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"Why you always be sweatin' me?"—cultural mapping: Eighth grade, black adolescent females and teachers' use of language in the classroom

Pember, Ann Piper, Ed.D.

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"Why you always be sweatin' me?"--Cultural Mapping:

Eighth Grade, Black Adolescent Females and

Teachers' Use of Language
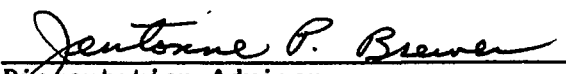
in the Classroom


by


Ann Piper Pember


A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
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APPROVAL PAGE

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PEMBER, ANN PIPER. "Why you always be sweatin' me?"--Cultural Mapping: Eighth Grade, Black Adolescent Females and Teachers' Use of Language in the Classroom. (1987) Directed by: Dr. Jeutonne P. Brewer. Pp. 359

Students and teachers map their worlds onto the classroom. Maps, analogous to and containing attitudes, emerge from cultural and personal experiences to provide meaning as teachers direct and students respond. The classroom is the only setting where the function and meaning of students and teachers' classroom language use--influenced by cultural maps--can be analyzed.

This ethnographic classroom language research indicates that black adolescent, working class females experience more social and academic difficulties than white classmates or black male peers. Academic classroom grouping influences changes in interaction style. In homogeneous groupings, black girls use street talk to interact belligerently or to duel verbally with each other and teachers. In heterogeneous groupings, black females use more typical student talk, although they occasionally refuse to answer teacher questions, a style leading to teacher interrogation. This interrogation reveals the directive nature of classroom questions requiring a verbal response. These black female interaction styles from both types of groupings also lead to prohibitive teacher directives to underscore black girls' social and academic difficulties. The black females' language variety, cultural background, and interaction styles, which contrast with the school's standard English and classroom expectations, mark these girls.

Analysis of ask variants reveals that although these girls prefer axt, the more significant characteristic of its use is the question of who has the right to ask or be asked questions, direct or be directed. The girls accord respect to mothers, first; black female bosses or

white leaders, second; and teachers, third. Analysis of $be$ reveals that meaning, encapsulated in $be_2$ + -$ing$ forms, traces the social, academic, cultural, social hierarchical patterns of black female behavior.

Although these girls share cultural and language characteristics, they are not clones. Those who are most rooted in ghetto-like culture at home and in the black school network have the greatest command of black interaction style and black English features.

Teachers who achieve the greatest measure of social and academic success with these girls do not dispense social or academic immunity but are sensitive to cultural and language differences. They develop mutual respect with the girls, rooted in cultural sensitivity. Cultural mapping enables teachers and students to understand how language means, to become culturally sensitive, and to communicate effectively in the classroom. The dynamic nature of cultural mapping enables students and teachers to form social and communication networks.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The journey to Greensboro and Charlotte, North Carolina, begins in Kentucky where my parents, Eleanor and Robert Piper, reared me to believe that teaching is a profession, not a job. With them I attended regional and state teachers' conferences long before I actually became a teacher. After I married Benny Pember in 1962, I became a remedial reading classroom teacher in Lexington, Kentucky. From Kentucky we moved to St. Louis where I taught, and from St. Louis we moved to Greensboro where I continued to teach. All along the way I instinctively knew that to be a successful teacher I had to understand the community values. I left the profession in 1970 to be a mother to Benji and later in 1973, to Piper Ann. These early professional years combined marriage, teaching, and motherhood and equipped me with valuable insights into varying community and home values.

In 1976 I began graduate work at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. During these years several professors introduced new curriculum and teaching issues. Dr. David Purpel and the late Dr. James B. Macdonald caused me to consider the influence of the school's hidden curriculum, that taught values as well as academic content. Dr. Barbara D. Stoodt revamped my understanding of the reading process to include textual features as well as the input from the reader's own experiences. In 1980 after completing the master's program, I launched into a doctoral program.

During these doctoral years, other professors expanded my thinking in curriculum and language. Dr. Jane Mitchell provided insights about second language learning research and ways to implement these conclusions into teaching practice. Dr. Jeutonne Brewer challenged me to explore linguistic theory and the implications of that theory for the classroom. Dr. Boyd H. Davis of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte provided me with guiding principles and research methods to conduct ethnographic classroom language research. Dr. Davis' tutelage, linking theoretical underpinnings to authentic language use by teachers and the Charlotte black girls, complemented previous study.

While I was in Charlotte, I made my home comfortably and happily with Dorothy and Bill Roberts, friends from earlier St. Louis days. Dorothy--Dr. Roberts--a Sacred Heart English professor, helped me to develop my thoughts, to transfer those thoughts onto paper, and to edit the text. Throughout that year and the subsequent years required to write up the study, Dorothy consistently supported and encouraged me.

Gretchen Bessiere also sat and edited with me during the final months.

During the two years in which I have analyzed and written, I consulted and taught English second language students in vocational education classes at Weaver Education Center and Smith High School in Greensboro. Although my focus was on second language learners, I continued to have contact with black students. It is from this contact that the title of the dissertation emerges.

One day in February of 1986, as I was leaving a health occupations class where I teach functional literacy skills to a Cambodian boy, I casually greeted a black female, Christina. Her response may be likened to a rocket's ascent as she boomed, "Why you always be sweatin' me?" I immediately walked to her desk, leaned down until we were nose to nose and said, "I beg your pardon, 'Be sweatin' me?'" Now my response though in question form, was also a directive, a command to answer (Ervin-Tripp 1976) meaning, "You will tell me now why you did this." She huffily drew herself up in her desk and responded, "Every time you come in here you always look at me and say something." I countered with, "I talk to all students (nodding to another black girl). You see this girl over here; I talked to her for weeks about a sweater she was wearing that I liked." The girl being nodded to affirmed my statement, "That's right." Going on I said, "I just talk to students; you got it?"--another directive meaning--"This exchange is over. I am asserting my trump card, teacher prerogative." She got the message and sullenly acquiesced with, "I got it."

Christina's question, "Why you always be sweatin' me?" addresses student/teacher maps and linguistic markers. Maps are what we cannot see influencing how people perceive, expect, interpret, and subsequently interact. In contrast, markers can be seen or heard through differences and deviations from the community or classroom norm. Christina's total style expresses everything I learned during my year of ethnographic research. Her belligerent response is similar to the interaction style of my girls. This interaction style, different from the typical or expected student response, becomes a marker, identifiable socially

because it is less prestigious and unacceptable to teachers, identifiable racially because it is associated with one racial and ethnic group, and identifiable with gender.

Christina's lexical choice, sweatin', framed within the outburst also focused my attention. Sweatin' used in this way is a word totally alien and foreign to my experience. Although no black person over twenty-five when asked, knew what it meant either, all of the black students whom I asked promptly responded, "buggin'" or "pickin' on." Obviously, the always be + sweatin' also caught my ear. Research indicates that the verb system employed by black speakers represents systematic rule differences from white or standard English (Fasold and Wolfram 1970). The grammar associated with be sets black speakers apart making be a marker to many white teachers.

On the phonological level several features are apparent. Loudness and belligerent tone of voice are the features to which I responded and to which most teachers would respond. The reduction or simplification of the final consonant cluster, -ing to -in', is a feature which I and few southern teachers would notice since they, too, are reducers and simplifiers. Thus, Christina's language marks her on all levels.

Although my interactions with Christina after this exchange were limited to her saber rattling whenever she saw me, I observed her carefully. Two weeks later while I was judging a club event in the school canteen, she smiled at me. After class was dismissed, I went over to her to explain my previous research and to say I was probably substituting the Greensboro girls for the Charlotte girls whom I missed. Also, I explained that I knew I had gone too fast with my friendliness

because she and I had failed to proceed through black girls' friendship rituals. Christina readily agreed that I had gone too fast, and that she, too, was sorry she had yelled at me. We both agreed that she was fortunate that I was not her teacher because as she said, "I'd be in big trouble." As we continued, we discovered that she had been in elementary school with my son and daughter. When she discovered that I was Benji and Piper's mother, she was totally embarrassed. I hugged her; we parted; and we spoke with smiles and an accompanying hug until the school year was over. "Why you always be sweatin' me?" dramatically illustrates the dynamic nature of maps and markers' effects on what language means in the classroom to teachers and black adolescent girls.

To all of these people, I gratefully acknowledge their influence on and input into my personal and professional life. Particular thanks go to Jeutonne Brewer, dissertation director, mentor, and supporting friend.

This dissertation is dedicated to the staff and students of Sedgefield Junior High School in Charlotte, North Carolina, and most particularly to Ann S. Wilson, Assistant Principal for Instruction, the teachers who worked closely with me, and the students in the focus group. Without their cooperation, I could not have attempted or completed this research.

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CHAPTER I

"IT'S NOT IN THE BOOK;  IT'S RIGHT BETWEEN YOUR EARS.":

FUNCTIONS OF MAPS IN THE CLASSROOM CONTEXT

On November 14, 1984, in social studies Mrs. Vance called on
Vicente to answer a question.  Because he was not sure of the answer, he
began to fumble through his book.  His teacher's response to his
frenzied page-turning was a directive, "It's not in the book;  it's
right between your ears." In other words, he must think because the
textbook will not supply him with all the answers.  This directive
parallels a paradox in classroom language research, where authentic
classroom language often defies tidy categorizations anticipated from
previous research conclusions.

In prior research, classroom discourse analysis focusing on the
spoken text, the observable verbal record, examines language from the
perspective of language as product.  This analysis typically disregards
nonverbal factors accounting for either the speaker production or
listener interpretation of classroom language.  However, it does provide
analysis of discourse longer than one sentence as it concentrates on
"the verbal record of the communicative act" (Brown and Yule 1983, 283).
This method of analysis from inside the text itself presents the seen
and heard, categorizable and quantifiable regularities and patterns
predicting what, when, and how students and teachers communicate.
Research models, based on describing classroom patterns of regularities,

lend insight into typical participant roles in the classroom context.
Teachers and students--faceless and generic--teach and are taught.

Language as Product:  Literature Review

### Teacher Dominance of Interaction

Flanders (1963) conducted the earliest research on classroom
language with a focus on topic, temporal units, and the amount of
teacher to student talk.  All teacher talk was analyzed as either
initiative or response, either encouraging or restricting, with no
systematic turn taking emphasis.  With this topic/temporal focus,
Flanders discovered statistical tendencies indicating that teachers
dominated interactions (Coulthard 1977, 96) and talked two thirds of the
time (Heath 1978, 23).  The implication from Flanders' research is that
teachers control participation and interaction within classrooms.

### Turn Taking

In contrast to Flanders' topical/temporal focus, Bellack (1966)
examined the process of classroom turn taking (ways teachers/students
take turns reflected in interaction regularities) through teacher
linguistic units, called moves.  Although Flanders indicated only
initiative or response moves, Bellack established other teacher moves,
structuring, soliciting, responding, and reacting (Coulthard 1977, 96-
97).  Also, he added cycles, the systematic progression of moves, and
indicated that twenty-one cycles could describe all classroom language
interaction.  This research contributed to classroom turn taking
knowledge through the discovery that teachers and students recognize the
moves' boundaries within the lesson's cycles.

Sequential Turn Taking:  Directives Significant

Because research that emphasized turn taking also indicated that interaction was systematically sequential, Sinclair (1968) examined the relationship between the utterance's grammatical features and its communicative function to discover what prompted this sequence.  To accomplish this, Sinclair placed discourse characteristics and pedagogy in a hierarchy.  The pedagogical hierarchy consisted of course, period, and topic;  the discourse hierarchy consisted of lesson, transaction (new topic), exchange (inform, direct, elicit), move, and act;  the grammatical hierarchy consisted of sentence, clause, group, word, and morpheme.  Like Bellack, Sinclair established discourse boundaries where well, right, now, and good framed transactions.  Sinclair's research, based on this model, indicated an asymmetrical teacher/student status where teachers made frequent use of a sequential tripartite framework of teacher elicitation (requiring a verbal response) student response, and teacher evaluation.  Teachers also made significant use of directives, requiring a nonverbal response.

Limited Student Interaction:  Initiation of Turn Taking

In contrast to the previous teacher research focus, Barnes (1969) focused on student participation.  Because Barnes was concerned that question types might constrain rather than provoke student thinking, he categorized teacher reaction to student questions and teacher questions to students (Coulthard 1977, 92).  The results of Barnes' descriptive analysis indicate that students participate too little in classrooms, ask few questions, and typically conform rather than challenge presented

ideas or information. Barnes' research substantiates the pivotal force
of the teacher who dominates interaction and turn taking. Furthermore,
students appear to have lost both linguistic and intellectual initiative
which may be the result of overwhelming teacher input and question types
posed by the teachers that had constrained thinking.

Predictable Interaction: Linguistic/Social Behavior Intertwined

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) provided the closest scrutiny of
complex classroom interaction and further substantiated and documented
the asymmetrical teacher/student classroom interaction. They based
Towards an Analysis of Discourse, text based and hierarchical, on
Sinclair's earlier framework and Halliday's Categories of a Theory of
Grammar (1978). They hierarchically categorized a lesson into
transactions--new topics--where tripartite exchanges--initiate,
response, feedback--occur with lexically specifiable boundaries that
inform, direct, or elicit and use acts of prompting, cueing, and
nominating to encourage student responses. Sinclair and Coulthard used
this system of analysis to chart the text with transactions, teacher/
student moves, and acts marking off the lesson's progression. Their
research indicated predictable and recognizable linguistic regularities
(Willes 1983, 90) with few student initiations. Because their research
indicated that classroom discourse is teacher oriented, Sinclair and
Coulthard maintain that teachers during the course of interaction
provide students with numerous cues for correct answers. Although
students are only picking up on the cues when they answer correctly,
teachers believe that students are thinking and understanding. Because

of the answer cues, Sinclair and Coulthard caution against rigidly organized lessons (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975, 113)--believing that this type of lesson organization is educationally unsound and misleading for teachers and students. Although the authors contend that linguistic and social behavior are intertwined, the text analysis primarily indicates linguistic behavior with social implications of teacher dominance. Because of teacher dominance, Sinclair and Coulthard recommend discourse analysis between students without a teacher's presence to study more accurately the discourse principles that students use. The main contribution of this model is to provide further evidence for the complexity of classroom interaction.

Lessons' Segments Control Interaction: Directives Introduce, Conclude

Whereas Sinclair and Coulthard focused on linguistic and academic perspectives of exchanges/interaction/turn taking within lessons, Mehan (1979) focused on classroom social organization, labeled constitutive ethnography, as the meaning based force behind language production and turn taking. Although Mehan's focus is on social acts that reflect themselves in linguistic form and communicative function, his constitutive ethnography bears out Sinclair and Coulthard's predictable discourse pattern premise. For example, Mehan found that classroom lessons were predictably divided into a three part structure--opening segment, instructional segment, and concluding segment. Within each segment, turn taking principles were sequentially organized into initiation, reply, and evaluation--the basic unit of analysis within which teachers elicited, directed, and informed (using Sinclair and

Coulthard's linguistic guidelines for each). Furthermore, as in _Towards an Analysis of Discourse_, elicitations were the predominant classroom exchange (turn taking) type typically used within the lesson's instructional segment. The lesson's opening and concluding segments used directives and informatives to set forth what was going to be done or had been done throughout the lesson's framework. Because turn taking strategies were different for each lesson segment and matched that segment's purpose--either to introduce, instruct, or conclude, Mehan maintained that language corresponded to segment purpose. So, Mehan contended that it is the classroom social organization--the purpose of each lesson segment--that actually guided the participant interaction rather than the linguistic organization of the interaction. In addition, he stated that linguistic or grammatical form does not realize the meaning or communicative function/intent of the speech act. Because discourse acts or grammatical features are not autonomous but prospective and retrospective, Mehan claims that an analytic classroom discourse model must be reflexive to reflect the teacher action with the subsequent student action or reaction. In accordance with these views, he believes that student participant competence relies on a synthesis of academic and interactional skills. Implications from this research still point towards the teacher dominance in planning the lesson segments and student passivity or compliance with the teacher purposes. Thus, control--both linguistically and socially--lies within the teacher's roles and rights.

Directives in Instruction:  Time of Year and Student Academic Placement

In contrast to Mehan's finding directives only in the introduction and conclusion of lessons, DeStephano, Pepinsky, and Sanders (1982) found directives in the instructional segment of reading instruction. In addition, they found other factors that relate to directive use. First, the time of year appears to be a factor.  In their study the beginning of year instruction used 33.3% directives and 36.5% elicitations with the directive ratio decreasing as the year progressed. Second, the academic reading group placement influenced instructional directive use where teachers employed more directives for the lower level groups than middle or upper level groups. In addition, the directives reflected the instructional materials for lower groups--work sheet based rather than text based as with the other groups.  This study indicates that teachers use or modify directives depending on the time of year and the academic placement of pupils.

Academic Subject Influences Directive Type

Cazden (1979) reports that directive form/type depends upon academic subject being taught.  Florio (1978) indicates that directives that are appropriate for social studies are not necessarily appropriate for arts and crafts.  For example, she found that in crafts classes teachers employ directives in the form of wh- imperatives, Ervin-Tripp's imbedded, to appeal to group solidarity, whereas in social studies teachers use direct/regular imperatives (Ervin-Tripp 1976).  This research implies that the academic subject being taught constrains and influences directive choice.  Variation of directives reflects

qualitative appropriateness conditions which the teaching act conveys (Cazden 1979, 157),

In summary, language as product research, studying the transcribed result of the speech process, indicates that student/teacher asymmetrical roles are classroom social features. Teachers dominate interaction through predictably sequenced talk; students absorb, respond, and rarely ask questions. Subject matter, lesson part (introducing, instructing, concluding), students' academic levels, and instructional factors will influence teachers' directive choice. Analysis of classroom context must include typical student/teacher roles played out in the academic and linguistic organization of classroom lessons.

I have discovered that previous research must be balanced with my own interpretations based on long-term observations, participation, scripting, taping, and student/teacher interviews to understand the use and function of directives in the specialized classroom context where boys and girls enter the classroom speaking many language varieties reflecting divergent ways of life and systems of belief, their cultural heritages. The classroom and school also reflect their culture within teacher directive language, the hidden curriculum of norms, values, and beliefs expressed through classroom interaction and their reflected social relationships.

## What Is a Directive?

Specialized Classroom Context, Participant Roles, and Directives

Only in the classroom can the function of classroom language use by students and teachers be analyzed. Research exists on the nature of classroom discourse (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Kluwin 1977; Heath 1978), the function of classroom language use related to register (Cazden 1979), gender (Brophy and Good 1974), socioeconomic class (Heath 1983), race (Abrahams 1976; Kochman 1981), and academic placement (DeStephano, et al. 1982). However, current research is inadequate because it tends to view teachers and students as types rather than individuals. The classroom is a specialized context where participants have defined rights, roles, duties, and obligations (Labov 1972, 302)-- subject to and affected by teacher/student attitudes. This means, for example, that if I have a language attitude toward you (Naremore 1971; Shuy and Williams 1973), that attitude will influence my perception of you (Brophy and Good 1974) and can determine how I interact with you, what language choices I make and the function of those choices. These attitudes result when students and teachers map their worlds onto and project their voices into the classroom world (Davis 1985).

Out of their personal maps, students and teachers experience the classroom. From their resulting classroom maps, they make predictions about classroom life and anticipate characteristics about fellow teachers or classmates coloring what they see, hear, say, or do which subsequent experiences will then either confirm or deny. As this cycle continues, students and teachers also project themselves into groups

sharing similar experiences and attitudes to form social and
communication networks extending beyond classroom walls and expressing
likes and dislikes. For example, school rules dictate that students may
not wear hats in the classroom. One day Elizabeth, a student known for
her belligerence, appears in class wearing a wide-brimmed straw hat.
The teacher, aware of the student's reputation, directs her to remove
the hat. The student complies but wraps a yellow sweat shirt around her
head, signifying more insubordination from the teacher's viewpoint.
However, is this what the student is trying to communicate? Actually,
the student is trying to cover up a botched hair cut and does not want
anyone to see how horrible her hair looks. The student's experiences
with previous teachers--not just this teacher--cause her to predict that
no matter what she does, any teacher will come down hard on her.
Despite her actions, even though in this instance she prefers not to be
singled out, personal pride becomes the central issue for her, thus the
head wrapping ritual. Both the teacher and the student are mapping
their worlds onto the classroom, maps providing meaning, predictions,
anticipations, and confirmations for both. However, maps are dynamic,
retaining the capacity to change in light of subsequent experiences
(Downs and Stea 1977; Davis 1986a). For instance, as the year
progresses, the relationship between this teacher and student improves
dramatically. The teacher consistently reports that the student is
contributing to class discussions--contributions that are informed and
intelligently thought out. Because the student feels that this teacher
shows her respect, she, in turn, shows the teacher respect. One of the

best means to discover how these map making factors influence language use is to study teacher/student interactions in the classroom with a focus on directives, commands to do (Ervin-Tripp 1976), and the attitudes reflected in the interaction. Directives are the foundation on which teachers build to control classroom behavior (the social aspect of education) and focus classroom instruction (the academic aspect), both making up the classroom culture, the school world.

Research is inadequate in other areas as well. Rarely do researchers brave junior high school classrooms teeming with adolescents. Davis (1985, 1986a) provides a rare example of the type of research needed. Even less frequently do researchers explore if, when, and why teachers direct students differently--directives and interaction reflecting student/teacher maps imposed on the classroom. My study will explore the influence of divergent maps as they express and reflect themselves through teacher directives and subsequent interactions--the patterns they form through their variation. This variation typically expresses itself through markers, differences from classroom norms and mainstream community language. For example, students such as Elizabeth, who fail to acquiesce to teacher authority, generally mark themselves as troublemakers. Elizabeth and the teacher's divergent maps result in Elizabeth's interaction style becoming a marker in the eyes of the teacher. The result is often a communication breakdown.

My study is set in a metropolitan North Carolina junior high school within eighth grade heterogeneous and homogeneous academic classroom groupings. The ways in which the maps or markers of students and

teachers differ will be viewed in terms of socioeconomic class, race, gender, and academic placement. The participants in focus are black females within a heterogeneously grouped social studies and homogeneously grouped remedial/basic language arts and writing lab classes. Students and teachers' authentic language will unapologetically sound to express their world maps and voices to provide scenes of harmony and cacophony. Teacher directives and student actions or reactions are the keys to unlocking the specialized nature of classroom language and culture. As Halliday points out:

> We can think of any social institution from the linguistic point of view, as a communication network. Its very existence implies that communication takes place within it; there will be sharing of experiences, expression of social solidarity, decision making, and planning, and if it is a hierarchical institution, forms of verbal control, transmission of orders and the like. The structure of the institution will be enshrined in the language, in the different types of interaction that takes place and the linguistic registers within them (Halliday 1978, 231-232).

A register is distinctive speech with "systematic language patterning used in a specific situation" (Andersen 1977, 6). However, Halliday (1978) is emphasizing many registers and different types of interaction. Neither teachers nor students project monolithic language and values within the classroom. Students' diverse backgrounds contribute to the classroom's diverse directive language and interaction. These cultural backgrounds with their language varieties may not be compatible with the school's culture and language. However, to succeed in the classroom, students must become proficient in the

school's language and the values that it reflects. Muriel Saville-Troike says:

> We must keep our eye on the fact that in teaching English as a second language, we are not simply teaching an alternate set of labels for the same reality. In teaching a second language we are teaching culturally different patterns of perception, communication, of affect, in short we are teaching a second culture (Saville-Troike 1976, 66).

This point is relevant for all students who do not share the school's language and values. All who come from cultures or socioeconomic classes that do not speak the school's language variety or recognize the school's cultural values may encounter difficulty. They must perceive, organize, and communicate their experiences with a language variety and values which are not their own. Through these difficulties and adjustments, these students contribute to the variation of teacher directives, student hierarchical differences, and subsequent interactions.

Although research fails to indicate the significance of classroom directives in classroom discourse (exchanges between teachers and students longer than one sentence), classroom language research confirms the existence of classroom hierarchy. Teachers typically talk as much as two-thirds of the time (Flanders 1963), control the participation and interaction within the classroom, and maintain the authority to determine who talks and when the subject under discussion is changed (Heath 1978). Both the amount of teacher talk and the teacher role to determine who will participate indicate the classroom's specialized context and communication network. Because of this specialized context

and because teacher directives are linguistic means to control student participation and interaction and to focus instruction, the forms that directives can take are crucial considerations to establish the significance of directives in classroom discourse and to explore why or why not, with whom and when teachers direct individual or groups of students differently.

## Syntax and Directives

Directives, speech acts that function to directly or indirectly control or command, can take many syntactic forms. Ervin-Tripp (1976) categorizes directives into need statements, imperatives, questions, permissions, and hints. A first grade teacher's directive, "Are your eyeballs open?" from my unpublished 1981 research demonstrates these categories well:

Need statement:   I want you to open your eyeballs.

Imperatives:      Regular:      Open your eyeballs.

                  Elliptical:   Eyeballs, open?

                  Imbedded:     Would you open your eyeballs?

Permission:       May I ask you to open your eyeballs?

Question:         Did you want your eyeballs open?

                  Your eyeballs are open, aren't they?

Hint:             Are your eyeballs open?

In my research, I have found numerous examples of these forms. In addition, although historically and semantically need to implies obligation, teachers employ the directive you need.... not as a need statement but as an imperative. For example, "Berry, you need to hear

that in case I ask it on a test," (student appeared to be asleep); "John, you need to listen,"; "Mary, you need to make sure you're paying attention." The syntax would seem to indicate that these are need statements; however, the surface NP (noun phrase) subject you without indication of I NP indicates the imperative mode. In addition, the context makes clear that they are imperatives. In every case, the students were failing to conform to social or academic expectations and thus were being forcefully directed.

Although permissions are generally absent from the data except from directive office announcements, "May I have your attention, please?," questions present a controversial area. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) distinguish directives from elicitations according to the response required. Directives require a nonverbal response, whereas elicitations require a verbal response. This distinction is inadequate. Within the classroom context, the teacher and students are in asymmetrical relationships (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) with the teacher's assuming the superior's role, and the student's the subordinate. Thus, the teacher's role in the classroom context places an obligation upon students to answer, what Esther N. Goody calls the control mode of questioning (Goody 1978, 30-32). These types of questions, strongly institutionalized, are used between a superior and a subordinate. The institutionalized classroom context and asymmetrical student/teacher roles provide the context in which teachers may not only request an answer but demand, even interrogate for, an answer. My research indicates that directives may require both a verbal and nonverbal

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response. In addition, not all questions are truly questions. Some questions are commands.

Sinclair and Coulthard (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Kluwin 1977, 19) offer syntactic and lexical guidelines, all of which the interrogative must meet, in interpreting an interrogative as a command. The requirements are:  modals, _can_, _could_, _will_, _would_, and _going to_; subject of the clause is also the addressee;  predicate describes an action physically possible at the time.  These requirements are inadequate because they fail to take into account other verbal and nonverbal factors which may influence an interrogative's being used as a directive.  Consider this example from data where underlining indicates emphasis in tone of voice:

Teacher: "Katie, do you want to add something to that, please?"

Katie:   "No, I don't."

Teacher: "I think you do."

Katie:   "No, I don't."

Teacher: "Perhaps you'll think of it; think about slavery. Where'd they get slaves?  Who were the slaves?"

Katie:   "Settlers."

Teacher: "Settlers were the slaves?" (Boy behind Katie laughs.)

Katie:   (to boy) "You shut up."

Teacher: "Katie, I'm up here."

Katie:   "I know where you at."

Teacher: "Then answer me; look at me. Paul was trying to help
you out; I'd like you to restate it now."

Katie:   "Indians."

The initiating question is not a question, but a directive. When the
student responds as if the question were only a question, the teacher
humorously, with intonation, pushes to let the student know that she
must answer. As the exchange continues, the teacher provides a coda in,
"Then answer me; look at me." "Answer me," relates to the student's
obligation to add something verbally; the "look at me" relates to the
fact that the student refuses to make eye contact with the teacher, a
nonverbal response. Although some of Sinclair and Coulthard's criteria
are met in terms of subject of the clause also being the addressee and
the response or action being possible at that time, the modal does not
meet the criteria. However, the directive question conforms to what
Florio (1978, 132) contrasts as true interrogative and teacher
interrogative. A true interrogative occurs when the teacher does not
know the answer to the question, whereas in a teacher interrogative the
teacher does know the answer and uses the question to obtain an answer
and to control or to censure behavior.

Many researchers (Kluwin 1977; Mehan 1979; DeStephano, et al.
1982; Ochs and Schieffelin 1983) use Sinclair and Coulthard's
designations for directives. Because they adhere to these guidelines,
researchers typically indicate that questions are the predominant
classroom syntactic form (Kluwin 1977, 19) and that teacher elicitations
from students, requiring a verbal response, are the dominant exchange

type. However, because of the specialized nature of the classroom context, further analysis might indicate, as in the previous example of a classroom exchange, that question forms typically serve as directives, demanding either a verbal or nonverbal response from students.

In addition to questions, statements introduce another syntactic form subject to interpretation. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) offer criteria for determining if statements are commands. These criteria are: (1.) does the statement make reference to an action which may normally be prescribed; and (2.) if the action ought to be carried out, the mention of that action may serve as a directive (Kluwin 1977, 19). Although these criteria do appear logically adequate, many statements in classroom language fail to meet these criteria. Consider this example:

"The game's over, Jim."

The surface string fails to meet the criteria, and only background contextual and speaker-addressee knowledge can explain why this statement is actually a directive. The teacher is also the football coach, the student, a football player. The team lost its game the day before. The student, despondent over the loss, is not paying attention in class. The teacher/coach is telling him to put the game behind him and pay attention in class. The explanation and the underlying meaning of the statement do match Sinclair and Coulthard's criteria because social and academic expectations for students do require that they pay attention in class. However, the "pay attention" is not directly mentioned in the surface string. Other such statements, recorded in classroom observations, also match the criteria when the behind the

scenes' meanings, or underlying meanings (in parentheses), are understood as in the following directives.

Teacher: "You're going to be next."(Pay attention.)

Teacher: "I'm up here." (Look at me rather than where you're looking.)

Teacher: "Vicente, there's a test going on." (Be quiet.)

Teacher: "Someone's being rude--I am still waiting." (Be quiet.)

Teacher: "Ok, I'm not going to say this but once." (Listen carefully.)

Teacher: "I can't hear you; somebody else is talking." (Somebody else--talker--be quiet.)

Teacher: "It's not in your book; it's right between your ears." (Think.)

Teacher: "I don't see everybody's book opened." (Open your books.)

The criteria for determining if statements are directives must be expanded to incorporate the contextual and speaker/addressee factors which inform and explain the surface string's referential meaning--what it actually means, rather than what it says. Although syntax may be a clue to determining a directive, syntax cannot be the sole criterion used to define or specify a directive. The meaning encapsulated in and alluded to by the syntax may more accurately define the directive function whether directly or indirectly stated in the surface string.

Semantics, Cultural Differences, and Indirect Directives

Research indicates that students may have difficulty interpreting the meaning of directives if those directives' meanings are not spelled out in the surface string (Heath 1978; Cazden 1979; Ervin-Tripp 1982). Such directives are labeled indirect or inexplicit directives. Because

indirect or inexplicit directives' referential meanings may be outside

the students' cultural experiences, Heath (1978, 1983) points out that

students outside the mainstream school culture typically experience

difficulty when they must infer the directive's meaning. Consider this

teacher directive paragraph to a writing lab class about the importance

of journal writing to final grade outcome and students' responses:

> Teacher:  "This is the beginning of second quarter. After sixth
> period today, you will be getting your grade cards.
> Those of you, I have no idea what your grade will be.
> But if you would happen to have an $\underline{F}$ in language arts,
> you have another quarter to bring it up, which means you
> have until about the second week of January. The
> journal you have is part of your grade. Those of you
> who write every day and write nearly an entire page will
> end up with a 95% for your journals. Those of you who
> choose not to will have difficulty getting through your
> writing class. This is a part of your grade...if you
> decide to write the ABC's this nine weeks or you want to
> write your numbers 1 to 2000; that will be a zero for
> the day."
>
> Student 1:  "You said--we're writing...."
>
> Teacher:  "This is the second quarter; you are perfectly capable
> to write sentences."
>
> Student 2:  "What'd you say?"
>
> Teacher:  "Journal writing is a part of your grade."

The teacher is obviously trying to explain the importance of following

journal writing rules to improve grades and to meet academic

expectations. Furthermore, she is attempting to define writing as it

relates to journal entries. However clear the directive is to the

speaker/teacher, that clarity is not communicated to Student 1 who still

maintains that students are writing. Also, Student 2 is in a quandary

as to the directives' meaning. The teacher attempts to reclarify in the

coda, "Journal writing is a part of your grade." Interestingly, as the year progresses, the teacher ultimately has to specify that students must write a minimum of eleven lines per journal entry. Although teacher indirectness, as in this example, may indeed cloud referential meaning, miscommunication reflects wider cultural issues, divergent cultural norms. The teacher's attitudes and academic expectations fail to mesh with the students' understanding of what defines writing or how that definition concretely relates to the final grade. Heath (1983) reports similar problems when school and student cultural literacy definitions fail to coincide. In Heath's study, the inabilities of students (outside mainstream culture) or teachers (inside mainstream culture) to mitigate or transcend cultural differences result in ultimate student failure.

If indirect directives are difficult for students to interpret and can lead to miscommunication, why do teachers employ indirect language? Heath (1978) believes that teachers often employ indirect directives because they serve as a coping technique for teachers who are outside students' immediate family and must maintain control, having caregiver status (Cazden 1979, 152). Because teachers are outsiders, Cazden (1979) and Ervin-Tripp (1982) explore politeness factors that enable teachers to cope with and control students. For instance, when requests are being made of others, the requester often includes lexical items such as let's or we to indicate co-membership (Brown and Levinson 1978, 62) and to avoid face threatening acts towards the requestee--in other words to be polite to the student. Although adults typically find

explicit directives socially rude and choose indirect forms in an
attempt to be polite, Ervin-Tripp cautions that teachers must realize
that different social and ethnic groups employ different linguistic
means to maintain and communicate social control (Ervin-Tripp 1982, 44).

Other research supports the premise that cultural differences may
cloud communication rather than directness or indirectness. Payne
(1970) found that Amish teachers employed direct language with their
Amish students, language that teachers and students interpreted as
"sensible suggestions" (McDermott in Cazden 1979, 152-3). Although
Ervin-Tripp (1982) maintains that it is linguistic explicitness--rather
than inexplicit politeness--that fosters successful classroom
communication (1982, 46), Payne's research and McDermott's
interpretation indicate that teacher/student cultural co-membership
fosters communication, not rudeness, in spite of the language's
directness. Even though politeness and rudeness are universals,
different cultures employ different linguistic/communicative
characteristics to express them. Indeed, these labels--politeness and
rudeness--only serve as classroom euphemisms for differences in how to
communicate politeness and rudeness when cultures do not share the same
verbal or nonverbal means to express them.

### Paralinguistic Factors and Directives

Research indicates that paralinguistic features, such as tone of
voice, contribute to effective or ineffective communication of directive
meaning. These paralinguistic variables are analogous to punctuation,
capitalization, italicizing, and paragraphing in written text and must

be included in spoken text analysis (Brown and Yule 1983, 10).
Kashinsky and Weiner (1969) empirically documented that tone of voice
affects students' carrying out directive functions as a result of
divergent home/cultural backgrounds.  For example, young lower
socioeconomic class children responded differently to different command
tones--with a neutral tone's being the least effective, a positive being
the most (1969, 201).  Tone of voice communicates rudeness, sarcasm, or
politeness far more efficiently than does syntax.  A directive spoken in
jest may control/direct either social or academic behavior in a far less
threatening manner than a directive spoken harshly.  For example, in one
observation, a teacher spotted a student not paying attention and
playing with an inoperative fan.  The teacher directive to halt this
inattentive behavior was, "If you don't leave that fan alone, I'm going
to plug it in and feed you in head first." The student stopped, not
angry but amused.

In addition to tone of voice, pitch as well as loudness and
softness of the teacher's voice is a clue to directive intent.  Andersen
(1977) and Heath (1978) found that elementary grade teachers tend to
employ a higher pitch, more exaggerated intonation, more pronounced
enunciation in short sentences containing frequent repetitions (Cazden
1979, 145).  Heath (1978) also found these features present in remedial
secondary settings.  These features suggest talking-down to students--
reflecting teacher attitudes about students' abilities to comprehend.
Student gender and interaction style may also prompt loudness in
directives.  Servin, O'Learn, and Tonick (1973) found that in addition

to boys receiving more reprimands, these reprimands were significantly louder. Because these features may override either surface string meaning or syntax to communicate directive's communicative intent, teachers' tone, pitch, and loudness of voice--through difficult to document--must be analytic considerations. They make it possible to understand when a directive has been issued and how these features indicate obligations or neglected duties for the participants in the classroom context.

## Lexical Items and Directives

Lexical items, or choice of words, communicate meaning and signify classroom obligations and duties. Because of the teacher lexicon, Labov (1976) suggests that teachers introduce moral questions into the classroom context and attribute morality or moral allegiance based on student responses. For example, teachers maintain control through the use of present tense verbs that preclude student hypothesizing (Heath 1978, 7). In addition, the modals can, could, will, would, may, or might indicate that the teacher expects a compliant student attitude and indicates how students should interact with the group (Heath 1978). Furthermore, shall or should historically have suggested obligation or duty. Since these examples signify the teacher's assertive role, teachers also use tag questions to mitigate these assertions (Heath 1978, 14) as well as passive and past tense verbs, conditionals, vocatives, and please (Ervin-Tripp 1982, 38-9). Thus, the teachers' choice of lexical items further defines the teachers' authority and role as contrasted with student role in the specialized classroom context.

Nonverbal Features and Directives

Ervin-Tripp (1976, 1982) includes physical distance and territory
as social marking factors in directive choice. Servin, O'Leary, and
Tonick (1973) found that girls, but not boys, received more teacher
attention when they were closer to the teacher. The implication is that
student gender and proximity (student seating) to the teacher may be
interaction factors. However, actual observation and participation in
the classroom suggest that this seating may reflect other factors. For
instance, research typically will indicate that the better students will
sit near the front. In contrast, I find that just the opposite may be
true. The students who are consistently not following either social or
academic expectations may be sitting in the front row. The students who
do comply with expectations may be sitting further back in the room.
Determining the social factor of classroom seating is complicated by
student social and academic compliance and teacher attitudes about what
this compliance should include.

In addition to physical proximity, other nonverbal factors
contribute to teacher directive choice. Cultural differences for eye
contact decorum are well documented (Abrahams 1976). Reference has
already been made in the syntax section to a black female student's
failure to make eye contact with the teacher, "Look at me; answer me."
In contrast to Anglo-American insistence on direct eye contact, black,
Native American, and Southeast Asian students believe that direct eye
contact is rude and serves as an affront to the speaker/teacher.
However, teachers typically construe indirect eye contact as a sign of

untruthful, disrespectful, or rude students. Actually, the opposite is true. When these students do make direct eye contact with the teacher, they are actually being rude, a prelude to belligerence and hostility. Divergent cultural definitions specify and define which nonverbal factors are polite and which are rude.

### Contextualization and Contrastive Cultural Analysis

In interpreting, recognizing, and defining directives, I find that Gumperz' contextualization (Gumperz 1977; Florio 1978, 142-44; Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz 1982, 22) and Heath's comparisons/contrasts between students' cultural backgrounds and classroom culture (Heath 1983) provide helpful guidelines. In contextualization, all cues of the actual exchange are taken into account, syntactic features, semantic or referential meaning, paralinguistic, lexical items, and nonverbal kinesthetic characteristics "to form a single unit for interpretation" (Cook-Gumperz 1975, 151) to explain "conversational inferencing and interpreting" (Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz 1982, 22). This expands the concept of speech event, communicative routines with specific rules for verbal and nonverbal behavior (Traugott and Pratt 1980, 241-2), and context. Moreover, my research indicates that it also helps to explain directive production through analysis of verbal, paralinguistic, and nonverbal factors involved in directing different students. In addition, by following Heath's pursuit of classroom culture, I have discovered that the classroom's values, beliefs, and norms manifest themselves in the social and academic meanings expressed through directives. Both contextualization and cultural assessment, compatible

with Labov's rules for analyzing discourse (Labov 1972, 298-304), link language, actions performed, roles, rights, duties, and obligations to discover classroom social and academic rules. By using all communicative features (linguistic, paralinguistic, and nonverbal) as a single unit, I have a tool to interpret the communicative intent of teacher talk and to analyze classroom culture. All elements of the exchange must be assessed and evaluated to understand the referential meaning encapsulated in and alluded to by the surface string.

In summary, my research indicates that directives are direct or indirect commands to do using any syntactic form to express that command. Directives may require either a verbal or nonverbal response. Thus, the classroom indicates participant roles through all communicative features of speech events, features that serve as social and cultural markers to determine why teachers direct students differently and students respond differently. The regularity by which teachers direct different students serves to indicate classroom trends. Student and teacher cultural identities must be both compared and contrasted to assess when, why, and to whom teachers issue directives to focus instruction and to control behavior and why students respond as they do to the authority inherent in directives.

## Language as Process: Interactive Model of Language

Dialectic Between Meaning's Internal Concept and External Representation

Historically, language study has attempted to determine how listeners arrive at the speaker's intended meaning or how speakers couch that intended meaning to be understood by the listener. Typically,

issues have centered on meaning as dialectic between what language users conceptualize internally and what effects external contexts have on determining what to say, how to say, and when to say it. This dualism is traceable to Saussure (Davis 1986b). Consider this exchange:

Teacher: "Anybody else have signed tests? Ann be quiet."

Ann: "Huh?"

Teacher: "Be quiet."

Ann: "I ain't talking. My lips were moving--just going like this. I ain't talking."

Teacher: "You want to talk. Then that noise coming out of your mouth wasn't talk. I understand completely."

Ann: (laughs)

This exchange illustrates a cultural difference in defining talk. The teacher is white female, the student, black. Roger Abrahams (1976, 7) reports on a similar situation where a white teacher told a black male who also contended that he was not talking to be quiet. In my example and Abrahams' example, both teachers and students had different maps on the concept of what defines talking. From the students' views, the fact that they did not initiate speech with another and did not have a listener meant that they were not talking. These differences are analogous to Abrahams' world view, the internal representation of what constitutes talking or speaking. Externally, this internal representation of meaning is linguistically expressed by teachers and students as they interact and subsequently misinterpret internal norms. Hymes (1972b) addresses these relational factors between the internal norms and the external speech acts within the ethnography of speaking

model. Both Abrahams and Hymes emphasize that language is a part of a total "expressive system not merely a linguistic system" (Abrahams 1976, 7). When students and teachers do not share similar maps encompassing their linguistic and expressive systems, communication rules mismatch and result in miscommunication.

## Mapping and Maps

Maps, grounded in Saussure, embrace both the internal representation and external reconstruction of meaning (Davis 1986b). Maps metaphorically approach language and interaction from factors outside the text and inside or within the individual participants' experiences. Thus, maps are both a process (the unseen) and a product (the seen). Mapping is a process by which individuals gather, organize, store, recall, and manipulate information--a patterned way of experiencing one's world--spawning attitudes, perceptions, expectations, and language production and interpretation. Also, the map is the product emerging from these experiences--the representation of the experiences. In addition, both mapping and maps are subject to change because of subsequent development, learning, experiences, and social associations. Finally, maps are learned but rarely taught (Downs and Stea 1977, 1-27). As the previous language as product research emphasizes language's observable characteristics within patterns of regularities, the language as an interactive process emphasizes unobservable factors that contribute to variation in language production and interpretation.

Other metaphors, analogous to maps, are offered to explain how individuals mentally structure and use experience as background knowledge to produce and interpret discourse, interactional segments longer than one sentence. Among these are frames (Minsky 1975), plans (Sussman 1973), scripts (Shank and Abelson 1977), scenarios (Sanford and Garrod 1981), and schemata (Bartlett 1932; Rumelhart 1975; Thorndyke 1977; Andersen 1977). Schemata (Bartlett 1932; Tannen 1979; Anderson, et al. 1977) offers a particularly flexible approach to understanding the interaction between background knowledge and discourse production and interpretation either through strong or weak views (Brown and Yule 1983). The strong view posits that world knowledge will determine in a fixed, inflexible way how individuals produce and interpret discourse. In contrast, the weak view posits that world knowledge serves a predictive function (Brown and Yule 1983, 248). Tannen (1979), an advocate of the weaker view, refers to schemata as "structures of expectation" (Tannen 1979, 138), a constructive and interactive rather than a replicative process, allowing schemata to change and develop. Individuals abstract information from a newly encountered experience, relate this information to previous knowledge and experience, construct a mental facsimile to interpret what they see and hear (Brown and Yule 1983, 249) and then determine what to say or how to respond. In the same way, students and teachers use past experiences, from home and classrooms, to interpret what they see and hear the other saying and doing as indicated in Bartlett's statement.

Schema give structure to organized mass of events and experiences...and remain active and developing (Bartlett 1932, 201).

Tannen's (1979) weak view of schemata is akin to maps. Davis (1985, 1986a,b) and Heath's (1983) idea of maps and markers more effectively ties in language knowledge and use. Maps reflect more fully the Saussurean ideas of la langue and la parole. Maps and markers provide avenues for a focus on specific linguistic factors in the classroom and discourse.

Polymorphous Nature of Language: Linguistic Styles

Research indicates that maps and mapping exert a powerful influence on how individuals interpret discourse (DeBeaugrande 1980, 168) and produce discourse (Tannen 1980). Language as process and product research--incorporating culture, linguistic, paralinguistic, and nonverbal features of discourse--indicates that students and teachers are not generic faceless individuals. They respond differently in different situations. Their behavior and interaction styles shift and change from class to class (Cook-Gumperz 1975, 159). Thus, language is polymorphous (Hymes 1972a, xxii), meaning that language has many purposes, styles, and functions from which individuals may choose to express meaning. For example, Joos (1961) in The Five Clocks indicates that a speaker's repertoire includes numerous styles to suit various speech events in diverse contexts. Consider these exchanges from the same students in two separate classes. They are utilizing different styles running a continuum from more formal (addressing academic classroom expectations in the first example, the female chorus) to

informal (violating social and academic classroom expectations in the second example).

