with Standard English.

1. Strongly agree_____
2. Agree_____
3. No opinion_____
4. Disagree_____
5. Strongly disagree___

APPENDIX E

Original Language Attitude Scale and Hurst Quotation Number 5

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE ATTITUDE SCALE

1. The scholastic level of a school will fall if teachers allow Black English to be spoken.

2. Black English is a misuse of Standard English.

3. Attempts to eliminate Black English in school results in a situation which can be psychologically damaging to Black children.

4. Continued usage of a nonstandard dialect of English would accomplish nothing worthwhile for society.

5. Black English sounds as good as Standard English.

6. Teachers should allow Black students to use Black English in the classroom.

7. Black English should be discouraged.

8. Black English must be accepted if pride is to develop among Black people.

9. Black English is an inferior language system.

10. Black English is cool.

11. Black English should be considered a bad influence on American culture and civilization.

12. Black English sounds sloppy.

13. If use of Black English were encouraged, speakers of Black English would be more motivated to achieve academically.

14. Black English is a clear, thoughtful, and expressive language.

15. Black English has a faulty grammar system.

16. When teachers reject the native language of a student, they do him great harm.

17. A teacher should correct a student's use of Nonstandard English.

18. In a predominantly Black school, Black English as well as Standard English should be taught.

19. Widespread acceptance of Black English is imperative.

20. The sooner we eliminate nonstandard dialects of English, the better.

21. Acceptance of nonstandard dialects of English by teachers will lead to a lowering of standards in school.

22. Nonstandard English should be accepted socially.

23. Nonstandard English is as effective for communication as is Standard English.

24. One of the goals of the American school system should be the standardization of the English language.

25. One successful method for improving the learning capacity of speakers of Black English would be to replace their dialect with Standard English.

CORRECTED QUOTATION, APPENDIX C, NUMBER 5

Negro dialect is "defective speech . . . abnormal speech" and is full of "oral aberrations involving phonetic distortions, defective grammar, misarticulations, mispornunciations, limited or poor vocabulary, and faulty grammar." Charles G. Hurst, Jr.

APPENDIX F

Part I and Part II of Questionnaire

PART I AND PART II OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
AGE		
Seventeen	2	5.1
Eighteen	30	76.9
Nineteen	6	15.4
Twenty	1	2.6
No data	1	missing
SEX		
Male	15	37.5
Female	25	62.5
COLLEGE CLASS		
Freshman	39	97.5
Other	1	2.5
SUBJECT'S BIRTHPLACE		
North	33	82.5
South	7	17.5
MOTHER'S BIRTHPLACE		
North	6	15.4
South	31	79.5
East	2	5.1
No data	1	missing
FATHER'S BIRTHPLACE		
North	15	41.7
South	19	52.8
East	2	5.6
No data	4	missing
REGION: GRADE SCHOOL		
North	29	74.4
South	9	23.1
West	1	2.6
Noncodeable	1	missing
POPULATION: GRADE SCHOOL		
Rural	4	10.3
Urban	35	89.7
No data	1	missing
RACIAL COMPOSITION: GRADE SCHOOL		
Segregated	24	63.2
Integrated	14	36.8
No data	1	missing
Noncodeable	1	missing

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
REGION: JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL		
North	19	70.4
South	7	25.9
West	1	3.7
Nonapplicable	12	missing
No data	1	missing
POPULATION: JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL		
Rural	4	14.8
Urban	23	85.2
Nonapplicable	12	missing
No data	1	missing
RACIAL COMPOSITION: JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL		
Segregated	15	55.6
Integrated	12	44.4
Nonapplicable	12	missing
No data	1	missing
REGION: HIGH SCHOOL		
North	34	85.0
South	5	12.5
West	1	2.5
POPULATION: HIGH SCHOOL		
Rural	4	10.0
Urban	36	90.0
RACIAL COMPOSITION: HIGH SCHOOL		
Segregated	20	51.3
Integrated	19	48.7
No data	1	missing
RACIAL COMPOSITION: UNIVERSITY		
Segregated	8	20.5
Integrated	31	79.5
No data	1	missing
MOTHER'S HOME		
North	39	97.5
South	1	2.5
MOTHER LIVING		
Yes	40	100.0
FATHER'S HOME		
North	30	100.0
No data	5	missing
Noncodeable	5	missing