Example 1:

Teacher:    "Ok, yesterday, I told you we were going to have this
            chart, and I wanted you to keep it going as we went along.
            This is basically what we just talked about, these two
            things.  Now, we're going on to the third one, the
            Woodland Period."

Female chorus:

#1:         "Do you want us to write this down?"

#2:         "We supposed to take notes?"

#3:         "We have to get this down?"

Teacher:    "I said yesterday it would be a good idea so you can
            compare...."

Example 2:

Teacher:    "Vicente?" (Class laughs.)

            "Ann?"

#1:         "Same as John, hasn't even got one." (Class howls.)

Teacher:    "Katie?"

Ann:        "What?  Uh, uh--not the same as John--Mine's in my
            locker."

Teacher:    "Anybody else have one?"

Katie:      "Mr. Hernan, can I bring it back Monday?"

Teacher:    "No."

Katie:      "You won't get it at all then."

Teacher:    "Well, I'm afraid that's probably true."

Ann:        (harsh tone) "You supposed to let people turn in late
            work--yes, you do."

Student:    "Are you sure?"

Teacher: "Ann!"

Ann: "I know about the school rules--I read that little blue book." (school handbook)

Teacher: "You don't have any work at all to turn in, when you turn it in, but you never turn it in."

Ann: (harshness and anger) "I don't have to turn it in."

Teacher: "When you have it. Ok."

Students in the first example are from a heterogeneously grouped class; the second example, a homogeneously grouped remedial class. In the remedial class, the students feel freer to express their belligerence, counting on student support. The teacher, expecting trouble, responds with harshness and insistence on keeping absolute control because he or she fears loss of control. Brophy and Good (1974) refer to this as the cyclic rather than cause and effect factors that affect student/teacher relationships. Attitude colors perception, affects reactions and interactions, and expectations. Evidence from teacher interviews and classroom observations indicates that the greater the disparity between school required standard English and social/academic expectations and the students' language varieties and culture, the greater the likelihood that teacher language attitudes will be negative. This may be the most predictable factor in classroom language use and function.

Teachers also use stylistic variation to communicate different meanings within the teacher register. Ervin-Tripp (1973, 268) states that language study in "natural settings" continually indicates speakers systematically vary their speech depending on the person being

addressed, the speech event, and the discussion topic. This systematic

variation communicates social meaning and relationships--and in school

certain social and academic meanings. So, the teacher does not use the

register the same way with all students. Sequence, interaction, and

turn taking typically depend on a context wider in scope than discourse

as product analysis trends indicate. For example, teacher language

attitudes, the teachers' association of cultural stereotypes with

student language patterns, correspond to variations of social status,

race, and sex (Naremore 1971; Shuy and Williams 1973; Brophy and Good

1974). Further, they predict what teachers will expect of students in

terms of personality characteristics and academic achievement.

Student/Teacher Style Variation: Language Attitude Based

Fasold (1984, 174) states that an attitude is "considered as an

internal state aroused by some stimulation of some type which may

mediate the organism's subsequent response." Language attitudes, a part

of maps and mapping, figure prominently in my research. Teacher

interviews and listening to teachers' talk with each other (the teacher

communication network) disclose that these attitudes play an eminent

role in teacher perception of students and interaction with students.

These attitudes will cause teachers to change the content of questions

(which in the classroom characteristically can function as directives)

they ask and thus the cognitive input the student receives. For

instance, one teacher typically asks "academically lower level students"

literal recall questions so that they will achieve success, a worthy

goal. Unfortunately, this provides them with different cognitive input

(Berko-Gleason and Greif 1983) than other students who get higher level questions. Soon students readily can predict which questions are "their questions" and then tune out other questions. However, all students are tested on comprehension levels higher than recall, thus assuring final failure of these students. Teacher attitudes about academic placement can influence linguistic production, interpretation of student response, and subsequent interaction.

Socioeconomic Class, Academic Placement, Race: Cognitive Input

Research indicates that socioeconomic class, academic placement, and race can affect instruction and student/teacher interaction. Jean Anyon (1980), explaining that there are language and work differences for students from differing socioeconomic classes, addresses teacher imposed cognitive requirements, the cultural capital students receive from instruction. Her research indicates that in working class schools, teachers require mechanistic, fragmented, rote operations; in the middle class school, answering correctly at a recall level; in the affluent professional school, applying creativity and expressing and applying ideas; in the elite school, using analytic thought. DeStephano, Pepinsky, and Sanders indicate that students in the least advanced reading group received instruction through directives more than any other reading group throughout the study because their instruction was different from the other groups, work sheets and flash card based rather than text centered. Additionally, they confirm that students interact differently with teachers. The student from main stream culture initiated more interaction with the teacher than did the black

student who by the last data collection period initiated no exchanges with the teacher (DeStephano, et al. 1982, 112). Green and Harker (1982, 214) also confirm that students in different classes "are faced with varying demands for participation and learning" because teachers carry out instructional goals differently. So students' socioeconomic class, academic placement, and race may contribute to the already wide differences between students through language attitudes that spawn differences in cognitive input from teacher questions and classroom instructional practices.

### Different Social Input

In addition to different cognitive input, certain students also receive different social input through directives. Consider this example:

> The class and teacher are beginning to focus their attention to the board and the week's vocabulary words when suddenly:
>
> Margaret, S1:  "Mary, don't axt me no question, now!"
>
> Class and teacher maintain silence, punctuated by nervous giggles and the teacher's moving from the board to the side of the room next to S1, while looking at S2, Mary.
>
> Teacher:  "Mary!"
>
> Mary, S2:  "Why you lookin' at me...?" (Voice trails off, inaudible; teacher interrupts.)
>
> Teacher:  "I tell you you're sticking your nose in somebody else's business."
>
> Mary, S2:  "I axt someone a question, that's all. You have to look at me like that?" (trails off)
>
> Class laughs.

Teacher:        "You can spend a month with me [reference to sharing either bus duty or spending lunch time with him], starting tomorrow if you wish."

Mary, S2:       "No, I don't!"

The teacher focused the censure on Mary, S2, through directives and never looked at or censured Margaret, S1, for yelling belligerently. After class I asked the teacher why he singled out only Mary and never Margaret. He responded that Mary was being nosy about Margaret and that he didn't blame Margaret. Interestingly, Margaret is a "boss" within the chain of authority among students; Mary is accepted by the students, but her position in the chain of student hierarchy is less certain. The teacher's attitude about her nosiness and flighty talkativeness very obviously affects his perception of the situation and the ensuing interaction and censure.

Attitude, analogous to maps and mapping, colors perception, affects reactions and interactions, and expectations. However, as the examples illustrate, students are also a part of this prophetic cyclic ritual of attitude, perception, and expectation because their interaction styles shift and change from class to class, teacher to teacher (Cook-Gumperz 1975, 159). Students and teachers vary their styles from class to class and student to student. Just as teachers have communication networks, students also have communication networks with "bosses" and others. Their networks also feed information to them about teacher characteristics: what to watch out for with certain teachers, and which teachers to get for student respect. So, communication networks can establish or reinforce student/teacher attitudes, perceptions, and

expectations about the other. Sometimes it appears that students and teachers are intent on fulfilling the prophecies of the other. One gets what one expects; the cycle continues.

Halliday believes that student/teacher cyclic variation indicates social meaning (Halliday 1978, 34). Because students and teachers represent various cultures, socioeconomic classes, and genders, classrooms are not uniform speech communities (Hymes 1972a, xxxix). Classrooms are subject to sociocultural constraints serving as communication templates. Therefore, the language of the classroom speech community is not uniform. Culture, gender, and age factors may indicate why this variation occurs and the social meaning communicated through the variation.

<div align="center">Culture</div>

Public school classrooms are not uniform speech communities. As students learn their language, they learn their roles in life. Since students learn language through home/community--not school--classroom research takes cultural norms into account (Heath 1983, 11). These patterns--language, culture, and socialization--serve as the basis for maps and mapping with their accompanying attitudes, perceptions, expectations, and meanings. For example, Kochman (1981, 17) assigned a classroom exercise requiring students to shop in an exclusive department store to observe language. However, language alone could not account for different student attitudes toward clerks' attentiveness to them while they were in the store. Afterwards, black and Puerto Rican students interpreted this attentiveness to be shoplifting prevention--

personally directed toward them. In contrast, middle class white students interpreted this attentiveness as further evidence of the store's exclusiveness. Because students had different cultural experiences, their interpretations differed reflecting the use of background knowledge along with the context--exclusive store with clerks at their elbow--to decide what this attentive behavior represented. So, individuals employ background knowledge as a predictive mechanism to interpret what language and nonverbal features communicate. Tannen (1980) offers evidence that different ethnic backgrounds "result in different schemata for the description of witnessed events" (Brown and Yule, 248), a premise supported and indicated by Kochman's students' interpretation and description of sales clerks' attentiveness.

### Ethnicity and Race

Students' school fluency is affected by ethnic speaking language backgrounds (Loban 1976). In Loban's longitudinal study of students' oral language, grades kindergarten through twelve, teachers rated students' oral language. Ethnic minorities, the least favored by teachers (1976, 85), ranked lower by four to five years than their higher socioeconomic class counterparts in the average number of words spoken per communication unit (Loban 1976, 28). Loban attributes the ethnic students' teacher ratings and their fluency results to their lower socioeconomic class rather than their ethnicity, although apparent dialect differences were factors (Loban 1976, 23). However, Loban does indicate that students may not be as verbally deficient as these conclusions indicate because students may typically alter their school

speech (Loban 1976, 19), language alteration that Labov attributes to asymmetrical teacher/student roles producing student monosyllabic behavior which is not indicative of students' verbal repertoire (Labov 1969, 6-23, 1972, 1973).  Loban believes that these rankings and ratings are societally based biases rather than teacher based language bias (Loban 1976, 89).

Although ethnicity is not snyonymous with race, ethnicity can include race.  As illustrated by Loban's study, language attitude studies historically have demonstrated that non-standard English speakers' dialects can arouse pejorative attitudes and predict teacher expectations for students.  Naremore (1971), for instance, reports that although some teachers rated higher socioeconomic class students of both races above lower socioeconomic students, more inner city white teachers rated white students above black students (Naremore 1971, 23). Naremore's conclusions lend credence to Labov's research citing dialect differences to be the major cause of reading failure:

> The major causes of reading failure are political and cultural
> conflicts in the classroom, and dialect differences are
> important because they are symbols of this conflict.  (Labov,
> 1972, xiv).

Schools typically fuel this conflict when they advocate Bernstein, Bereiter, and Engleman's deficit language theory by attempting to restructure black students' language through speech therapy, remediation, and academic grouping.  Despite this advocacy, Labov's studies demonstrate that speakers of non-standard varieties are not deficient verbally, grammatically, or logically (Labov 1969, 6-23).

More recent research continues to study if dialect variation
interferes with student success or failure in schools. Lucas' (1985)
research indicates that classroom dialect diversity does not interfere
with classroom interaction because students' sociolinguistic
sophistication and awareness allow them to choose situationally
appropriate language. In contrast, Labov's (1984) research indicates
that the language gap between blacks and whites is widening because of
blacks' racial isolation from main stream culture. Labov believes that
this gap decreases black students' chances for classroom success. This
warning has historical precedence because poorer children have failed in
public schools with a greater frequency than higher socioeconomic class
children (Greer 1973, 84; Heath 1983). Perhaps the most difficult
problem that this failure engenders is the school's rejection of the
students' language. Hymes believes that to reject a student's language
is to reject the student (Hymes 1972a, xxxiii) along with the language.

## Black English

Research in black English indicates that this language variety has
a legitimate grammar within the larger American English grammar (Labov
1972, 64). Black English varies predictably and systematically from
standard classroom English. Theories to explain the black English
variation are wide ranging. Some trace the variation and differences to
African origins and point to similarities with creole languages. Others
point to decreolization--the moving away from African origins to English
--often revealed through hypercorrection, overgeneralization of standard
English rules. Regardless of the sources of differences, Whatley says

that fluctuation is black English's most prominent characteristic,
variation that is more pronounced than in other American English
language varieties (Whatley 1981, 103) on many language levels.

First, on the phonological level, sound differences sometimes occur
in the pronunciation of consonants. For example, some black speakers
say axt rather than ask. This black phonological realization represents
a white English metathesis--sound reversal of adjoining sounds. The x
represents the /ks/ consonant cluster sounds. This pronunciation
marker, a difference from the community norm of pronunciation, draws
attention to the black speaker to prompt negative attitudes and to erect
communication barriers. In addition, paralinguistic features for black
English often differ from other American English language varieties.
These differences, including more pitch changes, using different stress
and juncture, give black English a more pronounced rhythmic pattern
(Abrahams 1976, 19). Additional phonological differences include
loudness. Many whites perceive black speakers to be louder than white
speakers (Kochman 1981). These phonological markers not only may
complicate communication but also may draw attention to these
differences.

On the second and third levels--syntax and semantics, black
speakers may fluctuate in tense marking and may use signicantly
different markers of aspect, a semantic/syntactic means to characterize
the nature of the action. The aspectual features express ongoing or
continuing acts, a point in time of the act, repetition of similar acts
through time as well as the expression of general truths, warmth of

feeling, or criticism of the action associated with the verb (Curme 1925, 56-8 and 290-94). Both tense and aspect interact to express meaning.

Tense in all English varieties divides into past and non-past. Semantically, these two divisions indicate time. The non-past (the present, future, and permanent) represents the "now"--the actual time of speaking in tandem with the event, person, or place being spoken about. In contrast, past represents the "then"--the event, person, or place being spoken about--occurring prior to the actual time of the speaking (Feagin 1979, 80). In English, inflectional morphemes, -s for non-past and -ed for past, mark the tenses and occur with finite verbs. Nonfinite verbs, infinitives, typically occur without these tense markers. Because of this marking system, tenses are typically determined through the morphemic markers with few expectations of finding these markers occurring with nonfinite verbs. However, because black speakers often do not mark finite verbs for past with the -ed or the non-past with -s, tense marking in black English is typically difficult to determine. Research indicates much variation when marking either tense.

Syntactic and semantic variation typically involves the verb be. Characteristic patterns of black use of be that are uncharacteristic for white use of be contribute to communication barriers between black students and white teachers/students. Black use divides into unconjugated be and invariant be sometimes also called habitual or distributive be. Unconjugated be occurs wherever white speakers may

have used $\underline{is}$, $\underline{am}$, or $\underline{are}$ without changing the sentence's meaning or may have used $\underline{will}/\underline{would\ be}$ to express future time ($\underline{will}/\underline{would}$ deletions). Invariant $\underline{be}$ functions to express actions repeated or incompleted through time. Or it may function to express completed actions covering a specific span of time at some point in time. These functions, involving aspect, are called $\underline{be}_2$ (Bailey and Bassett 1986) often claimed to be the exclusive black non-standard language feature distinguishing white from black speech (Dillard 1972a;  Fasold 1969;  Wolfram 1974;  Dunlap 1974). Because of its racially exclusive use, Mitchell-Kernan says that this $\underline{be}_2$ "may be among the more salient mistakes noted" in black speech (1971, 35).

Pragmatics, the interaction rules to which speakers and listeners subscribe, constitute the fourth level of language. Classroom research indicates that black students make different decisions about interaction in classrooms by attaching different meanings to behavior (Kochman 1981; Abrahams 1976;  Folb 1980). Kochman (1981) contrasts black/white modes of classroom behavior. The black mode involves passionate affect, interpersonal confrontation, opposition with no separation of emotion and reason, and subjectivity to argue, discuss, persuade, and relate material. In contrast, the white mode is dispassionate and objective, separating reason from emotion, and disdains use of personal viewpoint (Kochman 1981, 17-24). Because of these dramatic stylistic differences, both black and white speakers and listeners tend to distrust the other's reasoning, truthfulness, and sincerity. For example, silence is synonymous with suppression of truth and insincerity in black culture;

however, silence is synonymous with reasonableness and attemting to

discern truth in white culture (Kochman 1981, 22). These same

differences--passionate subjective confrontation versus dispassionate

objective composure--complicate what constitutes good talk in the

classroom.

Black and white cultures employ different parameters and values to

define good talk. In an earlier example, Ann and her teacher disagreed

on what constitutes talk, signifying culturally different maps. A later

exchange between these same two participants further establishes Ann's

pragmatics for talking.

> The teacher, at the front of the room, directs the class to begin
> studying for a test.

> Teacher: "I want you to take about four minutes to quietly look
> over your work sheets."

> Ann: (mumbling)"I ain't taking no test."

> Teacher: "Ann"

> Ann: "Huh?"

> (Some time passes during which the teacher is checking to see which
> students have turned in their notes.)

> Teacher: "I don't have your notes."

> Ann: "Huh? You called my name."

> Teacher: "I want you to be quiet."

> Ann: "Oh, I wasn't talking."

> Teacher: "I could have sworn you said, 'I ain't taking no test.'"

> Ann: "Uh, I was talking then." (giggles)

> Teacher: "That's when I called your name--then."

Ann:        "Ok."

Ann confirms that she was talking while responding to the teacher's directive. This basic difference of what constitutes talk can lead to similar problems in characterizing what defines good talk or interactional style. Another typical problem within classroom interaction concerns how students should respond to teacher directives. Teachers usually expect students to do what is commanded without responding. However, students from black culture typically are expected or required to give both a verbal and a behavioral response (Whatley 1981, 98). The exchange between Katie and the teacher, earlier in this chapter, illustrates the possible difficulty with verbal responses. Katie's response,"I know where you at," to the teacher's directive, "Katie, I'm up here,", may have been understood as smart mouthing the teacher--as indeed is indicated by the teacher's directive coda, "Then answer me;  look at me." Although many classroom teachers may have construed Katie's response the same way this teacher did, this response may only be indicative of the student's cultural dictate, one must verbally respond to a directive.

Teachers typically determine who will talk and who can interrupt in classrooms. Students wanting a turn must raise their hands;  failure to comply will bring about directives, such as, "What was that comment you made before?  I ignored you because you didn't raise your hand." In addition to hand raising, classroom etiquette does not allow interruptions while others have the floor, either as a part of classroom discussion or background noise. Directives enforce these rules as in,

"I can't hear you; there's other people talking that shouldn't be."
Although these are the rules, black students do not always comply with
or conform to either classroom interaction or turn taking norms.

Black culture typically allows individuals to take turns when that
individual can assert him/herself into the discussion (Kochman 1981, 26)
and confront or contradict the speaker's points. Assertion to confront
or contradict is exemplified in earlier examples of students' range and
variation in speaking styles from class to class. The second example
from the remedial group finds Ann confronting and contradicting the
teacher's timetable for turning in work. When her assertion that
students are allowed to turn work in late fails, her second assertion
attests to her knowledge of school handbook rules. When this assertion
fails, she harshly exclaims that work doesn't have to be turned in at
all. This assertion/counter-assertion pattern illustrates fussing, a
participation style learned by many black females as a means to to stand
up for themselves (Heath 1983, 97).

Abrahams assesses black interaction style as "doing battle" (1963,
16). The person who is the most verbally agile earns power and status.
The interrupter's verbal agility counts for as much as spoken content
(Folb 1980, 99) and determines whether or not that speaker is affirmed
or put down. Although age differences are factors predicting what or
how individuals will talk, interrupt, defer, or assert to others, my
research indicates that teacher/student age differences are less
significant group hierarchical factors than in home or community.

Schools and teachers' rules for good talk violate many black

conceptualizations for interaction, turn taking, and the means of

exerting one's rights.  These differences affect what black students and

teachers experience in classroom interaction and predict or expect from

the other.  Black Americans speak a language variety different from

other American English language varieties--differences developed in

racial, cultural, and linguistic isolation and reflected in the

pronounced variation from standard classroom English on the four

language levels.  Further research is needed to see how the rules of

black culture within the levels of language collide with classroom norms

for good talk, turn taking, participating, and exerting one's rights--

particularly with black girls.

### Gender

The previous examples focus on teacher interaction with black

adolescent females, a largely unexplored area for classroom language

research.  William Labov (1972) and Teresa Labov (1982) both focused on

adolescent black male language and networking.  Folb (1980) focused on

California black male and female teenagers' lexical choices which

reflected their sociocultural and hierarchical status.  Mitchell-Kernan

(1971) focused on black women and their varying language styles.

Despite the lack of focus on black adolescent females, research

indicates that gender is a prominent influence on language choice.

Anderson, et al.  (1977, 377) indicates that gender experientially

serves to cause individuals "to 'see' messages in certain ways."

Gilligan (1982) addresses this "seeing" through the interaction of

experiences and thoughts which in turn give rise to different male and female voices mirroring different moral imperatives to express the just thing to do. Both the moral imperatives for males and females and their language reflect differing experiences.

These differing experiences emerge from the socialization of children into their male or female roles which begins very early through parental language expressing adults' prerogatives and male or female children's rights. Research indicates that adults talk differently to boys than to girls. Berko-Gleason and Grief (1983), for instance, report that mothers and fathers' language differs when talking to sons or daughters. Gleason and Greif conclude that children receive different cognitive and social input depending on their sex and the parent's sex.

This differing cognitive and social input and the entailed experiences place gender equity into classroom research. Research typically indicates that students' gender is a factor in the language and social organization of the classroom. Brophy and Good (1974, 124) indicate that the "salient" student is the student most likely to be noticed in the classroom. Boys are often the most salient because they tend to interact more than girls with teachers and receive more praise and prohibitive messages from teachers (Brophy and Good 1974). Constantina Safilios-Rothschild also concludes that boys interact more and receive much more praise and criticism than do girls (1979). However, she also specifies a contributing factor, academic achievement. Low-achieving boys receive the most criticism; high-achieving boys, the

most praise.  Lucas (1985) indicates that sixth grade teachers typically throw up their hands in frustration over boys.  However, I have found that the black girls in my study are often the most salient or noticeable students.  Their actions and use of language differ from what is reported in other research.  For example, particularly in the eighth grade remedial language arts/writing lab classes (homogeneous grouping) black females talk most of the time, determine when the subject under discussion changes, and interrupt other students and the teacher.  In addition, they engage in manipulative behavior (Abrahams 1963;  Folb 1980) grounded in assertion and counter-assertion (Heath 1983) with the teacher--sometimes playfully but often belligerently.  Although in heterogeneous groupings these characteristics are not as pronounced, black females still interact differently with the teacher, and the teacher with them.  In addition to these verbal characteristics, many nonverbal characteristics, such as open thumb-sucking by three of the group of eight eighth graders, are compelling and unique.  Black adolescent females are fighters, physically with each other and verbally with the teachers, leaving teachers typically at a loss for the best way to discipline or teach them.  Prohibitive teacher directives, especially during adolescence, may be difficult for teachers to enforce when these black girls are asserting their individuality but are still influenced by peer pressure.

## Adolescence

Although adolescence as a developmental period is a relatively new concept, it is a tumultuous and mercurial life period spanning the teen

age years. This tumult is attributable to physical and psychological
changes. Physically, the young person is becoming sexually mature
because of profound hormonal and body changes leading to increased
interest in the opposite sex and embarrassment or concern over the
body's appearance. Psychologically, the young person is trying to
assert his/her independence. Because of these changes adolescents
typically find themselves at odds with parents and teachers and
influenced by peers within their own subculture. James S. Coleman
(1961, 4-6) cites some characteristics of adolescent subculture: (1.)
They begin to speak a different language from their parents; (2.)
develop a distinct social system; (3.) develop values compatible with
their social system; (4.) disregard parental/teacher approval but value
peers' approval; (5.) develop group hierarchies where the more elite
are even more oriented to peer approval.

Linguistic research also indicates the existence of language
networks reflecting social and hierarchical factors referred to by
Coleman (W. Labov 1972; T. Labov 1982). Despite the existence of these
networks, research also cautions that speech actions of individuals must
be analyzed to account for that individual's position within the group
hierarchy. These factors are also pertinent to adolescents who develop
social hierarchies and possess a wide stylistic repertoire gained from
an equally wide range of language learning sources (Labov 1972; Davis
1985, 1986a). Despite the wide range of language repertoires and
learning sources, adolescents must be aware of and adhere to the group
rules and values to maintain group membership and status. Thus, we can

expect interactions between teachers and adolescents to be particularly rocky. However, the classroom is the only appropriate context where the function of authentic classroom language by teachers and students can be analyzed.

In summary, classroom language research indicates a specialized classroom context where teachers control and direct classroom discourse; students respond (Flanders 1963; Barnes 1969; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Heath 1978; Lucas 1985). Directives (Ervin-Tripp 1976) are the means by which teachers control classroom behavior (the social aspect of education) and focus classroom instruction (the academic aspect), both making up the classroom culture. It is crucial to analyze both teacher directives and student/teacher interactional styles in order to determine if and why teachers vary their directives according to the student being directed. Although Lucas' research (1985) indicates that students' dialect diversity does not interfere with classroom interaction/discourse, other research points out the opposite: teacher language attitudes (Naremore 1971; Shuy and Williams 1973) towards students' gender (Brophy and Good 1976), socioeconomic class (Heath 1983), race (Abrahams 1976; Kochman 1981), and academic placement (DeStephano, et al. 1982) do affect classroom interaction. Most research based on this theory indicates that boys experience more academic difficulty and exhibit more socially aggressive behavior than do girls, resulting in negative teacher attitudes and more prohibitive directives. However, my ethnographic research indicates that black female adolescents evoke even more teacher hostility and prohibitive

directives than do males to control their behavior and to instruct them, a reaction rooted in dialect diversity and culturally different styles of interaction. Since black females' verbal and nonverbal behavior, often assertive and aggressive, differs from classroom language research and teachers' student and gender expectations for girls, gender bias may be a factor in teacher hostility. The black female's language variety, cultural background, and interaction styles are in stark contrast to the school's standard English and classroom cultural expectations.

Study of Discourse of Black Adolescent Females and Their Teachers

In this study of the discourse of black adolescent female students and their teachers, I will balance the focus between language as process and language as product, both of which reflect the maps and mapping of teachers and black females.

The language as process will describe patterns of classroom teacher expectations and attitudes about black girls and black girls' attitudes about authority. Classroom teachers' attitudes will be assessed through interview comments, observed patterns of interactions with students, and classroom directives--the products of teacher experiences and attitudes about the best means with black girls to exert the authority necessary to control classroom behavior and to focus classroom instruction. In turn, black girls' attitudes about authority will be described from interview statements and classroom observations disclosing individual experiences, position within the school and the black female hierarchy as these characteristics influence interaction styles and directive responses--the products of black girls' experiences and attitudes about

the best means to survive in the classroom. These attitudes of both teachers and students provide a means to assess the classroom cultural norms and the black cultural norms. These attitudes and cultural norms described from observed patterns of classroom interaction and interview trends emphasize the need to include students' attitudes about authority and teachers' attitudes about students in any study of directives.

The discourse trends of black girls and their teachers will be explored through black English markers at individual levels of language and teachers' attitudes and directive responses toward each level--pragmatic and interactional in Chapter IV; metathesized axt revealing syntactic and semantic factors in Chapter V; be usage with syntactic and semantic factors in Chapter VI. These markers--black English and teachers' responses with directives--trace classroom socioeconomic, cultural, and individual teacher/student maps to reveal classroom academic and social meanings. The analysis of these markers reveals quantitative and qualitative differences between this black female group and their peers, and differences within the black female group. The quantitative analysis can provide a picture of the in-text/language as product features to indicate patterns of teacher and student language variation (Labov 1975). The qualitative analysis provides insight into factors outside the transcribed text--language as process--to account for individual black female and teacher strategies fitting within a sociocultural web of the school (Hymes 1972a; Brophy and Good 1974; Abrahams 1976; Kochman 1981; Gumperz 1976; Heath 1983).

I will focus on black female/teacher discourse because it symbolizes how the specialized classroom context serves to make articulate students appear to be inarticulate, defeating and cheating both teachers and students of teaching/learning opportunities--through language use and function. This analysis of the discourse of black adolescent female students and their teachers focuses on language as process and product, analogous to Mrs. Vance's directive in the opening scenario, "It's not in the book; it's right between your ears." On the one hand, we may learn much about the specialized classroom context from the "in the book" language products contained within directives, student/teacher interaction, and black English markers. Yet, on the other hand, we may also learn as much about what goes into the process of language decisions--"right between our ears"--to influence these teacher and black female language products. Without both avenues of analysis, the social and academic meanings of classroom language will be incomplete.

# CHAPTER II

## "WATCH ME DO THE KING TUT.": METHODOLOGY, MAPS, AND MARKERS

On January 15, 1985, Mrs. Vance's social studies class was conducting library research on their assigned North Carolina projects. Throughout the period, students were milling around to locate sources. Toward the end of the class time, Margaret and an admiring audience sneaked up to the tape recorder and chanted these words:

"See my hand;  see my butt;

Watch me do the King Tut."

After Margaret received hearty laughs and gutteral pants from her appreciative friends, she repeated the ditty.

This incident reveals the tendency of many black girls to verbally and defiantly stand their ground to perceived threats.  This tendency is analogous to an attitude defined by Fasold as "an internal state aroused by some stimulation of some type which may mediate the organism's subsequent response." (1984, 147) The outside stimulation triggering this verbalized response was my presence, the researcher, symbolized by my ubiquitous tape recorder.  Although this socially aggressive chant might defy predictions that boys--rather than girls--will exhibit more socially aggressive behavior (Brophy and Good 1974), my year of ethnographic research revealed that many black eighth grade girls exhibit more aggressive tendencies than do boys and experience more

academic difficulty, too. Both Margaret and her admiring black female classmates mapped their worlds onto the classroom--she with her verbalized disdain and they with their open admiration for her pluck.

This verbalized disdain accompanied by interactive open admiration becomes socially significant as a classroom marker. A marker is a difference from the mainstream or community norm, in this instance acquiescent student behavior to teachers. A social marker indicates group membership (Laver and Trudgill 1979, 3) which in this instance is racially identifiable. Because many teachers in Sedgefield Junior High School associate this mark of behavior with black adolescent females, it is also a gender marker. Out of such experiences, teachers predict such behavior from black girls. These predictions can subsequently influence how teachers interact with and direct black girls. Thus, this verbal aggression juxtaposed with harsh teacher directives contributes to attitudes and maps. Through their own personal maps, teachers and students experience classroom life.

Although the classroom is a specialized context where participants have defined rights, roles, duties, and obligations (Labov 1972, 302), these roles and obligations are subject to and affected by teacher/ student attitudes. As noted by previous research and documented by my experiences, teachers, students, and researcher are neither faceless nor generic. Their actions and accompanying words often defy previous research expectations or predictions. This "King Tut" experience with Margaret encapsulates a metaphor to explore the journey and gyrations of my research. Margaret, seven other black black adolescent girls, and I,

along with their teachers and administrators, traveled from this open mistrust to my asking Margaret to do the "King Tut" and my calling her "King Tut." How did we travel from blatant and belligerent hostility to open communication based on and grounded in mutual respect? What methods did I employ in this journey?

Selection of Field Work Site

I went to Charlotte, North Carolina's Charlotte-Mecklenburg public schools at the invitation of Dr. Boyd Davis who has conducted classroom language research in the school system since 1981. After this invitation, I made formal application to the superintendent for permission to conduct classroom language research in one of their junior high schools. The administration granted this permission, and Dr. Leon Holleman agreed to admit me into Sedgefield Junior High School.

On September 11, 1984, I ventured into Sedgefield classrooms where the "King Tut" scenario would occur to study teacher directives as they changed or remained the same when teachers directed boys or girls. Directive analysis, studying commands to do (Ervin-Tripp 1976), is crucial to understanding classroom interactions because directives are the means by which teachers control classroom behavior (the social aspect of education) and focus classroom instruction (the academic aspect), both making up the classroom culture. Although I began my research with the purpose of studying teacher directives as they changed or remained the same with boys or girls, I shifted the research focus by the end of the second monthe. Within the first two months I made my

rounds in the junior high school classrooms where I observed, scripted, and interviewed teachers and students utilizing ethnographic field methods.

## Methodology

### Language Description Emerging from Context

I chose ethnographic field methods for two reasons--philosophical compatibility with my beliefs about language and description of language and compatibility with my professional background. Within these philosophical compatibilities, I incorporated premises to guide the research: (1.) language as process with documentation; (2.) language as product with documentation; (3.) precaution; (4.) professionalism (Davis 1984). Only within ethnography could I assert these compatabilities of philosophy and premises.

First, basic ethnographic premises maintain that language cannot be understood or described apart from the context which includes culture, social structure, and participant and situational constraints. These contextual factors capture the shared language meaning and use within the world where students and teachers communicate (Heath 1978, 1983). Because teachers and students are members of both a classroom and home community, ethnographic research requires that attitudes, values, beliefs, and traditions--language process factors forming the basis for teacher and student language decisions--be incorporated into linguistic inquiry. The description of language must proceed from these

understandings and processes. Thus, ethnographic classroom language research has a concern for both the spoken language product and its reflected cultural dimension.

However, since these subjective dimensions cannot be seen or touched, they defy strict quantification. Ethnography of communication may employ systematic inquiry, rather than purely empirical hypothesis testing, to ascertain, analyze, and describe the underlying process of language decision making. With hypothesis testing, I, the researcher, must either prove or disprove the hypothesis. However, with ethnography of communication, I can initiate the study with a priori questions. One cannot find answers without questions. But, ethnography allows the researcher to discard questions if more pertinent issues emerge--as was my case in going from gender differentiated directives to the process and product of black female interaction and teacher directives to black females.

## Participant Observation

Second, ethnography also allows all research participants to contribute their insights and interpretations to the study. The researcher can participate, observe, interview and involve him/herself within the natural setting--practices compatible with my own professional background. I had been a junior high school teacher for seven years and believed that I would have a basic understanding of the tasks facing teachers and adolescents in the classroom. Also, as a part of my master's and doctoral programs, I had taught undergraduate language and reading education courses requiring me to supervise student

teachers and to work with cooperating teachers for six years. In both my own teaching and in working with students and cooperating teachers, I had acted out of the premises that professional authenticity, honesty, and cooperation were necessary ingredients for a profitable working relationship. With this professionalism, the research participants and I would be able to teach, learn, and apply ideas gained from personal experience and to present classroom observations to each other. This professionalism also dictates that the more teachers and students are sensitive to the ways they use language--the more they can report and analyze what that language means. The researcher must develop a colleague to colleague working relationship with teachers and students.

Good field work methods must never rely on the insights and interpretations of the researcher alone. Florio (1978) says that the teacher's reflections, the "insider's" perspective, add to the researcher's insights. However, students can also add immeasurably to insights. Davis (1985, 1986a) pioneered research indicating the value of adolescent contributions to total research outcome and understandings. And in fact, teachers and students' insights into their day-to-day reality were invaluable to me during the course of the year. This participatory role of teachers, students, and researcher in analysis and description differs significantly from the tenets of empirical analysis because it injects subjectivity. However, language choice is subjective. Because education is a human enterprise where teachers and students are not faceless or generic types, classroom language research must utilize many subjective factors to account for

the language process--attitudes, beliefs, and values--reflected in the interactants' language products (Gumperz 1971; Hymes 1974; Heath 1983). These process and product factors combined with observations, scripting, interviewing, and taping enabled me to determine the social meanings and rules to which the teachers and students subscribe when they give and respond to directives. Ethnography of communication provides the theoretical premises and basic techniques to achieve linguistic and educational understanding of the function of language among classroom participants.

## Techniques

During September and October, I employed many ethnographic field techniques that I would come to rely on as the year progressed. Although I had received approval by the human subjects' committee at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and the Charlotte-Mecklenburg school system to conduct research, it was also necessary to confer with principals, teachers, parents, and students about my research proposal and their roles and rights. The principal and assistant principal for instruction had copies of the proposal that my doctoral committee had approved. Next, I met with teachers who might be interested in research participation and explained to them what they might expect to gain from such an experience and what would be required.

On September 12, 1984, at 8:00 A.M., I met with the assistant principal for instruction and prospective participating teachers to explain the research (See Appendix A, Agenda of Teachers' Meeting and Memo to Staff).[1] Fortunately for me, Mrs. Fabio, who took no foolishness

from any student and was respected by fellow teachers, became interested and was the first to volunteer. Mrs. Fabio and eleven other teachers attended the first meeting. To assure teachers of my respect for their confidences and their classrooms, I wrote a data consent form requiring their signature in addition to the principal's and area superintendent's signature (See Appendix A, Data Access Consent Form). Also, before I could enter any classroom, I had to write cover letters explaining the research and had to supply a consent form for parents and students to sign. This letter was precautionary and protected students who did not wish to be in the study. I handed this letter out in packets to homeroom teachers during a second meeting with teachers (See Appendix A, Research Participants' Cover Letter and Consent Form). By September 21, I had conducted two meetings with teachers, had one conference with the principal and one with the counselor, had six conferences with the assistant principal for instruction, and had written all necessary documents and forms. Since my home was one hundred miles away from the school, I went to Charlotte two days a week.

On September 21, after letters had gone out and responses and signatures were returning, I began to enter classrooms of those teachers who had volunteered and continued to meet both formally and informally to answer questions and to provide information about directives (See Appendix A, Directives). From September 21 through September 29 on three separate visits, I observed in the classrooms of fifteen teachers in thirteen different subject areas for thirteen hours and ten minutes. I was beginning a phase of documenting language product patterns in the

classroom. Whenever I entered a classroom for the first time, I explained to the class why I was there and what my research focus was-- directives as teachers directed boys differently from girls. On the very first day in one class, I offered the example to students to explain how they might speak differently to different people--they surely did not talk to their mother or teacher the way they talked to their boy or girl friend. One young black girl looked up at me and said, "I tell my boyfriend he sucks," a truly astounding classroom student remark. Also, during the month, I observed one young black girl openly sucking her thumb--something that I had never seen in all of my years in junior high school classrooms. On September 28, I observed the writing lab for the first time. The teacher, Mrs. Johnson, who was a young attractive brunette, ran a very tight class with exact time slots for particular work. Imperatives and you need to's were the predominant directives reflecting the teacher's tight scheduling of activities. Ten of the seventeen students were black; six of the ten black students were girls.

October was an even busier month as I continued to meet with teachers, observe and script in classrooms, attend school functions, and sort out the details of the research. Although I met only informally with all volunteers who numbered fifteen by now, I spent approximately one hour and fifty minutes in conferences with teachers. Much of this conference time resulted from a sheet handed out on October 18 based on issues in Heath's 1983 work, Ways with Words; it was designed to explore the teachers' process of perceiving students and to elicit/

ascertain teacher attitudes on students' social behaviors, academic behaviors, and gender (See Appendix A, Social Behaviors). Language items on the sheet included characteristics of students that caught their ears, such as dialect/linguistic features and tone of voice. One teacher commented that black students consistently made errors with the principle part of verbs. Although no mention was made of be, I had heard teachers express dismay over the black students' divergent use of this word. Another teacher's response to tone of voice was,"The loudest thing in the world is a black girl." Other conferences, not specifically related to the attitude instrument, also pointed to black girls and teachers' perceptions of black girls. Some black teachers shared their concern about problems black girls were experiencing and precipitating. In other conferences, Mrs. Johnson and I sat down to count and categorize writing lab students by race and gender. From these categories, we determined that black girls made up the biggest block of students being taught by her in this federally funded program designed to assist economically disadvantaged.[2] Much of the information documented and gathered during this month's conference time continuously pointed to black girls.

Throughout the month, I continued to observe and script in classrooms spending twenty-five hours and ten minutes in classroom observation during nine visits. Although only three new teachers--Mrs. Vance, Mr. Hernan, and Mrs. Kenna--who had not been observed during September were added, I observed in twenty classes of seventeen different teachers. On October 2, I conducted my first observation with

Mrs. Vance's heterogeneously grouped social studies class. According to field notes, the class participation was balanced between boys and girls. Black female students (including Margaret) interacted as students are expected to interact; they answered questions and participated in the discussion. The teacher, new to this school and a West Virginia native, was a tall willowy brunette in her mid-thirties. She apparently enjoyed the students and the class, was well prepared, conducted the lesson with typical tripartite structure: teacher question, student response, and teacher evaluation. This structure was imposed to answer the study guide questions provided by the teacher.

As the month progressed, I began to meet students who would become a part of the focus and recorded observations in a personal journal, another mode of documentation begun during the first week at school and continued throughout the year (See Appendix A, Sample Journal Entry Item). On October 9, in a health class, I first noticed Margaret, a tall, handsome dark skinned adolescent bearing a striking resemblance in stature, features, and low husky voice to Maya Angelou. In the class discussion and activities on teenage sexuality, Margaret was one of the three females and seven males to participate in a classroom activity where the teacher read a situation and students lined up in front of the class to indicate agreement or disagreement with the teacher's statement. Even after students returned to their desks, Margaret never hesitated to verbalize her attitudes. On October 9, I also met

.Elizabeth in her social studies class with Ms. Polo. I could not help but notice her because of her loud laugh, her black color, and her athletic build, "all muscled up" as Vicki later described her.

During these early visits in addition to getting to know students, I observed and documented several factors about classroom discourse. First, students change their interaction style from class to class and teacher to teacher as first documented by Cook-Gumperz (1975). Although previous research accounts for this change through the influence of academic subject on teacher questions and directives (Cazden 1979), academic subject in this school seemed to be of less significace than teacher personality. For example, two math teachers with similarly grouped classes employed distinctly different question/directive styles. One teacher repeatedly couched directives in, "You need to...." and "I would like for you to...." to which one student responded, "Does that mean we don't have to?." The other math teacher, in contrast, would direct in imperatives such as, "Go and sin no more," to which students rarely responded. Apparently these teachers' experiences and personalities were stamped onto their directive styles.

Further classroom observations brought additional insights. Syntax was not the most reliable indicator of directive intent or social meaning. In some extreme instances, teacher directives reflected the teacher's rules or concerns. For example, Mrs. Fabio's directives were predominantly imperatives reflecting her well disciplined classroom. After I had observed in most of her classes, we conferred and analyzed her directives. However, later that same day after the conference

during observations, she did not change her style because these directives were a part of her teaching personality. Mrs. Fabio's syntax remained constant to emphasize classroom etiquette, including how students should act and interact to learn.

Although boys and girls interacted promptly and directly in response to Mrs. Fabio's commands, in many observations I noted gender differences in classroom interaction--boys often interacted more with teachers (Safilios-Rothschild 1979). Under closer scrutiny, however, I also noted that the girls, while not appearing to be interacting, were busily whispering to each other and writing notes. Girls were often interacting equally as much, just not with the teacher. For example, during one ten to fifteen minute period, Mrs. Norbert nominated or called on eight boys and one girl to answer questions despite the girls' raising their hands to bid. Although field note analysis of this discourse would indicate limited female interaction, the analysis must include what else was happening during the question/answer period--the female whispering and note writing. This discourse within discourse, including paralinguistic and nonverbal behaviors, was equally true for white and black girls.

Another documented--discourse within discourse--nonverbal interaction feature was the racial and gender difference in eye contact. Black girls did not make as direct eye contact as white girls did. This fact is not surprising when considering the black cultural mandate that direct eye contact is rude (Abrhams 1976). How this difference imposed itself into classroom etiquette became increasingly apparent from

teacher comments and classroom visits. Mrs. Fabio and other teachers indicated that they wanted students to look directly at them. During subsequent observations with Mrs. Fabio, I sat at the front of the room because there were no available seats in the back. While sitting here, eye contact between teacher and students leaped out to demand my attention. For example, during one period, boys maintained more direct eye contact than did the girls--particularly black girls who kept their eyes down or gave a half look at the teacher. When the class began to slow the response pace, Mrs. Fabio directed, "Now, you have got to think." White boys and girls' eyes shot up to meet the teacher's gaze; black girls' eyes swept up--then down. Since Mrs. Fabio had said she wanted direct eye contact, she may have construed the black girls' lack of eye contact to mean that they were not interested or that they were showing disrespect. At a later period in the same day with this same teacher and the academically gifted eighth grade class, I further noted that females (all white) made as direct eye contact with the teacher as did the males (all white) in this class or the previous class. On the whole, the amount of direct eye contact can affect how teachers perceive and interact with students. Students' gender, race, and academic grouping (DeStephano, et al. 1982) feed into these perceptions.

Academic grouping, gender, and race documented in observations and interviews were prominent interaction factors in teachers' minds. I was beginning to document that many black girls were interacting as forcefully and aggressively as boys with teachers. On October 25, I observed the remedial eighth grade writing lab class with Mrs. Johnson.

These girls were neither passive nor attuned to teacher expectations. They consistently employed fussing, an assertion/counter-assertion style, to assume authority over turn taking, discussion topics, and to usurp Mrs. Johnson's authority as illustrated in this example:

Mrs. Johnson: "Katie, reread your paper."

Katie:     "I already reread it."

Mrs. Johnson: "See if it has capital letters."

Katie:     "It do."

Although the teacher's directives are imperatives which Bernstein says preclude educational and linguistic alternatives--indicative of closed social roles, obviously Katie does not recognize imperative directives in the manner alluded to by Bernstein (Bernstein 1971; Williams 1972). In addition to this verbal interaction pattern, I was shocked to see that three of the eight black females--Elizabeth, Katie, and Abby--were either openly or covertly sucking their thumbs, a behavior typically associated with insecurity. More and more evidence pointed to the fact that I had been examining a less significant a priori question and now needed to examine this black female/teacher discourse.

By October 29, I was trying to sort out where I was and where I should be going in the research when Mr. Taylor came into the room where I was working. He said that he felt that I was on target about my concern for black girls and teachers and urged me to follow through with it. I protested that because I was white, I would have no credibility with either whites or blacks with the research. Whites would condemn me and say I was offering excuses rather than evidence; blacks would

condemn me and say I didn't know what I was talking about because I was white. His response was a challenging question, "Why are you coming all the way down here every week if you're not willing to take a chance?" Mr. Taylor's challenge continued to haunt me as I observed. The next day I entered Mrs. Vance's social studies class--heterogeneously grouped with an academic range from high to remedial--and Mr. Hernan's remedially grouped language arts class where the scenario was similar to the previously observed writing lab. However, the contrast between the homogeneously grouped language arts/writing lab classes and the heterogeneously grouped social studies class reinforced the previous observations: students change interaction styles from class to class and teacher to teacher.

This stylistic change was particularly apparent in the homogeneously grouped remedial language arts class with Mr. Hernan where the girls were in the majority. Although research indicates that teachers typically talk two thirds of the time (Flanders 1963), maintain the authority to determine who will talk, when, and about what (Heath 1978), black females were assuming these roles traditionally left to the teacher just as they had in writing lab. Also, although they did not interact as forcefully or belligerently in the heterogeneously grouped social studies class, they still interacted differently from the other students. If they did not want to answer, they would stall and refuse to answer. If, however, the teacher pushed them to answer in either

homogeneous or heterogeneous grouping, they would often assert and counter-assert, fuss--a black female interaction style learned early in life to protect and defend themselves (Heath 1983).

In summary, at the end of two months of teacher conferences, classroom observations and scripting totaling forty hours and ten minutes, I changed the focus of the research. This focus would continue to examine language in context which included:

1. Language as process

    a. Analyze the classroom teacher expectations and attitudes about black girls assessed through classroom directives and teacher/student interaction patterns and interviews;

    b. Correlate black culture and classroom interaction styles and frame the systems and levels of language to emerge from black girls' attitudes in class and in interviews;

    c. Develop the black girls' speech community and the hierarchical network evolved by these black girls and reinforced through academic grouping;

    d. Study the girls' personal histories;

2. Language as product--markers

    a. Record markers on tapes and in field notes;

    b. Analyze markers as a part of the systems and levels of language;

    c. Observe and record nonverbal and paralinguistic markers;

    d.  Count the markers to indicate patterns as they are framed

        within and influenced by different contexts--specific

        classrooms and specific groupings already established by

        the school's academic grouping, interviews;

    e.  Analyze, assess, and compare all patterns with previous

        research.

Without the candor and openness of teachers, this focus could not have

emerged.  Gender enters all facets of the research.  Gender permeates

the language product in the classroom and the language process,

informing or influencing teachers and black adolescent girls' discourse.

## Subjects in Research Focus

The focus group consists of eight black adolescent girls who were

in the lowest academic grouping in the eighth grade.  Three separate

classes afforded me the opportunity to observe them together yet in

different settings with different teachers.  These three classes were

the remedial language arts, taught by Mr.  Hernan;  the writing lab,

taught by Mrs. Johnson;  and the heterogeneously grouped social studies,

taught by Mrs. Vance, where five of the eight were students.  Pseudonyms

for all teachers and students were chosen during and after the research

as a precautionary measure to protect the participants' integrity.

During the research while writing papers to read in conferences, I chose

names at random from among the names of friends of my own two children.

Later, after the research was completed, I chose hurricane names for

both teachers and students.  I did not change previously chosen names.

These girls are:

1. <u>Vicki</u>, repeating the eighth grade, lives with her grandmother. Her father had been killed while she was still a child. Her mother remarried and has other children. Although Vicki maintains a relationship with this extended family, she counts her grandmother as her "mother" and her grandmother's home as her home. Academically, she has experienced difficulty since she entered the first grade, was retained in the fourth grade, has been certified learning disabled, and has been in speech therapy. Socially active and typically pleasant, despite In School Suspension for fighting, she dates--"in cars."

2. <u>Elizabeth</u> lives with her mother; her father died the previous year. Although there are five children, only one older brother lives at home. Academically, Elizabeth has continually experienced difficulty and was retained in the third and sixth grades. Also, records note a physically aggressive tendency since the first grade. She has been in In School Suspension during junior high for fighting. She has been in speech therapy during the year and is a strong athlete.

3. <u>Margaret</u> lives with her mother, two sisters, and one niece. Her father, who lives in Charlotte, is divorced from her mother. Academically, she has consistently tested below grade level and was retained in the third grade. She, too, has been in In School Suspension for fighting. Socially, she dates and goes out frequently.

4. <u>Abby</u> lives with her mother, father, and three younger brothers. Her mother is a cafeteria worker at a local high school. Her father, a blue collar worker, works at a local manufacturing company. Academically, though testing below grade level, she has never been

retained.  She, unlike the other black girls focused on, has positive attitudes about school and teachers and has never been in In School Suspension.  She has also had speech therapy.

5.  Katie lives with her mother, father, and one younger brother. Her mother works as a salad maker for a restaurant;  her father, a truck driver, works for a moving company.  Academically testing below grade level, she has never been retained because she attended summer school sessions.  She has been in In School Suspension several times for fighting.

6.  Mary lives with her mother who works at a bus station and two younger brothers.  Although she has tested below grade level, she has never been retained.  She, too, has been in In School Suspension for fighting.

7.  Ann lives with her mother and grandmother, who acts as head of household.  Her mother has "a nervous condition" and is unable to support her.  She neither knows who her father is nor has she ever seen him.  Academically, she was retained in the third grade when she was also certified learning disabled.  She also has mixed dominance--left handed and right eyed.  She also has a congenital cataract in her left eye.  She has been in In School Suspension for fighting.

8.  Sally lives with her mother, stepfather, and infant son.  Her father lives in the Charlotte area.  Previously, she has lived with her grandmother who still lives near the family.  Academically testing below grade level, she was retained in the third grade and attended TAPS, Teen

Age Pregnancy School, at the end of the seventh grade.  She has never been in In School Suspension.  She is very active in her church choir and also dates.  The baby's father contributes to his support.

Observations and Taping

I observed, scripted, and taped these girls in social studies, language arts, and writing lab on a systematic basis two days a week from November 14, 1984, to March 15, 1985, to document language process and product.  I spent twenty-five class periods (fifty-five minute class periods) in social studies, thirteen class periods in writing lab, and eleven class periods in language arts, totaling approximately forty-four hours and fifty-five minutes.  In addition, I observed the girls in satellite classes; math, health, and science.  I attended the homecoming football game, basketball games (riding the varsity team bus to one), and a pep rally.  In summary, I observed the girls frequently in various settings.

Although the girls were warily accustomed to my being around, the advent of the tape recorder initially created a stir.  As time went on, however, they paid less and less attention to it.  Several factors may account for this.  First, one of the girls might take the recorder from social studies to language arts or writing lab class for me where she would plug it in and position it at the front of the room, thereby removing my sole proprietorship of it.  Second, the consistent presence of both me and the recorder simply became commonplace.  Also, I would explain to them, when questioned, what I was writing down in my notebook and further explain that the tape would be transcribed later.  However,

I never told them during this period that they were the research focus
although they were very aware that I was in other classes where they
were in addition to the regular classroom observations. In fact, Ann
once complained that I was in all her classes to which I responded that
she was irresistible and hugged her. On January 24, 1985, my being a
common entity in the classroom became apparent. The lunch schedule had
changed with the beginning of second semester which meant I missed the
beginning of social studies class. When I entered and announced that
perhaps I should return to Greensboro since I had already spilled coffee
and water all over myself and had missed part of the class, the class
did not seem to think that this exchange between me, Mrs. Vance, and
them was too unusual. They merely continued with their activities. By
February, the students would either tell me the tape had stopped or
would eject it and bring it to me. The tape recorder novelty wore off
and with it the tape recorder threat. In fact, the recorder's existence
receded until in interviews I had to ask Mary to quit drumming on it, to
which she responded, "I forgot about it." So, although the possibility
exists that the tape recorder's presence affected classroom interaction,
this effect diminished as the observations progressed.

Field Notes

During September and October, I rarely used the tape recorder and
simply scripted classroom interaction (See Appendix A, Scripting
Sample). From November through March, I began to incorporate the tapes
with the classroom scripting of what teachers and students said and did.
Later, at home, I would listen to the tape with field notes in hand and

fill in interaction missed. The notes and tapes complemented the other in several ways. Because it is impossible to write down every word, the tapes could add what I had missed. Because tapes can never supply the nonverbal or paralinguistic features accompanying the verbal features of the discourse, the notes provided depth to the discourse, or the discourse within discourse (See Appendix A, Scripting and Taping Combination Samples).

In January, I began to employ another method to record field notes. This method consisted of monitoring the classroom scene minute by minute with a stopwatch. The minute by minute notetaking, combined with a written observation of what was being said or done, gave a more detailed picture of the overall classroom proceedings (See Appendix A, Minute by Minute Field Notes). This method allowed me to focus on certain nonverbal features about which I had been previously unaware. For example, on January 25, 1985, Mrs. Vance gave the class a quiz. Abby made more consistent eye contact with Mrs. Vance, watching her as she listened to the question, than did the other girls. As I had begun to notice Abby's eye contact, I began to monitor the other girls to see if they, too, would look at the teacher as she read the question aloud. They did not. This nonverbal behavior was significant because Abby made better grades than did the other girls--on this quiz and other quizzes. Interestingly, too, Mrs. Vance and other teachers had more positive feelings toward Abby. Later at home, the field notes would be combined with the tape of the classroom session. This overall minute by minute method provided many verbal and nonverbal details.

Students also exist outside of class, and I had to be aware of the girls' actions and interactions outside class. The girls went through a series of friendship rituals with me. Until January, none but Abby or Elizabeth and occasionally Ann and Vicki would even make eye contact with me. After most of them began to make eye contact to acknowledge my presence or existence, they would begin to greet me in the halls with the North Carolina,"Hey." Next, they would include my name, "Hey, Mrs. Pember," until they would come up to me when they greeted, touch me, and allow me to touch them. This touching and greeting began to take place in February with all but Katie, who never touched me. These friendship rituals took place at the students' own pace of acceptance--more quickly for some than others and more deeply for some than others. Later, during April, I had to miss some time at school because of a family illness. When I returned and was eating lunch at the faculty table, I felt someone behind me. Mr. Taylor said, "What do you want?" to which Elizabeth sprang to the side of the table facing me and said, "I want to see her. Where have you been? Everybody's been asking me where you was. I didn't know; I started to write you." As I have said, these friendship rituals took place at the students' own pace of acceptance-- some more quickly and deeply.

Teacher Conferences

Teacher conferences between November and March 15 were basically informal. I worked primarily with Mrs. Vance, Mrs. Johnson, and Mr. Hernan with whom I would talk after or before or even during class and at lunch. Although I would not offer opinions or criticisms unless they

requested them, the relationships developed into team efforts. They helped me to see many intricacies of which I was unaware. For example, Mr. Hernan enabled me to see that the black families were taking the project involving genealogy papers more seriously than I had thought. He pointed out that these parents considered this an invasion of their privacy, outside of the school's jurisdiction and appropriate knowledge. I, previously, had thought that the girls and their families were being flippant about the project. Also, Mrs. Vance, Mrs. Johnson, and I would try to work out students' belligerence through a focus on what had worked well. Although I worked primarily with these three teachers, I continued to confer with other teachers and with the assistant principal for instruction whose insights were also invaluable.

Mr. Taylor made invaluable contributions to my understanding of black culture and to my particular understanding of the background of these students. We would meet one morning a week during first period, after breakfast in the cafeteria with other teachers and students, and after he had completed writing admit slips for absences or tardies. We would discuss what was happening in school and out of school. He would define black cultural styles for me. For example, in January, we discussed what "talkin' junk" meant--a definition he and some Winston-Salem State friends had arrived at. "Talkin' junk" is playful banter--talking gibberish--among friends. However, if participants are not friends, the gibberish may be construed as belligerence. Of course he was unsure if his and his friends' definition matched the teenagers who might "talk junk" to anyone. More importantly than even these helpful

definitions, Mr. Taylor helped me through the lens of his own experiences come to understand what it meant to be black.[3] His concern for all students--particularly black students--and what he did to help provided much encouragement and guidance for me.

On March 15, 1985, I completed formal classroom observations. Before I moved into the new phase of interviewing all students in the language arts and social studies classes, I reported some of my discoveries to Mrs. Vance's social studies class and Mrs. Johnson's writing lab class.

1. Students change their interaction style depending on the classroom teacher's expectations and the student grouping.

2. Teachers' language attitudes often reflect ethnic/racial attitudes about students that in turn can affect teacher expectations for students and interactions with students. Students' language attitudes reflect the same attitude as described for teachers.

3. Black females typically experience much academic and social difficulty and will be likely to be more verbally aggressive, assertive, and defiant when being directed than white males or females or black males.

4. Social hierarchies exist among all students and are apparent with the black female group where some are "leaders" or "bosses" and some are "lames," making it necessary to balance cultural background with personal history.

I reported these findings to the students because they had been an integral part of the research and had, in fact, reported their personal observations to me. For instance, Sergio, a white boy in social studies, had told me that he napped in social studies whenever Mrs. Vance's review revealed to him that he already knew the material. This phenomenon of sharing matches Davis' observations that students' insights are indeed rich and informative (1986a, 360).

During the class discussion, Mrs. Vance and I were impressed with the seriousness with which the students responded to this report. They listened intently and with total eye contact. They also asked questions as we explored what stereotypes meant in relation to language varieties spoken. No belligerence, even from black girls, was apparent as we explored connections between these language attitudes and ethnic or gender attitudes.

Despite my burgeoning awareness of group dynamics' patterns in interaction, I also felt that it was necessary to explore individual dynamics to avoid stereotyping. To initiate this research facet, I employed Davis' "The Talking World Map--Faces, Places, and Spaces" (Davis 1985, 1986a). On March 15, beginning with Mrs. Vance's social studies class, I asked students to sketch in their friends with whom they regularly hung out, places outside of school they enjoyed going to and places inside the school they gravitated to, and particular activities they participated in. To prompt students, I sketched my own world map with its divergent yet intersecting boundaries of Greensboro and Charlotte on the board. I drew circles out of which lines emerged

to yet another facet of my map and cautioned students that their design was entirely their own decision. Although some students copied my design, others imaginatively drew arrows bristling with names and places. After this activity with the social studies class, I also asked the language arts/writing lab students and the Academically Gifted class to do likewise. By covering all three groups, I would have a sample from the highest academic group, a middle or average academic group, and the lowest academic group.

These sketches could serve several purposes. First, the sketches would allow me to see the social networks and structure of the school through the students' eyes and to observe what connections existed among the networks. Second, the sketches could serve as a concrete basis to structure interviews with the social studies and language arts/writing lab classes. These maps were a vehicle to students' world maps about which they could talk, relate to, and connect to the overall school community and to the world outside the school.

Interviews

Individual or group interviews, a taped total of twenty hours and twenty minutes, were conducted out of the classroom from April 16 until June 6, 1985, the close of school. All students from Mrs. Vance's social studies class and Mrs. Johnson and Mr. Hernan's writing lab and language arts class had individual sessions. Some students had more than one individual interview; some students, in addition to their individual time, interviewed with other students.

Time for the interviews varied depending upon the students' reticence or eagerness to talk. Elizabeth, Margaret, Ann, Sally, and Vicki displayed no hesitancy, eagerly expanded on any question or issue, and raised issues independent of the predetermined question structure. In contrast, probing could not budge Katie, Mary, or Abby from succinct, concise responses. Since I had been with the girls approximately the same amount of time, I can only offer personal assumptions to explain the reticence of some and the eagerness of others. Katie had always been distant, somewhat hostile with her baleful looks, and had never proceeded with me through the girls' friendship rituals. When these interviews began, the "King Tut" chant had receded into the background. The girls and I had proceeded through these rituals.

On the days of these interviews, nothing unusual was happening, and no one was in In School Suspension. However, I believe that part of Mary's reticence resulted from a black male student's asking her if she were going to be tested for Educably Mentally Retarded classification when she got up to leave her math class for the interview. In fact, later in a group session with Vicki and Elizabeth, she was her usual effervescent self. With the earlier interview, she quite possible was so outraged over the boy's remark that she completely shut down. Abby, on the other hand, although more adept at dealing with white women, apparently was shy, unable to put her thoughts into words--a condition that plagued her with her black female peers.

On March 22, 1985, I had begun to identify questions to be answered in student interviews. These questions included:

1. What is your name, home address, parents and brothers and sisters with whom you live?

2. What is your favorite school activity and out-of-school activity?

3. What is a friend? Who are your friends in the (LA/WL/SS) class?

4. What type of class do you prefer, homogeneous or heterogeneous grouping?

5. What is a good teacher?

6. What is a good student? Are you a good student? Why or why not?

7. What is a leader or boss? Who among the classmates are the leaders or bosses? Who among the black girls are the leaders or bosses?

8. What differences do you note between the interaction styles of black girls and other students? How would you characterize those differences if they exist?

As interviews progressed, subsequent issues were raised by the girls necessitating follow up interviews. So although the interviews were loosely structured by the same question format, I allowed the students the latitude to spontaneously raise issues that concerned them. For example, some white girls outside the white leadership group wanted to discuss the style of dress of the "preps." Because of these appearance issues, other students began to open up and categorize students' networks as to dress, interests, academic placements, and home address.

Based on these issues, on May 16, Norman (a white social studies boy) and I began to extend these issues to the out-of-school vacations and interests including music. On May 31, I returned to Mrs. Vance's social studies class where Norman shared these additional network categories with the rest of the class. At this time the class charted social networks in a somewhat different way from the previous "Talking Maps." They wrote the name of the group of students with whom they identified themselves--prep, hood, punk rock. They wrote the type of music they liked and the groups they admired, listened to, went to concerts to hear, and the radio station they listened to regularly. They wrote down which teenage hang out--Godfather's or Queen's Park--they regularly went to on Friday nights. Also, they wrote down what clothes they would buy if they were given the money to buy them. Again, I pointed out that we were not trying to stereotype anyone. I was merely trying to see patterns of similarities and differences in the same way that interaction patterns had become evident during the months of observation.

Black girls also spontaneously raised issues of their own. One major issue concerned the "he say...she say" speech events triggering fights among the black girls. Other issues revolved around white and black pragmatic differences in greeting, responding to teachers in class, giving and gaining respect, and authority to direct or be directed. Throughout these dialogues, the girls narrated their stories in the black oral tradition (Cooper 1981, 201-207). Within this timeless tradition, the storyteller recounts personal and group history,

retells personal place and duties within the group, and punctuates and emphasizes points through direct and indirect quotes. Another aspect of the tradition emerged when more than one girl was in the interview. The interaction between the teller and the listener would flow back and forth as each girl appreciatively affirmed or corrected the other. These stories are the myths out of which the girls experience their personal and classroom worlds.

As interviews and school closed for the year, I had captured a slice of these eighth grade students' lives. Parts of the slice would emerge from field notes, taped classroom sessions, taped interviews, and conferences with students and teachers that I had informally recorded in an ongoing journal. These were the "King Tut" antics performed throughout the research. In no way could I duplicate the research because the conditions, teachers, and circumstances of this year would never be the same. In no way would I claim generalizable results although the patterns of this group of girls were true for this school year. However, the findings about black adolescent girls do suggest that future research should focus on them and not exclude them as much previous research has. This year long research journey from hostile belligerence "See my hand; see my butt" to respect, however, had only just begun. Two school years' analyses would await me to complete the "Watch me do the King Tut."

All data in these chapters emerge from student, teacher, and personal observations and documentations recorded in the journal; cumulative school records and folders; transcribed field notes and tape

recordings.  Each chapter focuses on student markers juxtaposed with
teacher directives--language products--and/or student and teacher
attitudes expressed in classrooms, conferences, and interviews--language
process.  The student markers comprise the levels of language:
pragmatics, phonology, syntax, lexical meanings--all feeding into how
language means in the classroom, semantics.  All meanings issue from the
classroom culture--expressed through directives and classroom
interaction--and from the students' culture--influenced by personal
experiences.

# CHAPTER III

## MAPPING "FACES, PLACES, AND SPACES"

Students enter classrooms from diverse neighborhood and family backgrounds where they have learned to use language to express roles and values appropriate for neighborhood and family. Students at Sedgefield Junior High School live in Charlotte, North Carolina, where classroom life mirrors the students' families and neighborhoods—and the spaces between—amid Charlotte's Sunbelt image—a booming economy that draws together divergent people (speaking many languages and language varieties) in search of jobs (Davis 1986a, 359).

### Charlotte--Urban, Sunbelt City

Charlotte, North Carolina--the Queen City--was named for King George III of England's queen--Charlotte--and was incorporated in 1768 by 276 predominantly Scotch-Irish settlers. Today the bustling city-- located on the southwestern edge of the North Carolina Piedmont--has grown to a population of 314,447 (United States Bureau of Census 1982). Because of its population, Charlotte proudly proclaims its status: largest city in North Carolina and forty-sixth largest city in the nation. In addition to its rapidly expanding population, Charlotte sprawls over 149 square miles of the 530 square mile Mecklenburg County. As it encourages growth and prosperity, Charlotte is reaching for its place in the Sunbelt and the "New South."

In many ways Charlotte epitomizes the Sunbelt or "New South" image. Charlotte, with a burgeoning economy fueled by the relocation of many

industries and corporations, draws in persons from other urban and rural areas to hold positions or to find jobs. The median household income county-wide is $22,697 with citizens spending $5.5 billion in retail sales (Greater Charlotte Chamber of Commerce 1985). Charlotte, where seven out of ten residents are white, also symbolizes advances and retreats in racial relations. In 1983 Charlotte elected Harvey Gantt mayor and reelected him in 1985. Gantt was the first black student to attend South Carolina's Clemson University twenty-three years ago (Schmidt 1985). However, Charlotte has also experienced a resurgence of white supremacy groups. Spaces between the progressive racial image and the throwback to Ku Klux Klan types of activities are indicative of "Old" and "New" South. Despite tensions associated with progressive racial policies, Charlotte offers numerous opportunities for citizens' education.

## Colleges and Universities

Charlotte-Mecklenburg and the surrounding area are home to seven institutions of higher learning. These institutions reflect Charlotte's Sunbelt or "New South" concern, yet add "Old South" flavors. Several colleges are church related. West of Charlotte are Belmont Abbey College, founded in 1876 by Benedictine Fathers to educate men, and Sacred Heart College, founded by the Sisters of Mercy to educate women. Older than either of these colleges and rooted in the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian tradition is Queens College, founded in 1771 to educate women. Queens remains a small liberal arts college long associated with a genteel liberal arts education. Complementing the educational and

religious intent of Queens is Davidson College, a private Presbyterian
college north of Charlotte.  Davidson was founded in 1837 to educate men
in "democratic and Christian virtues" (Coe 1967, 112).  Dean Rusk,
Secretary of State during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations,
graduated from Davidson, which remains a selective college educating men
and women with high academic achievements.  In contrast to these
institutions, Johnson C.  Smith--founded in 1867 as a part of
Reconstruction policy and devoted in its charter to the education of all
races--is associated in the minds of most Charlotteans with black
education.  These three schools--Queens, Davidson, and Johnson C.  Smith
--represent "Old South" spaces which typically segregated men from women
and race from race in private or public education.

Suggestive of the "New South" are the University of North Carolina
at Charlotte and Central Piedmont Community College.  The University of
North Carolina at Charlotte, founded in 1946 to teach returning World
War II veterans, achieved university status in 1965.  Today it is one of
the fastest growing universities in the North Carolina University
System.  Also founded during this century--1963--and indicative of the
Sunbelt/"New South" concern to educate productive citizens for an
occupation is Central Piedmont Community College.  Former Governor Terry
Sanford, a veteran of World War II, was instrumental in the
establishment of both the University of North Carolina at Charlotte and
Central Piedmont Community College.  Within this century the Sunbelt or
"New South" image is emerging economically, politically, and
educationally.

Charlotte-Mecklenburg Public School System

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Public School system is further evidence of the changing South where old images meet new. As the largest employer in the metropolitan area, this school system holds a place in the area's economic life. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, consolidated and formed in 1965, is the largest system in North Carolina and thirty-first largest in the nation. It employs 7,900 employees of which 4,200 are teachers to serve and teach 72,378 students (Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools 1985). However, size is only one of its distinctions. The school system also underscores the "New South" policy in public education. The precedent setting 1971 Swann vs. Mecklenburg Supreme Court decision dismantled de facto segregation in the South to usher in busing. Five feeder areas consisting of elementary, junior high or middle schools feed into ten high schools to comply with the Swann decision and to reduce or eliminate spaces between its divergent population. For the school system as a whole, the student ethnic distribution is 0.5% American Indian, 1.5% Asian, 38.7% Black, 0.5% Hispanic, and 58.6% White. This ethnic distribution is reflected in the 18,743 junior high school students in sixteen junior high schools.

Sedgefield Junior High School

Tucked into a cul-de-sac in the Sedgefield neighborhood, Sedgefield Junior High School--the ethnographic study site--was built in 1955. In 1965, prior to the Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg decision, Sedgefield was the first Charlotte-Mecklenburg school to integrate because of its inner-city location and proximity to both black and white neighborhoods.

In 1978 Sedgefield was again first to offer bilingual education.
Currently its bilingual students' program is the second largest in the
system. Sedgefield students represent divergent races, socioeconomic
backgrounds, languages, and language varieties.

Sedgefield's administration and staff come from all over North
Carolina, the Southeast, Midwest, and one foreign country. The
administration consists of one principal, originally from Durham, North
Carolina, to oversee the total school program; one black assistant
principal to promote good student behavior; and one assistant principal
--a descendant of the original Scotch-Irish settlers--to assist teachers
with instructional and curricular matters. The principal's offices--
staffed by the school secretary, the attendance secretary, and student
assistants--are located in the 300 building (See Appendix B, Figure B-1,
Map of Sedgefield Junior High). One full-time counselor, one half-time
counselor, a school social worker, a school psychologist, and a speech
therapist who come to the school on designated days, and their secretary
are across the hall from the principals' suite. Forty-nine teachers are
on staff to teach in the three school wings connected by walkways.
These teachers bring together divergent experiences and backgrounds
gained in living or coming from Florida to Ohio to India. White and
black teachers also come together to teach an equally divergent student
body juxtaposing "Old" with "New" South--the Sunbelt.

676 students having widely varying interests and coming from
diverse neighborhoods attended Sedgefield Junior High School during the
1984-1985 school year. 206 were eighth graders: 138 whites, fifty-six

blacks, two American Indians, seven Asians, and three Hispanics. I sampled sixty-three eighth grade students from three eighth grade classes--the academically gifted language arts, a heterogeneously grouped social studies class, and the basic (remedial) language arts/ writing lab class. Along with black and white students, these three classes included two bilingual Greek Americans, one Lumbee Indian female, and one girl of Hispanic lineage.

## Neighborhood Attendance Zone

In order to profile the socioeconomic and racial diversity of the Sedgefield Junior High attendance zone and the social networks within the school, I used U.S. Census information, Charlotte Housing Authority information, and on-site observations. Because Sedgefield is an inner-city school, but also because of a resurgence of interest in what once were and are again becoming fashionable neighborhoods, Sedgefield is naturally integrated. All of its neighborhoods are adjoining, and there is no need for cross-town busing. Understanding the students' neighborhoods helps in understanding the diversity of their adolescent lives, choices, and friendship claims--both out of school and in school.

Students' diversities in the classroom reflect different cultures because students come to school from diverse neighborhoods, homes, and socioeconomic classes (See Appendix B, Table B-1, Neighborhood Distribution of Students in the Sedgefield Attendance Zone by Gender, Race, and Academic Placement). As students enter school, these cultural and home influences are evident in the different social networks in which they align themselves. These different networks typically reflect

spaces distinguishable by neighborhood, socioeconomic class, race, gender, out-of-school activities, in-school academic placement, style of dress, school or network leadership roles, styles of interacting in the network, with teachers, and with others outside the network. However, schools also provide settings where students from diverse backgrounds cross over these spaces and barriers to develop friendships and to expand limited cultural understandings.

In order to study and map the diversity of sampled students' activities and friends in school, I asked all students to sketch their in-school/out-of-school worlds indicating friends, interests, and activities. Using Davis' (1985, 1986a) model "Faces, Places, and Spaces" and Theresa Labov's model (1982), with modifications, I charted patterns, yielding friendship clusters, activity clusters, and place clusters of the sample to indicate the social structure among the students. These sketches and charts reflect both the students' social structure within the school and their out-of-school residential, socioeconomic class, and racial patterns. This sketch followed six months of observation at school and at after-school activities and events, participatory observation, scripting, and taping in social studies and language arts/writing lab classes. I assessed activity clusters and place clusters through naming frequencies where students from each class recorded favored things to do and places to go to determine any clustering patterns and to compare and contrast inter-class clustering patterns. I collected additional information to understand the classroom observations and from sketching sessions and

from individual interviews with all social studies and language arts/ writing lab students during April, May, and early June. Although common adolescent characteristics and interests such as enjoying music or going to church, emerged from student maps, classroom and interview interaction styles suggest that adolescents express adolescence differently. Their out-of-school living patterns help to explain these differences, and a description of their neighborhoods is an important factor in their diversity.

Although Sedgefield attendance zone neighborhoods are often contiguous to one another, many types of housing are found in these neighborhoods, ranging from public housing to the most distinctive homes in Charlotte. The students come from one neighborhood experiencing regentrification, Dilworth; one historically prestigious neighborhood, Myers Park; a more modest neighborhood, Sedgefield; and a working class neighborhood, Wilmore. Also in the school's attendance zones are two public housing complexes--Southside in the Southside Park neighborhood, and Savannah Woods in Sedgefield--and one low rent apartment complex, Brookhill Village in the Brookhill neighborhood (See Appendix B, Table B-2, Neighborhood Characteristics of the Sedgefield Attendance Zone and Appendix B, Figure B-2, Map of Neighborhoods in the Sedgefield Attendance Zone).

Dilworth. Dilworth, one of Charlotte's first suburbs, lies south of and almost immediately adjacent to downtown in a restored and revitalized section of Charlotte. After years of neglect, Dilworth became fashionable several years ago and is now almost completely

renovated. The occupational status of the residents is primarily managerial and professional with many non-working women who--by virtue of the neighborhood's relative affluence--volunteer in numerous areas including the schools. Wide streets shaded by towering trees and bordered by sidewalks add to the neighborhood's ambiance and distinctive character. Sturdy older homes built away from the streets juxtapose historic flavors with contemporary scenes of professional families moving back into the city. Parks sprinkled throughout the winding streets provide areas to play, jog, and relax.

Myers Park. Another area with wide shaded streets and stately homes is the Myers Park neighborhood--the second most affluent in Charlotte. Myers Park boasts Queen's College and represents "Old South"/"Old Charlotte" social, political, and cultural leadership. Myers Park residents are among the wealthiest and most influential in Charlotte. For example, Sedgefield parents from this neighborhood include one school board member and one former state senator. The occupational status is predominantly managerial and professional specialty occupations. Students from both Dilworth and Myers Park attend Dilworth Elementary, and both neighborhoods are predominantly white.

Sedgefield. Sedgefield, a middle class neighborhood and the original school area, borders Dilworth and immediately surrounds the junior high. This neighborhood has more modest homes and apartments also scattered on tree lined streets. A large clustering of Greek families makes their homes here. The predominant occupation for the

neighborhood is technical, sales, and administrative support including

clerical workers. Students from this neighborhood attend Sedgefield

Elementary School and are predominantly white.

Wilmore. Wilmore, bordering Dilworth to the west, is a working

class black neighborhood. The predominant occupational categories are

operators, fabricators, and laborers who experience relatively high

unemployment. This hilly area with narrow winding streets has small

privately owned or rented homes perched near the streets. Because of

the amount of upkeep on houses or small yards, privately owned or rented

homes are easily discernible. Students from these homes attend Dilworth

Elementary.

Other black Sedgefield Junior High School students come from a

privately owned, low income apartment complex--Brookhill Village--and

two government subsidized housing projects--Southside and Savannah

Woods.

Brookhill. Brookhill Village, located in the Brookhill

neighborhood south of Wilmore, is a non-subsidized, privately owned

apartment complex with 416 units renting for $28.00 a week for one

bedroom, $29.00 a week for two bedrooms and $30.00 a week for three

bedrooms (Resident Manager 1985). Although the high density complex

with asbestos shingle siding is not a public housing project, many

students who live here listed it as a "project." Perhaps in their minds,

it is one. Students from this area attend Marie G. Davis Elementary

School.

The two housing projects are Southside, located in the Southside
Park neighborhood, and Savannah Woods, located in Sedgefield. These
locations are adjacent to parks which border Dilworth and Sedgefield and
separate the neighborhoods. Project students play ball, skate, and play
games in these parks.

Southside. Southside, opened in 1950, has 393 family living units
set within forty-one acres. Southside residents have less crime and
more stability than other Charlotte projects for several apparent
reasons. First, residents have formed and maintained an active
residents' association (DeAdwyler 1985). Second, Southside's acreage--
more spacious than in other projects--appears to ease the tensions of so
many living together in such proximity. The income for a family of
three cannot exceed $11,800 to qualify to live in public housing, and
most families have incomes well below this figure with average family
income of $5,087. Most households are headed by women, and unemployment
is very high. A significant portion of the residents do not have a
telephone. Students from Southside attend Marie G. Davis Elementary
School.

Savannah Woods. The other project, Savannah Woods, previously
called Marsh Road, is one of Charlotte's twenty scattered site complexes
with fifty or fewer apartments per complex. Because of its newness--
weathered wood exterior with green areas--Savannah Woods bears little
resemblance to project architecture and looks like many other Charlotte,
tree shaded, apartment complexes. Savannah Woods has forty-nine units

with a population of 160. Most of the families are headed by females, and almost all of the residents are black. Students from this area attend Sedgefield Elementary School.

### Out-of-School Places and Activities

While socioeconomic and racial patterns of spaces are evident in the students' neighborhood living patterns, all three factors-- neighborhood, socioeconomic, and race--influence which out-of-school activities students choose (See Appendix B, Table B-3, Girls' Indications, by Neighborhood, of Places They Frequent and Table B-4, Girls' Indications, by Neighborhood, of Out-of-School Activities). Students go to a phenomenal number of places and share many interests. One universal is church attendance--even though students attend different churches. Shopping centers are also a shared interest. Cruising the malls--group safaris in which adolescents wander up and down concourses, congregate and cluster on ledges or benches, and migrate in and out of stores--offers students ways to meet other adolescents--to see and be seen. These forays keep adolescents up to date on what's happening, what's being worn, and what's being said. Friday night hangout spots, such as Godfather's or Queen's Park with food and video games, are also popular activities for everyone.

But, in spite of these similarities, there are significant spaces or differences in the activities students choose and the places they go --spaces and differences which are grounded in the socioeconomic and racial patterns of their neighborhoods. Because of neighborhood differences, adolescents express adolescence differently through

choices.  Although this study deals with several neighborhoods, the girls in the sample group broke into three distinct categories in their choices of out-of-school activities:  a Dilworth/Myers Park category, a Sedgefield category, and a Wilmore/Brookhill/Savannah Woods category. The students gravitated into similar clusters of interests shared by other students from like home neighborhoods and race.[1]

Myers Park/Dilworth.  The Myers Park/Dilworth girls overwhelmingly chose going to the beach and visiting friends as their most frequent activities, with trips to the mountains, swimming, tennis, movies, and going to Godfather's following.  No one named Queen's Park, a consistent black preference.  Clearly, all these places and activities--except for visiting friends--involve and require money.  They also picked a variety of other sports, and a few mentioned shopping centers--mainly Park Road --church, and bike riding.

Sedgefield.  In Sedgefield, going to shopping centers--mainly South Park Mall--was the principle choice.  The students in this neighborhood also spent time visiting friends and on Friday nights going to Queen's Park and to a lesser degree to Godfather's.  No other choice was mentioned more than one time;  neither sports nor church was mentioned.

Wilmore/Brookhill Village/Savannah Woods.  In the black neighborhoods--Wilmore/Brookhill/Savannah Woods--there were two clear favorites--Queen's Park and shopping centers, principally Eastland Mall. However, not all students mentioned Queen's Park and even those who mentioned it discussed possible dangers associated with it--roving gangs.  Roller skating and church activities were also popular

activities as was going to Godfather's. In contrast to the preferences of the girls from the white neighborhoods, numerous blck students said that dating, parties, and dancing were frequent activities. Several sports other than skating were mentioned, but no sport was mentioned more than once.

"Place/Space" Patterns. One interesting aspect of this mapping of activities and places is that the students did not choose activities according to their school academic placement in classes. The girls in the heterogeneously grouped social studies classes chose the same activities as the girls who lived near them rather than activities chosen by fellow social studies students. Thus, the greatest variety of choices came from within the social studies class where students represented almost all of the attendance zone neighborhoods.

Another aspect grounded in socioeconomics, race, and neighborhood is that, frequently, the girls chose similar activities but had different choices of specific activities. All went to malls--but different malls. While the Myers Park/Dilworth girls swam and played tennis, the black girls skated. The white girls visited friends, but the emphasis among the black girls was on dating and parties. And although all groups had a Friday night hangout, black girls typically chose Queen's Park. But, because of rumors of black gang fights, white girls from Myers Park/Dilworth never chose Queen's Park. Instead, they chose Godfather's. The Sedgefield girls split between Queen's Park and Godfather's.

One final conclusion is that pure economics is also a factor in student choices. The Myers Park/Dilworth girls have many more expensive choices, such as going to the beach or mountains, than do the other girls. They also mention numerous activities which require a non-working parent with a car or some other means of transportation to take them to the gymnastic lessons and swim team practice.

Although the neighborhoods are contiguous, the choices in preferred out-of-school activities and places are not consistent. These preferential choices with accompanying spaces clearly indicate that Sedgefield Junior High is a veritable salad bowl of the racial and socioeconomic spectrum of contemporary city life--with clear spaces between neighborhood groups. And, as students out of this salad bowl come together at school, they, again, show their diversity through choices and academic placement--although students share more activities in school than out of school.

<center>In-School Places and Activities</center>

Academic Placement. As we move into the school buildings and the school world, clustering or gravitational patterns--with spaces between clusters--are evident in academic placement.[2] School is a paradoxical setting. On the one hand, students from varied socioeconomic, racial, and neighborhood areas enter school where California Achievement Test scores, IQ test scores, and teacher recommendations group them academically for many classes. Academic placement groupings--academically gifted and remedial--typically reflect students' out of school life styles. For example, all thirty students in the

academically gifted class are white adolescents from either Myers Park or Dilworth. Students in the remedial class typically come from predominantly black neighborhoods--Wilmore, Brookhill Village, Savannah Woods.

Yet, on the other hand, the school offers heterogeneously grouped classes and activities fostering friendships that allow students to meet persons outside their socioeconomic, racial, and neighborhood backgrounds (See Appendix B, Table B-1, Neighborhood Distribution of Students in the Sedgefield Attendance Zone by Gender, Race, and Academic Placement). For example, Mrs. Vance's social studies class has students whose academic placement in language arts ranges from advanced--directly below academically gifted--to regular to remedial. Students' neighborhoods are Dilworth, Myers Park, Sedgefield, Wilmore, and Brookhill Village. Fifteen students are white; twelve students are black; one is Native American--a much more even balance of students than from either the academically gifted class or the remedial class. In the remedial class, four students are white; nine, black. Thus, grouping at the extreme ends of the academic placement spectrum-- academically gifted and remedial--indicates racial, neighborhood, and socioeconomic class patterns. However, this pattern fails to materialize within the heterogeneously grouped social studies class.

Another dominant pattern in these three classes is gender. Twenty-one girls make up 70% of the academically gifted class. Eight black

girls make up 61% of the remedial language arts/writing lab. Sixteen white and black girls and one Native American girl make up 57% of the social studies class.

"Faces, Places, Spaces'" Patterns. The dominant patterns within the three classes clearly indicate that socioeconomic class and racial factors that may be extrapolated from neighborhood living patterns impose themselves upon the classroom. This is not to suggest that the school deliberately tracks students. In fact, the school takes steps to assist students experiencing academic and social difficulties.[3] However, these patterns do disclose that students' neighborhood backgrounds-- obviously in combination with race and socioeconomic class and in this instance, gender--affect students' abilities to take achievement tests or achieve in-school academic success.

In-School Activities. In-school activities are important to all adolescents. The students in these three classes listed many (See Appendix B, Table B-5, Girls' Indications, by Neighborhood, of In-School Activities and Table B-6, Girls' Indications, by Academic Placement, of In-School Activities). Academically gifted girls listed twenty-nine in-school activities, the largest number. Social studies white girls listed nine; social studies/language arts black girls listed eight. Clearly, the academically gifted girls participate heavily in school activities and make distinctive contributions to the school. They, more than any other group, participate in student government, Executive Council (the officers and governing body of Student Council) and Student Council. However, the paradoxical school setting enters the picture

again. The school also offers activities fostering friendships that allow students to meet persons outside their socioeconomic, racial, and neighborhood backgrounds. Students who claim friends outside of socioeconomic, racial, and neighborhood boundaries are crossovers. School sports activities foster and provide roads to crossover friendships.

Sports offer opportunities for friendships that academic groupings cannot provide. Six academically gifted girls participate in track as does one black girl in language arts, Elizabeth. Also, three academically gifted girls play softball as do Emilia from social studies and Elizabeth. In basketball Emilia and Elizabeth play on the varsity team together. Elizabeth received the Outstanding Female Athlete Award at the end of the year. These associations where students not only vie with each other but work together for a common goal provide roads to friendship.

### Friendship Clusters

To understand the social structure and networking involved among the Sedgefield students, friendship clusters were developed from Davis' "Faces, Places, and Spaces" sketches with subsequent analysis based on Teresa Labov's model (1982) with modifications. Because black girls were the primary focus of this study, black girls' friendship claims to each other and to other girls were first developed (See Appendix B, Figure B-3, Friendship Clusters in Language Arts and Writing Lab, Figure B-4, Friendship Clusters in Social Studies, and Figure B-5, Friendship Clusters of Academically Gifted Students). Individual names of black

female students were centered in ovals; however, to distinguish between white and black students and male and female students individual names of students were centered in other geometric figures. When two persons mutually claimed the other, I drew a straight line between the two geometric figures. Unlike Labov, when one person claimed another but was not mutually claimed, I drew a dotted line ending in an arrow to indicate the person claiming friendship. Also, unlike Labov I did not use dotted lines to indicate those who hang out together because in the school setting hanging out may indicate different types of friendships—those in class, sports, cafeteria, or halls. Hang out groups are not consistent throughout either the school day or school year.

Black Girls' Friendship Clusters. The black girls are together in many classes. In my sample group, three black female students who are together in Mr. Hernan and Mrs. Johnson's language arts/writing lab—Elizabeth, Vicki, and Mary—are not members of Mrs. Vance's social studies class. Five others—Ann, Katie, Sally, Margaret, and Abby—are members of both Mrs. Vance's social studies and the Hernan/Johnson language arts/writing lab class with Elizabeth, Vicki, and Mary. In addition, Helene and Joan—two other black girls—are in Mrs. Vance's social studies class but are not in the Hernan/Johnson language arts/ writing lab class.

Analysis reveals that academic placement does not always generate friendships (See Appendix B, Figure B-3, Friendship Clusters in Language Arts and Writing Lab). The only black girls with mutual claims with other black girls in these classes are Margaret and Joan, social studies

classmates, and Vicki and Katie, language arts classmates. Ann does not claim any other black girl but Katie, who does not claim her. Mary also claims Ann plus Katie, Elizabeth, and Sally but is not claimed by any of them. Elizabeth does not claim any of the black girls but is claimed by Mary and Vicki. Sally claims Katie and is claimed by Margaret and Mary. Two black girls--Helene and Abby--were claimed by no other black girl nor did they claim any black girls in these classes. Although Abby is highly regarded by both teachers and white students, she is an outsider --a lame--among her black peers despite the parallels in race, neighborhood, and academic grouping.

Crossover Friendships. Although academic placement does not appear to foster friendship claims among the black girls, it--along with sports participation--does appear to foster some crossover friendships (See Appendix B, Figure B-4, Friendship Clusters in Social Studies). Margaret, Elizabeth, and Joan have mutual friendship claims with Emilia --the Valentine Queen--a true crossover among the white girls. Emilia not only listed mutual friendships with Margaret, Elizabeth, and Joan but also associated with them in the halls, cafeteria, classroom--her source of mutual friendship claims with Margaret and Joan--and in sports --her source of mutual friendship claim with Elizabeth. Emilia's sports participation where she was the second leading scorer--behind Elizabeth --on the varsity basketball team and a valuable softball player with Elizabeth and Chris--an academically gifted student--becomes the road to her mutual friendship with both Elizabeth and Chris, an acknowledged school power and leader.

School leadership and power reside in the eighth grade academically gifted class--particularly among its girls. Chris is president of the Executive Council, the governing body for the elected student council. Bertha, another academically gifted student, has been elected Homecoming Queen, cheerleader, and an Executive Council officer (See Appendix B, Figure B-5, Friendship Clusters of Academically Gifted Students). Chris claims Bertha who does not reciprocate this friendship claim. However, Chris does claim Emilia, who also claims her. This mutual friendship claim is the tenuous thread by which black girls have any association with or access to school power, and, only through Margaret, Joan, and Elizabeth's mutual friendship claims with Emilia. Chris, Emilia, and Bertha from the Myers Park neighborhood are very popular across the school and are prominent candidates for any office or position. Frequently, however, girls who are not so popular assume that the academically gifted girls will be selected or elected and that clothes are important indicators of status and success.

For girls, cheerleading and queenship still are prestigious activities. Cheerleaders at Sedgefield are selected--not elected--by a panel of judges. Four of the eight cheerleaders are academically gifted girls; the other four are black, one of whom received the Outstanding Cheerleader award at Awards' Day at the close of school. Despite the prestige associated with being a cheerleader, these girls may be subject to criticism and jealousy by girls not selected (See Appendix B, Figure

B-4, Friendship Clusters in Social Studies). For instance in
interviews, Lane, a social studies white girl, voiced attitudes about
those who she thought were most likely to be selected:

> "They [the academically gifted girls] are the ones most likely
> to be selected cheerleader and queen and to be elected to
> Executive Council."