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
FATHER LIVING		
Yes	30	81.1
No	7	18.9
No data	3	missing
SOCIAL CLASS: NEIGHBORHOOD		
Upper class	3	8.1
Middle class	29	78.4
Lower class	5	13.5
Other	1	missing
No data	1	missing
Noncodeable	1	missing
CRITERIA SOCIAL CLASS: NEIGHBORHOOD		
Income	18	48.6
Neighborhood	3	8.1
Occupation	3	8.1
Education	2	5.4
Living pattern	4	10.8
Reference group	2	5.4
Other	5	13.5
No data	3	missing
RACIAL COMPOSITION: PARENT(S') NEIGHBORHOOD		
Mixed-mostly White	1	2.6
Half Black and half White	1	2.6
Mixed-mostly Black	11	28.2
Almost all Black	9	23.1
All Black	17	43.6
No data	1	missing
SOCIAL CLASS: BLACK CULTURE		
Upper class	6	17.6
Middle class	25	73.5
Lower class	3	8.8
Other	2	missing
No data	4	missing
CRITERIA SOCIAL CLASS: BLACK CULTURE		
Income	15	46.9
Occupation	3	9.4
Education	1	3.1
Living pattern	3	9.4
Reference group	3	9.4
Other	7	21.9
No data	8	missing

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
RELATIVES/FRIENDS FROM THE SOUTH		
Yes	13	32.5
No	27	67.5
LOCATION OF RELATIVES/FRIENDS FROM THE SOUTH		
Georgia	1	2.5
Alabama	1	2.5
Mississippi	6	15.0
Arkansas	2	5.0
Nonapplicable	27	67.5
No data	2	5.0
Noncodeable	1	2.5
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE		
Yes	32	80.0
No	8	20.0
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE SPECIFIED		
Catholic	3	9.4
Protestant	23	71.9
Other	6	18.8
Nonapplicable	6	missing
No data	1	missing
Noncodeable	1	missing
PROTESTANT: DENOMINATION		
Lutheran	2	7.1
Episcopalian	6	21.4
Baptist	15	53.6
Methodist	4	14.3
Other	1	3.6
Nonapplicable	11	missing
Noncodeable	1	missing
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE		
More than once a week	3	8.1
Once a week	9	24.3
Twice a month	7	18.9
Once a month	3	8.1
One to ten times a year	12	32.4
Never	3	8.1
No data	1	missing
Noncodeable	2	missing

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF CHURCH		
Predominantly White	2	5.4
Mixed-mostly White	2	5.4
Half Black and half White	1	2.7
Mixed-mostly Black	2	5.4
Almost all Black	6	16.2
All Black	24	64.9
Nonapplicable	2	missing
No data	1	missing
SOCIAL CLASS: LARGER SOCIETY		
Upper class	2	5.9
Middle class	21	61.8
Lower class	11	32.4
Other	1	missing
No data	4	missing
Noncodeable	1	missing
CRITERIA SOCIAL CLASS: LARGER SOCIETY		
Income	14	45.2
Neighborhood	1	3.2
Occupation	2	6.5
Living pattern	3	9.7
Reference group	3	9.7
Other	8	25.8
No data	8	missing
Noncodeable	1	missing

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
MEMBER OF ORGANIZATION		
Black frat./soror.	1	11.1
Black Business Men & Women Ltd.	1	11.1
IYC	2	22.2
Other	5	55.6
Nonapplicable	31	missing
FRIENDSHIPS		
Primarily Blacks	27	69.2
Blacks and Whites	12	30.8
No data	1	missing
SELF IDENTITY		
Person	7	18.4
Negro	1	2.6
Black American	16	42.1
Afro-American	5	13.2
African American	7	18.4
Other	2	5.3
No data	1	missing
Noncodeable	1	missing
REFERENCE GROUP		
Mother/father	22	59.5
Sister/brother	3	8.1
Close friends	4	10.8
Church	2	5.4
Other	6	16.2
No data	2	missing
Noncodeable	1	missing