With those whom she designated "most likely" Lane also associated style
of dress and pinned "the preps" label on these students. As Aletia,
another white social studies student put it,

> "They wear their Polo's, Izod's, and Guess jeans. I can't
> spend that kind of money; I just wear my Levi's."

However, for Aletia the "prep" label refers to any person associated
with this style of dress--not just the academically gifted girls.

"Prep" labels any student who wears that label conscious style of
dress--in the eyes of students who are either unwilling to wear it or
unable to afford it. This dress code crosses over academic groupings
yet often fails to cross over out-of-school neighborhoods. Patty, a
social studies student from the Myers Park neighborhood, is a "prep"--
designated so by Aletia but also indicated through her friendship
claims. She has more status through her mutual friendship claims with
the academically gifted girls than she has in social studies class (See
Appendix B, Figure B-5, Friendship Clusters of Academically Gifted
Students). This status was evident when Patty made the runoff election
for Executive Council in the spring of the school year. However, she
failed to be elected--a fact perhaps attributable to her nonexistent
friendships with students outside the academically gifted/Myers Park/

Dilworth group. But Patty did have one mutually claimed friendship in social studies--Nadine from Sedgefield who had a more tenuous position within the school power network but a stronger hold in the social studies network. The "prep" label crossed over academic placements yet remained consistent within neighborhoods. However, other labels for students were also voiced.

Aletia and Lane, who introduced the "prep" designation, also introduced another label--the "hoods." Neither Aletia nor Lane has claims to friendships in either the academically gifted class or the social studies class. The absence of friendship claims indicates that both are outside the mainstream leadership and power of the school or their class. Their outsider status is evident in the label "hood" introduced by them and attached to them by other students. This label also refers to style of dress--Levi's, black jackets, more garish make-up, and punkier hair styles.

Although students of either race may fit--by virtue of dress--the "prep" or "hood" designation, white students in interview failed to include black girls in either group. Black girls were lumped together regardless of dress. Despite this racial stereotyping, Margaret--in interview--stated that she was a "prep." Her self-designation clearly indicates her desire to be a part of the power and her reaching out to that power.

Most students are aware of these label designations and can glibly categorize classmates into networks. For example, during his interview Norman, a white social studies student from Myers Park, sketched the

social studies class into distinct networks that closely matched the
friendship clustering. To Nadine, Patty, Norman, and Teddy, for
instance, he applied the descriptor "preps" and associated brand names
with the designation--Guess, Forenza, Polo's, Gotcha, and Quicksilvers.
All of his designated "preps" but Nadine are from Myers Park. He also
grouped the black girls together and placed Aletia and Lane together.
He also readily predicted what music, Friday night places, money to
spend, and neighborhood would be associated with each group. At a later
date in class, social studies students charted personal preferences
according to their own predictions--predictions which were typically on
target with Norman's.

Patterns in "Faces, Places, and Spaces"

From this examination of the students' life styles and networks--
outside of school in Charlotte, a Sunbelt city, and inside of school--
the immense diversity and spaces between students are evident in
socioeconomic class, race, neighborhood, and academic grouping. These
differing life styles and networks cluster into patterns outside of and
inside school. The differing networks serve as reference points for
their members to teach gender and adolescent roles appropriate to each
network. Furthermore, these networks serve as reference points for
polite or rude verbal and nonverbal styles; appropriate addressee
titles; getting and gaining respect; interaction and turn taking how-
to's: when to interrupt, whom to interrupt, how to interrupt; when and
how to respond to whom; and appropriate discussion topics for home and
away from home (Heath 1983). The language activities in which students

engage mirror the life styles of families and adolescents from their

neighborhoods and the spaces between. Data indicate that students from

more affluent, middle class, white neighborhoods have more success

inside school because of their out-of school lives. Clearly, the

interaction rules which these students have learned at home equip them

to handle classroom life better than their black peers. Although black

students from less affluent neighborhoods have less school success,

school does offer them--and their white peers--opportunities to

cultivate friendships--crossover opportunities which are nonexistent at

worst and improbable at best outside school. Data indicate students

express adolescence differently through choices. Thus, the school is a

paradoxical setting which limits choices, on the one hand, yet expands

the array of choices, on the other.

Students map their worlds onto and project their voices into the

classroom world. Out of their own personal maps students experience the

classroom. From their resulting classroom maps they make predictions

about classroom life and anticipate characteristics about other

students, influencing what they see, hear, say, or do which subsequent

experiences will then either confirm or deny. Out of these experiences

attitudes emerge. But maps and attitudes are dynamic, retaining the

capacity to change as students have subsequent experiences. The

following chapters show how maps infringe on the classroom and how the

dynamic nature of maps can create change.

CHAPTER IV

"IT'S NOT A CHOICE; THAT'S A DO IT.":

MAPPING EIGHTH GRADE BLACK FEMALES' PRAGMATICS AND TEACHERS' DIRECTIVES

In the spring of 1985 Katie, a black eighth grade remedial student in a North Carolina junior high school, and her social studies teacher, Mrs. Vance, confronted each other in this exchange.

Mrs. Vance:   "Katie, I believe I asked you to remove already what you have in your mouth and put it in the trash can."

(Katie standing beside her desk; Mrs. Vance, at podium at front of the room)

Katie:   "Ain't going to throw it away."

Mrs. Vance:   "It's not a choice; that's a do it." (teacher making eye contact with Katie)

Katie:   "I ain't going to throw it away; I take it out, but I ain't going to throw it away."

Mrs. Vance:   "That's not the choice...page 150." (gives assignment to class)

Katie:   (standing resolutely by desk) "I ain't...I ain't gonna ...I ain't gonna put it in no trash can." (pouty look)

Mrs. Vance:   "Put it in the trash can."

Katie:   (inaudible on tape but scripted) whispered, "All right."

Mrs. Vance:   (not hearing the "all right" in a teasing tone with a smile on her face begins to walk toward Katie and makes a jocular statement about consequences)

Katie:   "I ain't gonna do it."

Ann:   "You ain't supposed to be threatening no children!"

Mrs. Vance:   (mock surprise on her face) "You, children?"

Ann:          "Yes, we are!"

Mrs. Vance:  "Oh!  Ok, thank you."

Katie:        "Ok, I'm gonna throw it away." (She marches to the
              trash can casting baleful looks at the class and
              teacher, throws it in, returns to her desk smiling.)

Although students will and may alter their personal interaction styles

to conform, students will continue to use what they already know about

language from home and cultural influences as reference points for

subsequent school interactions with peers and teachers.  For instance,

Katie's gaming, a contest of wills in front of others (the class),

mirrors black culture's oral tradition valuing verbal fencing.

This exchange illustrates further contrasts.  First, it violates

expectations about student/teacher interactions because teachers

typically control and direct classroom discourse;  students respond and

generally acquiesce (Flanders 1963;  Barnes 1969;  Sinclair and

Coulthard 1975;  Heath 1978;  Lucas 1985).  Although this exchange shows

signs of playfulness, it could have become a serious confrontation were

it not for the teacher's consistent softening of directives, jocular

tones, and firmness defusing a potentially dangerous situation.  It

further violates expectations because boys rather than girls typically

exhibit more socially aggressive behavior (Brophy and Good 1974) and

experience more academic difficulty (DeStephano, et al. 1982).  However,

Katie's aggressive behavior and academic problems reflect the status of

many other black girls.  For example, In School Suspension records

indicate that black girls comprised 22% of the "patrons" in contrast to

33% black males, 25% white males, and 12% white females (remaining

percentages: Native Americans or Southeast Asians). Katie is among the 22% because of physically fighting other girls and verbally dueling teachers as this exchange reveals. Academically, she is also among the 44% black female majority making up the Chapter 1 (formerly known as Title 1) Writing Lab program, grades seven through nine and the 61% black female majority making up the eighth grade remedial class.

Other adolescents in the social studies classroom watching this exchange were not shocked that Katie would express herself so forcefully with the teacher. Although not all black girls follow this style, many do, and other students know it. But these student observers' intertwined language/life style patterns brought into class are different from Katie's. Thus, Mrs. Vance's directive, a command to do, (Ervin-Tripp 1976) "It's not a choice; that's a do it," represents what she and most of these observing students expect from students--students will do what they are told to do. This exchange also represents black culture's intertwined language/life style patterns evident in the way adolescents express adolescence similarly yet differently through interaction choices in the classroom. What contributions has black culture made to the attitudes and perceptions of Katie's classmates about black girls and the ways Katie and her black female peers express adolescence, attitudes, and interaction styles?

Black Cultural Traditions

Classroom research indicates that black students make different decisions about interaction in classrooms by attaching different meanings to pragmatic behavior, the interaction rules to which speakers

and listeners subscribe (Kochman 1981; Abrahams 1976; Folb 1980). These characteristics which are markedly different from white interaction style or classroom interaction style can produce and provoke conflict for black students, white students, and teachers. Because black female students may exhibit characteristics of aggressiveness, independence, self-confidence, nonconformity from other norms, and emotional expressiveness (Lewis 1975, 230), white students and even other black male students will be wary of these girls. Interviews indicated that all students, black and white, were well aware that black girls interacted differently from other students, interactions typically characterized in terms of aggressiveness, hostility, being rude and loud. Teachers were equally aware of the black female students' interaction differences.

Other differences include perceptions about black female leadership (See Appendix B, Table B-6, Girls' Indications, by Academic Placement, of In-School Activities). Although black girls' in-school activities do not predispose other students to think of them as leaders, within the black social network there are bosses with whom the other black female students are careful what they say or how they say it. Margaret and Elizabeth with mutual friendship claims with Emilia are leaders or bosses among the black girls (See Appendix C, Figure C-1, Friendship Clusters and Social Structure). However, just as adolescents express adolescence differently, Margaret and Elizabeth clearly express leadership styles differently from Chris and Emilia who typically interact with teachers and students as research indicates students will

interact, acquiescently and obediently. Abby, a lame outside of these
black girls' interaction network, contrasts the bosses' styles and
interacts similarly to the typical acquiescent, obedient student style.
The interaction styles of Margaret, Elizabeth, and Abby in social
studies, language arts/writing lab, and on the basketball court can
demonstrate why some white students and some teachers regard Abby as a
leader and Margaret and Elizabeth as lames--outside of the school
cultural norms for both academic and social behavior. Thus, the
classroom's student interactions and student/teacher interactions
provide a lens through which cultural stylistic differences and status
factors, expressed through interaction styles, verbal and nonverbal, are
evident.

Social Hierarchy--Bosses and Lames

Consider this interaction occurring near the end of a language arts
classroom speech event about why girls fight. Within this five minute
segment it is obvious that the teacher's status is not as high as either
Margaret or Elizabeth's, acknowledged bosses, indicated by their
interruptions of him and other students to maintain the floor. Because
students are facing or turned toward Margaret--who is holding court--not
the teacher, nonverbal features of body stance and eye contact indicate
the limited teacher status. Also, because Abby is on the edge of the
group, consistently attempting to say something, her futile attempts to
speak along with her physical proximity to the group indicate her
limited group status, a lame. Four girls are seated in desks, with
three (Ann, Mary, Vicki) facing toward Margaret--the court, and one

other girl (Abby) is standing in front of them on the fringe of the

court. Mr. Hernan, the teacher, is seated at his desk that is opposite/

in front of the court.

Minutes into the Class Period and .seconds

49 Mary begins a story about an incident at BoJangles. Teacher
interrupts to ask questions.

50 Mary continues to talk. Margaret and Vicki take over the
conversation interrupting Mary. .46 Elizabeth enters from a movie,
sits down, interrupts Margaret and Vicki to say the movie was
produced in the 1800's—so bad that she'd rather be in class.

51 Teacher makes a contribution. Mary returns to BoJangles. Margaret
interrupts and begins; students look at her, not the teacher.

52 Margaret hushes others when they try to interrupt and continues—all
the time talking with her hands, arms, upper body, and face—with
some responses from Mary and contributions from Vicki. .52
Elizabeth interrupts and enters the conversation.

53 Vicki regains the floor and tells who has a baby and then resumes
conversation about BoJangles and dirty rice's tasting like dog food.
.28 Elizabeth, up on her feet from across the room and facing the
group, asks Vicki how does she know how dog food tastes. All,
including Vicki, howl appreciatively at the put down; Abby crosses
the room and clasps Elizabeth's hand saying, "That's good!"

54 Elizabeth, still on her feet, chants a dog food commercial. Abby
has gone back in front of the group. Vicki has a short turn;
Margaret takes over. As the class ends Elizabeth is trying to get a
white male to "do the bird."[1] Class ends.

Margaret and Elizabeth clearly are the bosses to be reckoned with by the

group. No one shoots back at them even when, for example, Elizabeth

puts Vicki down about "dog food." This put down contains ritual insult

elements (Labov 1972) with a dog food analogy to poverty which means,

"You're so poor you eat dog food." Also, the audience participation and

appreciation of this insult are evident particularly through Abby's

rushing across the floor to congratulate Elizabeth. In contrast to Vicki's acceptance and amusement at this clever insult, other insults during the year, directed to Abby, clearly underline Abby's limited status and Margaret's boss status in this class.

Margaret, one boss who resembles to Maya Angelou in size, stature, color, and voice, is a handsome black girl whose interaction styles range from calmly muted to animatedly bellicose. Although the preceding incident does not reveal her defense capabilities, Margaret can aggressively defend herself as in this incident. One day in language arts when the students were studying adjectives, Abby, an equally dark classmate, who is usually hesitant with Margaret said, "Margaret is crazier than anybody." Margaret's back was to Abby. However, in a minute Margaret turned her head, fixed a direct stare on Abby, and said, "Abby is a chocolate Gandhi," a form of signifying. Signifying, a verbal dueling form making fun of another or stirring up a fight, can either be a speech act within a speech event or a speech event (Mitchell-Kernan 1971, 65-90). In this instance, the statement-- indirect and metaphorical--is a speech act with a directive intent (Kochman 1972, 32). Although Margaret had mixed her metaphors, "chocolate Gandhi" for "chocolate Buddha," she communicated her meaning --Abby is fat. Abby clearly inferred what Margaret was telling her; she recognized that Margaret had no teasing in mind because of the belligerent facial expression and harsh tone of voice. The directive intent to shut Abby up was fulfilled; Abby was embarrassed and shamed

by the fat characterization. The visible outcome of Margaret's signifying on Abby was both physical and verbal. Abby popped her thumb into her mouth and was silent the rest of the period.

Mr. Hernan, the teacher, perhaps wisely ignored the exchange through his refusal to be drawn into the dueling. However, his silence also emphasizes Margaret's boss status—among her peers and with him. Margaret's attitude and prediction about Abby were fulfilled, as indicated by this interview quote,

> "You know, like, if me and her was to git in an argument, I would win an argument. She's just scared to say sumpin' back ...She's scared of people...She doesn't like to git in trouble either."

Ann, observing this "chocolate Gandhi" incident in class, also has her attitude and prediction about Margaret fulfilled, as indicated by this interview quote,

> "It ain't that I'm scared of 'em or nothin' like that—they seem like they temper go off faster...you know... they seem, cause the way...Margaret talks mean like that or jump through you or something...so you try to keep your patience so they won't go off the handle or nothin'...you know."

Ann is more adept than Abby at teasing Margaret and performs this ritual: first, she pats Margaret while leaning towards her; second, she changes her tone of voice softening it in the manner of baby talk; third, all during these previous rituals Ann is checking out Margaret's mood to see if the teasing will be well received. Because Abby has failed to perform the ritual, her teasing is scorned through signifying.

Abby's teasing of Elizabeth is no better received by Elizabeth than Abby's teasing of Margaret was, as this language arts incident

indicates. One day the students were reading their stories aloud in front of the class. When it was Elizabeth's turn, Abby, with the intonation of Ed McMahon introducing Johnny Carson, said, "Here's---- Elizabeth." Elizabeth eyed Abby and said, "Shut up, fool," a directive that Abby obeyed. These examples provide insights into the boss or lame status of Margaret, Abby, and Elizabeth.

Margaret clearly establishes herself as a leader or boss but does it differently from Elizabeth. Margaret is friend oriented, claimer of forty-four persons on her "Faces, Places, and Spaces" sketch, and desirous of "prep" status. In contrast, Elizabeth, claimer of few friends, says,

> "I like being by myself mostly because...See I can work better by myself than in a group. And I just like to be by myself."

Margaret, speaking of Elizabeth and recognizing their differences, says,

> "She don't like many people. I don't know why. She actin' bad[2] or something like that. The girls at this school--they don't mess with Elizabeth because they think that if they was to say something the wrong way, that she would just start a fight. 'Cause you know she always try to make herself seem as bad as other people...like fighting...She just try to throw her weight around."

Even Margaret does not "mess with" Elizabeth, but Margaret also points out, "And she don't mess with me."[3] However, Margaret demonstrates more flexibility in her interactions and more willingness to adapt herself to the situation than Elizabeth.

In contrast, Elizabeth chooses to be an outsider, protects herself through her "badness," and varies little from class to class. She is

determined to write her own lines and speak her own script. Abby, also an outsider, is not one through the same kind of choice. Although Elizabeth can "talk junk" with anyone, Abby does not believe it is right to be "so grouchy" with classmates or teachers. Choice is imposed on her by her refusal to play games or perform black cultural rituals. But Abby is also from a home where both parents are present and employed; her mother works at a high school cafeteria. In contrast, neither Margaret nor Elizabeth has a father at home. Margaret's parents are separated; Elizabeth's father died in 1983. Thus, students' maps learned through life experiences are expressed through attitudes which are often superimposed onto the classroom interactions. Because individual life experiences are the basis of student maps, it is absurd to believe or assume that being black assures unanimity of opinion or action.

Black females are not clones. Each is different, just as all adolescents are similar yet distinctly different. Although black culture's intertwined language/life style pattern is evident in interactions, these black teenagers are expressing adolescence similarly yet differently through the choices they make in classroom interaction. But the pragmatics continuum--calmly muted to animatedly bellicose--is also clearly revealed through adolescent power pyramids--social hierarchy involving bosses and lames and white/black networks. In social studies, language arts, and writing lab the distinctiveness of black females' attempts to boss (control the group or the classroom) and bid (take a turn to engage in interaction or raise hands to answer

questions) in the classroom is disclosed.  The rules involved in bossing
and bidding often mirror black cultural traditions superimposed onto the
classroom where teachers react to impose social and academic norms--
school culture--through directives.

Social Studies' Bossing and Bidding Styles and Teacher Directives

Margaret, Ann, Sally, Katie, and Abby are students in Mrs. Vance's
social studies class with Emilia who has mutual friendship claims with
Margaret and Joan (See Appendix B, Figure B-4, Friendship Clusters in
Social Studies).  Because of such friendships where a person such as
Margaret may reach out to admired persons, class grouping can affect
students' interaction styles with other students and the teachers.
Although black girls may be bellicose and verbally aggressive as the
"It's not a choice;  that's a do it," exchange between Mrs. Vance and
Katie indicated, in heterogeneous groupings--such as this social studies
class--these characteristics are not as pronounced.  In social studies
Margaret carries out her friendship orientation through note writing/
passing, a common adolescent girls' practice.

During class girls particularly interact among themselves through
whispering and writing and passing notes.  Although scripting of teacher
nominations (calling on students) and student bids (raising hands or
calling out to answer teacher questions) may indicate that girls are
hibernating or dormant, during November and December in eleven, fifty-
five minute observations Margaret passed or wrote fifteen notes.  On
November 14, ten of the fifteen note writing instances co-occurred with
a few "witty" comments from Margaret who had momentarily surfaced.

Patterns during the course of these two months suggest factors
contributing to this correspondence and when Margaret judged it "safe"
to write or pass.

Because classes last for fifty-five minutes, time can be a factor
in classroom interaction. Although students' attention spans differ,
the black girls' span was approximately twenty minutes. After twenty
minutes, the girls typically turned off the teacher's questions and
turned to more enticing activities such as note writing or passing. The
sample for note writing occurs between November and December 1984 during
eleven class meetings. During the sampled two month span, eight notes
were written or passed during the final twenty minutes of class; five,
during the middle twenty minutes; two, during the first twenty minutes.
Margaret's note writing/passing frequency suggests to teachers--who must
keep or maintain students' attention--that the deeper into the
instructional period, the more likely the students are to participate in
activities other than listening to the teacher or answering teacher
questions, typical social studies activities.

On a typical day during the sampled time Mrs. Vance and her
students busied themselves checking students' homework, answers to
forty-five to sixty-five study guide questions covering textbook
material. The day would begin with a review of the preceding day's
questions and answers and would progress through the yet unanswered
questions--a litany of questions, answers, and evaluations of answers--

employing Mrs. Vance's looping back to other students' answers or chaining together students' responses. With this method Mrs. Vance directed students to recall, to think--as illustrated in this example:

Mrs. Vance:   "Uh, first Kristy said larger communities and so they developed particular skills.  What does larger community mean, Margaret?"

Margaret:   "More people in a group."

Mrs. Vance:   "Very good, more people in a group."

Moreover, Mrs. Vance would nominate long lists of students to fine tune answers, to insure understanding, and to keep students on their proverbial toes.  This method provides repetitious times that can impose a hypnotic state when interest ceases or concentration wanes--a time for note writing or passing.  During the day when Margaret wrote ten notes, Mrs. Vance called on eight students while Margaret was writing the first note;  ten students while Margaret was writing her second note;  nineteen students while Margaret was writing her third note;  two, the fourth note;  three, the fifth note;  three, the sixth note;  open nomination (when no particular student is called on), the seventh note;  one--Abby--the eighth note;  three, the ninth note;  and one, the tenth note.  Because Margaret rarely bid or was nominated during this procedure, she was free to devote her energies to correspondence during times when other students were answering questions.  Margaret nonverbally signaled correspondence by draping her left arm across the

desk, lowering her head, and periodically looking up to check out the teacher. Mrs. Vance learned to read these signals and to call on Margaret more.

When Mrs. Vance became aware of the nonverbal signals for note writing, Margaret's grades were in the D range. Initially to break up the correspondence, Mrs. Vance nominated Margaret more frequently or directed questions to her at the beginning of class. Of the twenty-eight questions directed to Margaret or questions Margaret chose to bid on, 71% were what questions requiring literal level recall--the facts. This level of cognitive input, although well intended to serve as opportunities for success, proved unsuccessful. Margaret could soon predict which type of questions were for her. And if it were not her type, she could use this as a safe time to write.

But often Margaret chose not to answer, question/answer times often turning into interrogations and demonstrating that questions are not merely teacher attempts to obtain student answers--attempts which the student can ignore. During the two month period, Mrs. Vance interrogated Margaret four times. Margaret's responses to interrogations would range from humor to stonewalling. The following November 29 interrogation demonstrates Margaret's humor as a way out of answering; the December 6 interrogation shows stonewalling, stubbornness turning into a contest of wills.

November 29:

Mrs. Vance:    "Valerie, tell me two ways that early Indians
               traveled?"

Valerie:       "By foot and by canoe."

Mrs. Vance:    "By foot and by canoe.  What kind of canoe, Margaret?"

Margaret:      "By foot and by boat." (Class laughs.)

Mrs. Vance:    "Ok, Ok.  What kind of boat?"

Margaret:      "What?"

Mrs. Vance:    "What kind of a boat?"

Margaret:      "A row boat." (Class laughs again.)

Mrs. Vance:    "You people are having problems today sitting still and
               talking.  If I ask for your comments, then you can
               raise your hand and give them to me.  Otherwise, keep
               your mouths shut."

Mrs. Vance:    "What did you say, Margaret?  I'm sorry."

Margaret:      "A dugout canoe."

Mrs. Vance:    "Ok, a dugout canoe."

The responding teacher directive beginning, "You people," quells the

laughter, reestablishes Vance's control, and convinces Margaret to

answer.  Although Margaret ultimately acquiesced, on other occasions

acquiescence was slower as this interaction indicates:

December 6:

Mrs. Vance:    "Ok, supposedly why were the Indians asked to leave,
               Margaret?"

Margaret:      (long pause) "I didn't hear the question."

Mrs. Vance:    "Why would they move the Indians?"

Margaret:      (inaudible)"...don't know the answer."

Mrs. Vance:    "Just like the reason your mama moves the furniture
               around; she gets tired of seeing it there?"

Margaret:      "Uh, they got tired of them." (unsure intonation)

Mrs. Vance:    "What? I'm asking is that the reason...? They got
               tired of seeing the Indians sitting in North Carolina
               and decided they needed a change of scenery?"

Margaret:      "Uh, they probably got tired of fussing...I don't
               know."

Mrs. Vance:    "You're almost right. Come on. Who got tired of
               fussing with them?"

Margaret:      "Settlers?"

Mrs. Vance:    "Who got tired of fussing with them about what?"

Margaret:      "Land, trade, food, and slaves?"

Mrs. Vance:    "Good, see you knew it."

Margaret's slowness to supply answers may indicate a lack of knowledge

or it may indicate a form of gaming or stonewalling, a contest of wills

in front of the class. This exchange illustrates contrasts of classroom

expectations about student/teacher interactions because teachers

typically control and direct classroom discourse; students respond and

generally acquiesce (Flanders 1963; Barnes 1969; Sinclair and

Coulthard 1975; Heath 1978; Lucas 1985). It further violates

expectations because boys rather than girls typically exhibit more

socially aggressive behavior (Brophy and Good 1974) and experience more

academic difficulty (DeStephano, et al. 1982). One admired boy, Sergio,

who was claimed by both Ann and Margaret, if caught in an escapade might

slip out of it with a smile and a innocuous remark such as, "Looks like

a weed eater did your hair, Mrs. Vance," guaranteed to bring about a

smile. Or one of the other white girls might smile and never become
bellicose. However, this exchange symbolizes one aspect of black girls'
verbally aggressive behavior. If they choose not to cooperate or
acquiesce, they would rarely smile or make a funny comment to defuse the
situation and deflect attention from their activities.

Although Mrs. Vance, like most teachers, would laugh at witty
comments, she also persistently and good-naturedly grinds away at any
student, including Margaret in this instance, to force the answer. The
social input in this persistence is clear: Mrs. Vance will dispense no
immunity to any student to dodge answering questions. Thus, questions
to Mrs. Vance and for her students are clearly directive in nature--akin
to Goody's control mode of questioning (Goody 1978, 30-32) when teachers
may not only request an answer but may demand one in the classroom's
institutionalized context. Clearly, Mrs. Vance assumes the superior's
role and places an obligation on Margaret or any other student to
answer. Thus, Mrs. Vance's classroom questions requiring a verbal
response are directive and commanding in nature.

However, in addition to calling on Margaret to get her to stop
writing notes, Mrs. Vance also would call on Joan, Margaret's steady
correspondent and friend, to break up her input into the correspondence.
But Abby, the relay between Margaret and Joan--the usual note passer,
was rarely called on to stop her part. Because Abby was an active
bidder, Mrs. Vance apparently either failed to notice her role or chose
to ignore it. Despite the increased frequency of nomination, Margaret
continued to carefully gauge her writing to coincide with other

students' answering questions or to follow on the heels of her own

questions or interrogation, a safe time. Also during these two months

as test scores piled up, Mrs. Vance was tightening the screws on the

class to study more, pay attention more, and thereby earn better grades.

Her total class directives underscoring study, attentiveness, and

responsiveness were also being heard by Margaret. Consider these

directives to the entire class:

Nov. 20  "I would advise you strongly to fill out these." (study guides)

Nov. 30  "Ok, we're going to orally review for a quiz and it will depend
on how well you do whether we have a quiz or not. I have one
comment about people who were not paying attention; I'll let
you know on Monday who needs to do a report."

Dec. 6  "First, quickly review. When I call on you, I want the answer
like that. [snaps fingers] Don't open your notes. ...I want
you to tell me by a show of hands how many of you are going to
fill it out this time. I see three people are still being
stubborn. Ok, we'll see. Why do teachers give students a
study question sheet?"

Dec. 12  (giving out a new study guide) "Due tomorrow. It is classwork.
If you don't get it done, it's homework."

As these examples indicate, directive forms vary: statements including

the modal would referring to obligation, imbedded imperatives, regular

imperatives, "caretaker" we's, questions, need/want statements,

ellipticals, and if...then conditionals. Of twenty-two recorded class

directives focusing on social or academic behavior relating to doing

homework, classwork, or paying attention, ten were imperative forms,

five were question forms, and seven were statement forms. Although

imperatives are traditionally considered to carry the most force to

demonstrate the teacher's authority, the other directives, such as the

one delivered to the class when Margaret was being funny, clearly

suggest that these other types, questions or statements, may be equally

effective.  Also, the questions teachers ask students, teacher

interrogatives where the teacher knows the answer, such as the exchanges

concerning the boat-canoe or moving the Indians between Mrs. Vance and

Margaret, are also clearly directives--the student has no choice but to

answer.

In January, Mrs. Vance finally broke the note writing pattern with

the ultimate directive--she moved Margaret up to the desk under her

podium when she changed the student seating.  Interestingly, Margaret

later reported that although this move initially made her mad, the move

served to initiate a positive relationship with Mrs. Vance.  Margaret

knew that this seating would cause her to be called on more often and

more quickly;  and because she now "liked" the teacher, she studied

more, paid closer attention so she would not embarrass herself by not

knowing the answer.

Obviously, in Margaret's eyes it is inappropriate to hold court in

social studies where the context is more formally structured.  Since it

is inappropriate, she writes notes.  However, not only is the context

different, but so are the students.  Margaret has friends, Joan and

Emilia, whom she admires in social studies.  In contrast, the language

arts class contains no such friends (See Appendix B, Figure B-3,

Friendship Clusters in Language Arts and Writing Lab).  The social

studies interaction style suggests that Margaret adapts herself to look

more like and act more like a student when she is in a class with

friends whom she admires and Mrs. Vance. Although it is impossible to state exactly why she exhibits differences in behavior (note writing versus holding court) and why she halts her note writing, several indications are evident. First, Mrs. Vance's awareness of Margaret's inattentiveness served to initiate more frequent nominations coupled with demands to answer, directives with social, cognitive, and academic implications. Students will answer questions when called on. Second, as Mrs. Vance tightened up the social and academic screws on the class through directives, all students, including Margaret, began to focus attention on social and academic expectations. Students will pay attention in class, will do homework on time--when assigned, and will focus thinking on class discussion. Third, when Mrs. Vance ultimately moved Margaret to force her attention on social and academic expectations, this closer proximity to the teacher served to affect a change in attitude, a closer student/teacher relationship. Although this relationship fluctuated, the student/student relationships and student/teacher relationships typically became positive and healthy--minus note writing and passing--from January through March.

Language Arts' Bossing and Bidding Styles and Teacher Directives

Language arts, a remedial class with twelve to thirteen students, fluctuated in number during January and February, the sample time with five, fifty-five minute class periods. The friendship claims in this class are tentative to nonexistent. Five of Mrs. Vance's social studies black girls--Margaret, Ann, Katie, Sally, and Abby--are joined by Elizabeth, Mary, and Vicki. Brookhill Village is home to Margaret,

Katie, and Sally.  Abby, Vicki, and Ann live in Wilmore;  Elizabeth is from Savannah Woods.  The other students in this class came from Sedgefield.  Friendship clusters indicate that these Sedgefield students are not a part of the mainstream group of the school leadership and their in-school and out-of-school activities fail to mesh with the typical Sedgefield profile (See Appendix B, Tables B-3, B-4, B-5, and B-6).  The one white girl, Kristy, who is a class member in Mrs. Vance's social studies and this language arts class felt peculiar about her status and during interviews stated, "I can't talk like them." This statement is not a reference to their black English but refers to their conversation topics, their way of interacting with each other, and their way of interacting with Mr. Hernan.  Kristy typically is outside the interaction.  Although Abby is involved with them in interaction, she is on the sidelines.  Elizabeth talks to them, but not with them.  Margaret is the leader, the holder of the court.

When Margaret is in language arts, she doesn't write notes as she does in social studies;  she talks audibly.  She makes her points with bold hand, upper body, and arm strokes and strong facial expressions to punctuate her stories to her rapt audience, the black girls facing towards her with their eyes glued to her, not to Mr. Hernan, the teacher.  They accord her the status typically assumed by the classroom teacher.  Thus, holding court is an interaction style where Margaret and other students become engaged in audible, not whispered, conversation among themselves, often monopolizing classroom time and determining the discussion topic.

Many factors appear to contribute to Margaret's holding court.
First is the friendship void; there are no students in the class to
whom these girls are reaching out--respected school leaders. Second is
the fact that this is a remedial class--academic grouping which bears a
certain stigma in all schools. Third is the typical class day. The
daily classroom topic for language arts is twelve vocabulary words and a
story with the vocabulary words to be completed each week. The typical
classroom format consists of these steps: Mr. Hernan would read through
the words, give directives for the work, and then the class would begin
seatwork. The average seatwork time for the sample was 48.5 minutes of
the fifty-five minutes total class time. After Mr. Hernan had gone over
the words and given the procedural directives, he would go to his desk.
On such typical days holding court generally did not occur during the
first class minutes when Mr. Hernan was giving the day's work and
directives. However, on one day, February 1, it grew out of the girls'
verbal dueling--fussing, asserting and counter-asserting--with Mr.
Hernan over a test and was one occasion when Margaret received a
directive in imperative form, softened by the follow up question.

Time into Period:

3:24

Mr. Hernan:     "Why don't you go ahead and open this book to 534.
                It's only 3 pages long."

Mary:           "Only!"

Mr. Hernan:     "Yes, listen, I will give you until a quarter 'til
                to go over your words and or go over your story.
                That gives you plenty of time."

| | |
|---|---|
| Mary: | "Let's not do this." |
| Margaret: | "We don't know nothing about this." |
| Vicki: | "We don't know nothing about no...." |
| Mr. Hernan: | "I will ask you...listen, I will ask you questions that will not be difficult." |
| 3:29 | (Class grumbles to work.) |
| 5:00 | |

Teacher goes to the board writing up vocabulary words. Margaret talks to Vicki, Mary, and Ann about her visit to the office--the reason she had not been in class when the story was read.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Hernan: | "Stay out of the office so you can be in class. Why were you in the office?" |
| Margaret: | "Mr. _____ wanted to talk over some business." |
| Vicki: | (mockingly) "Business." |

Margaret's rejoinder about business parallels what Abrahams (1964, 54) calls a smart alecky attitude. Except for this exchange the other instances of Margaret's leading one or more classmates in detailed interactions typically occur after the teacher had gone to his desk.

During the sampled time, seatwork time usually could not be sustained beyond twenty minutes--the times when holding court is most prevalent. During this time while the teacher is at his desk, the students typically busy themselves with their own interests and talk. As this talk crescendos, Mr. Hernan tries to quell it through numerous directives designed to get the students back to work.

The directives' significance lies not in syntax, but in who was being prohibitively directed and who was not. Because girls interacted in duets, trios, quartets--and as a black female ensemble in full

chorus/court--the number of directives designed to slow its tempo and momentum is nearly impossible to assess. But the absence of directives to Margaret seems significant. In contrast to social studies, where Margaret was granted no immunity from questions, Mr. Hernan does grant immunity to her for her talking. This seeming immunity violates one of his classroom rules: students are expected to sit quietly and work on the assigned task of defining and recording vocabulary words. The second significance lies in who was prohibitively directed. Mary, who was usually involved with Margaret--whether in duet, trio, or court, also typically receives the prohibitive directives. Mr. Hernan uses directives with Mary--not Margaret--to halt interaction where other students, including Margaret, are equally involved. The following interaction on February 1 provides an example of the social input to Margaret when Mary is directed--but she is not:

> Margaret: (looking at Mary's report card) "Dum, de dum dum!"
> (Vicki,Ann chime in.)
>
> Mary defends herself. Margaret starts on the D in math; again Mary defends herself.
>
> Mr. Hernan: "Mary, Mary, Katie's mother came today."
>
> Mary: "So what? What did she come fo'?"
>
> Mr. Hernan: "To Katie about these." (grades)
>
> Mary: "There ain't nothing she can do about it."
>
> Mr. Hernan: "Sure there is."

This speech event commands Mary to stop talking as Mr. Hernan makes reference to grades--the topic of Margaret, Mary, Vicki, and Ann's dispute. No directive is issued to Margaret. This pattern--dispensing

immunity to Margaret while letting Mary have it--was also evident on
other days.  These directives, in addition to commanding her to stop
talking or moving, also corrected Mary's grammar or word choice (2/1/
85), her singing (2/1/85), her leaving the room when others had left,
too (2/11/85), her nosiness with Margaret (2/19/85), her tending to
other's business (2/19/85), and her inability to find w in the
dictionary (1/15/85).  Consider this example:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mary: | "My dictionary ain't got no w." |
| Mr. Hernan: | "Ain't got no w." |
| Mary: | "Don't got no w. I don't see no w in here." |
| Mr. Hernan: | "Why don't you look on the guide words at the top instead of looking on the side?" |
| Mary: | "I got it!" |
| Mr. Hernan: | (all knowing) "Ah!" |

On another occasion, February 11, when both Margaret and Abby were
talking, Abby was directed, the only prohibitive directive for her
during this sample period.

Mr. Hernan:    "Abby, did you finish your sentences? This is the
               third time. Next time you're going to spend some
               lunch time with me."

Thus, as the directives intended for Mary and Abby--but not for Margaret
--demonstrate, class members receive different social input during
holding court occasions.

Although the court participants vary, usually Katie, Ann, Vicki,
and Mary--all of whom sit near Margaret--are involved.  During the
fourteen occasions when Margaret was audibly holding court, Mary was

involved twelve times; Ann, eight; Vicki, eight; Abby, seven;

Elizabeth, five; Sally, three; Katie, two. Katie's involvement

probably would have been higher, but In School Suspension confinement

during this sample period kept her away. However, two instances for all

occurred when Margaret was addressing the entire class--reducing all

participation instances by two. This shows that Sally, Elizabeth, and

Abby are the least active. Whenever Abby does try to involve herself,

she has to fight for a turn--as the earlier example in the chapter

indicates. Abby's involvement is as onlooker. Mr. Hernan, who

participates upon occasions, also underlines Margaret's status by

typically directing questions to Margaret. Also, on one occasion when

he had to leave the room, Margaret was the one designated to be in

charge, a task to which she was equal--after she decided to perform it.

While Mr. Hernan was gone, Margaret chatted with Elizabeth, Mary, and

Vicki; left the room for water; rushed to the window with the others

to yell at In School Suspension students' picking up trash on the school

grounds. However, when I said to her, "Margaret, you're in charge," she

went into action, got the girls away from the window and back into their

seats, and issued directives, "Abby, sit down...Y'all be working."

Abby's name was the one called, indicating her limited status.

Elizabeth, the only girl who dared to mockingly laugh as Margaret

settled the group, was not reprimanded or directed by Margaret. When

the boys failed to get quiet, Margaret moved into a chair at the front

of the room, eyed them, and they quickly got back to work--all in 3:39

minutes. Thus, friendship void, the invariant classroom topic and classroom format, and the social input of Margaret's immunity contributed to the interaction of holding court.

The nonverbal signals of Margaret's dominance were student eye contact on Margaret, students physically turned in desks sideways facing Margaret, students standing in front of the group (as Abby did), students moving to a nearer desk in front of Margaret (as Vicki did), or students moving across the room to hang over Margaret's desk (as Elizabeth did). Margaret's nonverbal language signaled that she was in charge. She, more than the other girls, animatedly talked with her whole body slung forward and with her hands constantly punctuating points. Mitchell-Kernan (1971) relates that often during speech events such as these where signifying or animated speaking occurs that the one in charge talks with hands and eyes.

Because of the narratives that are exchanged during these sessions where Margaret maintains verbal and nonverbal control over the court, holding court resembles "rappin'" and "running it down" (Kochman 1972, 242-254). "Rappin'" according to Kochman is, "distinctively a fluent and lively way of talking which is always characterized by a high degree of personal style."(242) All participants express a style--Margaret's, being in charge; Mary's, being the fool or dupe; Elizabeth's, refusal to be intimidated; and Abby's, trying to be a part of the group. The cap or "grand"--as illustrated through Elizabeth and Vicki's exchange earlier in the chapter about dog food--demonstrates the competitive nature of "rappin'," a competition also with the teacher for classroom

control. During the sample time, holding court speech events controlled much of the interaction time generally accorded to teachers. On January 25, 1985, the control in "rap" time not counting all the private duets occurring was 12:04 minutes; February 1, 1985, 34:47 minutes; February 11, 1985, 24:03 minutes. So one outcome of holding court sessions is to wrest control away from the teacher.

These sessions also illustrate the "rap's" expressive function (Kochman 1972, 246) as Margaret and her court spin stories--narratives with delivery, language, and events mirroring black cultural interaction style and these girls' life-style and interests. Except for teacher introduced topics, such as girls' fighting and the Charlotte school for problem students, "rap" topics were introduced by Margaret (another indicator or control) and rarely were on classroom content. These topics were as follows: why Margaret was late to class; why Margaret was in the office; making fun of Mary's report card; Margaret's aunt's trip to the school board about grades; Vicki's hair, "Your hair's on fire," to which they all laughed but none but Margaret knew what she meant--a confided fact disclosed in interviews. Margaret was saying that Vicki had so many chemicals on her hair that it would catch on fire if someone lit a match--analogy to Michael Jackson's accident. Other Margaret-introduced topics included a story about Sedgefield, a story about the school to exclude students, a Charlotte murder, why girls fight, why and how a classmate was hurt at the coliseum, why Katie's in In School Suspension, a TV program about Atlanta murders, reform school,

Mary's nosiness (presented in Chapter I in social input of directives).
Clearly, most of these topics revolve around Margaret and her life,
giving her control of the situation.

Margaret's control as leader of the court reflects her power among
the girls.  Control--indicated through nonverbal stances and eye contact
focused on her, topic selection, and talking time--gives Margaret good
feelings about herself, a person with many friends.  This is Margaret's
style.

Abby, on the edge of the interaction fighting for a turn, appears
to get good feelings about herself through her good grades and teachers'
positive strokes, particularly in social studies.  Throughout this
sample and the social studies' sample, Abby rarely causes trouble or
receives prohibitive directives.  Also, her eye contact with the teacher
and bidding to answer questions indicate her adherence to the school's
cultural norms that teacher directives speak to.  This is Abby's style.

Elizabeth, on the other hand, is neither interested in friends nor
teachers' attitudes about her.  Her interaction with the girls in
language arts limits itself to talking to them, not with them.  But
Elizabeth's standoffs with teachers make the black girls hesitant to
interact with her.  For example, on January 25, 1985, she was angry with
Mr. Hernan over a grade.  The period had begun with his pointing out the
day's vocabulary words and the requirements to get a good grade.
Fourteen minutes into the period--with Mr. Hernan at his desk and the
students working on the words--Elizabeth speaks across the room to
Margaret and says, "He gave me an F, all wrong." to which Margaret does

not respond. But Mr. Hernan responds, "F." Elizabeth and Mr. Hernan counter-assert as hostilities progress. He assigns lunch period to which she counters, "I ain't going to do it." After this exchange she puts away her dictionary, turns her chair back onto the wall to face him, and begins to hit the chair against the wall. When class is dismissed, all leave but Elizabeth who is asked to remain. Although we may wonder why Mr. Hernan did not respond more vigorously than he did to this open display of belligerence, this example demonstrates his understanding of this bellicosity--saber rattling employing rhetorical devices to persuade the teacher of student outrage over a perceived injustice but not employed as a prelude introducing physical action (Kochman 1981, 44). He does not overreact. This is his strength, understanding what is being communicated, understanding the girls.

Mr. Hernan's cultural sensitivity was also evident during the sampled time in relation to an outside assignment on family genealogies to be turned into a coat of arms when the art teacher came at the end of February. Particularly Ann and Elizabeth express concern from Ann's grandmother and Elizabeth's mother over the "why" of the assignment. Other students also volunteer that their parents will not tell them anything. This fear of invasion of privacy or directly asking for information of a personal nature is consistent with black cultural mandates. Fearing that such information can be used against them, black students are indirectly telling Mr. Hernan that one does not probe for this type of personal information (Kochman 1981, 104) nor does one give out this type of information. Mr. Hernan sensitively and wisely altered

the assignment telling me that parents were taking it too seriously, yet understanding why. Abby, however, was the one student who did proudly bring in all of her information tracing her family back to a great-grandmother. Hernan's understanding is a strength and sensitivity that all teachers would be wise to develop and to employ.

<u>Writing Lab's Bossing and Bidding Styles and Teacher Directives</u>

Although writing lab contains the same language arts students with Mr. Hernan assisting, writing lab introduces a different context. First, the teacher, Mrs. Johnson who began the year as a "Miss" has different demands and expectations. In contrast to language arts where the topic was the vocabulary work and stories--enlivened by the girls' relaxed, confident "rap" sessions--writing lab is more content oriented. When students enter the lab, their folders are lying on their desks which are turned together in four's to form a square. A typical writing lab day begins with ten minutes of journal writing ticked off by the audibly ticking timer. After journal writing the class moves on to various exercises including poetry forms, mounting and illustrating poetry forms, origami, sentence combining, letter writing, writing test practice, or New Year's Resolutions--the content for the six class sessions during November and December, the sample time. White assignment sheets, folders, poetry form sheets, overhead transparencies and teacher directives accompany these exercises. Mrs. Johnson's class has a concrete time/task orientation as these lexical items focusing on time and the task at hand within directives illustrate:

"Ok, a couple more seconds." (Bell rings.)

"I'm going to give you about fifteen minutes."

"Ok, ladies, timer's on, let's begin."

"You need to finish your poems in eight minutes."

"You've got about four minutes to draw and paste."

"Sit still for ten seconds."

"A few more seconds...make sure you have half a page...I want you to put your pencils down. Your eyes up here."

Although this well organized, well intended method is designed to tie material logically and economically to task assignments, students appeared to experience difficulty as they rooted through folders to locate the right sheet, or as they wrote assignments on the white assignment sheet and then proceeded to do the assignment.

Students also experienced similar difficulties in other classes. For example, Ms. Polo reported that Elizabeth had difficulties copying notes from the board at the assigned class time--difficulties that inevitably resulted in a poorer test grade. This difficulty for Elizabeth was evident in language arts, too, where in January Mr. Hernan said, "Take advantage of time in class." to which she responded, "Ain't due 'til Monday." Also in social studies, Ann would be among the slowest to copy charts or notes from the board when most other students were busily copying. Abby experienced fewer problems with time/task ties than did the other black females. Heath (1983) found that students (quite similar to these) from cultures without a pronounced time/task orientation experienced difficulty and frustration when they had to perform precisely on schedule. Although these students' homes were not

accessible for observation, their lower socioeconomic class backgrounds clearly had not prepared them to accomplish skillful time management with a predetermined task.  Despite Mrs. Johnson's clear presentations of efficient time/task/communication tactics, the students were unable to comprehend or carry out the tasks.  Ann expressed the students' apparent frustrations with these tasks on December 13 when she mumbled, "She want us to do two things at once."

The interaction style in writing lab during this sample time resembled Abrahams' "doing battle" in a tense atmosphere where Mrs. Johnson directed students from one assigned task to another or as she kept them at work during the task.  Although Abby, Margaret, and Elizabeth were lesser problems, Ann and Katie typically were openly hostile and verbally belligerent.  Although trouble was always ominously near, the beginning of the class period where students were to begin journal writing was the most arduous.  Consider this representative initiating interaction from December 6:

> Mrs. Johnson:  "Ok, Terry clear your desk, please. Vicki, books on the floor, date's on the board...please begin. Next time let's do it a little quieter."
>
> (Timer is ticking.)
>
> Mrs. Johnson:  "Katie, you need to settle down."
>
> Katie:  "I ain't done nothing."
>
> Mrs. Johnson:  "I don't want you to be laughing in class."

Another example of the explosive danger at the beginning of the period occurred on November 29.  The class opens with Ann's demands to go to

the bathroom. When Mrs. Johnson denies the request, Ann leaps up and begins to shout, "I have to go to the bathroom!" Terry joins in the verbal fracas. Mrs. Johnson's rejoinders to these demands were, "I don't need this; I don't deserve this." Finally she succeeds in evicting them, but they come back to the door and Ann demands, "I want my book." Mrs. Johnson counters with, "I don't want either of you in my class," proceeds to the intercom and says, "I don't want either of them in my class. They need to see either Mr. _____ or Dr. _____." The outcome was In School Suspension. Because students and Mrs. Johnson experienced difficulty and also because Mrs. Johnson understandably dreaded this class—a dread betrayed through her eyes, body stance, and tone of voice—she, more than Mr. Hernan or Mrs. Vance, employed directive language connoting student obligation.

Directive syntax reflects this tension. Regular imperatives are in the majority, five to one over other forms. Direct address (majority Ladies, Katie, Vicki)—combining with varying syntactic forms or appearing alone to direct and get students' attention—are the next most used device. Statements with you subjects, "You need to settle down," combined with need to—functionally imperatives—are also favored forms. Embedded you's, "Make sure you read over your writing test," also echo through the interactions. In addition, Ok's pepper all syntactic forms. On December 12 during lunch, Mrs. Johnson conveyed her frustrations about this class. After she heard about Heath's research and teacher

expectancy research, she decided to erase the fear and to expect a

better class period. It was a good period; she relaxed, smiled more,

and touched. This change was reflected in the directive language.

Mrs. Johnson: "Ok, finish up your sentence if you need to. Otherwise take out your white assignment sheet saying poetry form. It's like this." (holds up)

(Students mumble and fumble to locate sheet.)

Margaret: "These two?"

Elizabeth: "I ain't got number four; I ain't got number two."

Mrs. Johnson: "You all take the words out of my mouth; that's what we're going to do today...we're going to work on poetry again today, the ones that you didn't get finished. So you'll have time today."

Although the initiating directives are clearly imperative, the change is

evident in Mrs. Johnson's responding directive to Elizabeth's sullen

assertion. In contrast to counter-asserting to Elizabeth (as she had in

the interaction with Katie), Mrs. Johnson refuses to be drawn into an

assertion/counter-assertion dialogue. But the very next day Katie and

Vicki were totally out of control when they walked into the room and

eradicated the previous good will. Thus, students' and teachers'

attitudes expressed verbally and nonverbally interact to determine the

class tone and the directive language.

Elizabeth in this class practices isolationist behavior. She sits

at a table by herself and rarely interacts with other students or with

Mrs. Johnson. Because grades are such a touchy point with her, the

nearest she came to fussing with Mrs. Johnson was over scrap paper.

Mrs. Johnson told her not to recopy something unless she did so on old

paper. Elizabeth refused saying, "Then you be complaining." When basketball season opens on December 12, Elizabeth's life blossoms. As Margaret finds her place in the world and acceptance in the world through interactions with friends and Abby finds hers through good grades and teachers' positive directives to her, Elizabeth establishes her place as the star basketball player--a fact reflected in this exchange between Mrs. Johnson and Elizabeth on December 13 when the class discussed a special day they will write about.

Mrs. Johnson: "Ok, uh, Elizabeth what day do you choose?"

Elizabeth: "Monday."

Mrs. Johnson: "Monday. Ok, what's your reason?"

Elizabeth: "We play basketball on Monday!"

Mrs. Johnson: "Ok, sure, give me some details about it."

Elizabeth: "Because I'm the star of the girls' basketball team and on Mondays we have our games."

Although Elizabeth's open bravado may appear brash, in black culture bragging about one's ability is acceptable and appropriate (Kochman 1981, 65) particularly if one can live up to the brag. However teasing her tone of voice is and despite the laughter the remark may receive, all the girls hearing it know that Elizabeth can enforce her claims. Her physical capability along with her verbal glibness--when she wants to be glib--are her strengths to cover up adolescent insecurities.

Insecurity is evident among many black girls who suck their thumbs. Elizabeth, Katie, and Abby suck their thumbs in class either openly or covertly hidden behind a fist. Elizabeth's mouth and jaw have become

oval shaped and will not close. Also, this malocclusion causes articulation problems which the speech therapist attempts to help her correct. On the day of the exchange with Mrs. Johnson about being the girls' basketball star, Elizabeth had her thumb taped. Clearly, she did not want to suck her thumb during the game.

## In-School Activities' Bossing and Bidding Styles and Teacher Directives

Despite physical detractors such as her jaw, Elizabeth has many attractive features. Her doe shaped eyes--bright and expressive--miss very little but do keep teachers and students apprised of her "mood." Although Elizabeth protests that she doesn't worry about clothes or her appearance, observations indicate that she does. She always dresses neatly. On a typical day she would wear a white shirt with vertical stripes on the sleeves tucked into green army-colored pants that button up from the ankle to the knee. Around her shoulders and tied by the sleeves may be a sweat shirt. Brown leather top-siders and white ankle-length socks will complete the outfit on a body that other black girls believe is larger and stronger than theirs. In reality, her size is no greater than the other girls, and she, in fact, is smaller and shorter than Margaret. Vicki in interviews described Elizabeth as "tomboy, half boy/half girl, all muscled up," rarely descriptors for beauty or femininity. Perhaps Elizabeth's walk, talk, and attitude convince others that she is bigger than she is. Elizabeth's walk, sometimes a strut, resembles a stereotypical athletic walk. She is a fine athlete and an outstanding basketball player, a sport she learned in the park playing against boys. And when she plays basketball, she is recognized,

cheered, and admired for her aggressive play. Basketball gives her an
acclaimed place in her world where two teacher/coaches with strong, firm
hands give her guidance.

Ms. King, the junior varsity girls' coach, and Mr. Taylor, the
varsity girls' coach, have significant influence on Elizabeth, a strong
but temperamental player. Both demand the best from her, never give up
on her, and persist with her when lesser teachers may have abandoned
her. For example, Mr. Taylor and the team had a turbulent season but
lost few games. After the team avenged an earlier loss, Mr. Taylor
remarked that this victory had come as a result of his being able to
coach Elizabeth as he coached her teammates--straight forwardly without
playing verbal games. Although Ms. King was no longer her coach, she
continued to encourage Elizabeth to share the limelight with Emilia with
whom there was some jealousy. Ms. King was also the one teacher whom
Elizabeth would touch and the one teacher whom Elizabeth would allow to
touch her. This relationship built on mutual respect and trust
ultimately extended itself to encompass Mr. Taylor.

Despite the trust and respect enjoyed with these teachers,
Elizabeth's relationship with other teachers subsequently ruined the
season for Elizabeth and the team. Elizabeth's confidence in herself--
her strength and liability--can best be explained through an incident
during the basketball game to avenge the earlier loss. The game is
close. Elizabeth is fouled and steps to the foul line for her shots.
The student section for the opposing team stands and jeers her loudly.
Elizabeth turns, faces them, raises her hands as if to say, "Come on."

Then she turns back, shoots the ball and scores. When she turns back to eye the crowd, they have sat down. But such forthrightness--demonstrated at the foul line--when turned toward teachers brings about her downfall.

On the day of the final game with the city-county championship on the line, Elizabeth refuses to sit where a teacher told her to sit, refuses to say in the office what she believed the teacher wants her to say, and determinedly speaks out her denouncement of the teacher. This incident resulted in her being placed in In School Suspension and denied her the right to play in the game. After school at the game, she sits on the bench and watches her teammates gallantly play--only to lose. Afterwards in the locker room when the other team slips in and jeers her, she fights them with a fury. Mr. Taylor and the principal immediately break it up, but the championship is lost.

Afterwards, Mr. Taylor never stepped in--either on the afternoon of the game or in the interim at school while feelings were hot--despite his and the team's disappointment. Although her teammates and school mates were heart broken, the response to the event varied. The writing lab classmates believed that Elizabeth should have been sent to In School Suspension because that was what would have happened to them if they were in her place. They applauded the evenhanded way that the assistant principal showed no favoritism despite Elizabeth's athletic status. One teammate sympathized with Elizabeth and wrote that if Elizabeth had not started a fight in the dressing room, some of them might have. But in interviews Emilia, the other basketball star who had

played to the point of exhaustion in the game, denounced Elizabeth's

behavior. She indicted her because it was, from her viewpoint, wrong to

act that way with a teacher and wrong to fight. Because the semester

was not over, the teacher and Elizabeth saw each other daily until the

end of the year. The teacher--sorry that the incident had occurred--

continued to fear seeing Elizabeth and her moods enter the classroom.

The assistant principal--who had not realized that the game was for the

championship--nevertheless believed his decision was correct because

Elizabeth displayed such a bad "attitude." Elizabeth never believed that

her behavior was wrong.

Right or wrong, however, the incident provides an example of the

cyclic effect of attitudes--influencing predictions, expectations, and

outcomes--on interaction style. Elizabeth, the teacher, and the

assistant principal have their expectations and predictions confirmed.

Elizabeth--who never believed in the teacher's fairness--had expected

trouble every time she entered this classroom. Elizabeth betrayed these

predictions and expectations in body language and facial expressions

judged "moods" by the teacher. Because of these "moods" and prior

confrontations with Elizabeth, the teacher had come to predict, expect,

and watch for trouble. When it came, they had gone to the office. The

assistant principal--because of prior difficulties with Elizabeth,

difficulties convincing him that she was spoiled and showed improper

respect for teachers--did see and hear evidence of a bad attitude.

These predictions and expectations colored what they all saw and heard

in the subsequent events that influenced the outcome. All predictions

were fulfilled. Attitudes of all altered how they communicated with each other (Brophy and Good 1974) because the teachers and students map their lives onto the classroom.

## Black Females' Interaction Continuum

Students are also a part of this prophetic, cyclic ritual of attitude, perception, expectation, and prediction because their behavior and interaction style shift and change from class to class, teacher to teacher, and day to day (Cook-Gumperz 1975, 159). The black females' interaction continuum--bossing and bidding--spans note writing and passing, refusal to answer classroom questions, sessions to hold court, displays of verbal belligerence and defiance, behavior to isolate and insulate self from others, and physical fighting juxtaposed against acceptable student behavior. Directives reflect teachers' responses to this behavior as teachers impose classroom social and academic rules. But the black female behavior and teacher directives also mirror attitudes formed from cultural backgrounds imposed upon the classroom. Students and teachers' attitudes and expectations produce varied black female interaction styles.

Social studies interaction style among the black females and with Mrs. Vance suggests that student grouping plus teacher expectations expressed through directives clearly influence how one interacts or what style is appropriate to this particular context. Heterogeneous grouping where the majority of students exhibit expected student behavior and frown upon belligerence or defiance of the teacher provided Mrs. Vance with added leverage to consistently impose classroom rules. However,

Mrs. Vance's egalitarian policies--directed with persistence and good humor--reflected Mrs. Vance's determination to command her classroom. Her social studies' directives typically focused on course content without degenerating to personal accusations. The questions directed to Margaret, though literal in content and directive in function, demonstrate the social input that directives can contain--immunity is granted to no one without subsequent impunities. Also, classroom directives--intended for all students to hear--reinforced individual student directives. But the ultimate change in relationship between Mrs. Vance and Margaret, leading to Margaret's more student-like behavior, was a result of nearer physical proximity producing a change in student attitude.

Language arts with Mr. Hernan demonstrates totally different student and teacher styles of interaction. In contrast to the academic focus in social studies, Mr. Hernan's directives focused on students' social behaviors. Because the class had fewer friendship ties or ties to admired students and had fewer academic demands, much of the class time was spent on topics unrelated to assigned work. Also, because Margaret was rarely directed even when she was actively involved in student interactions, directives provided a different facet of social input. Margaret was granted personal immunity and was accorded near-teacher status both by the other girls and the teacher himself. However, Mr. Hernan did understand black culture and his classroom did provide greater insights into black students' mapping their own culture

onto the classroom. Because he understood them, the girls were happy with him and were despondent when he left teaching to pursue another career in March of 1985.

Mrs. Johnson's writing lab gives a view of the outspoken bellicosity that the girls could act out contrasting with their more student-like social studies behavior and their relaxed confident language arts behavior. Her directives' time/task focus contributed to student difficulties. However, she consistently attempted to keep class on assigned targets. Teacher determination to maintain control collided with students' determination not to cooperate. The ensuing tug of war was reflected in students' behavior and interaction style—procrastination, fussing, and open belligerence—and the teacher's directive syntax—imperatives and lexical items intended to express student obligation, need to's. These deadlocks stymied any hope for Mrs. Johnson to teach effectively or for the class to learn. Détente finally came as Mrs. Johnson began to change her attitudes about them and attempted to understand cultural differences between their home out-of-school worlds and the classroom world. This attitude change ultimately mitigated hostility and bellicose behavior.

In all classes and with all these teachers and students, the key to success appears to be mutual respect growing out of understanding. Intimidation did not seem to be the answer for either Margaret or Elizabeth to improve social behavior destroying their academic chances to succeed in grades or with teachers. What did emerge was the human

element, their getting to know and respect the teacher and the teacher's getting to know and respect them. An exchange between Ann and Mrs. Vance symbolizes the situations well:

December 6:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mrs. Vance: | "What did the Indians often fight over, Ann?" |
| Ann: | "What?" |
| Mrs. Vance: | "What are you doing?" |
| Ann: | "Oh, I don't know. Nothing." |
| Mrs. Vance: | "Well, then put nothing away and put your hands on your desk. Ok?"(rising intonation) |
| | "Ok. Tell me what they fought over." |
| Ann: | "Slaves." |
| Mrs. Vance: | "Ok." |
| Ann: | "Food, trade, and land." |
| Mrs. Vance: | "See you got them all. Put nothing away; it's miraculous what happens. Your brain has to work." |

"Nothing" in this exchange symbolizes what we cannot see about teachers and students. "Nothing" then is the internal mapping, the process and the product. Attitudes, analogous to cognitive maps, are both the product and the process that individuals use to "collect, organize, store, recall and manipulate information about the spatial environment" (Downs and Stea 1977, 7)--in this instance the classroom. The process involves the task of collecting, organizing, storing, recalling, and manipulating. The product of the process, the actual cognitive maps, are the means by which the process operates. However, both the product and the process are flexible and may change because of

age, development, social group, region, attitudes, biases, use, or learning (Downs and Stea 1977, 7, 24) evident in Margaret's attitude about Mrs. Vance and Mrs. Johnson's attitude about writing lab students. Thus, attitudes can influence how a student or teacher perceives the other which in turn spawns expectations and subsequent teacher/student interaction--especially clear in Elizabeth's In School Suspension incident with the teacher and the assistant principal.

Language and interaction style are central to both process and product because they express and reflect the maps and the mapping. Language is multifaceted and includes the "ways of speaking involving both structure and ways of using structure" (Hymes 1981, vii) in combination with nonverbal and paralinguistic features of language. When teachers and students' maps fail to mesh, the product is interactional incompetence instead of interactional competence (knowing what to say, when and how to say it). Language and interactional styles then become a social symbol (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1981, 432) reflecting spaces and distances in attitudes.

Interaction styles and teacher directives suggest connections between students' maps and attitudes toward teachers and teachers' maps and attitudes toward students. These connections exist through black female students' gender, race, socioeconomic class, language variety and the attitudes represented in them--who they are. These connections exist further in how black females map their culture, language, and interaction styles onto the classroom world where teachers exert control over appropriate classroom behavior, the social aspect of education, and

focus classroom instruction, the academic aspect. However, these black females are not clones; they respond in many ways similarly yet differently from each other--just as teachers respond similarly yet differently from other teachers. All three are black females, two bosses and one lame or two lames and one boss, depending on who you are (black female student, white students, middle class black male students or teachers) and what your academic and social attitudes and expectations happen to be. A boss is one who can tell the other students what to do, and they do it. A boss is one who the other students are careful about what they say and how they say it to them. A lame is a person who does not know what to say or when to say it because she is outside of the cultural network and is often afraid of those who are inside of the network.

Interviews indicate that white students or middle class black male students were unaware of black female bosses' identities. This inability to pinpoint who the bosses were indicates the separateness of the black girls' network. In contrast to the students' inability to name the bosses, all three of the classroom teachers were fully aware of the boss status of Elizabeth or Margaret. All black girls were also fully aware of the bosses and gave reasons to support their choices. The characteristics that cause black female students to perceive Margaret and Elizabeth as bosses and Abby as lame are the very same characteristics that cause teachers to want to believe that Abby is a boss and Margaret and Elizabeth are lames. This incongruity occurs

because teachers and students outside of the black female network

perceive and act out of different maps, attitudes defining interactional

competence.

Thus, the black female interaction pattern with teachers is the

characteristic that clearly sets apart the black girls from the other

students. Although few students, black or white, could characterize

linguistic differences between white southern English and black southern

English, all students recognized that black females were more likely to

be belligerent or aggressive when being directed by teachers. White and

black teachers were also fully aware of the phenomenon. Attitudes of

students-- other than black females and teachers--ranged from hostile to

puzzled. Kristy, the one white girl in both social studies and language

arts class said this about her black female classmates:

"They try to act more tough."

"They try to act bad." (synonymous with tough)

These statements mirrored the attitudes that the black females gave for

being careful with Margaret and Elizabeth.

These black girls are adolescents who express their adolescence

similarly yet differently through choices. Like other adolescents they

are insecure about their appearance, aware of their differences from

other students, sensitive about perceived justice and injustice, moody

and mercurial. The differences come through in the ways in which they

act out interaction styles and strategies mapped from performance

oriented black culture. Elizabeth and Margaret act it out through the

force of their interaction styles and strategies often intimidating both

teachers and students. Abby refuses to interact like many of her black peers and to pattern her life after theirs. All lose in some way. Margaret and Elizabeth lose because their strategies set them up for failure with the teachers. Abby loses because her strategy sets her up for failure with her black classmates. The school and teachers can lose if they can neither mediate nor bridge the cultural chasm between school and home. However, the teachers, Mrs. Vance, Mr. Hernan, and Mrs. Johnson, learned to win through teaching practices and directives reflecting their own changing attitudes and/or students' changing attitudes. These are the "nothings" put away that allowed the minds of all to work to produce healthy, successful learning environments. One of Mrs. Vance's directives to Katie summarizes it best, "It's not a choice; that's a do it."

CHAPTER V

"MRS. JOHNSON, GOOD QUESTION TO AXT.":

MAPS, METATHESIS, AND MARKERS

On November 15, 1984, Mrs. Johnson and the writing lab class were
beginning a sentence combining exercise after journal writing time.
Because problems can arise during transition between assignments, Mrs.
Johnson began to circulate around the room to answer students' questions
and to expedite their progress. While her back was turned, two boys
began to spit at each other, prompting Katie to say, "It's raining over
here." Quickly, Mrs. Johnson turned to ask what was going on, a
directive question prompting Katie to say, "Mrs. Johnson, good question
to axt." She had barely closed her lips when one of the white male
spitters hissed, "Axt." Katie stopped him from further comments with an
adamant, "Shut up," although it was unclear if Katie recognized why he
had said axt--a variant pronunciation of ask limited in this school to
the black community--or if she merely perceived his obvious mockery and
ridicule of her.[1] However, what is clear is the response this variant
pronunciation evokes in white listeners. To many white speakers, axt--
written phonemically /ækst/--is a mark of inferiority that places people
in a particular ethnic category (Laver and Trudgill 1979, 3) that is
suspect linguistically, cognitively, and socially.[2] However, research
reveals that the ask variants--/æsk/ or ask; /æst/ or ast; /æks/ or

ax; /ækst/ or axt--have roots in white speech communities and, though they may not be associated with the "prestigious" dialect in this school, they are merely different, not necessarily inferior.

Although the quality of the white response evoked by this variant is socially and linguistically significant, my study of the black girls' use of the lexical item reveals that its real importance is its meaning and significance to them in context--totally apart from its metathesis, the interchange of ks for sk. For·them, meaning is associated with the authority to ask questions and to demand answers and with their perceptions of parents, teachers, and other students' authority to intervene, to direct, and to command them. Equally important are their assessments of the respect accorded to them by those who assume intervening, directing, and commanding rights. Katie, for instance, obviously did not believe the white boy had the right to intervene or question; but Mrs. Johnson, in this instance, did have that right. As we shall see, the significance of ask for the black girls lies not in its pronunciation--the most significant matter to white speakers predisposed to believe that among the possible variants there is one right way to pronounce ask, /æsk/, (Williams, et al. 1976, 2-4)--but in its meaning and function in context, a meaning and function intimately bound up with the concept of authority drawn from internal maps and embodied in the statement, "Mrs. Johnson, good question to axt."

History of the Verb Form

Although axt, /ækst/, in this school is primarily limited to a sub-community of black girls (See Appendix D, Table D-1, Totals of Ask

Variants in Interviews and in Classrooms by Race and by Gender), an historical survey clearly indicates <u>axt</u> roots within white language communities as well as black language communities traceable from Old English. During the Old English period and throughout subsequent periods in English, the verb <u>ask</u> has retained its original meaning--to demand, inquire, summon--and its weak verb status by not changing its root vowel to form the past or past participle. Despite this semantic and syntactic stability, phonological changes have occurred influencing its orthographic representation and subsequent vowel and consonant cluster pronunciations. This class 1 weak verb with the -<u>ian</u> ending was derived from a number of Indo-European verb forms--Old Frisian <u>askia</u>, Old High German <u>escion</u>, Old Saxon <u>ascian</u> or <u>escon</u>, Swedish <u>aska</u>, and Old Norse <u>æskja</u> (Bosworth 1898, 52)--which subsequently became <u>ascian</u> and <u>axian</u> (Mossé 1952, 41). The Old English consonant cluster <u>sc</u>--when occurring near back vowels or before consonants--represented the Old English phoneme /k/ (Strang 1976, 288). The <u>k</u> associated with the modern spelling was actually involved phonemically in the Old English--<u>c</u> stood for a /k/ sound. Vowel sounds, less resistant to change than consonants, were changing during this time and were evident with <u>ascian</u>. The earlier long initial /a/ was shortened before two consonants in Old English words, resulting in the subsequent /æ/ change in <u>ascian</u>.

Ancient manuscripts verify these earliest forms:

Ne ascige ic nu owiht be dam bitran deape minum.
I demand now nothing for my bitter death. (Bosworth 1898, 52)
Da axode Petrus, "Hu ofte scean ic forgifaen?" 1175, OE, Bod.Hom.
(Kurath 1956, 423)
They asked Peter, "How often should I forgive?" (Kurath 1956, 423)

As axode in the second example indicates, a consonant cluster change was also occurring phonetically and being reflected orthographically. During the end of this period, sc metathesized to cs resulting in acsian and axian. This axian is closely linked to the cs form because the underlying phoneme for the letter x is always written phonemically /ks/ (Ekwall 1975, 73-4).

Middle English, dated traditionally from 1100 or 1150 through 1450, consisted of diverse dialects with no standard orthography or pronunciation, as these Middle English verb forms ox, ax, ex, aske, asche, and axe indicate (Murray [1888] 1928, 488; Mossé 1952, 41). Manuscripts also verify this diversity.

> Wi axestu of craftes mine. Owl and N. 1250
> His neice awook and axed, "Who go there?" Chaucer TC 1385
> And so Crist axinge bi manere of question...Wycliffe Sermon 1425
> Men axed hym what sholde befalle. Chaucer CT 1390
> I wol aske if it hir willee be to my wyf. Chaucer CT. Cl 1395
> (Kurath 1956, 423-426)

As these examples illustrate, ax continued alongside aske, reflecting the dialectal varition of the period.

During the early Modern English period, acsian and axian continued as ax beyond these years and down through 1600 along with other emerging forms aske, asche, axe, aisheise (Mossé 1952, 426) and asken aski, hasken, axen, and axi (Kurath 1956, 423). Morphophonological changes continued among verbs. The medial k in early Modern English words was becoming lost--aisd. Final -d's after voiceless sounds were being replaced in speech by -t's giving rise to past tense variants /æst/ for ast, /æskt/ for asked, and /ækst/ for axt (Ekwall 1975, 85, 113).

Although ask, /æsk/, was gaining favor as the preferred or prestigious pronunciation, the earlier pronunciation lived on in other dialects in Great Britain.  Present day dialects of the Midland and Southern sections of England continue to employ ax (Murray [1888] 1928, 488).  Also, the Scots and the Irish used it far beyond the 1600's despite its lack of prestige (Wright 1905, 82).

> Scotland, He axet liffe o'thee an' thous giefist it him.
> Riddle Ps 1859.

> Ireland, I was on'y axin' what was in it. Barlow Lisconnel 1895.
> (Wright 1905, 104).

One of the most significant developments in terms of the variants-- /æsk/, /æks/, /æskt/, /ækst/, and /æst/--during this period was their transport to the United States during the 1600's.  The heaviest English migration to the colonies took place during the first four decades of the Seventeenth Century when /æks/ was beginning to give way to /æsk/ and when the slave trade began from Africa to the North American shores of the English colonies.

We can reasonably speculate about ask variants' sources in Charlotte, North Carolina, incorporated in 1768 by a predominantly Scotch-Irish population.  The Scotch-Irish, protestant Presbyterians, had originally lived in southern Scotland but subsequently migrated to Ulster, northern Ireland's northernmost six counties (Lefler 1966, 102). Because of trade, land, and religious disputes with the English, many immigrated to Pennsylvania and other Midland states to find the liberty and prosperity that continued to elude them.  Since land further south was more plentiful and cheap, Thomas Spratt from western Pennsylvania,

the first white man to cross the Yadkin River in a wheeled vehicle, settled the land between the Yadkin and the Catawba Rivers during the mid-1700's. Tradition says that Thomas Polk followed the Spratt family because he loved a Spratt daughter whom he subsequently married (Blythe and Brockman 1961, 16, 17). Their descendants included a daughter Ann, the first white child born in this area; James Knox Polk, the eleventh President; and the assistant principal for instruction of Sedgefield Junior High. These families settled what was then called Charlotteburg or Charlottetown and typically built sawed or hewn log houses centering on one great room with a loft above (Blythe and Brockman 1961, 16, 161, 164). Between 1740 and 1775 these families were followed by other settlers, including South Carolinians making a relatively short northern journey over the state boundary, nearly 65,000 Scotch-Irish from western Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, and Germans from Pennsylvania who migrated southward through the valleys to North Carolina to settle the Piedmont and Appalachian portions of the state (Lefler 1966, 102). With them they brought their language and dialects.

Since ax, /æks/, was a part of the dialects of Scotland, Ireland, and some areas of England during the heaviest migration to the colonies, it would have continued to be used in the colonies as this early citation indicates:

> This word to ax is still frequent in New England (Webster 1789, 386).

Although the Scotch-Irish were not New Englanders, it is reasonable to assume that all variants in the western and middle North Carolina area

were established or reinforced by the Scotch-Irish.

More recent historical evidence continues to demonstrate that white speakers in the South and Midland United States with less than a college education have continued to employ what the Scotch-Irish established or reinforced--all ask variants. Ast was used by speakers from southern Maryland and Virginia, North and South Carolina who typically employed the same form for both present and past (Atwood 1953, 5). Also, Atwood (1953) found instances of ax, /æks/, among white speakers with less than a college education in western North Carolina from the mountains to the Piedmont (Atwood 1953, 5). Fink in Mountain Speech (1974) confirmed the presence of ax among the inhabitants of the mountains separating North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia. From this evidence, ax obviously has been and still is a choice of some North Carolina white speakers in the western Piedmont and the Appalachians. However, this geographically identifiable variant historically lacks social prestige. Sherwood's Gaz. GA 69 (1837) lists provincialisms to avoid, "Axt for asked" (Cassidy 1985, 97).

Ax--/æks/--among Black Speakers

These early white settlers, however, were not the only inhabitants of the land between the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers. Black slaves also made up a part of the population. The slave trade had begun in 1619 and continued until Congress prohibited it on January 1, 1808. Although slaves were not as numerous in the Piedmont or in the mountains of North Carolina as they were on the Coastal Plain where plantation economics ruled, they did make up from 10 to 50 percent of the population of the

Piedmont and Appalachian areas by 1860 (See Appendix D, Table D-2,

Charlotte and Mecklenburg County Population, by Race, Since 1730).

Little description of the language of slaves during the years 1620-1700

exists (Dillard 1972a, 77), but clearly the black slaves developed a

lingua franca, perhaps a Pidgin English, based on English in order to

communicate with each other and with the white slave holders (Dillard

1972a, 76). Nevertheless, slaves probably acquired ax, /æks/, or any

other variant from hearing whites around them use it.[3]

During the 1700's when the major white migration into the Charlotte

area was occurring, thousands of slaves per year were brought to the

colonies; and the slave population in Charlotte steadily increased.

Although black language evidence about Charlotte blacks is unavailable,

black language for this period has been described as "West African

Pidgin to nearly Standard English" (Dillard 1972a, 93), a diversity due

to varying status among the slaves: (1.) those working as house

servants and living in the owners' houses; (2.) those working in fields

and living in the slave quarters; (3.) those most recently enslaved.

Social factors such as blacks' isolation from or interaction with whites

and the socioeconomic status of the whites with whom they worked also

influenced black speech (Dillard 1972a, 98).

From 1800 until 1865, despite Congressional abolition of the slave

trade, the slave population in Charlotte continued to increase until the

Emancipation Proclamation and Civil War freed the slaves. Despite this

freedom, former slaves in the South continued to live, though not in

physical, often in social isolation from the white community. Through

this isolation, they retained many regional or geographical variables such as the ax, /æks/, or axt, /ækst/, pronunciation. The subsequent black diaspora from the rural South into northern and midwestern urban areas scattered this regional variable. History provides examples of the variable's dispersal throughout the southeast. Harrison's 1884 Negro English provides an example of ax, "To ax one howdy an' spon' howdy = to exchange salutations" (270). Shands' manuscript on speech (1893) notes that ax, /æks/, is the "Negro for ask" (Cassidy 1985, 97). Ask is filed as ax in "Language of the Kentucky Negro" listing Kentucky words used by John Lloyd to approximate and represent the language of the characters in his book (Lloyd 1901). East Texas black speakers in 1941 used ax for ask (Stanley 1941). Faulkner's ([1942] 1953) Go Down Moses manuscript containing this line, "Dat's all she axes; just leff her look at you" (148), reveals ax in Mississippi (Cassidy 1985, 97). In addition, Atwood's verb survey (1953) indicates that "cultural" speech informants in western North Carolina universally used ax, /æks/, for the present tense and regularly inflected it to axt, /ækst/, for the past tense. However, the past and past participle forms sometimes include ax'd, axed, as well as axt.

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg area also experienced black and Appalachian white in-migration from the very earliest times but particularly during the 1900's. Mecklenburg County and Charlotte have sustained the greatest population growth of any county in the Metrolina --the twelve counties surrounding Mecklenburg in both North and South Carolina. From 1920 to 1930 the county population grew by 58.6%. In

addition, while many blacks and rural whites were migrating to urban areas, Charlotte had an in-migration of 3.6% during this century in comparison to an out-migration of 2.1% for North Carolina and 6.3% for South Carolina (Clay and Orr 1972, 227-229). This in-migration brought language influence into the city from fringe areas of Hickory, Statesville (Appalachia), Salisbury, and Albermarle (Clay and Orr 1972, 80). Charlotte also had a substantial in-migration of blacks during the 1960's while more affluent whites were moving to the suburbs--sustaining separate living patterns. However, separate black and white neighborhoods persisted in the inner city where middle class and affluent white families continued to live in Myers Park, Dilworth, and Sedgefield. Black families continued to live in Wilmore, in areas bordering Myers Park, Dilworth, and Sedgefield, and in clustered enclaves within these neighborhoods.

The late 1960's and early 1970's mark the time frame for the birth of the Sedgefield Junior High school population entering school from socially and ethnically separate neighborhoods. For instance, the eight girls in the focus came from predominantly black lower socioeconomic neighborhoods. Three of the girls--Sally, Katie, and Margaret--lived in the same privately owned, low income, apartment complex and rode the same bus to school. Two of the girls--Elizabeth and Mary--often walked to school together. The other three girls, while not living near each other, did come from predominantly black neighborhoods. These

neighborhood substructural boundaries perpetuate and create separate speech community networks converting former geographically motivated speech patterns and pronunciations--axt, /ækst/,--into social ones.

School grouping also contributes to creating a separate speech community. None of the eight girls within my focus had above a seventh grade reading level on the California Achievement Test and all were in the lowest math groups. All eight girls were grouped together for many of their classes because of achievement test scores and their academic in-class performance. Therefore, their being together for so many of their classes reinforced their speech patterns within school--speech patterns replicating their out-of-school speech community. The girls' favored variant axt, /ækst/, originally geographically motivated, illustrates the ability of housing, academic grouping, and friendship networks to create and perpetuate a sub-speech community within the larger community of the city and school.

Thus, linguistic history clearly indicates that the variants--ax, /æks/, and axt, /ækst/,--have roots in white speech communities traceable from Old English to the Scotch-Irish settlers and their descendants in Appalachia and the North Carolina western Piedmont. However, in this North Carolina junior high school, the contemporary white response to these variant pronunciations belies these common roots. Residential patterns in the city erect physical and social boundaries, solidifying and reinforcing these variant pronunciations among blacks, creating a speech community. The academic grouping within the school continues the process of recreating this community within the

classroom. Isolation of whites from blacks has resulted in black speech retaining the variant pronunciations while white speech disdains them, denying any connection with them.

Because of the disdain among white students and teachers who either openly mocked the metathesis--as the white male spitter did--or mentioned it to me in conference--as teachers did--I surveyed the frequency of all variants' occurrences--in interviews or in classrooms-- and assessed the speakers' pronunciations. In addition to the eight girls in focus, three other black students also employed ask variants. They were Helene, Sandy, and Joan. Helene lived in the Brookhill Village area; Sandy lived near Savannah Woods. Joan, though not living near the girls, was an integral part of the black female community and claimed mutual friendship with Margaret. The survey reveals several points (See Appendix D, Table D-1, Totals of Ask Variants in Interviews and in Classrooms by Race and by Gender). First, black female speakers employed an ask variant more often that did any other group. This greater frequency disclosed some special significance for ask to this sub-community. Black speakers in this school other than these girls use axt, /ækst/, and ast, /æst/, less frequently. Thus, the frequency with which the girls used a variant was significant. Second, these girls spanned the range of variants in contrast to white and other black speakers. Third, no person in the school, other than a black speaker, was heard to employ axt or ax. Because of their frequency within

interviews, I chose to analyze the occurrence of ask variants.  At no

time within the interviews did I ever purposely elicit any variant form

or request a pronunciation of an ask variant.

## Distribution and Clustering of Variants

/ækst/ 64.0% of Variant Choices:

/æks/ 6.0% of Variant Choices

/æst/ 18.0% of Variant Choices

/æsk/ 12.0% of Variant Choices

The data reveal that axt, /ækst/, is the most likely variant to be

chosen from among ax, /æks/; axt, /ækst/; ask, /æsk/; ast, /æst/ (See

Appendix D, Table D-3, Percentages of Ask Variants by Variant and by

Student) confirming many white teachers and students' beliefs about

black students' variant preference.  Because black speakers typically

delete alveolar voiced stops, -t or -d, in environments where the

following phoneme is a consonant (Fasold and Wolfram 1970, 60), I

analyzed the variants:  (1.) to see if the phoneme following acted as a

constraint, (2.) if there were any patterns speakers were following.

Deletions or assimilations do occur in three instances:

Margaret:  "I wanna as' you a question."

"She [Vance] be as'in' some people the story." (in class)

Vicki:    "She [teacher] be ax'in' everybody, 'What you mean you
don't know?'"

Margaret's first example occurs before you, but in other sentences

deletions do not occur before you:

Margaret: "She [teacher] axt you what you want on your report card."

Ann:      "I was goin' to axt you sumpin'."

"Both should axt you do everybody understand."

Mary:　　"I ast you, could I, and I went ahead and did it."

"I ast you. You said, you didn't say write, last night."

Sandy:　　"A leader might axt you to do it."

Limited -t deletion or assimilation suggests one pattern. Two of the three instances occur before progressive -ing. A phonological principle may be at work to delete the -t before -ing.

The analysis discloses that systematic phonological constraints apparently do not apply when /ækst/ or /æst/ are involved (See Appendix D, Table D-4, Totals of Ask Variants by Variant and by Phoneme Following the Variant).[4] The main pattern speakers followed was to use words beginning with consonants following any variant. Nor were there any noticeable differences when /æks/ or /æsk/ were employed. The words following the variants were typically words beginning with consonants. For instance, four of Elizabeth's five variant choices occurred before consonants--/æks/ before who, two /æst/ before me, and /æsk/ before a labial voiced stop. One /æst/ appeared before schwa 'em. Similarly, Sally always used /ækst/ regardless of following phoneme. Nine of her twelve /ækst/ choices were before consonants; three appeared before schwa in 'em. Despite minimal variation in variant choices, clearly, all variants--with or without the final -t--occur more frequently with words beginning with consonants.

Because the setting was a personal interview and conversational in tone, not surprisingly, many of the sentential subjects were personal,

indefinite, and singular pronouns (12.0% noun subjects, 88.0% pronoun subjects; 16.0% plural, 84.0% singular). Semantically, the singular number is predictable because the students were talking about themselves, parents, teachers, or classmates. The semantic constraints of the interview setting clearly explain the presence of singular pronouns.

Also, not surprisingly, ask variants occurred with either a direct object as complement (34%) or direct and indirect object as complement (66%). Ask variants also appeared primarily as finite verbs with a tense marker. 82.0% (41) were finite; 18.0% (9) were nonfinite. Thirty-one of the forty-one finite verbs had the past tense -t inflection; twenty-four of the forty-one were /ækst/. Although nonfinite verbs (infinitival) typically do not have tense markers, eight of nine occurrences (to /ækst/) clearly indicate the presence of the inflection, -t, attached to the nonfinite forms.

The predictably preferred variant ended with -t, the past tense inflection, in passages where other verbs were predominantly present tense. In fact, 64.0% of the variants were /ækst/ and 18.0%, /æst/; and 67.38% of the other verbs within surrounding discourse were present tense; 4.72%, future; 11.16% progressive; 16.74%, past. In only three examples did students include the past perfect tense or past tense modals.

Margaret: "If a white person had /ækst/ her to do something, she [teacher] would say, 'Yeah.'"

"If a black person had /æst/ her to do the same thing, she [teacher] would say, 'Why you wanna do that?'"

Sandy:     "A leader <u>might</u> /ækst/ you to do it."

During the interviews, students typically were relating past events
occurring before the actual time of the interview and were providing
incidents and quotes as examples.

Margaret:  "My mom she just /ækst/ me do I have any homework
            to do and all that, but he just go off the handle.
            He doesn't /ækst/ me do I have any homework or
            anything. He tell me to start doing your homework.
            She /ækst/ me do I need any help with it or anything,
            but he just tell me to start doing it."

This passage represents many others containing the typical past tense
marker on the finite variant nestled within discourse with obviously
non-past verbs.  My analysis suggests that in this passage the -<u>t</u> is a
part of the base morpheme rather than tense inflection.  Atwood found
the same non-tense significance with /æst/ among white Appalachian
speakers who employed <u>ast</u>, /æst/, in both present and past tense
syntactic environments (Atwood 1953, 5).  Also, this representative
passage may indicate the use of historical present in narrative
discourse (Wolfson 1979;  Shiffrin 1981).

Tense significance of the inflection is also questionable with
nonfinite forms:

Ann:    "I was going <u>to</u> /ækst/ you something. Why does black
         people go off the handle...if somebody call them a nigger?
         Do you know?"

Sally:  "Because, you know, like if somebody say something to
         Margaret that she don't like--they come and /ækst/ her
         something that she have said about them or something like
         that, you know, they just wantin' <u>to</u> /ækst/ her to get it,
         you know, to see how she said it. She don't take it that
         way, you know."

Sally:  "But Margaret, sometimes she get, you know, all hyped up
         and stuff, get mad, and she don't hardly talk. And she

might write somebody a letter and /ækst/ 'em this and
that and then she'll keep it and she'll show somebody
else that letter and, you know, after they get to arguin',
they go back and /ækst/ her, you know, you know, she be
the main character in it, you know, to /ækst/ this
person do they like the other person."

Although nonfinite verbs may express the past, the past infinitival

forms would typically include have as in to have asked. The girls may

have been deleting the have's. However, Elizabeth when relating an

incident occurring the year before with a teacher adds -ing to the

nonfinite and employs /æst/ in the next sentence:

Elizabeth: "I ain't bothered to coming back...
and then everybody /æst/ me what happened and I
told 'em."

The literature also offers examples where inflected nonfinite forms

apparently have no tense significance (Dillard 1972a, 51). Dillard

believes that black speakers' use of inflections with nonfinite verbs

indicates hypercorrection (Dillard 1972a, 48). However, Wolfram's

Detroit study indicates the least hypercorrection occurs with nonfinite

verbs (Wolfram 1969, 139). My analysis suggests that here, as in the

finite forms, the -t inflection, a phoneme rather than a morpheme, is a

part of the lexical item and carries no tense significance.

In contrast to tense, aspect has no such time continuum into which

it segments events. Because most aspect inflections have been lost

through simplification in Germanic languages, aspect does not have

definitive inflections to indicate its force. Aspect, however, does

express the type or character of the action--iterative, habitual,

customary--or direct attention to a point in the action. Iterative

aspect, expressing continuation, may be indicated through simple verbs; adverbs, such as <u>usually</u>; the progressive inflection -<u>ing</u>; periphrastic forms; or the invariant <u>be</u>$_2$ of black English. Also, simple verb forms may express an idea as general truth or may express habitual and customary occurrences. Progressive verb forms express frequent repetition. The present participle stresses the quality of action; when followed by adverbial or locative phrases, the present participle describes the action. In addition, the present participle also expresses feelings--joy, sorrow, praise, censure--while indicating that the speaker is convinced of the feelings being expressed. Point-action aspect draws attention to the initial or final state of the action through verbs such as <u>begin</u>, <u>set</u> + <u>in</u>/<u>out</u>/<u>about</u>; adverbs such as <u>up</u>, <u>down</u>, <u>off</u>; and the present tense of <u>be</u> + infinitives or <u>going to</u> + infinitives. Also, certain verbs, including <u>go</u> and <u>start</u>, reveal that the subject is about to act, thereby pointing to a particular, initial phase of action. Thus, aspect intertwines with semantics to express truths, habits, and characteristics associated with the action; and aspect intertwines with syntax and certain lexical items to express when and how something is done (Curme 1925, 56-58, 290-295).

In summary, a limited subset of black girls favored the variant /ækst/ in the interview setting. The /ækst/ variant whether finite or nonfinite was preceded generally by singular pronoun subjects, followed typically by words beginning with initial consonants, and followed by direct objects and/or indirect objects. Those favoring this variant

were girls whose networks intersected at home through neighborhoods and at school through academic placement. These intersecting networks socialized them into a speech community.

## Clustering by Students

Although the girls were members of a speech community, they clustered their choices somewhat differently. Some employed only one variant. Abby only used /æst/, while Katie only used /ækst/. (See Appendix D, Table D-5, Percentages of Ask Variants by Student and by Variant). Sally also consistently chose /ækst/ in her twelve uses. Her interview verbosity clearly contrasts with her classroom reticence. Although she was not a "boss," many girls claimed her as a friend on the "Faces, Places, and Spaces" friendship clusters. However, Sally claimed only Katie. Also, her in-class interaction seemed to be limited to other black students, although Emilia, a white leader, claimed her as a friend. Her status among other students apparently was unimportant to her, but her status as a teenage mother was important to the black girls. Although Sally was proud of her son and would talk at length about him, some teachers were unaware of her at-home responsibilities. Sally's out-of-school activities were centered within the black community just as her in-school activities were centered within the black network. Out-of-school places of interest for her were church and choir practice at a black Pentecostal church, Queen's Park--where black teenagers congregated--a neighborhood community center, and Myers Park High School dances. Her interests with friends were the dances which she attended with a boy friend and a three-member "club" with two

neighborhood friends. Her in-school activity was limited to chorus, a consistent preference among black girls. Sally's network of friends, places, and interests was centered in the black community. Similarly, Ann and Margaret's lives also were black community centered. Margaret, Katie, and Sally were long-standing neighbors in Brookhill Village, the low rent, non-subsidized housing. All three consistently chose /ækst/.