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
FREQUENCY OF BLACK ENGLISH		
Black English more than Standard English	21	53.8
Black English less than Standard English	15	38.5
Only Standard English	3	7.7
No data	1	missing
WITH WHOM DO YOU SPEAK BLACK ENGLISH		
Black relatives and/or friends	3	7.9
Only Black persons	1	2.6
Blacks and some Whites	10	26.3
Blacks and Whites equally	19	50.0
Do not use	5	13.2
No data	1	missing
Noncodeable	1	missing
CIRCUMSTANCES OF USE OF BLACK ENGLISH		
Comfortable	3	8.3
Express self	15	41.7
Any time	12	33.3
Do not use	3	8.3
Other	3	8.3
Noncodeable	4	missing
QUOTATION 1		
Completely accurate	7	17.9
Mostly accurate	7	17.9
No opinion	16	40.0
Mostly inaccurate	4	10.3
Completely inaccurate	1	2.5
Noncodeable	1	2.5
QUOTATION 2		
Completely accurate	6	15.8
Mostly accurate	11	28.9
No opinion	15	39.5
Mostly inaccurate	3	7.9
Completely inaccurate	3	7.9
No data	2	missing

Variable	Frequency	Percentage	Variable	Frequency	Percentage
QUOTATION 3					
Completely accurate	17	44.7			
Mostly accurate	8	21.1			
No opinion	7	18.4			
Mostly inaccurate	5	13.2			
Completely inaccurate	1	2.6			
No data	2	missing			
QUOTATION 4					
Completely accurate	7	18.4			
Mostly accurate	10	26.3			
No opinion	11	28.9			
Mostly inaccurate	9	23.7			
Completely inaccurate	1	2.6			
No data	2	missing			
QUOTATION 5					
Completely accurate	4	10.3			
Mostly accurate	6	15.4			
No opinion	11	28.2			
Mostly inaccurate	10	25.6			
Completely inaccurate	8	20.5			
No data	1	missing			

APPENDIX G

Frequency Results of Part III of Questionnaire

FREQUENCY RESULTS OF PART III OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Question Number	Response[a]	Frequency	Content Category[c]
One	2	10 (34.5)[b]	2-
	3	4 (13.8)	
	4	11 (37.9)	
	5	4 (13.8)	
Two	2	9 (31.0)	1-
	3	4 (13.8)	
	4	12 (41.4)	
	5	4 (13.8)	
Three	1	3 (10.3)	2+
	2	8 (27.6)	
	3	3 (10.3)	
	4	12 (41.4)	
	5	3 (10.3)	
Four	1	1 (3.4)	2-
	2	1 (3.4)	
	3	12 (41.4)	
	4	14 (48.3)	
	5	1 (3.4)	
Five	1	4 (13.8)	1-
	2	8 (27.6)	
	3	9 (31.0)	
	4	7 (24.1)	
	5	1 (3.4)	
Six	1	6 (20.7)	3+
	2	15 (51.7)	
	3	7 (24.1)	
	4	1 (3.4)	
Seven	1	1 (3.4)	3-
	2	1 (3.4)	
	3	8 (27.6)	
	4	14 (48.3)	
	5	5 (17.2)	
Eight	1	4 (13.8)	2+
	2	13 (44.8)	
	3	6 (20.7)	
	4	5 (17.2)	
	5	1 (3.4)	

Question Number	Response[a]	Frequency	Content Category[c]
Nine	1	1 (3.4)	1-
	2	3 (10.3)	
	3	5 (17.2)	
	4	13 (44.8)	
	5	7 (24.1)	
Ten	1	2 (6.9)	1+
	2	11 (37.9)	
	3	11 (37.9)	
	4	4 (13.8)	
	5	1 (3.4)	
Eleven	2	1 (3.4)	2-
	3	4 (13.8)	
	4	16 (55.2)	
	5	8 (27.6)	
Twelve	2	3 (10.3)	1-
	3	4 (13.8)	
	4	16 (55.2)	
	5	6 (20.7)	
Thirteen	1	2 (6.9)	2+
	2	11 (37.9)	
	3	12 (41.4)	
	4	4 (13.8)	
Fourteen	1	5 (17.2)	1+
	2	11 (37.9)	
	3	9 (31.0)	
	4	3 (10.3)	
	5	1 (3.4)	
Fifteen	1	2 (6.9)	1-
	2	8 (27.6)	
	3	9 (31.0)	
	4	8 (27.6)	
	5	2 (6.9)	
Sixteen	1	1 (3.4)	3+
	2	12 (41.4)	
	3	6 (20.7)	
	4	8 (27.6)	
	5	2 (6.9)	
Seventeen	2	2 (6.9)	3-
	3	8 (27.6)	
	4	17 (58.6)	
	5	2 (6.9)	

Question Number	Response[a]	Frequency	Content Category[c]
Eighteen	1	3 (10.3)	3+
	2	13 (44.8)	
	3	7 (24.1)	
	4	5 (17.2)	
	5	1 (3.4)	
Nineteen	1	1 (3.4)	3+
	2	4 (13.8)	
	3	21 (72.4)	
	4	1 (3.4)	
	5	2 (6.9)	
Twenty	2	1 (3.4)	3-
	3	5 (17.2)	
	4	14 (48.3)	
	5	9 (31.0)	
Twenty-one	3	10 (34.5)	3-
	4	13 (44.8)	
	5	6 (20.7)	
Twenty-two	1	4 (13.8)	3
	2	16 (55.2)	
	3	8 (27.6)	
	4	1 (3.4)	
Twenty-three	1	8 (27.6)	1+
	2	14 (48.3)	
	3	4 (13.8)	
	4	2 (6.9)	
	5	1 (3.4)	
Twenty-four	1	1 (3.4)	3-
	2	7 (24.1)	
	3	17 (58.6)	
	4	3 (10.3)	
	5	1 (3.4)	
Twenty-five	1	2 (6.9)	4-
	2	2 (6.9)	
	3	10 (34.5)	
	4	13 (44.8)	
	5	2 (6.9)	

[a]Response code: 1 Strongly agree
2 Agree
3 No opinion
4 Disagree
5 Strongly disagree

[b]Corresponding percentages.

[c]Content categories of Language Attitude Scale

1 The structure and inherent usefulness of Black English.
2 The consequences of using Black English in the educational setting.
3 Philosophies concerning the use of and the acceptance of Black English.
4 Cognitive and intellectual abilities of speakers of Black English.

A positive statement in regard to each category is denoted by "+".

A negative statement in regard to each category is denoted by "-".

APPENDIX H

Language Attitude Scale Rankings According to Gender and Score

LANGUAGE ATTITUDE SCALE RANKINGS ACCORDING TO GENDER AND SCORE

Questionnaire Number	Sex	Score	Rank
1	F	97	High
2	F	72	Low
3	M	58	Low
4	F	85	Low
5	F	78	Low
6	M	88	High
7	F	89	High
8	M	81	Low
9	F	87	High
10	M	96	High
11	F	92	High
12	M	90	High
13	F	99	High
14	F	71	Low
15	M	87	High
16	F	83	Low
17	F	84	Low
18	M	89	High
19	M	94	High
20	F	91	High
21	F	73	Low
22	M	91	High
23	F	88	High
24	M	57	Low
25	M	69	Low
26	F	113	High
27	M	105	High
28	F	111	High
29	M	91	High

TOTAL

16 Females
13 Males

Low 57- 85
High 87-113

9 Females High
7 Females Low

9 Males High
4 Males Low

APPENDIX I

Contingency Tables

CONTINGENCY TABLE 1

QUOTATION 2--RACIAL COMPOSITION OF HIGH SCHOOL

	Segregated	Integrated	
Accurate (Positive)	4	13	17
	23.5%	76.5%	
	22.2%	68.4%	
	10.8%	35.1%	45.9%
No opinion	10	4	14
	71.4%	28.6%	
	55.6%	21.1%	
	27.0%	10.8%	37.8%
Inaccurate (Negative)	4	2	6
	66.7%	33.3%	
	22.2%	10.5%	
	10.8%	5.4%	16.2%
Total	18	19	37
	48.6%	51.4%	100.0%

Chi square = 7.98160 with 2 degrees of freedom.
Significance = .018.

CONTINGENCY TABLE 2

QUOTATION 2--RACIAL COMPOSITION OF PARENT(S') NEIGHBORHOOD

	Segregated	Integrated	
Accurate (Positive)	8 47.1% 32.0% 21.6%	9 52.9% 75.0% 24.3%	17 45.9%
No opinion	12 85.7% 48.0% 32.4%	2 14.3% 16.7% 5.4%	14 37.8%
Inaccurate (Negative)	5 83.3% 20.0% 13.5%	1 16.7% 8.3% 2.7%	6 16.2%
Total	25 67.6%	12 32.4%	37 100.0%

Chi square = 6.04730 with 2 degrees of freedom.
Significance = .048.