Interestingly, other students varied their choices. Margaret and Mary used axt, /ækst/, and ast, /æst/. However, Margaret favored /ækst/ 83% of the time, while Mary favored /æst/. Ann employed /æks/ and /ækst/, favoring /ækst/. Vicki chose /æsk/ (the most instances of /æsk/ forms in the focus group), /æsk/, and /ækst/. Vicki had also been observed and overheard in writing lab to clearly say /æsk/. In the sample instance when she did employ /ækst/, she was talking emotionally about a teacher who pushed verbally to make students answer. In addition to the /ækst/, Vicki chose other lexical items (go off, whoo chile) typically associated with black English.[5]

<div style="margin-left:2em">

Pember: "But sometimes a teacher asks you a question and you don't want to answer it, and then they start after you."

Vicki: "That's _____, ...(she) /ækst/ you something. 'What you mean you don't know?' and go off. Whoo, chile!"

Pember: "Do you answer?"

Vicki: "No. I sit there. I don't get smart with her. I just sit there and look at her then she get off my case. I don't say nothin' to her the whole...."

Pember: "But you perceive that the teacher does have the authority?"

Vicki: "Yeah, they got it."

</div>

In contrast, the instances where she chose ask, /æsk/, forms were framed within her explanation of "he say...she say," a playful passage not as emotionally charged as the previous one nor containing as many black lexical choices despite the absence of -s, non-past markers.

> Vicki: "Oh yeah. Katie was to tell Sally something about Katie, then Katie come back--well, Katie tell somebody, and it get back to Ann, and Ann come back and tell me, and then I /æsk/ Katie about it, and Katie say she say nothin', and you /æsk/ Ann and it get back to Katie that you talkin' about her, and she'll come back and then everybody will be /æks/in' everybody something else."

Elizabeth also employed a wide range of variants and was, as the previous chapter indicated, a co-boss with Margaret, who favored axt, /ækst/. Elizabeth's out-of-school places and interests were primarily centered within the black community, but she also ventured to places and interests mentioned by the white students. Among these were Park Road Shopping Center, also listed by Abby, and South Park Shopping Center. Despite these listings, she said that her most consistent out-of-school place to go was church. However, out of school she also played basketball in the park with neighborhood boys. On the school varsity girls' basketball team she was the only black girl and the leading scorer. This basketball prowess gave her in-school recognition with all students who not only knew her name but could put her name with her face. In school she also ran track and played softball, putting her in even more contact with white students. Other white girls participating in either track, basketball, or softball were Emilia (with mutual friendship claims with both Elizabeth and Margaret) from Mrs. Vance's

social studies class, Bertha, Diana, Josephine, Alma, Elida, Genevieve, Iselle, Chris (also with mutual friendship claims with Emilia), and Debby from the Academically Gifted eighth grade group. Although she had the widest ranging contacts of any of the eight girls with both white and black students, Elizabeth physically clustered least often on a friend basis with either the white girls or the other black girls. Similarly, she, like Vicki, had a wider range of <u>ask</u> variants.

Elizabeth, Margaret, and Mary also chose ast, /æst/, as the following examples illustrate:

Elizabeth: "She told me and _____, 'Don't come back,' and so I ain't bothered to comin' back and then everybody /æst/ me what happened and I told 'em."

Margaret: "I wanna /æs(t)/ you a question."

Mary: "I /æst/ you [Mr. Hernan], could I, and I went ahead and did it."

Interestingly, other significant persons in the survey of variants to choose <u>ast</u> were Ms. King, Emilia, and Mr. Hernan.

Ms. King: "Didn't I /æst/ you that question some time ago?"

"Didn't I /æst/ you that question some time ago?"

Emilia: (a good teacher) "I like somebody that will let me me work independently and if I have questions or something, go up and /æst/ her."

Mr. Hernan: "Why don't you wait 'til the end of the period because everybody's comin' up and /æstin'/ me what every grade means."

Ms. King, the girls' junior varsity basketball coach and health/physical education teacher, and Elizabeth and Emilia were close in school. In school, Elizabeth served as Ms. King's assistant during sixth period.

Elizabeth and Emilia, varsity basketball team mates claiming mutual friendships, also confided in her and could be found in Ms. King's classroom between classes although Mr. Taylor was their varsity coach. Ms. King and Elizabeth were also close out of school. Ms. King often took Elizabeth with her to visit friends, visited with Elizabeth and her mother at their home, and was trying to find an orthodontist for Elizabeth. Elizabeth and Ms. King had a mutually close relationship as did Emilia and Ms. King. Thus, it is not surprising that Elizabeth would choose a variant that Ms. King also employed.

Elizabeth's use of ax, /æks/, occurred when I asked her what the students meant in language arts when they had said, "Your hair's on fire," to Vicki. She quizzically asked, "(They) /æks/ who?" As the dialogue continued, she finally said, "I mean, /æsk/ Margaret, she'll know," demonstrating that part of Margaret's boss status revolved around her knowing what was happening.[6]

Although Margaret and Elizabeth's interaction style with students and teachers most nearly typifies the stereotype of how black girls will act, their uses of the /æsk/ variant reveal clear differences. Margaret favored axt, /ækst/; Elizabeth never used axt, /ækst/, but spanned three variants, ast, /æst/; ax, /æks/; and ask, /æsk/. Elizabeth's ask choices indicate that she may be moving linguistically away from the axt, /ækst/, associated by teachers with black students and favored in the sample. Although my data reveal variation in variant choices, clearly axt, /ækst/, is the most frequently occurring form among these eighth grade subjects.

Clustering of Topics Eliciting Variants

The variants came from classroom interactions and interviews. Although I logged twenty hours and twenty minutes with all students, the data for these interviews covered approximately eight hours of conversation. Several topics naturally elicited its use either in the classroom or in interviews:

Margaret: Stating reasons for wanting to live with her mother and not wanting to live with her father.
Responding to Mary's "nosiness" about matters Margaret believed were private.

Elizabeth: An incident with a teacher.

Katie: Classroom observation at chapter's beginning with a teacher and a white male.

Ann: Good teacher characteristics.
Differences among black girls and differences between races when pejorative name calling occurs.

Sally: Good teacher characteristics.
"He say...she say."
Margaret's characteristics in bossing.
Elizabeth's handling "he say...she say."
Margaret's handling "he say...she say."

Vicki: "He say...she say."
Black girls' responses to teachers' verbal pushes to answer.

Abby: Katie's tormenting her.

Mary: Response to teacher directives in language arts.

Functions of /ækst/ and Other Variants

What functions did this speech community assign to /ækst/ and the other variants within indicated topics? It appears that the function of ask variants is to express descriptive and habitual expectations and/or general truths, held by the speakers and those whom they are quoting.

These expectations overwhelmingly spoken in the present tense about past experiences hinge on the expectations--maps--of the speakers and the quoted. These quoted authorities tell, ask, and intervene to bring about or to change what is occurring to what they think should be occurring. Also, the speakers evaluate what these authoritative interveners represent and express what the speakers think should be occurring. This function of /ækst/ and other variants also relates to how these black female speakers view the authority of parents, teachers, and bosses who possess the ability to intervene through directives in their lives. In all passages where the ask variants occurred, these girls were talking about authority to ask and authority to tell.

Student speakers' discourse purposes were to relate incidents and to provide examples of past events when they or others were interacting with parents, teachers, and student bosses. As they related these interactions, they often quoted or marked through mimicry of paralinguistic features (Mitchell-Kernan 1971, 71)--directly or indirectly--expected behaviors associated with those being quoted, the acknowledged authorities or should-be authorities with capabilities to tell or ask others.

Indirect Quotes:

Parent:   "...she just /ækst/ me do I have any homework to do and all that."

          "He doesn't /ækst/ me do I have any homework or anything."

Teacher:  "...both of them should /ækst/ you do everybody understand."

Boss:    "She [Margaret] the one who start it to /ækst/ this person do they like the other person."

Direct Quotes:

Teacher:  "She told me and _____, 'Don't come back.' I ain't bothered to coming back, and then everybody /æst/ me what happened and I told them."

Teacher:  "Now I go off then. 'What you doing?' ...
That's _____...she /ækst/ you something, 'What you mean you don't know?' and go off. Whoo chile!"

Student speakers typically quoted teachers formally and directly and quoted parents and bosses informally and indirectly.

These passages surrounding or containing ask variants addressed teacher, parent, and bosses' authority--the what is--but also addressed what should be. For example, when Ann defined what a good teacher is, she also addressed the teacher's obligation through the modal should that implies the obligation to be sure that all students understand. Both the what is (expressed through the nominalized will plus the -ing indicating Ann's recognition of repetitive and extenuating classroom demands on teachers who are required to teach many students) and the should be are associated with Ann's map about teachers to which she refers and out of which she predicts and reacts to teachers' authority.

Ann: "I think a teacher is a person that's willing to help you when you need them. I know they can't get around to everybody but,

you know, at least try to, you know, like they both make a
statement that you don't understand, both of them should
/ækst/ you do everybody understand, so if a certain person
don't understand, they can raise their hand, and she can go
over to that person again...."

Thus, many of the passages contained the student teller's expectations

of the interactants--expectations based on typically recurring past

experiences; some teachers are willing to be helpful while other

teachers are unwilling.

The text of passages expressed recurring events through participles

and progressive tenses and be forms, and expressed general truths

through simple verbs and present participles.

Topic: Black Females in General in "he say...she say"

Sally: "Somebody tell this certain person sumpin' and tell 'em to
keep it to hisseJf and, no, they probably go back and
tell the other person whoever she talking about and tell
them not to go back and tell 'em and anyway, she know
the other person goin' go back and /ækst/ her did she
say that."

Topic: Margaret in "he say...she say"[7]

Sally: "...and she'll show somebody else that letter and,
you know, after they get to arguing, they go back and
/ækst/ her--you know, she be the main character in it,
you know. She the one who start it, you know, to /ækst/
this person do they like the other person."

Another indicator of habitual actions and the point at which the

action is about to commence is expressed in these passages with

infinitives plus gerunds or simple verbs plus gerunds.

Topics:

Parent: "He doesn't /ækst/ me do I have homework or anything.
He tell me to start doing your homework."

He say...She say:
"You know, it get a big old whole confusion and all of

a sudden they <u>start fighting</u> and get put in that little
room...."

Margaret: "And she'll show somebody else that letter and, you know,
after they <u>get to arguing,</u> they go back and /ækst/
her...."

Thus, as the preceding discussions and passages indicate, parents,
teachers, other students, and bosses and their interrelationships with
the black female speakers were the topics of passages where <u>ask</u> variants
occurred. These topics served as bridges to express the authority of
asking or being asked.[8] Through these topics reflecting students' maps
and teachers' maps, it is possible to explore the significance of /ækst/
as it relates to the perceptions of authority, who has the right to
/ækst/.

### Parents

Margaret used <u>axt</u>, /ækst/, as she discussed her expectations and
experiences about her parents' different strategies of intervention to
be sure she had done her homework. In quoting both parents, she
employed <u>axt</u> in the clause preceding what Butters (1974, 1975), Fasold
and Wolfram (1970) call indirect questions introduced by <u>do</u>:

"My mom, she just /ækst/ me do I have any homework to do and all
that, but he just go off the handle."

"He doesn't /ækst/ me do I have homework or anything. He tell me
to start doing your homework."

"She /ækst/ me do I need any help with it or anything, but he just
tell me to start doing it."

These indirect quotes are from Margaret's perspective--not her parents--
as indicated through the use of <u>I</u>'s not <u>you</u>'s, thereby converting what
could be a direct quote to an indirect quote. These indirect quotes

also possess directive implications because they imply the need to get on with her responsibility, to do homework. These implications coupled with the start to's complete the directive intent of the indirect quote by focusing Margaret's attention on the time for her to begin--now. The start to's are also linked to go off the handle because the indirect quotes and the telling her to get on with homework are how her father "goes off."

Time is also a factor within the passage. Margaret is reliving past experiences with her parents as she retells these experiences in the present. The present recalling is clearly evident in the present tense verbs. The -t inflection is the only past marker, and it may be a part of the lexical item. Time is further indicated through the start to's and go off the handle directing attention to a particular point in time--"calling attention to an initial state of action" (Curme 1925, 57) indicating both time and aspect. The start to's further indicate how Margaret is expected to respond to parental directives. Aspect is further indicated through Margaret's implied praise of her mother's actions in do I need any help contrasting the censure of her father's just...go off the handle. Thus, the passage expresses past experiences recounted in the present and further reveals the behaviors Margaret expects when her parents intervene and discloses the behavior her parents expect from her.

## Teachers

Parents' authority versus teachers' authority was also addressed in response to the question, "Would you talk to your mother the way you

talk to some teachers?" The girls unanimously said that they would not,

indicating that parents had more authority than did teachers with them.

However, teachers as authority figures with rights to intervene and

obligations to respect also produced the <u>ask</u> variants.  The negotiation

of respect with teachers may involve these black girls' verbal assaults

on teachers who fail to follow certain guidelines.  These guidelines--

involving <u>ask</u> variants--for a good teacher were addressed by Elizabeth,

Ann, Sally, and Vicki.  Again in these passages the majority of the

verbs were present tense including progressives which indicate iterative

or habitual aspect.  Again teachers were quoted indirectly or directly.

> Ann: "I think a good teacher is a person that's willing to help
> you when you need them. I know they can't get around to
> everybody but, you know, at least, try to, you know, like
> they make a statement you don't understand, both of them
> <u>should</u> /ækst/ you <u>do everybody understand</u>, so if a certain
> person don't understand, they can raise their hand...."

Ann stresses the teacher's obligation to clarify statements and the

further obligation to see/ask if students comprehend.  Along with

authority, the teacher also has obligations.  The modals <u>can</u> and the

verbs <u>need</u> and <u>try to</u> underline the necessity to carry out these

obligations to students.

Elizabeth not only addresses the authority of the teacher to

intervene and dismiss students in classroom situations, but she also

indicates her own authority to respond to the teacher directive not to

return and to relate to other students what has occurred.  Also, because

Elizabeth was asked for her recounting of the incident, students clearly

accord her this authority.

Elizabeth: "She [teacher] told me and _____, 'Don't come back,'
and so I ain't bothered to comin' back and then
everybody /æst/ me what happened and I told 'em."

Although this passage fails to indicate Elizabeth's consistent byword to

her getting along with teachers, Elizabeth continuously stressed "giving

respect" as a prerequisite for her obedience to teacher directives as

this passage underscores:

Elizabeth: "Because Ms. Polo give me respect, I give her respect.
She /æst/ me to do something, and I do it."

Elizabeth, however, does not appear to be the same person from class to

class or teacher to teacher as I discovered when following her from

class to class.

Elizabeth on this day was wearing either the floppy straw hat or

the yellow sweat shirt to hide her botched-up hair cut--referred to in

Chapter I. During social studies, with her head wrapped, she was

otherwise innocuous as she intermittently sucked her thumb. After class

she purposely strode through the halls to typing where, wearing her

floppy hat, she concentrated and was the epitome of the model student.

For example, she did not talk to anyone and was totally deaf and dumb to

outside distractions. The only time Elizabeth paused from her typing

was to listen to teacher directives during which time she sucked her

thumb and asked some questions of her own. During lunchtime students

are allowed to sit wherever they want to with whomever they wish--unless

they are in trouble. Then they sit at front tables near the teachers'

table. Although on this day she did stay out of trouble, lunchtime

later in the year was the scene of a fight. A boy kept "getting in her

face," and as she walked away, he ran to choke her from behind. She
threw him over her head and resoundingly trounced him. However, today
instead of going to the office for fighting, after lunch she went to
language arts where a combat atmosphere was reigning. Although she was
not the main aggressor, she was belligerent in counter-asserting to Mr.
Hernan's directives.

    Mr. Hernan: "Elizabeth, you getting them down?" (board work)
              "What are you writing in the book for?"

    Elizabeth: "I'm not writing them in the book." (counter-
           assertion)

    Mr. Hernan: "Shore?" (directed to Elizabeth whom he thought said it)

    Elizabeth: "You ain't heard nothing from me." (counter-assertion)

Here we again see evidence of her asserting her own authority to
respond. Interestingly, the black girls responded more volatilely with
ask variants in language arts or writing lab than they did in social
studies. 62.5% of ask variants were used in either language arts or
writing lab suggesting that homogeneous grouping influenced them to be
braver in their belligerence and further suggesting the effect of this
overt belligerence on teachers. This belligerence, however, was never
at the same level in other classes--as the rest of Elizabeth's day
illustrates. During the final class of the day, she refereed a soccer
game for Ms. King. Even here, she sucked her thumb while shouting at
the players, "Get up girl...go get her. She lazy...Go wild, woman."
However, when a student challenged her call, she responded, "No point.
I called it." Her interaction as the one in authority was no different
from her interaction with Mr. Hernan in response to his directives--or

to the directives of teachers other than those she felt accorded her
with respect.

Respect is similarly alluded to by all the girls in relation to a
teacher's intervening to maintain discipline and to ensure learning.  A
lack of respect may lead to belligerent responses to teacher directives
as Vicki and Sally indicate, with Vicki directly quoting and Sally
indirectly quoting:

> Vicki: "Now I go off then. 'What you doin'?' You know you can't hit
> no teacher back. That's the rule, though, but if I see they
> comin' after me--I don't know. I don't know now."

> Sally: "Well, let me see here. Uh, she doesn't have a bad tempuh.
> I mean. you know she don't go off just like dat when
> somebody, you know, /ækst/--/ækst/ 'em sumpin' and
> she try to get a little smart wid 'em."

Sally addresses the teacher's obligation to remain calm--doesn't have a
bad temper and don't go off--and not get sarcastic--try to get a little
smart wid 'em.  In these passages as in many of the passages where ask
variants appeared go + off, off the handle, off on, also appeared
indicating the potential for flaring tempers and verbal belligerence by
students if teachers fail to remain calm when questioned or fail to
accord the student respect.  These go's also express habitually
reoccurring actions.  The go's also direct attention to the initial
point in the action, point action aspect.  These teacher qualities are
presented as what should be--the general truths about teacher/student
relationships.

In conferences and interviews, teachers also presented their
viewpoints, maps reconstructing what good students should be and should

do. Kochman says that whites interpret black verbal aggressiveness more threateningly than do blacks (1981, 44). However, black teachers as well as white teachers were very aware of the problems associated with the black female, student image. Separate interviews with black teachers and white teachers revealed this concern. Black teachers were well aware that verbal aggressiveness of black females can negatively affect any teacher's responses and reactions to the girls. And, in fact, they disapproved of certain behaviors at school, such as break dancing before school, and believed that parents would condemn break dancing too. They also disapproved of the loudness and noise created by many black girls.

Loudness was a characteristic which white teachers also associated with black girls. One white teacher claimed, "The loudest thing in the world is a black girl." These teachers, like the black girls, were discussing events from the past, making judgments, and presenting general truths that could be expected now and in the future--forms of censure directed to the black girls. Although this teacher thought that these girls were loud because they had to be loud to be heard in their family units, one black teacher said that this loudness was "being silly." Folb defines silly as "self-deprecating, being foolish, calling attention to yourself, or showing your color" (Folb 1980, 27). But this teacher meant that being silly is being afraid to expose your inner self. So you detach yourself from the situation and pretend that these events aren't taking place. To cover up your fear and the reality of the situation, you draw attention to yourself or just make a fuss. The

teacher reported that when the girls did this she said, "Do you need some attention today?" a directive effectively stopping the behavior. This phenomenon parallels creating a new reality about self which many blacks achieve through friendship claims, the brother/sisterhood, a bonding, a kinship (Folb 1980, 24). The teacher's reality of being black and female may indeed have created this bonding with the girls but by her being a teacher, too, she is equally aware of the significance in school and outcome at school of such loudness. Interestingly, this teacher had no difficulties with any of the black girls in the focus. Her teacher directives where she used __ast__ to indicate how she urged this attentiveness and responsiveness:

"You need to /æst/ questions."

"Did I /æst/ that question some time ago?" (Think back.)

These directives encourage students to think, question her, and respond to her. Because of this manner, when the black girls were in her class, they were typically attentive and responsive. Never did I observe any assertion/counter-assertion behavior between her and the girls. Loudness is not a characteristic of a good student; in her class the girls were typically student-quiet until called on.

A good attitude was another significant characteristic related to being a good student. Because I continually heard teachers talk informally among themselves about a good attitude, I explored the components of a good attitude with several teachers. Teachers pinpointed several requirements for a good attitude--politeness, pleasant expression, paying attention, looking at the teacher, and

taking corrections well--characteristics not generally associated with
these black girls. Abby was always the exception. For example, one
teacher in a satellite class said,

> "She tries and puts forth 95 to 100% effort. She is an
> excellent student. She is an exception and atypical
> among the black girls. She is more pushed away by the
> students and doesn't play the verbal games."

But most teachers' experiences indicated to them that black females took
correction--associated with social and academic directives--more poorly
than other students because they openly showed their resentment. For
example, the opening scenario for Chapter IV involved Ms. Vance's use of
an ask variant in a teacher directive involving social expectations:

> Vance:  "Katie, I believe I /æskt/ you to remove already what
> you have in your mouth and put it in the trash can."

Katie responded with, "I ain't gonna put it in no trash can." This open
verbal display of resentment was also categorized as rudeness--not a
good attitude.

Another teacher said that she was very careful not to corner a
black girl because the girl would come out verbally swinging. For
example, one day in her math class, she caught a student with a
calculator. She demanded that the student hand it over in escalating
directives, "The calculator. Give me the calculator." The student
refused belligerently;  the teacher was in the corner. Observations in
her class revealed that she consciously and consistently used indirect
language. During one observation period eighteen directives were
recorded, directives which students often ignored or verbally
challenged. Six were, "I would like...;" with other I's in "I would

recommend that...;  I don't like...;  I don't want.  <u>Need</u> directives

used <u>you</u> as in "You don't need...." or "Some of you know that you need

to go back and look at those axioms."  <u>We need</u> was similarly employed.

There were only two direct imperatives.  One directive in another class

to a white male though beginning with a direct imperative and also

involving <u>want</u> and <u>ask</u> softened as the teacher muted the demand through

embedding:

"Wait a minute.  I want to <u>ask</u> you a question."

In addition, the teacher's body language and verbal directives typically

gave double signals;  the words said <u>you need to</u>, but the eyes and

stance were down and relaxed.  Because this teacher chose to use

indirect language, she had particular difficulties with Ann and another

black female classmate who once stomped across the room to deliver a

note to Ann and shout, "Stupid teacher!" Interestingly, when the mother

was called in for a conference, the mother sided with the teacher and

forced the crying daughter to apologize to the teacher.  It appears that

teacher verbal and nonverbal signals may play a large role in students'

good attitudes and how they respond to teacher directives.

Another teacher also employed imperatives involving <u>you need to</u>,

but his forceful eye contact and consistent probing backed up the

command the directive gave:

"You need to hear that in case I /æsk/ it on a test."

This directive incorporated both academic and social dimensions.  It

directed students to listen now so that in the future they would not

miss the point of the discussion on a test.  Students in his class

typically employed exemplary social and academic behaviors. Also, because of his insistence on their eye contact with him, they watched and listened carefully and attentively.

Nonverbal behaviors--perceived as aggressive--ranked alongside verbal aggressiveness as definitely not being good student characteristics. Observations reported in Chapter IV confirmed that from a teacher's perspective many black female interaction strategies mirror resentment yet also mirror their difficulties in knowing how to interact appropriately, in knowing when to stop being aggressive, in knowing how to make amends with teachers, or in knowing how to signal teasing--not hostility or resentment. However, teachers reported in interviews that black female body language--slouching in the desks, slamming books down, mumbling, avoiding the teacher's eyes and cutting eyes--indicating resentment and rudeness ranked alongside verbal etiquette in alienating teachers. Observations also confirmed that many black girls were guilty of this body language. As previously noted in Chapter I, black culture teaches that it is disrespectful to make direct eye contact. So many of the characteristics that teachers associated with black girls--loudness or hysteria, whining, demanding, fussing, talking back or refusing to talk, book slamming, and fighting--generate teacher attitudes serving as a basis for both academic and social directives. With each subsequent experience, teachers galvanize stereotypes about black girls,and black girls galvanize stereotypes about teachers. Out of these experiences, teachers construct and reconstruct personal maps which may color how they experience the black

females whom they perceive as not typically being good students or not typically possessing good attitudes. Teachers, too, map their worlds onto the classroom out of which they make predictions and anticipate what the black female verbal and nonverbal characteristics actually mean in the classroom. Therefore, we can understand why teachers have the attitudes and suspicions that they have when they define a good attitude. Teachers, too, want respect. Their directives are intended to bring about what should be. In comparison, many black girls fail to associate what they have said or done to teachers with subsequent directives. They, also, are concerned with personal characteristics showing deference or respect when they define a good teacher just as teachers are concerned with personal student characteristics showing respect in defining good students.

Many black girls' interaction strategies clearly contrast with good student/good attitude characteristics. The student components to which teachers refer when characterizing black females subsequently serve as social, ethnic, and gender markers among teachers. The pronunciation of axt, /ækst/, by a black girl has the potential to trigger a wider circle of negative associations spanning the range of behaviors associated with black females who so desperately yearn to be respected by teachers and peers.

## Students and Bosses

Similarly, it is apparent that among these girls giving and maintaining respect among themselves evolves from their in-group status and capacity to keep their good name (See Appendix D, Table D-5,

Percentages of <u>Ask</u> Variants by Student and by Variant).  If the girl has

enough physical or psychological strength, the girl's respectability

remains intact.  Abrahams (1976, 79) says, "Clearly, respectability is

an important role feature to negotiate as a woman matures."  This

respectability is negotiated among the black girls through "he say...she

say," verbal speech events involving the acts of asking and responding

to questions or gossip about one's self to maintain a tenuous dignity.

During these events the girls attempt to maintain or preempt another's

status.

In the passages about "he say...she say" we again find issues that

question the significance of the -<u>t</u> marker in <u>axt</u>, /ækst/, or <u>ast</u>,

/æst/, to indicate the past tense.  The majority of the verbs are

present tense along with future markers, progressives, and invariant

<u>be</u>'s indicating continuation and the habitual.  Coordinate conjunctions

further underline the continuation of habitual scenarios as they link

events to events.  Also, indirect questions are used to quote an

individual and to provide examples.  Students also provide censure or

praise for each other's actions and/or responses.  Although Vicki

initiated my interest in this phenomenon, Sally's monologue produced the

most instances of <u>axt</u> and clearly explained some of rules, sequence of

events, functions, and outcomes of "he say...she say" as she recounts

the habitual actions of many black girls indicated through simple verbs,

progressives, and coordinate conjunctions.

> Pember: "...Now you've never been in In School Suspension. I heard
> you say that in class. You never have fought that I know
> of. I also find that some black girls will more typically
> fight than white girls. More black girls are in In School

Suspension for fighting than white girls."

Sally:    "Uh-huh."

Pember:   "What was it that Vicki said yesterday about a lot of
          that 'he say...she say' stuff?"

Sally:    "That's what gets 'em in there."

Pember:   "He say...she say?"

Sally:    "Somebody tell this certain person sumpin' and tell 'em
          to keep to hisself and, no, they probably go back and
          tell the other person whoever she talkin' about and tell
          her not to go back and tell 'em and anyway, she know the
          other person goin' go back and /ækst/ her [did she say
          that]. You know, it get a big old confusion and all of
          a sudden, they start fightin' and get put in that
          little room with no windows and a lot of homework to do, or
          whatever, and you know I ain't got time for all that."

The underlined start, though in present tense, is also a verb that can

signal ingressive point-action aspect to direct the listener's attention

to the initial state from the preceding gossip bringing school

authorities into the picture (Curme 1925, 292)--physical fighting which

can lead to In School Suspension.  Also, Sally censures others for this

fighting and appears to agree with the school's right to intervene to

stop the fights.  Bosses' versus other students' rights in "he say...she

say" are also addressed.  Who has the authority to question?  Does the

person doing the questioning have authority?  Does the person being

talked about have the authority to intervene to stop the talk?

Apparently, bosses assume more rights to talk about others and to

intervene when they are being talked about.  Also, these bosses may run

less risk of fights resulting than would other students with less

status.  Sally's subsequent examples include if...then conditional

logic, nonfinite <u>to axt</u>, and progressives pointing to the habitual-

ongoing nature of the type of described activity.  Her assessment

provided additional insight into differences among the girls in handling

this "he say...she say" gossip.

> Pember:  "Why do people--why are they careful when they talk
> to those two [Margaret and Elizabeth]? What is it
> about those two that makes them different? They're not
> alike. They're careful, or I noticed people are careful.
> Why?"

> Sally:  "Because, you know, like if somebody say sumpin' to
> Margaret that she don't like--they come and /ækst/
> her sumpin' that she have said about them or sumpin'
> like that, you know, they just wantin' to /ækst/ her
> to get it, you know, to see how she <u>said</u> it. She don't
> take it that way, you know...."

Other differences between the two bosses, Margaret and Elizabeth, also

allude to the censure or praise by Sally of Margaret and Elizabeth:

(passage about Elizabeth)

> Sally:  "Yeah. And if it's true, you know, she goin' go off on
> 'em just like that, 'cause she gonna /ækst/ 'em about
> it first, and she might tell' em <u>don't be talkin'</u>
> about her or anything."

(passage about Margaret)

> Sally:  "But Margaret, sometimes she get, you know, all hyped up
> and stuff get mad, and she don't hardly talk. And she might
> write somebody a lettuh and /ækst/ 'em this and that and
> then she'll keep it--and she'll show somebody else that
> lettuh and, you know, after they get to arguin' they go
> back and /ækst/ <u>her</u> you know--you know, she be the main
> character in it, you know.  She the one who start it, you
> know to /ækst/ this person <u>do they like the other person</u>."

These two passages, in addition to censure or praise, also may

indicate the future tense or the <u>if</u>...<u>then</u> conditional but are still

obviously based on habitual actions of the past.  The <u>get</u>'s are verbs

often employed to express habitual actions (Curme 1925, 293).  The

invariant <u>be</u> further underscores the habitual.  Sally appears to base her explanations and censure on the past, while speaking hypothetically for the future, or as if it were occurring now.

Sally's observations that Margaret is unreceptive to inquiries about her own business is borne out in observation.  In Chapter I the example which I offered for teachers' giving different social input to different students--social input reflecting the status among the black girls--involved Margaret and Mary.  Margaret resoundingly stopped Mary's questions with the directive:

Margaret: "Mary, don't /ækst/ me no questions now!"

Mary continued to fuss with the teacher who clearly sided with Margaret:

Mary:     "I /ækst/ someone a question." (spoken to the teacher
          who was staring at her)

Mary, nonetheless, never looked at Margaret again during the class period.  However, not all students can forcefully stop the "he say...she say" about them as Margaret could and when they are unable to halt it, a fight erupts.  The case in point again involves Mary, but this time with Ann, whom she does not fear and subsequently fights.  Ann offered her explanation as to why the fight occurred, explanations obviously set in the past tense:

Ann:      "So you didn't see me and Mary fighting?"

Pember:   "No, I missed that opportunity. What did you all fight
          about?"

Ann:      "Stupidity. 'He say...she say' and all that stupid stuff.
          She said that somebody pushed her into me, but to me,
          it looked like she threw her arm to me, and the way
          I seen it, I didn't see nobody touching her. Like she
          threw her book down and came into me while I was holding
          my books, so I just hit her back."

The result of this hall fight was In School Suspension for both girls.

In summary, parents, teachers, other students and bosses and their interrelationships with the speakers were the topics of passages where ask variants occurred.  These topics served as bridges to express the authority of asking or being asked.  Student speakers also expressed their interpretations of this asking by indicating the general or specific characteristics of those about whom they were speaking and by expressing the truths about parents, teachers, and other students' authority and rights to ask or be asked.  They often praised or censured the action and quoted the parents, teachers, and other students.  These functions indicate aspect and tense.

Ask variants, then, clearly have two levels of significance.  On one level is the response evoked in white listeners when they hear a black speaker use a variant different from their own.  These variants, ax ,/æks/, or axt, /ækst/, with historical roots in both white and black speech communities, direct the white listener's attention to the metathesis which apparently has no particular significance for the black speaker.  This metathesis marks the speaker, placing black speakers in an ethnic category.  Rickford (1985, 99-125) establishes and traces the potency of ethnicity as a sociolinguistic boundary when ethnic groups and dialects are in contact.  Labov (1984) indicates in cases of language contact that blacks show more effects of the contacts than do the whites.  This is borne out within this school.  Whites did not use ax, /æks/, or axt, /ækst/, but black girls spanned all four variants

despite a decided preference for axt, /ækst/. Rickford cites Schumann (1978) and Whinnom (1971) who have determined which barriers keep some groups from adopting the other's language yet encourage other groups to adopt some language factors. Both cite attitudes of the contact groups, and Whinnom calls these attitudes "ethological or emotional barriers" to second language learning (Rickford 1985, 115). This school study indicates these ethological or emotional barriers in the Katie-white boy-teacher scenario. Thus, the difference between white and black variant choices symbolizes the barrier, the attitude, the map--the basis of the white response to the metathesis and the basis for why most whites would not use ax, /æks/, or axt, /ækst/.

Another reaction, on the same level, to the axt, /ækst/, variant centers on the tense it represents. Apparently the past tense inflection, -t on axt, /ækst/, has little tense significance for these black speakers. For example, black female speakers employed axt, /ækst/, within overwhelmingly present tense contexts. The literature provides precedents for no tense significance for -t inflections with either finite (Atwood 1953) or nonfinite (Dillard 1972a) verbs.

Although tense (as inflection) may have little significance to these black female speakers, tense is a part of the function as the girls, members of a sub-speech community in this school, use ask variants, the second level of significance. Tense serves a predictive function that the events have for the present. Aspect is apparent as students relive past events in the present--events that tend to reiterate who has the right or authority to ask or be asked. This

verbal recounting of truths is akin to the black oral tradition. The girls weave their myths encapsulating truths about themselves and would-be authority figures who act out the recurring theme of authority and respect. These myths explain their deeply held beliefs and emotions about who should be accorded authority to intervene and from whom authority and intervention rights should be withheld. This level of meaning for these black female adolescents is clearly the more important, yet difficult level to fathom. However, this is the level out of which the authority to ask or be asked, tell or be told, direct or be directed functions. These myths are the maps out of which these black females experience the classroom and subsequently respond to authority.

CHAPTER VI

"I BE ASHY.":

BE, BARRIERS, MAPS, AND MARKERS

On January 14, 1985, while the language arts class was waiting for the bell to ring at the end of a library session, Mary, Abby, Katie, and Ann had stacked their books on the library table in front of them and were chatting.  During this chattering, Mary began to rub lotion onto her legs.  Because Mary was standing on one leg and then the other while bending down, Mr. Hernan asked Mary what she was doing.  She responded, "I be ashy." At first the teacher chided her for her be as he quizzically and disdainfully said,"Be?" Next, he asked, "Ashy?"[1] to which Mary, without success, rapidly fired off verbal explanations. Finally, Abby, the cultural translator, said, "Her legs are chapped, and she's putting cream on them." After this explanation, Mr. Hernan finally nodded and said, "Okay."

This interaction illustrates how students and teachers map their lives onto the classroom.  Maps, analogous to attitudes, are "internal states aroused by some stimulation of some type which may mediate the subsequent response " (Fasold 1984, 147). Maps are what we cannot see influencing how people perceive, expect, interpret, and subsequently interact.  For instance, Mr. Hernan was aware only of what the be symbolized to him, his map--an incorrect use of be, couched within an alien grammatical system;  he was unaware of what the be meant to Mary. In contrast to maps, markers can be seen or heard through differences or

deviations from the community or classroom norm as this scenario demonstrates through be. Be becomes a negative marker. White listeners and black speakers stumble communicatively when be or black lexical items are involved. Thus, be evokes negative attitudes and erects communication barriers.

Characteristic patterns of black use of be, that are uncharacteristic for white use of be, contribute to communication barriers between black students and white teachers/students. White speakers grapple with exactly what black speakers mean when they use be and how be functions. Black use divides typically into unconjugated be and invariant be.

Unconjugated be occurs and functions in two different ways. First, it may occur wherever white speakers may have used is, am, or are without changing the meaning of the sentence. For example, Dunlap (1974, 54) categorized, "I put lotion on my legs [each morning] 'cause they be ashy," a sentence similar to Mary's, in the unconjugated category, "I put lotion on my legs 'cause they are ashy." Second, unconjugated be may function to indicate future time (will, would deletions).

In contrast to unconjugated be, invariant be functions to express two different meanings. First, it may function to express actions repeated or uncompleted through time. Secondly, it may function to express completed actions covering a specific span of time at some point in time. These functions of be are called be$_2$. Invariant be$_2$ also functions to signal actions preceding the actual time of the occurring

event and continuing into the actual event's occurrence (Dillard 1972a, 46). Consequently, it seems plausible that the example from the introductory scenario, "I be ashy," may also find a place in the invariant be₂ category. Clearly, Mary's being chapped was a preexisting condition before the actual time she applied the lotion in the library. The chapped condition occurred in the past, yet continued into the present library time causing Mary to apply lotion to remedy the condition. Although we cannot know if the condition bothers her constantly or intermittently, or at what point in time the condition appeared, we can state that it did clearly precede the library event. In a like manner, the scenario demonstrates the linguistic difficulties white speakers have with black syntax and semantics with their accompanying social implications.

Social factors are also implied in this scenario. Both maps and markers correlate with an infinite number of linguistic and paralinguistic characteristics to convey social information (Giles, Scherer, and Taylor 1979, 376) including "the ways of speaking involving both structure and ways of using structure" (Hymes, 1981, viii). For instance, both black and white speakers in this school use be, but they do not use it in identical ways. Although other black speakers may say as Mary did, "I be ashy," white speakers rarely if ever would say, "I be ashy," except to mock or imitate. Socially, the black use of be is stigmatized; the white use of be is advantageous. Thus, be communicates different social meanings.

Other social factors are indicated through the clear communicative differences which Mary and Abby can express. Mary's inability to explain what she meant, for instance, clearly contrasts Abby's ability to translate. Black students differ in their ability to move into the dominant culture from the minority culture. Similarly, teachers differ in their ability to bridge the dominant culture to the minority culture. Social and linguistic differences, rooted in cultural diversity, build communication barriers.

## History of the Verb Form

The African-English language dichotomy signifies the dual roots of this linguistic and social diversity. As discussed in Chapter V, black slaves snatched from Africa spoke many different languages. Because of this linguistic diversity, slaves developed a pidgin, an overlay of African on English, to communicate with each other and slave traders. So, pidgin, the commonly used slave language, developed in response to communicative needs among blacks and whites.

Retaining the African-English combination, creole, a common primary language of original slaves' children and descendants, emerged from the pidgin. Other English sources, besides the slave traders and the developing creole spoken among the slaves, came from whites who owned slaves or oversaw them. Be shall be viewed from the creole origin and the early white English origin.

Creole research reveals African and English influence on be. Dillard (1972a) and Stewart (1967, 1968) trace invariant be to plantation creole, the language of the slave quarters, resembling Sea

Island Creoles. Rickford (1974) tracks invariant be to Sea Island and
Guyanese Creoles that employed doz, a non-past reference, with be.
Eventually, doz was replaced with be alone which retained the non-past
reference (Baugh 1983, 72). Because aspectual systems were particularly
strong in both pidgin and creole languages, Brewer (1979) suggests,
based on her WPA slave narrative work, that blacks relexified a form,
am, to match and/or fit in with a creole aspectual classification.
Subsequently, be replaced am because of the influence of white Anglo-
Irish be. The Anglo-Irish be, brought to the South by the migrating
Scotch-Irish originally from Ulster, specified repetitive actions
(Labov, et al. 1968). The dual origins for be in black English are
clear.

What remains unclear is from which origin the invariant be emerges
during decreolization, moving away from African origins and moving
toward the spoken English. Both sources quite probably affected black
English and contributed to its contemporary use in Charlotte's
Sedgefield Junior High School.

Eighth Grade Students' Use of Unconjugated be and Invariant be₂

Because be is a negative social marker, I have compiled its use and
frequency from field notes beginning in September 1984 through June 6,
1985; classroom tape recordings from October 15, 1984, through March
15, 1985; individual and/or group interviews from April 16, 1985, to
June 6, 1985. Individual interviews were conducted with all social
studies and remedial language arts' students (thirty-three students).
At no time either in class or in interview settings did I attempt to

elicit the be usage although I did ask students what language variety they spoke and what characteristics of their language variety they could name.[2]

To determine be differences and similarities in function and meaning among black students and to see if any white students employed be similarly to black students, I have compiled and categorized a list of 292 be's used by one student in Ms. Polo's social studies class and thirty-three students in Mrs. Vance's social studies class and Mr. Hernan and Mrs. Johnson's language arts/writing lab classes. Interviews with Vance, Hernan, and Johnson's thirty-three students provide the bulk of the data. Seventeen white students made up 51.5% of those interviewed; fifteen black students made up 45.5%; and one Native American made up the remaining 3%. Other data sources include field notes, classroom observations, and tapes. The 292 recorded be's include each be spoken either in class or interview by any black student and any unconjugated or invariant be spoken by any other student.[3] These 292 instances provide social and linguistic information which Mary, Abby, and Mr. Hernan's be ashy scenario modeled.

Black English and white English spring from diverse cultural roots. Through continued historical isolation--linguistic and social--some differences become pronounced. Since these differences initially emerged because of racial and social stratification, race becomes the starting point as the main factor contributing to communication

barriers. <u>Be</u>, the most irregular and the most used verb in the English language (Dunlap 1974, 17, 32), is a significant marker in this communication barrier.

<center>Unconjugated <u>Be</u></center>

<u>Factors and Characteristics Contributing to Barriers: Race</u>.
Typically race restricts the occurrence of unconjugated <u>be</u> less than it restricts invariant <u>be</u>.[4] In this sample, however, few black students, four of fifteen (26.7%) actually used unconjugated <u>be</u> as the following examples illustrate:

1. Unidentified black female in Ms. Polo's social studies class: "I <u>be</u> right here."

2. Elizabeth: "Then, like we run down there. No, it <u>be</u> me and him."

3. Ann:     "<u>Be</u> you goin' to stay or you just goin' to visit?"

4. Bud:     "It's a white boy that I <u>be</u> friends with."

The unidentified black female's use of unconjugated <u>be</u> is in response to Ms. Polo's question, "Where are you?" The black girl's <u>be</u> replaces <u>am</u>. Elizabeth (number 2) is relating an incident occurring the previous school year. Because it had occurred the year before, Elizabeth's <u>be</u> must be construed as <u>was</u>. Ann's example (number 3) is interesting. Persons saying, "Be I going?" are noted among white speakers in New England and eastern Virginia. Yet, black speakers in North and South Carolina more commonly use this expression (Atwood 1953, 27) than white speakers. However, "Be <u>you</u> going?" is not listed as a part of this type of question. Bud (number 4) is explaining his friendship circle with a <u>be</u> replacing <u>am</u>. Thus, among these black students, unconjugated <u>be</u>

replacing <u>is</u>, <u>am</u>, <u>are</u>, and <u>was</u> fails to constitute any significant portion of the 292 instances of <u>be</u> in this sample (1.7%).

One white speaker, Vicente, stands out as the only white speaker to use unconjugated <u>be</u>.[5]

    Vicente: "Someone [a good student] who sits down and pays attention and <u>be</u> quiet and does their work."

This <u>be</u> may represent nonparallel structure or it may represent unconjugated <u>be</u>. The string of other present tense verbs, <u>sits</u> and <u>pays</u> before <u>be</u> and <u>does</u> following <u>be</u> suggests that Vicente may be following redundancy requirements for tense agreement. This redundancy provides <u>is</u>.

    "Someone who sits down and pays attention and is quiet and does their work."

Unconjugated <u>be</u> replacing <u>is</u>, <u>am</u>, <u>are</u>, and <u>was</u> has limited use by black students. One white student's use suggests the dual roots of <u>be</u> in the white and black speech communities. Despite this one white instance, unconjugated <u>be</u> typically marks black students rather than white students socially and linguistically.

Black students were the only students to employ unconjugated <u>be</u>'s (1.4% of the total 292) derived from <u>will/would</u> indicating future time (Labov, et al. 1968; Fasold 1969, 1972; Stewart 1969; Dillard 1972a; Dunlap 1974; Brewer 1979; Bailey and Bassett 1986; Bailey and Maynor 1985). These <u>be</u>'s also may retain vestiges of the original meaning of <u>will/would</u> expressing desirability of actions and reoccurrence of actions (Wolfram 1974, 518). The following examples make up the <u>will/would</u> deletions.

1. Margaret:    "'Cause there's school and then I <u>be wantin'</u> to go out
                and everything." (Margaret's hypothetical <u>if</u>/<u>'cause</u>/
                <u>then</u>—why a baby would be unwelcome)

2. Elizabeth:   "If I don't recopy, then you <u>be complainin'</u>." (WL,
                Elizabeth's response to writing lab teacher's classroom
                directive to continue without recopying)

3. Ann:         "Oh, you mean like sometimes you say, 'I <u>be goin'</u> up
                there later.'" (response to interviewer's observation
                about black students' <u>be</u> use)

4. Margaret:    "I <u>be</u> there." (WL, response to writing lab teacher's
                classroom directive, "Go on, Margaret.")

5. Mary:        "I <u>be workin'</u>." (Mary's summer plans in response to
                interviewer's question)

Numbers 2, 4, and 5, the purest examples of <u>will</u>/<u>would</u> deletion, are all

responses to either classroom directives or direct questions for

information.  Temporal adverbs, typically co-occurring with verbs to

signify time (Crystal 1966), offer limited explanations for the <u>will</u>/

<u>would</u> categorization.  <u>Then</u>, in number 2, expresses what Elizabeth

believes will happen as a future consequence if she fails to recopy.