CONTINGENCY TABLE 3

QUOTATION 2--FREQUENCY OF USE OF BLACK ENGLISH

	Black English More Than Standard English	Black English Less Than Standard English or Solely Standard English	
Accurate	13 81.3% 61.9% 35.1%	3 18.8% 18.8% 8.1%	16 43.2%
No opinion	7 46.7% 33.3% 18.9%	8 53.3% 50.0% 21.6%	15 40.5%
Inaccurate	1 16.7% 4.8% 2.7%	5 83.3% 31.3% 13.5%	6 16.2%
Total	21 56.8%	16 43.2%	37 100.0%

Chi square = 8.46219 with 2 degrees of freedom.
Significance = .0145.

CONTINGENCY TABLE 4

QUOTATION 5--LANGUAGE ATTITUDE SCALE SCORE

	Accurate	No Opinion	Inaccurate	
Low	6 54.5% 75.0% 20.7%	2 18.2% 20.0% 6.9%	3 27.3% 27.3% 10.3%	11 37.9%
High	2 11.1% 25.0% 6.9%	8 44.4% 80.0% 27.6%	8 44.4% 72.7% 27.6%	18 62.1%
Total	8 27.6%	10 34.5%	11 37.9%	29 100.0%

Chi square = 6.56561 with 2 degrees of freedom.
Significance = .0375.

CONTINGENCY TABLE 5

SCORE ACHIEVED ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDE SCALE
FREQUENCY OF USE OF BLACK ENGLISH

	Black English More Than Standard English	Black English Less Than Standard English or Solely Standard English	
Low	3 27.3% 20.0% 10.3%	8 72.7% 57.1% 27.6%	11 37.9%
High	12 66.7% 80.0% 41.4%	6 33.3% 49.9% 20.7%	18 62.1%
Total	15 51.7%	14 48.3%	29 100.0%

Chi square = 4.2423 with 1 degree of freedom.
Fisher's Exact Test = .04601

APPENDIX J

Use of Black English by Background Characteristics, Controlling for Gender

USE OF BLACK ENGLISH BY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, CONTROLLING FOR GENDER

Table 1 and Table 2 depict the relationship between the frequency of the use of Black English and the various background variables according to the subjects' gender and the total number of subjects. Table 1 examines this relationship according to the absolute frequency and Table 2 indicates the corresponding percentages. A discussion of the significant findings according to the subjects' gender follows.

Thirty-eight percent of those subjects who designated more frequent use of Black English than Standard English were males and of this group, 87 percent described their parent(s') neighborhood as segregated and 62 percent indicated that they did have relatives and/or friends from the South. Parental middle class membership was predominant with the exception of within the larger society where only 37 percent of this group designated membership in this social class. In reference to this same group of males who indicated more frequent use of Black English rather than Standard English, 100 percent of this group attended churches which had predominantly Black American membership while only 50 percent of this same group described their friendships as being with primarily Black Americans. This latter finding was not predicted.

Male subjects composed 40 percent of those subjects who indicated more frequent use of Standard English rather

than Black English with 83 percent of this group having described the grade school which they attended as segregated although this was not predicted. Fifty percent of this group characterized their parent(s') neighborhood as segregated and middle class membership in all three areas was predominant as expected. In reference to this same group, 67 percent attended churches which had predominantly Black American membership, although this finding does not support the prediction. Eighty-three percent of those male subjects who use Standard English more frequently than Black English described their friendships as being primarily with Black Americans with 100 percent of this same group using racially oriented terms for self-identification. Neither of these findings was predicted.

Two male subjects designated only use of Standard English with neither of these subjects having described the grade school, junior high school, or high school which they attended as segregated. These findings supported the prediction. Both subjects described the neighborhood in which their parent(s) lived as segregated and designated parental middle class in all three areas which was expected. Both subjects described the racial composition of the church which they attended as segregated. Because of the small number of subjects in this category, these findings have limited generalizability.

A summary of significant findings concerning female subjects and each of the three frequency categories is now discussed. It was predicted that female subjects would use Black English less frequently than Standard English although this prediction was not supported by the findings. Sixty-two percent of those subjects who designated more frequent use of Black English rather than Standard English were females and of this group, 61 percent described the grade school which they attended as segregated. Neither of these findings supported the predictions. Sixty-nine percent of this same group of female subjects characterized their parent(s') neighborhood as segregated and indicated middle class membership for their parent(s) in all three areas. Eighty-five percent of those female subjects who use Black English more frequently than Standard English attended churches which they described as having predominantly Black American membership. Seventy-six percent of this same group described their friendships as being primarily with Black Americans as compared to 50 percent of those male subjects in this same category. In reference to this same category regarding female subjects, 85 percent of this group used racially oriented terms in self-identification.

It was predicted that female subjects would designate less frequent use of Black English rather than Standard English. Of those subjects who were located in this category, 60 percent were female, although female subjects were found

to use Black English more frequently than Standard English. Fifty-five percent of those females who were listed in the former category described the grade school and high school which they attended as segregated as well as the racial composition of their parent(s') neighborhood. Middle-class membership in all three areas was again evident. Sixty-six percent of those female subjects who designated use of Black English less frequently than Standard English attended churches which they described as having primarily Black Americans as members with this same percentage of subjects having characterized their friendships as being with Black Americans. In reference to this same group, 67 percent used racially oriented terms for self-identification.

One female subject indicated only use of Standard English. She described the grade school, junior high school and high school which she attended as segregated as well as the neighborhood in which her parents lived. Middle class membership was designated in all three areas. The subject described her friendships as with both Black and White Americans and used nonracially oriented terms as a means of self-identification.

TABLE 1

USE OF BLACK ENGLISH BY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, CONTROLLED FOR GENDER--
ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY

Variable \ Totals	Male			Female			Total		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
	8	6	2	13	9	1	21	15	3
Segregated grade school	4	5	0	8	5	1	12	10	1
Segregated junior high school	2	2	0	6	4	1	8	6	1
Segregated high school	4	3	0	7	5	1	11	8	1
Segregated neighborhood	7	3	2	9	5	1	16	8	3
Relatives/friends from South	5	1	0	0	3	1	5	4	1
Social class-- neighborhood	1uc[a] 6mc[b]	1uc 4mc	0uc 2mc	0uc 8mc	1uc 8mc	0uc 1mc	1uc 14mc	2uc 12mc	0uc 3mc
Social class-- Black culture	2uc 5mc	1uc 4mc	0uc 2mc	0uc 7mc	2uc 7mc	1uc 0mc	2uc 12mc	3uc 11mc	1uc 2mc
Social class-- larger society	1uc 3mc	1uc 3mc	0uc 2mc	0uc 6mc	0uc 6mc	0uc 1mc	1uc 9mc	1uc 9mc	0uc 3mc
Segregated church	8	4	2	11	6	0	19	10	
Integrated church	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	4	1

TABLE 1 (continued)

Black American friendships	4	5	1	10	6	0	14	11	1
Racial identification	5	6	1	11	6	0	16	12	1

[a]Upper class

[b]Middle class

Column a represents those individuals who use Black English more frequently than Standard English.

Column b represents those individuals who use Black English less frequently than Standard English.

Column c represents those individuals who use only Standard English.

TABLE 2

USE OF BLACK ENGLISH BY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, CONTROLLED FOR GENDER--CORRESPONDING PERCENTAGES

Variable	Totals	Male			Female			Total		
		a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
	8	6	2	13	9	1	21	15	3
Segregated grade school	50%	83%	0%	61%	55%	100%	57%	66%	33%
Segregated junior high school	25%	13%	0%	46%	44%	100%	38%	40%	33%
Segregated high school	50%	50%	0%	53%	55%	100%	52%	53%	33%
Segregated neighborhood	87%	50%	100%	69%	55%	100%	77%	53%	100%
Relatives/friends from South	62%	16%	0%	0%	33%	100%	23%	26%	33%
Social class--neighborhood	12%uc[a] 75%mc[b]	16%uc 67%mc	0%uc 100%mc	0%uc 61%mc	11%uc 89%mc	0%uc 100%mc	5%uc 66%mc	13%uc 80%mc	0%uc 100%mc
Social class--Black culture	25%uc 63%mc	16%uc 67%mc	0%uc 100%mc	0%uc 53%mc	25%uc 76%mc	100%uc 0%mc	10%uc 57%mc	20%uc 73%mc	33%uc 67%mc
Social class--larger society	12%uc 37%mc	16%uc 50%mc	0%uc 100%mc	0%uc 46%mc	0%uc 66%mc	0%uc 100%mc	5%uc 43%mc	7%uc 60%mc	0%uc 100%mc
Segregated church	100%	67%	100%	85%	66%	0%	90%	66%	67%
Integrated church	0%	16%	0%	0%	33%	100%	0%	26%	33%