The phrasal <u>go on</u>, preceding 4, expresses what the teacher wants

Margaret to do next; <u>there</u> expresses Margaret's contention that she

will continue.  No adverbs are present in 5.  Numbers 1 and 3, however,

are complicated.  Number 3 is Ann's example offered to see if she

understands the interview statement.  <u>Sometimes</u>, though expressing

possible repetition of what she is about to say, has little bearing on

the quote.  However, the <u>later</u> in the quote prompts the future tense <u>be</u>.

Number 1 appears within a narration unfavorably comparing Margaret's

father to a teacher.  This comparison prompted Margaret to conclude with

declarations about not wanting a baby.  <u>Then</u> expresses the hypothetical

<u>if</u> she were to have a baby, as opposed to the present, now. However,
this instance of <u>will</u>/<u>would</u> also functions aspectually. It expresses a
twofold volition--not to get pregnant and to continue to go out. Thus,
<u>be</u>, with underlying <u>will</u>/<u>would</u>, functions to express time--the future--
and aspect and is limited to black speakers' use.

<div align="center">Invariant <u>Be</u></div>

Invariant <u>be</u>$_2$, the dominant category of the sample, totaled 148 of
the 292 instances of <u>be</u> occurrences--50.68% of the total data. The
seventeen white students never employed the invariant <u>be</u>. Twelve of
fifteen black students did, however, produce 99.3% of the <u>be</u>$_2$ category.
As the percentages demonstrate, the black adolescent population at
Sedgefield actively use this form. The overwhelming blackness of the
invariant <u>be</u> concurs with many who claim invariant <u>be</u>$_2$ to be the
exclusive black non-standard language feature distinguishing white from
black speech (Fasold 1969, 763; Wolfram 1974b, 522-24; Dunlap 1974,
77-8). Because of its racially exclusive use, Mitchell-Kernan says that
black invariant or habitual <u>be</u> "may be among the more salient mistakes
noted" in black speech (Mitchell-Kernan 1971, 35). The black
adolescents in this school use invariant <u>be</u>$_2$ extensively in settings,
ways, and frequencies that are often different from previous studies.

Regardless of its overwhelming black use, one Lumbee Indian female
student did produce one instance of <u>be</u>$_2$.[6] This instance, though
quantitatively limited, does duplicate more recent studies modifying the
position that <u>be</u>$_2$ is an exclusive black speech feature. Bailey and
Bassett (1986, 163) discovered <u>be</u>$_2$ among both white and black southern

speakers. However, invariant be when used by whites was used by "male folk speakers" (Bailey and Bassett 1986, 166). Yet, they upheld from their data, as I, too, can uphold that be$_2$--though not limited to black speech--is far more common in black speech.

Despite the barrier represented by be to white speakers, be opens channels to reveal cultural roots, conduits, and tributaries to the black oral tradition expressing the dichotomy between black and white communities. In the wider pragmatic sense, the form functions for these black girls to express their maps, the give and take patterns of their lives, encompassing roles, rights, responsibilities, and liabilities associated with being black. These patterns are based on past occurrences out of which the girls experience, predict, react, and interact.

Meaning and Function of Invariant Be

What features and functions, not shared with white speakers, do these be's signify when black students and the one Lumbee student use them? One exclusive feature of black speech in this sample is the negative don't be, the negative of invariant be$_2$ with underlying do as opposed to underlying will/would of the unconjugated be (Wolfram 1974b, 518). These don't be's function to signify denial, rejection, and nonexistence of conditions referred to in the subject and acted out through the verb. They also function temporally and aspectually to express uncompleted acts--in time--occurring whenever events being

addressed in the subject are present.  The negative $be_2$ appears infrequently in this data.  There were only eight (8) instances among the 148 $be_2$'s.

1. Vicki: "When black people get serious with each other, there don't be no smilin'."

2. "You mean, you don't be doing that." (talking white)

3. Sally: "And she [Elizabeth] might tell them don't be talkin' about her or anything."

4. Margaret: "Mrs. _____ [teacher], she don't be actin' right."

5. Ann: "Then she [grandmother] make you say a cuss word--you don't be thinkin' 'bout cuss words."

6. "It [school dances] don't be right."

7. "They [boys] go home when the girls leave 'cause it don't be nothin' else to do."

8. Abby: "Some of them [black girls] don't be wanting to learn, you know."

All don't be's function to address social factors controlling the girls' lives, language variety differences, and social control of parents, teachers, bosses.  Vicki (number 1) is explaining that when a fight is about to take place, black people do not smile.  This nonexistence of smiles, when anger prevails, alerts the other black person to be on guard.  The wider context for this explanation occurred as Vicki contended that she would and could put Elizabeth down in fun as easily as Elizabeth had put her down when she had asked during language arts, "How do you know how it [dogfood] tastes?" Elizabeth and Vicki's smiles to each other during such a speech event would signal non-belligerence. So, number 1 focuses on race, cultural practices, and social hierarchy.

Again, in number 2, Vicki continues to focus on race as it collides with language. She contends that black people should not "talk white." In the larger context, however, she goes on to specify when she would "talk white," in what settings, and around which people.

Sally, in number 3, explains how Elizabeth handles "he say...she say" speech events. Elizabeth typically denies black students with lesser status the right to gossip about her. In the wider context, Sally is comparing Elizabeth's method of stopping talk about her with Margaret, who would fight to put a halt to gossip. Social hierarchy and race are also implied because both Elizabeth and Margaret are bosses in the black circle of friends.

Margaret (number 4) and Ann (number 5) also address race, hierarchy, and social control. Margaret basically mistrusts teachers and in this instance attributes the nonexistence of appropriate teacher actions to a black teacher. In this particular case, the actions cannot be dispelled. Ann, who is more obedient to her grandmother than to any teacher--black or white, denies that she ever thought to say "durn" until her grandmother unjustly accuses her. Despite both girls' denial of the social control exerted by black teacher or black grandmother, both girls acquiesce because of black matriarchal supremacy.

Ann, in numbers 6 and 7, explains why she does not enjoy school dances. Number 6 advances that school dances do not possess conditions making dances fun. Number 7 implies the social power black girls can exert over black boys--when the girls leave, the persons needed for fun

do not exist for the boys. Although Ann's arguments are not conclusively developed, clearly, she does not associate fun with school dances.

Abby, in number 8, does not associate appropriate student actions with her black female classmates. Conversely, because these same black students associate Abby with acquiescing to school authority, Abby finds herself alone. The black social hierarchy in language arts rarely includes her and controls her through words and physical ostracism. Thus, these girls' don't be's function to express actions repeated through time whenever certain circumstances necessary for those actions are present.

Other don't be's appear but are within imperatives, directives directly quoting parents, teachers, and Margaret, a boss.

1. Margaret: "Don't be lookin' up; you can't look at that." (in SS)

2. Margaret: "Mrs. Vance, she be sayin','Don't be wastin' my time.'"

3. Ann:     "She's [grandmother] too old-fashioned and say, 'Don't be sayin' that [durn].'"

In these examples, don't be occurs within directives from someone in authority. Also, the initial position in the imperative bears similarities to white speech, as indicated by the quote in number two from a white teacher. As with the previously cited don't be's, both two and three express actions that repeat themselves across time whenever the event being discussed occurs. Both co-occur also with be + -ing forms, an inflection marking the repetition of events. Number 1, though a typical Margaret statement, is a onetime statement at a particular

point in time. Though limited in number, three <u>be</u> + -<u>ing</u> forms do occur

to mark actions taking place in the past, occurrences duplicating

previous research that $be_2$ may function to express past tense (Dunlap

1974 and Brewer 1974). Carlotta, a Native American, used one invariant

$be_2$, 0.67% of $be_2$ category and .34% of the total data. This $be_2$ has

past tense reference and occurred in interview.

Pember:   "Do you talk to people on the phone at night?"

Carlotta: "No, my grandma won't let me."

Pember:   "She won't?"

Carlotta: "No."

Pember:   "Why?"

Carlotta: "I don't know 'cause her phone bill ran up one time, so
          I couldn't talk on the phone. But every once in a
          while I sneak off and call somebody."

Pember:   "Okay. Let's look down here to where all you've been.
          South Carolina. Do you have family down there?"

Carlotta: "Yeah...Uh huh, Greenville, SC. That's where my
          aunt and uncle and my two cousins that I <u>be</u> calling and
          their two brothers live."

This $be_2$--<u>be</u> + -<u>ing</u>--indicates both aspect and time, characteristic

functions of $be_2$. Aspectually, the progressive -<u>ing</u> indicates

continuation of an action, calling her family. The <u>be</u> reinforces the

action's continuation in an intermittent nature. Yet, Carlotta also

says earlier in the text that she no longer has phone privileges.

Adverbs fail to specify the past time for the repeated calling. To

determine tense, we need to consider the entire passage or total

discourse to say that <u>be callin'</u> occurred in the past. So this <u>be</u> +

-<u>ing</u> is a practice occurring repeatedly in the past, yet not occurring
in the present.  Past actions have been documented to occur with <u>be</u><sub>2</sub>
(Dunlap 1974;  Brewer 1979;  Bailey and Bassett 1986).

Another example of past tense reference occurred when Vicki was
telling the language arts class about a past event whose action
continued over and was completed in a definite period in time, the
durative function.  Instantaneous, one time, actions--occurring at a
definite time and covering a particular span of time--have also been
documented (Labov, et al. 1968;  Dunlap 1974).  Vicki's statement was
made in response to a class discussion about dangers associated with
north Charlotte.  The teacher had told a story to which Margaret had
responded that although she was black, she was afraid when she was in
these neighborhoods.  At this point, Vicki offered her own story about a
time when she and friends were in the same general vicinity about which
Mr. Hernan and Margaret had been speaking.

> Vicki:  "We <u>be sittin'</u> out there; we just <u>be sittin'</u> out there
> watchin' the parade."

The adverb <u>just</u> fails to specify past time.  It does, however, function
as a minimizer to mitigate any speculation that the watchers were doing
anything other than sitting and watching.  This sitting and watching
occurred in the past, on one occasion and covered a particular time
span.

Another instances where <u>be</u><sub>2</sub> functions in past reference centers on
what Katie had just said to a teacher, an instance reported by Bud.

> Bud:  "She [Katie] <u>be sayin'</u>, 'Why you goin' make me throw it
> away?'"

Here again the entire context of speaking must be taken into account to determine what if any time reference is being made.

In addition to past time, other be$_2$'s function to signify the present. Vicki in language arts class used be in this manner to express the present time and to signify a definite time in class. The teacher was reviewing a previously tested story and was offering reasons as to why a certain answer was wrong. Vicki apparently is saying to him, "Yeah, now we know," at this point in time as opposed to when we needed to know it for the test.

Vicki: "You be tellin' us that."

Another present time reference refers to this year as opposed to last year.

Vicki: "Well, this time [in social studies] we're doin'
       400th anniversary [of North Carolina] and I be cookin'
       in there."

This data suggest that be$_2$ can function to refer to past and present actions occurring at definite or particular points in time and covering particular time spans. Although these examples from data are few in number, they do demonstrate that be$_2$ is not always tenseless as earlier claimed by Fasold (1969). These examples also duplicate more recent findings where past and present actions have been found to occur with be$_2$ (Dunlap 1974, Brewer 1979).

Be$_2$ may also function to point to a particular season of the year which is repeated annually. Black students used be + predicate adjective + adverbial prepositional phrase, expressing when, to specify time of year--a point in time--when certain events occur.

Katie: "They <u>be</u> fun <u>at football season</u>, too, but cheerleaders <u>be fun</u> at basketball season."

"Because cheerleaders <u>be</u> fun <u>at the season</u>."

Despite the fact that $be_2$ does not appear to be tenseless, the data also suggest that $be_2$ functions primarily (50.86% of data) to express distributive or iterative actions, like actions repeated over time-- often claimed as the hallmark of $be_2$ (Fasold 1969, 764). In instances where students use $be_2$'s to indicate the habitual or distributive aspect, they sometimes used temporal adverbs to denote frequency. However, adverbs occurred with $be_2$ in only thirty-two instances out of a possible 148 possibilities (21.62%). The analyzed results suggest that adverbial occurrence with $be_2$ is limited. Also, the analysis implies that adverbial co-occurrence with $be_2$ is inadequate to describe function and meaning fully. Yet, adverbs do occur with <u>be</u>'s to express habitual actions.

Students, when talking about actions occurring occasionally, typically used <u>sometime(s)</u>.

Bud: "Yeah, <u>sometime</u> they <u>be walkin'</u>and see white people walkin' and say, 'Hey, honky.'"[7]

Sandy: "We <u>be trippin'out sometimes</u>."[8]

When they were talking about usual actions, students typically chose <u>always</u>, <u>usually</u>, <u>probably</u>, <u>when</u> clauses, and <u>most of the time</u>. Representative examples of these uses are:

Ann: "It [hair] <u>usually be</u> slippery."

Oscar: "_____ <u>usually be</u> where I <u>usually be</u> in the morning."

Abby: "We <u>probably be</u> in that class workin' on work, and she

just start talkin'."

<u>When</u> clauses dominated the usual actions subcategory.  These clauses
express <u>whenever</u>—as whenever this typically occurs, this <u>be</u> action also
occurs.

    Margaret:  "<u>When</u> you go to [white] people's houses, you wear the
                stuff they <u>be wearin'</u>."

    Ann:       "They [boys] go home <u>when</u> the girls leave 'cause it
                <u>don't be</u> nothin' else to do."

Students employed adverbs more frequently when they were discussing
occasional and usual occurrences than with any other frequency category.

    Another category measuring frequency of occurrence is continuous.
Although it is limited in this sample, students did infrequently address
continuous actions repeated over time (3 of 32).  Yet, these limited
occurrences signify that these black adolescents use <u>be</u>$_2$ to express the
continuous.  Recent studies have also found that <u>be</u>$_2$ occurs in
continuous and extended actions (Labov, et al. 1968;  Dunlap 1974;
Brewer 1979;  Bailey and Maynor 1985).  The adverb co-occurring to
express continuous with <u>be</u> is <u>always</u> as these examples illustrate:

    Abby:    "She [Katie] <u>always be comin'</u> and ast me, 'What you
              lookin' mad at me for?'"

    Helene:  "Him and my mama are <u>always</u> arguing, but they just <u>be</u>
              <u>playing</u>."

    Margaret: "Instead of helpin' people, she [teacher] <u>always be</u>
              <u>puttin'</u> people down."

    Frequency of occurrence adverbs co-occur with <u>be</u>$_2$ in this data.
The usual occurrence category contain the most instances.  The students
mark the habitual more often with adverbs than they do when they use <u>be</u>$_2$

to express tense--present or past--or other aspect--durative or
constant.  Temporal adverbs co-occur with be$_2$ to mark the action of the
be across time, uncompleted or reoccurring, whenever the actions or
events being addressed are present.  The black students do not share
these tense and aspect functions with white students.  However, one
Lumbee Indian girl provides one instance of be$_2$.

In summary, be symbolizes black/white differences that may
negatively affect communication and interrelationships.  Student data
suggest that unconjugated be is used less extensively than invariant be.
The data also demonstrate that invariant be incorporates different
meanings and functions.  Students use be$_2$, with underlying do in the
negative, to signify both past and present time and particular points in
time.  Be$_2$ does not appear to be tenseless.  Temporal adverbs co-occur
more regularly when students use be$_2$ to refer to the habitual--
particularly that which is usual.  Among the black students, certain
socioeconomic factors affect the speech of some black speakers more than
the speech of others.

### Socioeconomic Class

Invariant be is not restricted to any one socioeconomic class but
is used by all classes of black speakers in the student sample--a
finding confirming other research (Dunlap 1974;  Bailey and Bassett
1986, 160).  However, socioeconomic class quantitatively restricts the
frequency of invariant be in this sample (See Appendix E, Table E-1, Use
of Be Forms by Neighborhood).

Socioeconomic class was categorized by neighborhoods or areas where the students lived, described in Chapter III. Neighborhoods were ranked from low to high.

Savannah Woods, a government subsidized housing project;

Brookhill Village, a non-government subsidized low rent housing;

Wilmore, privately owned or rented lower-middle to lower income
housing;

Sedgefield, middle to upper-middle privately owned or rented.

No students in Savannah Woods, Brookhill Village, or Wilmore live in privately owned family homes. These socioeconomic class differences mirror quantitative differences in use of invariant be and qualitative differences in student life styles, observed interpersonal school associations, and observed school status.

The greatest concentration for both will/would deletion (50.00%) and $be_2$ (58.78) comes from Brookhill Village students. The highest income category, Sedgefield, has the lowest occurrence of $be_2$ (2.7%) and 0.0% of will/would deletion. These frequencies suggest that socioeconomic class plays a role in students' use of be categories distinguishing among black socioeconomic classes.

Oscar and Daniel, from Mrs. Vance's social studies class, represent the Sedgefield black speakers with the least incidence of be-- differences from other black students reflecting qualitative life style differences. In contrast to all other black students, their families own their homes. Oscar's brick house, nestled in a well landscaped yard, contrasts the jammed apartments on Brookhill Village treeless

plots where other students' parents rent apartments. Educational background leading to better employment opportunities helps to explain other life style differences. Daniel's parents, both college graduates, are members of white collar work force. His mother is a civil service employee with the municipal government; his father, a real estate agent. Oscar has brothers or sisters in college, and his mother does not work outside the home apparently because there is no economic need. Socioeconomic class clearly sets Oscar and Daniel apart from other black students in their at-home life styles.

These life style differences extend to school where in-school associations and status also set Oscar and Daniel apart from other black students. Both boys limit their black associations and apparently prefer to be with white students. Daniel adeptly crisscrosses racial barriers, but when given a choice, will sit with either Paul or Cesar, both white. Oscar associates even more exclusively with white peers than does Daniel. During the 1984-1985 school year Oscar was a member of the Student Council and the Olympics of the Mind team and was elected to Junior National Honor Society. Also, his best in-class social studies friends, Ross and Sergio, are white. Despite Oscar's nearly exclusive white association, black students admire him and list him as a friend. These boys' qualitative differences--rooted in socioeconomically different worlds--provide a lens to see _why_ the socioeconomic class factor affects _be_ frequencies among black students.

Daniel, in interview, never used any invariant <u>be</u> indicating either

formal speech where black English choices are absent or perhaps his lack

of black <u>be</u>. In fact, his only <u>be</u> was nonfinite.

Pember:    "Why do you like science?"

Daniel:    "I like science because--it used to <u>be</u> my favorite
           subject until I had _____."

He expressed his limited racial solidarity through criticism of black

female behavior with teachers, as this example demonstrates:

Daniel:    "Like they frown up at the teachers a lot more [than
           other students]--they kind of curl their lips."

Despite this disassociation with black peers, he accurately and

unhesitatingly pinpointed the boss--Margaret.

Oscar, unlike Daniel, used invariant $be_2$ four times. The frequency

is insignificant when compared with other black students' frequency.

But these four features signal many levels of analysis. One level

involves style. Typically the absence of black features means that the

speaker is employing a more formal speaking style. Conversely, the

presence of black features means the speaker is employing a less formal

style of speech. Speakers monitor their speech style to comply with the

setting, participants, and conversational topic. Both Oscar and Daniel

were alone with me in interview. The conversation/interview topics were

similar. Perhaps the absence of <u>be</u>'s may be explained as their attempt

to show respect or mimic what they perceived as "proper" English. Then

how can we explain when or why Oscar used $be_2$'s?

Mitchell-Kernan says that when black speakers allow black features

to appear that they may be trying to achieve racial solidarity

(Mitchell-Kernan 1971, 76). Since I, as interviewer, am not black and was the only other person present, obviously Oscar was not explicitly pursuing racial solidarity. Wolfram (1974a) also points out that solidarity can affect the use of be₂ in integrated settings. These few examples provided by Oscar could be an attempt to indicate knowledge of some limited level of belonging/solidarity with other black students. What is significant, however, is _when_ he used them--the personal topics prompting the use, the final level of analysis.

Friends, those you typically try to find at school:

1. "Ross usually _be_ where I usually _be_ in the mornings --and Sergio."

When race affects you:

2. "That's what I _be tryin'_ to watch out for [stores watching for shoplifters]."

3. "Like somebody _be looking_ after you--make sure you don't steal nothing...."

The pair of _be₂_'s in number 1 co-occur with _usually_ when Oscar defines who he is in terms of preferred school friends, both white and from similar socioeconomic and neighborhood backgrounds. The other pair of _be_'s occur in 2 and 3 when a map emerges--when he perceives himself as black. He clearly is relating discomfort about being classified as black by others. Oscar finds himself through outwardly imposed classification stripped down to the bottom line--race. As he relives this experience, Oscar unselfconsciously slips into black English and gives us an inward glimpse of a young middle class black boy with feet in white and black worlds.

Both Daniel and Oscar are black students coming from worlds quite different from the other black students. Because both boys rarely use black language features, Oscar's searing out-of-school humiliations will be rarer for either him or Daniel than for other black students who typically "speak black." The poignancy of Daniel's failure to use black English and Oscar's revelation when he uses black English movingly suggest both racial and socioeconomic flavors of the black experience. Also, because Oscar and Daniel are so middle class in speech and dress, they have fewer problems--socially or academically--at school. However, Oscar's revelation suggests that although a person may be from a middle class background, problems are often rooted in color; race builds barriers reflected in language features.

### Gender

Gender is a third factor affecting the occurrence of invariant be. Females traditionally use speech that is freer of what society may term ungrammatical markers. On the other hand, males traditionally use ungrammatically marked speech. Bailey and Bassett (1986) discovered this parallel pattern among black women and men with the use of $be_2$. And yet these historical patterns fail to materialize among these adolescent black students.

Black girls contribute all of the will/would deletions. Also, they furnish 89.86% of the $be_2$ category (See Appendix E, Table E-2, Use of Be Forms by Student and by Gender). Several factors account for these percentages.

The obvious factor contributing to girls' greater percentages is that black girls outnumber black boys, two to one, in the three focus classes. The focus groups were academically established, a factor over which teachers and I had no control.

Another factor contributing to the girls' greater percentage of invariant be's is number of interviews. Several girls--Elizabeth, Margaret, Sally, Mary, Vicki, and Ann--had more than one interview. To reduce the impact of girls' having more interviews than boys, the number of interviews each girl had was divided into the total number of their contributed invariant be's.

|  | be per interview |
|---|---|
| Elizabeth, 2 individual interviews and 2 group interviews | 4.5 |
| Margaret, 2 individual interviews and 1 group interview | 15.33 |
| Sally, 2 individual interviews | 9.5 |
| Mary, 1 individual interview and 1 group interview | 4.5 |
| Vicki, 1 individual interview and 1 group interview | 12.0 |
| Ann, 2 individual interviews | 6.5 |
| Katie, 1 individual interview | 3.0 |
| Helene, 1 individual interview | 5.0 |
| Joan, 1 individual interview | 0.0 |
| Abby, 1 individual interview | 4.0 |
| Total: | 65.33 |

However, even when division by number of interview reduces the instances of be's, girls continue to use more be's than boys.

| | |
|---|---|
| Sandy | 3.0 |
| Bud | 7.0 |
| Tony | 0.0 |
| Oscar | 4.0 |
| Daniel | 0.0 |
| Total: | 14.0 |

Going a step further to divide the girls' instances by two (because the girls outnumber the boys 2 to 1)--32.66--the girls still use be more. Clearly, gender affects the use of invariant be. In addition, be frequency reflects social hierarchy.

## Social Hierarchical Differences

Margaret, one of the acknowledged bosses, also is the boss in number of be's, forty-six instances of invariant be (See Appendix C, Figure C-1, Friendship Clusters and Social Structure). In contrast, Elizabeth, the other acknowledged boss, contributed eighteen, a number fewer than either Vicki or Sally. The contrast between the two bosses is not surprising considering their observed interaction differences. Whereas Margaret "holds court," incessantly writes notes and participates in "he say...she say" activities, Elizabeth typically practices isolationist behavior and prefers to stay by herself. Joan, with no be's, indicates her cultural disavowal. Abby, the lame, stands out with Katie, with the fewest among the group. This deficiency in tandem with Abby's ability to culturally bridge to the expected

classroom student role entrenches her group lame status. Margaret's maximum use of be's to Joan and Abby's minimum use symbolizes the black girls' social structure (Labov 1972). Gender and personal characteristics restrict or promote the frequency of unconjugated and invariant be.

## Classroom Context

The classroom context also promotes or restricts the frequency of invariant be. Thirty one (31) instances are recorded from field notes, taped class sessions, or taped interviews in which black students used a be category in language arts, social studies, or writing lab. Most instances occur in language arts, secondly in social studies, and finally in writing lab.

Interestingly, the data suggest that classroom context also affects the category of be spoken. While the majority (78.57%) of unconjugated and invariant be's occur in language arts, the majority (60%) of standard be's occur in social studies. For example, Margaret, contributing over one third of all be's, restricted her invariants/unconjugated and gonna be's to language arts. Her social studies be's fall into the standard and imperative categories as demonstrated in these sentences:

Social Studies:

Margaret: "It would be a dugout?"

"Don't be looking up; you can't look at that."

Language Arts:

## be₂'s

Margaret: "Then start, then <u>be sayin'</u>, 'He shouldn't do
you wrong,' 'cause he did."

"He <u>be tellin'</u> you he loves, you, too, but he
don't love you."

"Then the girl you <u>be</u> with so tight end up with
your boy friend."

"The people over here <u>be</u> jealous."

## Gonna be's

"I ain't <u>gonna be</u> here tomorrow."

"I'm <u>gonna be</u> here Friday though."

"Ann say she wasn't <u>gonna be</u> here Friday."

## Imperatives

"Girl, <u>be</u> real quiet 'cause here come Mr. Hernan."

"Y'all <u>be</u> workin'."

Context obviously affected Margaret's use of <u>be</u>.

Similar observations may be made about Oscar, one of the black
students from the higher socioeconomic class and one enjoying higher
school-wide social prestige than the other black students in these
classes. He never used invariant <u>be</u> in social studies class. However,
he had used a limited number in interview when addressing the
liabilities of being black. Both Oscar and Margaret's <u>be</u> use in the
social studies class--where students whom they admire or want to admire

them are present--suggests that students adapt their interaction style and individual language features to the context and the participants in that context.

### Academic Placement

The influence of school culture and expectations evident in the preceding classroom context discussion implies another dimension affecting the use of be. Both Oscar and Joan, black social studies students who either rarely or never employed $be_2$, also were in higher academic groupings for other classes. Oscar's language arts class placement was one level below the academically gifted placement. Joan, also in a high level language arts class, had once been in academically gifted classes in elementary school. Neither expressed black racial solidarity, but the origins for this absence of solidarity are decidedly different.

As previously discussed, Oscar comes from a higher socioeconomic class than do the focused black girls. Also, he associates with white students at school and has been elected to socially advantageous positions in the school. Oscar clearly plants his feet and positions himself in both black and white worlds.

Joan represents another form of mixed origins. Joan has light skin with finely chiseled features. Her father is Puerto Rican; her mother, Cherokee. When I asked her to explain her racial status, she said she was Puerto Rican. When I asked her how the school categorized her, she spat, "Black." Despite her obvious distaste for this imposed classification, she has status among both white and black students.

White students perceive her as smarter than the other black girls. Also, white students often named her as a leader—among the black girls. Because Joan, like Margaret and Elizabeth, has a mutually claimed friendship with Emilia, her social status is higher among the black girls. Moreover, her light color and finely chiseled features apparently cause both black and white students to perceive her as prettier than the other black girls. Color enters into how both groups define beauty.

Contrary to the "Black is beautiful" slogan of the 1960's, blacks also use color to define beauty. Black girls repeatedly said in interview that lighter skinned black girls were prettier. Sally used be$_2$ to discuss beauty and shades of color.

> Sally: "Yeah. That's what they be sayin' [lighter skin is prettier]. They might say, 'She looks okay to be black,' and the other person, then she might change and see somebody else, [and say] 'She's light-skinned and she cute. She pretty.'"

This passage employs progressive -ing to express the continuing nature of conversation on color to indicate both time and aspect. Other aspect markers include be$_2$ to underscore the habitual and reoccurring nature of the saying that lighter skinned girls are pretty. The modals might further indicate the probability or possibility that students would say that light-skinned is cute or pretty in future references. Be + -ing expresses the cultural definition of beauty. Because adolescents put great stock in appearance, the definition for beauty is supremely important. If a girl happens to be black, shades of color enter the defining parameters. Because Joan is so fair, she can use her fairness

to put some distance between her and being black.

It is impossible to assess the impact of higher socioeconomic class and light skin on academic placement. Conversely, it is impossible to assess the impact of academic placement on students. Yet, clearly the probability exists that associations with students in these classes--nearly all white--have influenced the language that Oscar and Joan use.

In summary, social factors restrict or promote the choice of interaction style and its internal language features. Basic to all social factors' effects on interaction and language features is culture. Pluralistic school culture encompasses black, Native American, and white. Students' culture defines the stylistic repertoire with its internal language features. From this repertoire, students choose a style to match the context, participants, or occasion. Similarly, the internal language features will change to match the chosen style. Accordingly, monitoring--changes in style and features according to context, participants, and occasion--results.

Race, socioeconomic class, gender, classroom context, and academic placement are social factors influencing both the interaction style and internal language features--the frequency and distribution of unconjugated and invariant be--among students in this sample. Race is the greatest constrainer or promoter.

One white student used a be similar to unconjugated be. Few black students employed unconjugated be. White students never used invariant be; black students produced 147 of 148 of the invariants. The one student, Lumbee, who used be$_2$, had experienced life from a segregated

vantage point in her elementary school. Secondary distinctions--
socioeconomic class and gender--also exert an influence to restrict or
promote be use. Black students from higher socioeconomic classes who
associated more with white students either did not or rarely used be's.
These students, also, were in higher academic class placements than the
other black students, from lower socioeconomic classes. Distinctions of
what is beautiful--shades of color--also surface to suggest the
influence of the cultural definition for beauty to determine both
outsiders and insiders' perceptions of who is smart or who is pretty.

Gender in this sample also plays a potent role in occurrence and
frequency of invariant be. Black girls used be more than the black
boys. Social hierarchy among the black girls was also evident in the
frequency. The verbally agile Margaret--the champion note writer, court
holder, he say...she sayer--also produced the most be's. On the other
hand, Abby, the lame, produced the least. Next to race, gender is the
most formidable social factor where be production counts.

Race along with its secondary distinctions is sharply focused in
class groupings. The more formal social studies class where over half
of the class is white (53.6%) and from higher (Myers Park, Dilworth) and
middle (Sedgefield) socioeconomic classes rarely had a unconjugated or
invariant be occurrence. In contrast, the informal language arts where
black girls (61.5%) from Brookhill Village, Savannah Woods, and Wilmore,
lower socioeconomic class neighborhoods, make up more than half of the
class had the most classroom instances of invariant be's. These factors

clearly suggest that social factors restrict or promote the occurrence and frequency of be as students monitor their speech to fit the context, participants, and occasion for speaking.

Race marks black students to persons outside of black culture. Race is a barrier to black and white students. Race and other secondary social distinctions--particularly gender--promote the occurrence of invariant be. These conclusions suggest that secondary social distinctions influence be use, social acceptance, and academic placement. Be's symbolize barriers which black students must bridge to succeed in school. Unconjugated and invariant be interfere with communication and socially mark black speakers.

Standard Uses of Be

Despite the stigma associated with unconjugated and invariant be use, black students have a command of standard be. One hundred and seven (107) be's, categorized as standard (36.6% of 292), contain subcategories including: nonfinite be; auxiliary be; finite be encompassing finite plus predicate noun, finite plus predicate adjective, and finite plus locative; and gerunds. In all categories, students across the socioeconomic class spectrum use similar forms.

The largest subcategory (45.79%) consists of nonfinites. All black girls in the study used this form either in interview or the classroom. All black boys but Tony also used this form. One example from each demonstrates this competence.

Nonfinite be

Abby:     "At the dance, you get to be with a lot of your
          friends and stuff."

Ann:        "You ain't s'posed to be threatenin' no children." (SS
            to Vance)

Bud:        "Yeah, he [father] calmed me down, but I used to be
            a mean boy."

Daniel:     "It used to be my favorite subject."

Elizabeth:  "You [Hernan] going to be here next year?" (LA)

Helene:     "Because I won't get grand with my mama 'cause you don't
            supposed to be grand with your mama."

Joan:       "I used to be a model."

Katie:      "Might want to be; you might wanna be--I mean--talk
            in lab."

Margaret:   "Now that I'm first person on the roll, I have to be the
            first person she [Vance] calls on."

Mary:       "I ain't tryin' to be funny, now."

Oscar:      "Joan [a boss]? Why? She seems to be a little smarter
            than the rest of them [black girls]."

Sally:      "Some people say, 'She's cute to be black.'"

Sandy:      "Yes, I have to be clean; I can't go nowhere with my
            shirt hangin' out."

Vicki:      "I want some [teachers] of 'em to be hard on me,
            and some I don't."

Students freely mix standard form with the non-standards. Despite this

mixture, these students clearly can use nonfinite to be.

Auxiliary or helping verb be comprises another category used

extensively by black students. The dominant pattern employs modal + be

+ -ing.

Auxiliary be: Modal + be + -ing

Elizabeth:  "Myers Park [high school] but won't be going
            there."

Margaret:     "They [teachers] <u>shouldn't be showin'</u> that stuff [movies about slavery]."

Mary:         "Johnson, I need some paper. No? Well then, I <u>won't be doin'</u> no work." (WL)

Sally:        "And once he leave for the Marines, <u>I'll be receiving</u> checks for my baby."

Vicki:        "I <u>might be doing</u> that in homeroom—when I talk white."

Progressive <u>be</u>, used similarly to auxiliary <u>be</u>, is also evident in the sample.

## Progressive <u>be</u>

Oscar:        "You said [Mrs. Vance] when the slaves <u>were being brought</u> in the ships, there were 400?" (SS)

This <u>be</u> + <u>-ing</u> is past progressive. Passivization production competency, the ability to speak as well as adults can in the passive, rarely occurs until around age thirteen (13) (Romaine 1984, 59). Oscar, 13 or 14, shows that he does have this language capability.

Finite <u>be</u> consists of <u>be</u> without complement, <u>be</u> with either predicate nominatives or predicate adjectives, and <u>be</u> with locatives, adverbials telling where.

## Finite <u>be</u> without Complement

Unidentified black female in writing lab: "I don't know which <u>I'll be</u>."

Students, both black and white, favor modals plus finite <u>be</u> with complements.

## Modal + Finite <u>be</u> + Predicate Nominative

Ann:          "It [reference to friends] <u>must be</u> Pedro."

Margaret:     "My favorite activity? It <u>would be</u> basketball."

              "It <u>would be</u> a dugout?" (SS)

Oscar:     "I'd be a good student."

Sally:     (after defining a good student) "That would be all."

Sandy:     "If those two [Elizabeth and Margaret] were together, she
           [Elizabeth] would be the boss."

### Modal + Finite be + Predicate Adjective

Ann:       "So it [hair] won't be nappy."[9] (reason to straighten).

Daniel:    "They'd be a little bit ignorant."

Helene:    "Some girls might be good lookin', but looks are
           deceiving."

Katie:     "And you might not be able [to talk] in there
           [social studies]."

Margaret:  "If it was a man, it would be different."

Mary:      "Because they attitude [bosses] might be different from
           the rest [non-bosses]."

Sally:     "But if they keep doin' it [bosses pushing], I'd be ready
           to go off on 'em then."[10]

Vicki:     "It [study and good grades] might be important, but it
           seem like I don't never do it."

Clearly, students prefer finite be with complements, particularly

apparent in interview setting.  Also, modals express preferences.

### Modal + Finite be + Locative

Ann:       "Everybody wish they could be up there [star status],
           too."

Joan:      "Then you'd be in her language arts class, too."

Margaret:  "'You shouldn't be in school; you should be
           somewhere with hoodlums.'" (Quoting a teacher)

Sandy:     "Ok, it [social studies' text] said the bones are in the
           --shouldn't the bones be in the cave?" (SS)

Other sentences from black students defy a pure locative categorization

but have prepositional phrases following be which offer reasons to support or to complete the sentence proposition.

Elizabeth: "I'd rather be by myself."

Sally:     "If she [Margaret] wasn't that tall, she'd be in a lot of fights probably."

           "If she [Margaret] was short, anybody would be all over her."

In the finite be section--modal + finite--students express probabilities, possibilities, and preferences through conditional modals, shall/should, will/would, can/could, may/might and rather. These modals, formerly preterite-present, retain vestiges of original full verb meanings when combined with be as illustrated in preceding passages.[11] Thus, the modals express aspect (obligation, preference, desire) which intertwines with tense or time. Time with these be's--as with ask variants--is both retrospective and predictive. Students base present expectations on past experiences and anticipate future events through the lens of preferences, wants, and obligations.

## Gerunds

Finally, black students demonstrate competence in gerunds where it is possible to see vestiges of underlying, unstated conditional.

Ann:        "But it's more fun just being the only child."

Bud:        "Being good, doing their homework, and mind what grown-ups say." (good student characteristics)

Elizabeth:  "She [teacher] don't want to accept the fact that I like being by myself."

Margaret:   "And then we [Margaret and Mrs. Vance] started being friends."

Mary:       "That's just the good about being friends."

Sally:     "They [schoolmates] have fun and that's why I enjoy
           <u>being</u> with them."

Although competence in gerunds is acquired late, black students clearly
are employing them to express preferences and truths about their
individual lives.

Clearly, black students' language competence incorporates standard
<u>be</u> forms.  This competence belies critics who contend that black
students cannot speak intelligently.  The misconception occurs because
the invariant <u>be</u>'s and unconjugated <u>be</u>'s and non-standard forms mask
what black speakers say correctly.

## <u>Be</u> + -<u>ing</u>

The data also reveal a language characteristic used 110 times, <u>be</u> +
-<u>ing</u>, habitual actions reoccurring across time, to narrate stories
testifying to truths about life experiences (Smitherman 1977, 150).
These truths encompass obligations, desires, and preferences out of
which roles emerge.

Bailey and Maynor (1985) contend that habitual <u>be</u> + -<u>ing</u> is a new
and innovative feature of black English.  Despite this claim, Brewer
(1974) in her study of <u>be</u> in WPA slave narratives discovered that former
slaves did employ it in interviews and narratives.  What may be new is
the frequency and extent to which young adolescent blacks today use it.
Also, although the majority of the 110 instances in this data where
black students employed <u>be</u> + -<u>ing</u> are habitual <u>be</u>$_2$, some limited
examples are unconjugated, durative <u>be</u>$_2$, and past <u>be</u>$_2$.

## Unconjugated be + -ing

Ann:    "Be you goin' to stay or just goin' to visit?"(LA)

## Will/would Deletion be + -ing

Mary:    "I be workin'." (summer plans)

Margaret:    "'Cause then there's school and I be wantin' to go out and everything."

## Invariant be + -ing

Elizabeth:  "If I don't recopy, then you be complainin'." (WL)

Ann:    "Oh, you mean like sometimes you say, 'I be goin' up there later,'?"

## Invariant be, Durative

Vicki:    "We be sittin' out there--we just be sittin' there watchin' the parade." (LA)

"You be tellin' us that." (LA)

Bud:    "She [Katie] be sayin', 'Why you goin' make me throw away?'"

## Invariant be, Past

Carlotta:  "That's where my aunt and uncle and my cousins I be callin' live."

Additionally, there are instances of negation with don't + be + -ing.

Vicki:    "You mean, you don't be doin' that [talking white]."

"When black people get serious with each other, there don't be no smilin'."

Sally:    "And she [Elizabeth] might tell them don't be talkin' about her."

Margaret:    "And then Katie say to Mr. Hernan, 'Don't you be tryin' to grand on me.'"[12]

"And Mrs. Vance, she be sayin', 'Don't be wastin' my time.'"

"Mrs. _____, she don't be actin' right."

Ann:        "Then she [grandmother] make you say a cuss word; you
            don't be thinkin' 'bout cuss words."

Abby:       "Some of them, they [classmates] don't be wantin' to
            learn."

These instances of negated habitual be₂ show how students typically

employ be + -ing in the data.

Baugh (1983, 73) says that invariant be + -ing occurs more

frequently in "colloquial contexts where speakers share the form." In

the limited instances where students used the form in the classroom, it

occurred more often in language arts class where the majority of

students were black girls.  Baugh also says that this form is an

intimate part of "street speech," the common dialect of the street

culture.  Other examples of be + -ing use in class also suggest that its

use appears in topics of the girls' shared interest rather than class

related topics.

Margaret:  "He [boyfriend] be tellin' you he loves you, but he
           don't love you." (LA)

           "Then start, then be sayin', 'He [boyfriend] shouldn't
           do you wrong,' 'cause he did." (LA)

As previously stated, the students used more "student speech" in their

social studies class but reverted to less formal interaction style,

street speech, in language arts.  Despite these limited classroom

instances, students primarily used the be + -ing form in interview as

they narrated their stories to explain their roles and positions on

issues.

In the wider pragmatic use, students typically compare and contrast their authority and power relative to significant others' authority and power--parents, teachers, bosses--in be + -ing sentences. For example, in these conditional sentences, Margaret clearly contrasts relative authority --her mother to her, her mother to her teachers.

> Margaret: "If I be sayin' that to my mamma, I be pickin' my
> teeth up out of the floor. If I say to my mamma what I
> be sayin' to my teachers...then I be pickin'
> my teeth up off the floor."

Margaret paints her mother's supremacy--a role outranking that of daughter or teacher. Margaret's clusters of be + -ing forms signify the obligatory give and take of outcomes tied to recognized roles in the social hierarchy. The conditional, if...then, expresses roles, rights, preferences, obligations, and outcomes bound up in the verbs. Although the if...then fails to be explicitly expressed in all be + -ing sentences, the conditional is implicitly implied as in Oscar's sentence.

> Oscar: "That's what I be watchin' out for [store clerks' expecting
> him--a black adolescent--to shop lift]. Like somebody be
> lookin' after you make sure you don't steal nothing."

Race is intimately bound up in Oscar's sentence. He only used the be + -ing forms when he perceived himself as black. Race is implicitly bound up in all other sentences to express roles, rights, preferences, obligations and outcomes involved in the give and take of their lives. Through this give and take, the girls reveal the habitual patterns and attitudes governing their lives. Through this give and take, we can find attitudes and corresponding actions at school or in the classroom that negatively mark these girls to students outside of black culture

and to teachers who are representative of the school culture.

Students attribute to teachers the power to use directives--what teachers say or give in directives--in direct quotes and be + -ing forms, as illustrated here:

Margaret: "Mrs. Vance, she be sayin', "Don't be wastin' my time."

Yet the flip side of this "wastin'" to Margaret is that students also have their time wasted, by what they may be forced to take from teachers.

"So we be wastin' our time."

Other instances of what teachers be sayin' are also quoted.

Margaret: "Mrs. _____ be talkin' and she say, 'Don't start nothin' with me 'cause I'm the same color and know the same things you know.'"

"And she be sayin' [to black students who want to run for student council], 'Why you wanna do that?'" (said with a whine)

However, students who refuse to accept teachers' power and refuse to acquiesce to directives are also quoted.

Bud: "She [Katie] be sayin', 'Why you goin' make me throw it away?'"

Margaret: "And then Katie say [to Mr. Hernan], 'Don't you be tryin' to grand on me.'"

Other examples of power, associated with teachers, relate to what students perceive teachers habitually to do with words.

Ann: "Like Mrs. _____, when she be grandin' on people. And she be up there borin', talkin us to death, and you just fall asleep."

Margaret: "Instead of helpin' people, she always be puttin' people down.

"I'm not sayin' I don't like her, but she still be

puttin' people down."

"I mean she just be puttin' 'em down."

"And she be callin' people house and stuff, gettin' 'em in trouble."

These directives--what teachers give and students take--are agitating barriers to communication. Margaret neatly provides a coda to these attitudinal barriers.

Margaret: "They [teachers] be goin' by what they think; they don't give black people a chance."

This blanket condemnation of teachers, black and white, is balanced by some positive attitudes toward particular teachers.

Bud: "She [teacher] just be fussin' at you 'cause she wants you to learn."

Comments from students in instances where be + -ing are not employed suggest that the way to remedy negative attitudes is for teachers to look at black students as individuals, worthy of respect. Despite this obvious remedy, these black girls habitually use words and actions (incorporated within be + -ing sentences) to erect communication barriers with their teachers and non-black students.

Black girls tell us what they give in actions and words to teachers and each other in be + -ing sentences. The girls act out their roles in words and actions. The roles that they create for themselves provide ammunition for teacher directives, what teachers give--based on what they are willing to take.[13] Also, within the actual scenarios, narrated by the girls, adolescent social hierarchies are implied or are being implicitly explained.

Abby, who can often offer cultural translations, habitually experiences real difficulty in her associations and attitudes about her black peers. Their actions and words vividly contrast her own actions and words.

> Abby: "Some of them [LA classmates], they <u>don't be wantin'</u> to learn."

Because of the disparity expressed in her eagerness to learn and to earn teacher favors, the black girls often verbally abuse her.

> Abby: "She [Katie] always <u>be comin'</u> and ast me, 'What you lookin' mad at me for?'"

Despite these differences, Abby wants to be a part of the group and recognizes Margaret's role as the primary source of information.

> Abby: "'Cause see, she [Margaret] would tell us what <u>be goin'</u> on [in LA], and we care what she says."

Abby also shares another characteristic with other black girls--thumb sucking. Elizabeth, Katie, and Abby continually suck their thumbs in class. Sally addresses thumb sucking in this narration about Joan.

> Sally: "She [Joan] <u>be sittin'</u> in Mrs. Vance room doin' all like this. And Mrs. Vance <u>be</u> just <u>lookin'</u> at her. And folks say, 'Girl, don't suck yo' thumb,' and she <u>be sayin'</u>, 'Yes I do!' And then she <u>be tellin'</u> them yes she do."

Joan clearly does not care what the others say or think of her, a characteristic shared with Elizabeth.

Although Elizabeth repeatedly expresses a preference to be by herself, she also contrasts her aggressive nature which spawns fear and allows her to be alone with an insistence that she, too, is one of the girls.

> Elizabeth: "But mostly we <u>be hittin'</u> each other and runnin' down the hall. And we <u>be hittin'</u> each other runnin'

down the hall. But sometimes we be jokin' and they
say something back. They be--they might not say
nothin' about it, but they be, be beatin' me up."

These black girls at school do run in the halls, do hit each other in

the halls, do beat up on each other in the hall, and do joke loudly

among themselves in the hall.

Some of these potentially belligerent characteristics subsequently

invade the classroom--in all types of inattentive behavior.  Clearly,

teachers will have difficulty as they attempt to teach with this type of

behavior going on--whether directed toward them or another student.

Helene:    "When somebody's arguin', 'cause they be crackin' on
           each other--gettin' gran'."

Margaret:  "Like gran'. Like you be fussing and people and then you
           say, 'I'm goin' to gran' you.'"

           "Since we bees at Queen Park, we just be talkin' about
           that stuff [in language arts]."

           "We just be trippin'."

Vicki:     "She--everybody--be tryin' to grand each other.
           And then everybody be axin' everybody something
           else [he say...she say]."

Sally:     "People be tryin' to get smart with her [teacher]; she
           don't say nothin'."

           "And you know, pass notes, like me and Katie be doin'."

Helene tells of one remedy to quell this inattentiveness.

Helene:    "We don't talk, 'cause I be busy doin' our work."
           (interview topic about Vance's LA class, where there was
           grouping similar to Hernan's LA class).

Another remedy to stop the inattentiveness is the black girls'

desire to be accepted by the white students--the supreme give and take.

Heterogeneous classroom grouping where black girls are associated with

students whom they respect or want respect from instills more student-
like behavior. <u>Be</u> + -<u>ing</u> sentences express the actions the girls take
as they pursue the role of being one of the class as a whole.

Margaret: "Me and Emilia <u>be sittin'</u> together, trippin' out."

"Me and Emilia <u>be sittin'</u> together."

"When you go to [white] people's houses, you wear the
stuff they <u>be wearin'</u>."

"This how we <u>be doin'</u>--like when I'm with a black
person, I just wear anything."

Language also plays a role in acceptance--the ability to talk white.

Vicki: "When I went to New York for the summer, it sorta
got in to me; so I started talking white at certain
times...You mean, you <u>don't be doin'</u> that. I might
<u>be doin'</u> that in homeroom when I talk white."

Mary: "She <u>be talkin'</u> to a white boy; she <u>be talkin'</u> to a
white boy, and the white boy <u>be</u>, you know how a white
person, you know, how they <u>be talkin'</u>. She <u>be tryin'</u> to
talk white."

Vicki: (quoting with exaggerated consonants) "'Yes, I remember
that day.' That's how I <u>be</u>, that's how I <u>be</u> sometimes
<u>gettin'</u> around certain people."

Pember: "Do you talk black?"

Vicki: "No, I <u>be talkin'</u>--I don't know how to talk black. I
just speak English."

Geneva Smitherman calls this dilemma the "push and pull," the push
toward white culture, on the one hand, and the pull away from white
culture, on the other (Smitherman 1977, 10). W. E. B. DuBois ([1903]
1961), the originator of the idea, called it "double consciousness" or
ambivalence toward the reward associated with the white world,
epitomized here in its speech, combined with the distaste toward the

white world, epitomized here in Vicki's telling me, the interviewer, to
back off.

The be + -ing forms in these previous examples demonstrate the
girls' point of view, map, way of looking at the world.  The actions
incorporated in the verb forms make up the give and take patterns of
their worlds as they find themselves and their roles within the social
hierarchy or power.  Teachers' power often quoted in directives or
described in what they also say and do is not always inviolate.  The
girls respond to the classroom scene in various ways:  fussing,
granding, passing notes, asking, hitting and running down the halls into
the classroom, thumb sucking, joking, beating each other up--verbally or
physically.  These actions and ways of interacting prompt negative
attitudes and barriers in teachers who must teach and keep classroom
order.  The give and take incorporated in the relationships and
interactions creates barriers that are analogous to be usage described
in the introductory scenario.

Rooted in cultural diversity stretching back to the African-English
origin of black English, black students have developed meanings and
functions for be that are rarely shared with non-blacks.  Despite this
near exclusiveness of meaning and function of invariant and unconjugated
be, two non-black students use be₂ and unconjugated be similarly
suggesting the input of similar socioeconomic backgrounds and shared
lower academic grouping on language use.  Personal histories influence
the frequency of occurrence of be for black students.  Students whose
lives are not centered in the black community at home or at school

rarely use invariant or unconjugated be.  However, students whose lives

center on the ghetto-like neighborhoods and black interaction circles at

school use unconjugated or invariant be the most.  Black girls providing

the most instances of typically black be's also have a command of

standard be functions.  This wide command suggests that these girls,

despite their protests and actions to the contrary, wish to share in the

world beyond the ghetto and the remedial classroom.  This use further

suggests that they have the ability to bridge social and linguistic

diversity established by the barrier that be symbolizes.

## Chapter VII

### "I AIN'T TALKING.": CULTURAL MAPPING

In Chapter I Ann and Mrs. Vance had this interaction:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mrs. Vance: | "Anybody else have signed tests?  Ann be quiet." |
| Ann: | "Huh?" |
| Mrs. Vance: | "Be quiet." |
| Ann: | "I ain't talking.  My lips were moving--just going like this.  I ain't talking." |
| Mrs. Vance: | "You want to talk.  Then that noise coming out of your mouth wasn't talk.  I understand completely." |
| Ann: | (laughs) |

Later in the semester, this scenario had an additional act.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mrs. Vance: | "I want you to take about four minutes to quietly look over your work sheets." |
| Ann: | (mumbling) "I ain't taking no test." |
| Mrs. Vance: | "Ann." |
| Ann: | "Huh?" |

Some time passes during which the teacher is checking to see which students have turned in their notes.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mrs. Vance: | "I don't have your notes." |
| Ann: | "Huh?  You called my name." |
| Mrs. Vance: | "I want you to be quiet." |
| Ann: | "Oh, I wasn't talking." |
| Mrs. Vance: | "I could have sworn you said, 'I ain't taking no test.'" |
| Ann: | "Oh, I was talking then." (giggles) |

Mrs. Vance:     "That's when I called your name--then."

Ann:            "Ok."

These scenarios are the crux of cultural mapping in the classroom
where Ann, a black adolescent from a working class family, and Mrs.
Vance, a white teacher from a middle class background, fail to share the
same cultural meaning to define talk. Ann does not believe she is
talking unless she is responding to another speaker; Mrs. Vance,
however, believes Ann is talking whenever she hears noise coming out of
her mouth. This definitional incompatibility sets up the subsequent
interaction between Mrs. Vance who acts out her teacher role through
directives, commands to quieten Ann, and Ann who responds to the
directives. Although Ann's role as student fails to coincide with the
acquiescent, female student stereotype, Ann has brought her out-of-
school cultural definition for talking into the classroom, providing the
basis for her response. Mrs. Vance was not surprised at Ann's verbal
reactions to being directed because she continually fails to acquiesce
to teacher directives without counter-assertions which are for defense
(Heath 1983) and are spoken bluntly to reflect black culture's
inclination to value honest behavior (Lee 1987).

"I call it like I see it; I tell it like it is."
Despite Mrs. Vance's lack of surprise and real concern to maintain
classroom control, she adeptly quietens Ann--her directive objective--
through humor and listening to Ann's reasoning. Both Ann and Mrs. Vance
are bringing their cultural backgrounds which frame their language into
the classroom.

Black adolescent, working class, female students and their teachers map their worlds onto the classroom. Maps, analogous to or containing attitudes, emerge from cultural and personal backgrounds where they are learned through experiences, not taught through simulations. These maps are the process by which these students and their teachers acquire a language product--the spoken word. The product of black female speech contains markers, such as Ann's blunt counter-assertion, which make these students suspect socially, linguistically, and academically to teachers and other students outside the girls' social and speech community. My study of cultural mapping demonstrates that classroom problems often occur when teachers and students allow race to build barriers reflected in language features.

The linguistic data indicate that basic cultural differences between black females and their white teachers and peers are verbalized and acted out through patterns of behavior addressed in invariant <u>be₂</u>'s. These behaviors typically reflect the behavior and cultural life of those who trace their roots to Africa--roots "distilled through the American experience of being black" (Lee 1987). These behaviors mirror the black world view or map valuing certain personal capabilities. Black culture honors the ability to perform as evidenced by the black girls' awe of Margaret when she initiated her holding court ritual. The culture also admires those who express deep feelings emotionally and dramatically as Margaret did when she held court about topics such as love--topics orchestrated by exaggerated arm and hand motions and punctuated by crescendos and pianissimos of voice tones. Moreover,

black culture esteems those who respond openly and honestly--if bluntly --and demeans those individuals who are afraid to do so as indicated by Margaret's disdain of Abby's timidity with teachers. Black persons also develop their own personal style, a bold stroked signature, to celebrate who they are. For example, Katie casts baleful looks at those who cross or displease her--a style admired by her black peers because it clearly informs white or black teachers of Katie's open disdain. However, members of the black community also must know and abide by ritualistic rules of black interaction based on their position within the social network or hierarchy. Those who fail to conform to these rules meet quick verbal, nonverbal, and even physical rejection as a consequence to breaking the rules. Abby at the bottom of the social hierarchy, for instance, failed to perform the necessary rituals to tease Margaret at the top of the hierarchy. This failure resulted in Margaret's classic "chocolate Gandhi" putdown. Although Ann could tease Margaret, she performed the needed rituals--skillfully patted Margaret, gently spoke in muted babytalk tones--and rarely continued to tease if she sensed that Margaret's mood was bad or that Margaret was ready "to go off on" her. Margaret's boss status was secure because of her physical size but also because she abided by the interaction rules and she possessed the capability to use language skillfully, fluently, and creatively. These values and means by which these students use language create communication barriers unless teachers understand the process behind the behavior and language products. The invariant be's underscore and

symbolize barriers between black students and their teachers--barriers which can isolate and stigmatize black girls.

These barriers reflecting black cultural values and language that are different from school cultural values and language indicate why it is important for teachers to understand the bases of students' language and behavioral patterns.  These differences also demonstrate that language is a total expressive system which must be understood.  Teachers need to know how and why students use the features of language --verbal, nonverbal, paralinguistic, kinesthetic--as they do.  Without such understanding, teachers may reject the student as they reject the student's language and its accompanying behavior.  However, teachers who are sensitive to cultural language and behavioral differences between white and black culture provide themselves and their students with important opportunities:  to breach cultural differences, to reach out to the student, and to teach the student.  These understandings with accompanying opportunities symbolize the importance of cultural mapping.

Although the conclusions of this study cannot be generalized outside of this Charlotte Sedgefield Junior High School, the conclusions clearly point out that cultural mapping and the mapping of black females must be a basic concern for future classroom language research.  No other study has approached classroom language analysis from the influence of cultural mapping--the process behind the language products. No other study has focused on black adolescent females.  Until now we have believed that black females would use language that contained more features of the classroom standard and that black females would

passively accept classroom directives. We also have not known how black working class females map their worlds onto the classroom.

My study substantiates that black adolescent females fail to follow the predictable classroom language model. However, this study demonstrates that these girls hold and adhere to cultural attitudes towards authority, follow certain patterns of behavior in school and classroom, but react differently in heterogeneous classrooms.

Teachers at Sedgefield maintain the right to direct and control academic and social behavior through directives. Teachers use many syntactic forms to direct students who must then respond either verbally or nonverbally. Although previous classroom discourse research has considered questions primarily as questions without directive intent, this research demonstrates that students must recognize questions as directives and that they may not ignore teacher classroom questions. Students are required to answer. For example, whenever black females attempted to dodge answering Mrs. Vance's questions in social studies, they were interrogated until they answered. This supports the premise that classroom questions are directive in nature and require a verbal response.

The data also demonstrate that classroom questions and directives clearly provide different cognitive and social input to students. For example, when Mrs. Vance asked black females only literal recall questions, these girls could readily predict which questions were theirs, which were not theirs, and then could pursue note writing and passing. This cognitive input of questions defeats teachers' efforts to

maintain students' attention and to encourage students to think on all levels. Yet, Mrs. Vance maintained her authority by not dispensing immunity to any student in question responses. Even Margaret learned to answer and to realize that she would have to answer questions. Moreover, the social input of not dispensing academic immunity signaled all other black girls: you will answer when called upon--a classroom cultural rule.

The data also show that the ultimate more lasting change in classroom interaction, however, is based on teacher/student relationships rooted in mutual respect and learned through classroom experiences. These factors are significant in all three classes. In social studies, Margaret and Mrs. Vance's improved relationship resulted from a closer physical proximity to the teacher. The results were social and academic. Academically, this proximity prompted Margaret to pay closer attention so as not to embarrass herself when questioned more quickly and more often. Socially, this move also gave Margaret and Mrs. Vance more opportunities to interact informally as well as formally in classroom question/answers. Because of this social influence, Margaret became fond of Mrs. Vance. Now, she studied more not only because she did not want to embarrass herself by not knowing the answers, but also because she did not want to jeopardize her friendship with the teacher. Because Margaret answered correctly more often and was friendly with Mrs. Vance, Mrs. Vance had stronger positive feelings about Margaret. Social and academic input through questions, answers, and seating prompted a more positive interaction style.

In language arts, Mr. Hernan gave Margaret social immunity which was denied to other students--particularly Mary--an immunity which eroded his classroom control. Despite this problem Mr. Hernan, however, was particularly sensitive to black culture and did not overreact to student rumblings and mumblings intended to scare but not to harm him. His sensitivity to their culture enabled him and the girls to discuss sensitive issues, such as why girls fight. Cultural sensitivity is basic if teachers and students are to develop respect.

In writing lab, Mrs. Johnson initially had difficulties with the girls--difficulties stemming from her unawareness of their black working class, cultural values particularly regarding time. Because of her precise time/task orientation which was not a part of their cultural maps, the girls experienced frustration that erupted in resentment. Yet, when Mrs. Johnson realized that these time/task orientations were differences and not deficiencies, she could relax and be less rigid. This attitudinal change from deficiencies to differences was the genesis to bridge the cultural chasm between the black girls and her.

These classroom patterns and changes in patterns underline basic classroom needs to establish positive social and academic control and to develop cultural sensitivity. First, teachers should accord neither academic nor social immunity to any student. Teachers should expect and require all students to answer questions and to be responsible for their behavior. Second, teachers should attempt to establish closer relationships with students. Third, when closer relationships are achieved, teachers can then address culturally sensitive or culturally

different areas which may be blocking both teaching and learning. Academic and social expectations can be achieved when students and teachers reach a plateau of mutual respect rooted in cultural sensitivity.

My research also indicates that although black adolescent students do respect control and authority, the issue centers on who has the right to control, to demand, and to ask. The analysis of ask variants demonstrated that the girls respected and accorded authority to their mothers or mother-figures, first; to bosses in their social network and to leaders in the broader school community whom they admired, second; and to teachers whom they would not physically confront but could verbally confront, third. Teachers need to be aware of this authority mapping and to use these cues to the students' and their best advantage. Drawing on the mother's support and their daughter's respect may strengthen the teacher's focus on positive social and academic control through school/home cooperation. Also, the teacher needs to be aware of the influence of social hierarchy within the black female group on interaction style and the influence of non-black social hierarchy on black female interaction style. Race, socioeconomic class, gender, classroom context, and academic placement are social factors influencing both the interaction style and internal language features of these girls.

Data analysis demonstrates that classroom context affects the interaction style of black girls. Social studies' time generally focused on topics related to the social studies' content either being

taught or discussed.  Also, students in the social studies class spanned different socioeconomic classes from Myers Park, Sedgefield, Wilmore, and Brookhill Village.  Academically, the students' placement ranged from the group directly beneath academically gifted to remedial. Racially, the black girls were not in the majority.  Friendship factors were also evident.  There were students in this class whom the black girls respected or from whom the black girls wanted respect.  For example, Emilia, an acknowledged school leader, had a mutual friendship claim with Margaret.  Teacher authority was maintained;  Mrs. Vance dispensed no social or academic immunity.  Accordingly, the black girls assumed more student-like behavior and their interaction style with its internal language features became student talk.  For example, social studies produced fewer instances of outspoken confrontations disavowing teacher authority to intervene.  There were fewer instances in social studies of <u>axt</u> or <u>ax</u> being spoken.  Similarly, the majority (60%) of standard <u>be</u>'s in the sample occur in social studies.  Clearly, the social and academic climate in social studies discouraged street talk which typically was spoken in language arts.

Whereas the black girls adopted a more formal student talk in social studies, language arts talk clearly was closely related to street talk where interaction styles mirror black cultural parameters as participants negotiate and duel to control language topics within which they use internal features common to, understood by, and used in black culture.  In language arts the discussion topics rarely focused on language arts' content;  topics focused on the girls' interests.  The

majority (78.57%) of unconjugated and invariant be's occurred in language arts. Most instances of the less prestigious ask variants and challenges to teacher authority or challenges to other students' authority/rights occurred in language arts or writing lab. Moreover, the makeup of this remedial class decidedly contrasted the social studies class. Socioeconomically, the class came predominantly from Brookhill Village, Wilmore, and Savannah Woods--students from core black culture who were relatively unassimilated into white culture. Racially, the majority was black and female. Also, the girls claimed few if any friends among the students. There was no one whom they admired or wanted to admire them. The social and academic characteristics that promoted and prompted the typical interaction style and attitudes in the heterogeneously grouped social studies were absent in the homogeneous grouping. Accordingly, the language arts talk was street not student. Thus, my study demonstrates that through the social and academic influences of heterogeneous grouping which mixes the socioeconomic classes, races, neighborhoods, and varying friendship clusters that students will and can change their interaction style to conform to social and academic classroom expectations. Although academic grouping may not produce friendships, heterogeneous grouping does provide opportunities to expand one's cultural horizons, to participate more fully in a cross-section of the school, and to learn and practice differing styles of interaction.

Although black girls share many characteristics common to black culture and typically follow certain patterns within different academic groupings, black girls are not clones. Each girl had her own style of behavior learned from personal experiences. Each girl mapped her place within the black social hierarchy and within the school hierarchy. Each girl in the study celebrated her life with a certain style. Abby's style was to be a good student and to respond to teachers acquiescently. Margaret's style was to be verbally facile and physically domineering. Elizabeth's style was to be her own person, often in isolation, and to protect herself through verbal/physical strength and moods--making the other girls believe that she was "bad." Mary's style was to act the dupe or fool. Katie's was to give baleful looks intended to scare teachers and other students away. Vicki's was to be in the center of the group chatting away endlessly. Sally's was to enjoy her friends at school in relief from her at-home responsibilities. Ann's style was to basically mistrust teachers and other students. Stress was evident in her appearance. Thus, their stylistic ranges differed. When the girls became engaged in "he say...she say" activities which were supremely important, the situation was often strained. This study clearly shows that black girls are not clones even though they share many characteristics common to black culture.

These black girls--different yet similar--demonstrated that the social and academic influences of different classroom grouping could cause them to change their interaction style to resemble what we expect of a student. These black girls also showed that despite sharing many

cultural similarities they were individuals.  Moreover, these girls also

demonstrated through their command of standard be that they possess

standard language capabilities.  They also demonstrated their language

flexibility through their use of a wide span of ask variants.  Yet those

with the widest span or those who failed to use axt consistently were

also the ones with more contact with white culture.  In addition, they

demonstrated individually that those who are the most rooted in the

ghetto-like culture at home and the black network at school had the

greatest command of black English features and used them more

frequently.  Since they adopted student talk in social studies and not

in language arts, it is apparent that they are sensitive to and

sometimes try to conform to white cultural norms and language.

The conformity to white culture and language was evident in

interview topics.  The girls continually addressed their attraction to

white students.  Mary and Vicki provided a marvelous exchange about when

Vicki "be talkin' white"--when she was with white people.  Margaret

addressed how she dressed in relation to being with white or black peers

--with care when with whites.  Clearly, implications from this study

indicate that black students can and will replicate school social and

academic expectations if they are in a context such as Mrs. Vance's

social studies class.  If they are with teachers who are flexible and

open-minded enough to be culturally sensitive as were Mrs. Vance, Mr.

Hernan, and Mrs. Johnson, the black girls will approach school social

and academic expectations more positively and with resulting conformity.

If schools want black adolescent females such as these to be productive

school students, they should look at where these girls appear to be the most successful--academically and socially. The most productive classroom--academically and socially--was the heterogeneously grouped classroom.

Yet, we must go beyond what is best for the school. The ethical issue lies in what is best for the students. Schools must provide students with opportunities equipping them to succeed in the world beyond the classroom. This research substantiates that black English and black culture are different from white English and white culture-- matters of differences, not deficiencies. But these girls must succeed not only in a black world but also in a wider white oriented world if they are to escape poverty and to be successful students. They see and know who typically succeeds in school. They know that academic groupings typically reflect or replicate students' out-of-school life styles. At Sedgefield Junior High School, those white and black students from more affluent backgrounds have more classroom social and academic success and comprise the school leadership. Thus, the white and black students from a middle class background were the successful students--socially and academically--and were often separated from these girls by academic grouping. Thus, it is logical to speculate that these middle class students will be the more successful citizens in life beyond the classroom. However, we should also note that these otherwise remedially grouped girls used more student talk in social studies heterogeneous grouping. Clearly, the girls were more successful and

could and would change their interaction style with its internal language features in heterogeneous contexts.

Recent language learning research informs us that individuals learn language best in natural social contexts. Within such contexts, learners focus primarily on meaning and acquire structures secondarily (Krashen 1978). The causative factor in second language learning according to Krashen is the comprehensible input--meaning in context-- rather than simulated instruction focusing on structural language features. Clearly, the black adolescent students in this study learned more language strategies and structures in a heterogeneous class teaching social studies than they learned through simulated language exercises in language arts.

Krashen also addresses the tensions which impede second language learning. Cultural sensitivity on the part of the teacher can reduce tension from that side of the podium. Students who want to be accepted and practice alternative language strategies also reduce tension from the students' side. Homogeneous grouping should address particular needs or difficulties that students experience. However, neither the language arts class nor the writing lab class was able to address learning until social problems among students or social problems between students and teachers were resolved. Additionally, the language arts class rarely included academic materials which the other academically grouped classes received. Clearly, an exclusive or extensive focus on only vocabulary words could place these students in academic jeopardy for the following years. This restricted amount and type of content or

academic information could ensure that they will remain in remedial classes.

This study shows that it would be best to provide these black girls with more alternate language/cultural learning opportunities as provided by the heterogeneously grouped social studies class. With such opportunities, the girls can acquire more language flexibility and become more adept at deciding which parts of both worlds are best for them. Without this flexible cultural mapping in combination with growing sensitivity from teachers and students, someone else will decide which parts are more appropriate for them. Historically, alternate language/learning opportunities for black and white students and teachers have been limitied to the last thirty years and then primarily in classroom settings.

Black girls and their teachers inherit four centuries of racial and cultural isolation. The bequests of this isolation are alternate means to express cultural experiences through language. These experiences result in communication barriers built upon maps. Black girls use their inherited maps predictively and retrospectively. Predictively, they use past experiences to anticipate and "see" what classroom language and interaction mean. Retrospectively, the classroom experiences have taught them to be wary of schools and teachers, leading subsequently to academic and social difficulties. These difficulties and experiences acted out through alternate--often belligerent--styles of interaction contain markers such as be and axt. Although the girls recognize interactional differences from white students, apparently they fail to

recognize the marking potential of the individual features. However, white teachers and students react warily and negatively to the interaction with its internal language features. These barriers become social symbols when others outside of black culture respond negatively to categorize the girls.

Interaction styles and teacher directives suggest connections between students' maps and attitudes towards teachers and teachers maps and attitudes towards students. These connections exist through black female students' gender, race, socioeconomic class, language variety and the attitudes expressed and represented in them--who they are. These connections exist further in how black females map their culture, language, and interaction styles onto the classroom world where teachers exert control over appropriate classroom behavior, the social aspect of education, and focus classroom instruction, the academic aspect. However, these black girls are not carbon copies of each other; they respond in ways similar to yet different from each other--just as teachers respond in ways similar to yet different from other teachers. Yet, the dangers inherent in the barriers between the girls and their teachers come sharply into focus if teachers sterotypically place the girls in a black girl ethnic category.

The attitudes and maps of the black girls and the teachers in contact with each other in classes show the potency of "ethological and emotional barriers" (Rickford 1986). These maps, however, possess the capacity to change. The changes were apparent when the girls and their teachers developed a respect for and sensitivity to the other. Respect

is a key word as said best by Elizabeth months after her defiant head
wrapping ritual:

> "Because Ms. Polo give me respect, I give her respect.
> She ast me to do something, and I do it."

The respect alluded to is mutual, and other teachers and students
achieved similar mutual respect. This respect diminishes the
"ethological and emotional barriers" (Rickford 1986).

As these barriers diminish, teachers and students have the
opportunity to address culturally sensitive issues. Teachers feel freer
to approach students; students feel freer to approach teachers.
Heterogeneous groupings are alternate and helpful means to reduce
barriers in approachable settings. Within such groupings the girls
acted less defiantly and belligerently. Teachers felt less threatened
and were able to defuse potential problems. However, teachers in
homogeneous classes also were able to bridge the cultural language
barriers when they and their students understood each other better.
Through such understanding, teachers and students can become culturally
sensitive and better able to communicate.

Maps are the means by which black females experience the classroom
and subsequently respond to authority. Although this research
admittedly is on a limited scale, the experiences of the participants--
researcher, teachers and black girls--convince us of the efficacy of
cultural maps to achieve a greater measure of social and academic
success in the classroom. Although the research offers no recipe to
achieve this success, general principles emerge from our experiences.

Teachers need to establish positive classroom control where they grant no academic or social immunity. Second, teachers need to be sensitive to students' varying cultural, linguistic, and personal differences which black girls bring to the classroom. Teachers who understand that language reflects individual experiences in culture and that culture expresses itself on all levels of language--syntactic, semantic, phonological, lexical, and pragmatic--are approaching a position where they are not rejecting the students' language. They are learning that language/cultural differences stem from social and linguistic isolation nurturing alternate means to express meaning. When teachers are no longer jarred at hearing a <u>be talking</u> or <u>axt</u>, they are approaching a position where they are sensitive to, not condemning of, differences. Third, along with this sensitivity teachers and students learn what the other's interaction patterns mean and learn to react--not overreact. Respect for the invidual is the product of the sensitivity. With respect teachers can then approach students about cultural differences and classroom expectations. Students, also, are freer to talk with teachers about these differences. Fourth, communication such as this is important to allow students to learn and teachers to teach. Fifth, heterogeneous classrooms are the most productive environments for students to learn alternate language behaviors allowing them to learn and practice alternate language styles. Teachers, too, are not as threatened by such environments because they instinctively sense that a balance is present in the makeup of the class--a balance promoting

maximum learning and teaching opportunities. Clearly, these concluding
principles underscore the need to understand cultural maps.

NOTES

Chapter II

1.   Although these initial documents for teachers mention video taping, this form of taping was never carried out.  There were several reasons to explain this.  First, the principal was wary of video taping because he believed it threatened student confidentiality.  Second, the audio taping proved successful after students became accustomed to the tape recorder.  This comfort factor helped to insure that students were not performing for either me or the tape recorder.  The introduction of another research gathering device might well have set the research back. Although I value the data and additional insights which could have been gained with video taping, the troubles and discomfort which it could have introduced persuaded me to discard this technique.

2.   The writing lab is a federally funded program for disadvantaged students, previously referred to as Title 1 and presently referred to as Chapter 1.  Most students who are members of a lower academic English placement class are also in writing lab.  The students are screened and selected through standardized test scores, such as the language section of the California Achievement Test, and teacher recommendations. Students are also given a pre-writing test as they enter the program and may exit the program through scoring well on a post-writing test.

3.   The research triggered many racial and language attitude memories of my own.  In 1956, when I was a junior at Russellville High School, Russellville, Kentucky, the city and county boards integrated the high schools.  Because my father Robert B. Piper, the county superintendent, and Robert Stevenson, the city superintendent, were progressive, we were the first school systems in southern Kentucky to integrate.  As a cheerleader, I saw and heard firsthand the indignities that my black classmates suffered.  For instance, we always had to check restaurants beforehand to be assured that blacks would be served inside with the whites.  Also, I remember vividly going to a small basketball gymnasium in Warren County Kentucky where their fans screamed nigger every time one of the black players scored.  However, a black girl made me aware of subtler forms of discrimination which they suffered.  One day she told me that the boys did not have such a bad deal.  At least, according to her, they could continue to participate as they had previously at the all black Knob City High.  As she continued, she said that before she came to Russellville High, she, too, had been a cheerleader.  However, now she said she and her friends were nothing.  During these two final high school years, I remembered what she had said.  But my friends and I also laughed among ourselves about the speech, particularly pronunciation, of our black classmates.  This attitude, though common,

was to haunt me as I became the object of another culture's language attitude while I taught in metropolitan St. Louis--Webster Groves, Missouri.

Webster Groves' students and their parents had language attitudes similar to my previous attitudes. Although some of the teasing I received about the way I talked was good natured, many also thought that anyone who spoke with a southern accent was dumb. In fact, this school attitude reflected the wider community one. Once when I was waiting for a package to be wrapped in a St. Louis department store, a woman whom I did not know walked up to me and said, "You talk like a nigger." Although shocked and admittedly offended, I merely said that she was fortunate to have said that to me. Someone else might not have taken the remark as calmly. During this time, the civil rights marches in the South were occurring. I, too, was personally and verbally attacked for what we were doing in the South. I was, however, as shocked over the outrages as were they, but because of my accent, I was lumped in with them. This image soon changed when my husband and I moved to Greensboro, North Carolina, where my accent did not attract attention but my racial attitudes did.

In 1967 North Carolina was not integrated except through freedom of choice in either their schools or their teacher associations. During the first year of teaching, I was upset when a group of white teachers went to Raleigh to a teachers' meeting to see a black woman from Greensboro Lincoln Junior High School who had not gone with us. As I got to know this teacher and visited her overcrowded classrooms, I was impressed with her dedication. She, for instance, had no planning period and at least two hundred students. This was her choice; she did not want to turn away anyone who wanted to learn to read. Later, in 1968, the school where I taught hired its first black staff member. Some students and parents were open in their verbal hostility to this woman, and this criticism increased when she persisted in teaching black and white history. Particularly during the crisis following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., when she focused on the events surrounding this tragedy and leading to this tragedy, the criticism mounted. We, her teammates, had a choice. We could support and defend her or we could abandon her. We chose to support and defend. So, I had come, in some ways, full circle.


Chapter III

1. Although boys and girls from the respective neighborhoods chose comparable activities, I am focusing on the girls--for the sake of clarity. Boys will enter the stage as network ties are evident and necessary to the girls' networks.

2. Only academically gifted students are grouped together for all core academic subjects--language arts, math, social studies, and science.

The only academic grouping for other students occurs in language arts where classes are grouped into advanced, regular, low-regular, and basic or remedial. All other subjects except for math are heterogeneously grouped. Math grouping is cross grade where all three grade levels (7, 8, and 9) may be in one class. In the health/physical education classes all students are grouped together including academically gifted-- regardless of academic placement. Music grouping is similar except for the Concert Band designed for students where acceptance is based on tryouts.

3. The school, in an effort to maximize good citizenship, instituted the Super Spartan designation. Every week teachers would nominate students who during that particular week epitomized good citizenship without penalizing students who had previously been in In School Suspension. Also, students were named as teacher assistants to foster more positive relationships between teachers and students with a history of disciplinary violations. Thus, the school does take steps to counteract students and teachers' negative attitudes associated with in- school problems.

Chapter IV

1. "Do the bird" refers to a dance in which the dancer flexes outstretched arms at the wrists in syncopated beat. Also, the dancer moves the lower body--in and out--at the waist and the knees in time with the arm movements. Do--da, da, do is the cadence. Subsequent observations in Greensboro reveal to me that this dance may communicate more than a dance. For instance, at a girls' basketball game, the winning team--predominantly black--performed this dance across the court from the losing team--also predominantly black. This performance enraged the losers who had to be restrained from going across the court to accost the winners. In this classroom instance, Elizabeth--the boss --is taunting Vicente, a white male classmate who is typically tormented by the black girls. Perhaps, this "do the bird" directive is an extended way to torment and taunt Vicente thereby putting him down--one more time.

2. Bad in this context means formidable (Folb 1980, 228).

3. Mess with means to interfere with or to bother (Folb 1980, 246).

Chapter V

1. There was no indication that the girls heard the difference between their pronunciation, ax or axt, and their white classmates' or teachers' pronunciation, ask . However, they could hear sound differences between their southern black English and northeastern black English. They talked in interviews about visits from cousins from New York or New

Jersey whose speech "sounded strange." However, their cousins, in turn, ridiculed their manner of speaking, pronouncing. Also, they said that when they heard a black speaker from the Charlotte area employing sound sequences unfamiliar to their southern black English, they typically associated these sounds with trying to talk white.

2.  Two teachers in separate conferences indicated that axt was a negative phonetic cue which they associated with black speakers and further associated with an uneducated status. The teachers wondered why black speakers used this variant pronunciation often saying, "Why do they say that?"

3.  Although the white English metathesis is documented, the rules which black speakers may have developed are unclear. Clearly, the black speakers may be using the white metathesis which their forebears heard white speakers use. However, there are other possibilities to explain the sound in black English. There is the possibility of a rule internal for black English linked to final consonant cluster simplification. For example, black speakers when pronouncing the plural of mask may say maskes. In ask variants there may be a parallel where black speakers have may use ax, /æks/; ast, /æst/; axes, /ækses/. Another possibility for a rule internal to black English in regard to these variants may be that the /ks/ is influenced by the vowel /æ/. No clear evidence exists to support conclusively either hypothesis. Whatever the source of the /ks/, I am calling it metathesis.

4.  Although there appear to be discrepancies over names appearing after the ask variants, these are not discrepancies. It must be remembered that the text names are pseudonyms; the names being called in interview were the students' actual names.

5.  Go off means to get angry and to display that anger either verbally, physically, or both. Although Vicki fails to add on to the go off, there were times when the girls would say go off on to express anger or the act of getting mad.

6.  Although all of the eight girls had heartily laughed about "your hair's on fire," Margaret who said it was the only person who did know what her comment meant. In response to my question about the referential meaning of "hair on fire," Margaret revealed that she was referring to Vicki's having so many chemicals on her hair that it would catch afire if someone lit a match--just like Michael Jackson's hair had caught on fire filming a commercial.

7.  The be within the last passage may be will/would deletion. However, since Sally is indicating how Margaret typically interacts, the likelihood exists that be may express the iterative or the habitual.

8.  Some non-black students who did not use /ækst/ or /æks/ did use /æsk/ or /æst/ functionally as these black girls used it. They were

Aletia, a white girl in social studies who classified herself as a "hood;" Vicente, a white boy in social studies and the remedial language arts; and Carlotta, a Lumbee in social studies.

Vicente:    (a good teacher) "Someone who's nice, don't get.... They got to get on you to let you know...calm, you know, just /ast/ you real nice and all that instead of jumping down your throat."

Aletia:     "I don't get along with Mr. _____ because of that [way black girls interact with teachers]....'Cause he would- I /æskt/ him to go to the bathroom one day, and he said, 'No, you don't have to go to the bathroom.' I really had to go to the bathroom. And so this black girl goes up there and she /æsks/ him, and he writes her a note. I got mad. I said, 'See, Mr. _____, I /æskt/ you to go to the bathroom. You don't know if I've got to go or not. But you let her go.' [he said], 'But that's different.'"

Pember:     "Why?"

Aletia:     "That's what I /æskt/ him, and he just said, 'You don't gotta go that bad.'"

Carlotta:   "...They [students at previous school] were stuck up big time. I mean they wouldn't want to know you if you say like you're an Indian or something. They would look down upon you. And things like they would look down upon the black and Indian groups or any other culture. And they wouldn't even talk to you, so you had to go running around with the black kids and all. That was not right. And then when I came down here to this school, I mean everybody wants to know you. They want to know you if you're Indian,

black, or white. They'll /æsk/ you that so, you know, I like this school better because they don't, you know, categorize you."

These passages suggest that life experiences may induce attitudes similar to those of persons from a different culture or race.


Chapter VI

1.  Ashy refers to "whitish coloration of black skin, due to exposure" (Smitherman 1974, 67).

2.  Most students, black or white, simply said that they spoke English or Southern English. The black girls in the focus would not or could not directly give examples of their speech, but would contrast their

speech to white or northern black speech. For example, Elizabeth, Vicki, and Mary once in interview were marking or imitating "talking white" (Mitchell-Kernan 1971, 70-72) with exaggerated -ing's and deliberately slow speech. When I asked them how they talked "black," Vicki very pointedly looked at me saying she didn't know how to "talk black"--she only spoke English. This denial and hostile look clearly told me that this topic was a forbidden territory.

In contrast, Ann could not only discern differences in her speech from New York blacks but could also discern differences in her speech from whites and would also specify a difference.

Ann:   "...Like people from New Yawk, I think they talk like white people 'cause they talk proper...I spoke to _____'s boyfriend. He said something about the way I talk. He said, 'What's wrong wid yo voice?' And _____ started laughing, and both of them--'cause she know we different--you know, we have different voices, 'cause she used to come down here, and everybody knew she was from New Yawk. They said she was from New Yawk by the way she talks, and then _____, his cousin come down. They're from Philadelphia, and they talk funny, too. They talk like, 'What's somethin', man?' Like that...."

Pember:   "All right. So you recognize the differences in black people's talking. Do you recognize the differences between you and white people?"

Ann:   "Well no....They talk the same down here to me. White people talk like black people...*I know a word that we use that I don't hear white people use....That's ain't. "I ain't going to do it...I know we use that a lot. And a white girl would say, 'I'm not talking.' They say not instead of ain't."

Intervening between where Ann specified northeastern and southern black differences, I prodded Ann (at the *) to think about specific white/ black differences and offered the be example.

Pember:   "All right. Let me give you this example...you use be differently, 'He be doing that.'"

Ann:   "I don't say that." (laughs)

Pember:   "Yes you do. I bet we could play back all my tapes. You use be differently than I do."

Ann:   "Well, how do you use be?"

Pember:   "I would say, 'I am doing that.'"

Ann:     "Oh, you mean like sometimes you say, 'I be going
         up there later.'?"

This instance with Ann was the only time <u>be</u> was directly addressed. I
find it interesting that the black girls were more aware of northern and
southern black phonological differences. Also, I find it equally
interesting and informative that, as with Ann's example, black students
were more aware of <u>be</u> forms like <u>ain't</u> than they were of <u>be</u> differences
between white and black speakers. This lack of black awareness clearly
and ironically contrasts white awareness. Also, Vicki's hostility to
inquiries, inappropriate and not requiring an answer, informs us that
she felt more than she was willing to say and that she was probably more
aware of language differences.

3. No notation after sentences indicates the sentence was taken from
interview. LA, for language arts, WL for writing lab, and SS for social
studies are noted.

4. Both black and white informants use unconjugated <u>be</u> replacing <u>is</u>,
<u>am</u>, <u>are</u> in a sweep from New England to South Carolina including
Appalachia (Atwood 1953, 27).

5. Vicente, a member of both the social studies and language arts/
writing lab class, shares many attitudes, life experiences, and
classroom behavioral patterns with the black speakers. He categorically
denies that he is from a broken home despite teacher information from
parents to the contrary. This refusal to divulge information about his
family matches the black girls' refusal to divulge personal information
about their families.

In the classroom, like many of the focused girls, he is often angry and
sullen--attitudes attended by sleep, refusal to answer teacher
questions, or incessant chatter with the other boys in language arts or
writing lab. His academic work is typically below par. He claims to
dislike all teachers but one black teacher, also liked and admired by
the black girls. Also, he is ignored or ridiculed by other white
students and characteristically finds himself the object of ridicule and
scorn of the black girls. Although he must associate daily with the
black girls in the focus, he resents them almost as much as he resents
white successful students. Thus, Vicente's attitudes and actions mirror
many of the attitudes and actions of the black girls. He also shares
many language characteristics with black students.

6. One Lumbee Indian girl Carlotta did provide one instance of
invariant <u>be</u>. What reasons may explain use of this invariant <u>be</u>? The
Lumbee Indian story, rooted in segregation, has unique historical
significance in North Carolina. The Lumbee, a tribe named for the
Lumber River flowing through southeastern North Carolina, have mixed
origins. Some historians trace the Lumbee to the Lost Colony's

survivors because quite early in the state's history many had similar last names to the missing colonists. Also, despite Indian features, many lived as whites did. The Lumbee, the largest Indian tribe east of the Mississippi River, have never lived on reservations and have never received federal Indian benefits. Although the Lumbee, also named Croatoan or Croatan in the 1800's, were never physically segregated to reservations, the government segregated them from whites (Clotfelter, Nov. 2, 1986, G-1). Lumbee children were not allowed to attend schools with white children. Because this practice segregated them with the black population, the Lumbee, with North Carolina legal sanction, began to operate their own schools and established in 1887 Pembroke State University which was granted the status of university in 1969 (Dial and Eliades 1975, 105). Thus, through racial categorization and segregation, the state of North Carolina historically has reinforced cultural practices fostering a dialect different from the white dialect and consequently assuring economic difficulties and prejudices against the Lumbee (Dial and Eliades 1975, 11-12).

The Lumbee historical background mirrors Carlotta's life. Being Lumbee has contributed to enormous Native American pride and enthusiasm for anything Indian, from Lumbee group functions to vigorous class participation during the social studies Indian unit. Her appearance reflects the Lumbee's mixed racial origins and belies the myth of what an Indian looks like. Despite features which could gain entrance and access for her to the white world--freckled fair skin, reddish-brown hair, and sparkling brown eyes--Carlotta proudly categorizes herself as Lumbee--not white. Past experiences clearly have forged her ethnic pride and have influenced her language.

When Carlotta attended elementary school in another Charlotte suburb, none of the white students would associate with her or any Indian. White ostracism socially mandated that Carlotta would associate exclusively at school with other Indians or black students. From this association with black students, she could have learned to use invariant be without acquiring any sense of social solidarity with blacks. For example, at the time of the study, she criticizes former white classmates and abhors many black interaction patterns. Yet, Carlotta openly admires Abby who is different from "them." Fortunately for Carlotta, she feels none of the previously experienced racial or social segregation at Sedgefield and gleefully exclaimed that Sedgefield students were concerned about the person, rather than the racial category. Although she does not have a wide circle of friends and typically sits with Valerie and Lane, outcasts hanging onto the fringe of school activities and class discussions, Carlotta is happy in this school. At home Carlotta lives with her grandmother and except during basketball season--a sport she participates in--rarely sees school friends or any friends after school. So despite her happiness, Carlotta's historical Native American and personal background have set her apart. Because of her seven years in school association with black

students and her social life limited to extended family and Lumbee functions, it is not surprising that she would use invariant be, a form primarily used by black speakers.

7.  Honky makes derogatory reference to white persons (Folb 1980, 242).

8.  Trippin' out means to have a good time (Folb 1980, 258). Although it may have originated as a black lexical item, both black and white students used the phrasal verb in a similar manner in function and meaning.

9.  Nappy refers to unkept hair that is kinky, wooly (Folb 1980, 247).

10.  To go off on means to get angry, to verbally or physically take someone on.

11.  Shall/should in full verb status originally meant obligation--I must, I ought (Visser 1963, 669). Will/would in full verb status originally meant desire--I want to, I intend to (Visser 1963, 1674). Because all three--shall, will, rather--were formerly within the first six classes of Old English strong verbs, this status allowed their use to express both present and preterite or past in regards to obligation and intentions (Cassidy and Ringler, 1971, 79).

12.  To grand means to put someone down. Also, there may be assimilation or deletion of the final -d resulting in gran', gran'ing. Margaret, the first student to employ this term in interview, often did assimilate or delete the -d resulting in extreme difficulty on my part to understand what she had said. Granding or gran'ing with directive intent is an aspect of verbal dueling or signifying speech events (Mitchell-Kernan 1971, 65).

13.  Culture establishes guidelines for what constitutes belligerence-- guidelines different from culture to culture. Black culture bestows status on the person who can quickly and cleverly respond to insults and can quickly and cleverly give ritual insults. Body language draws the fine lines between the appreciative laugh and the fracas. Teachers, unfamiliar with these guidelines and accompanying rules, often have difficulty knowing if black students are contemplating a fight or simply sparring loudly. Vicki expresses some black guidelines for belligerence, also acknowledged by cultural authorities (Kochman 1981; Abrahams 1976; Folb 1980), an explanation containing invariant be's.

> Vicki:  "...When black people get serious with each other, there don't be no smilin' I'll tell ya. They won't smile 'cause half the time they know you kiddin'-- you be smilin' and stuff. But it depends on their mood, too, 'cause you catch 'em in a bad mood and they just ready to go off."

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APPENDIX A

Agenda of Teachers' Meeting, September 12, 1984, 8:10 A.M.
1. What am I doing here?
    a. To conduct research to describe and analyze teacher use of
       teacher differentiated directives--or
       How do teachers establish controls within the classroom
       with boys and girls?
       Teacher Talk to boys and girls.
    b. Dr. Holleman has a predraft of my proposal which you are
       welcome to read.
    c. Three areas:
       (1.) Content of directives, such as who can interrupt and
            who can be interrupted;
       (2.) Language characteristics of directives, such as
            sentence patterns, verb forms, etc.;
       (3.) Participant characteristics--student and teacher.
2. How did I get here?
    a. Junior high school teacher in:
       (1.) Kentucky
       (2.) Webster Groves, Missouri (St.Louis)
       (3.) Mendenhall Junior High in Greensboro, North Carolina;
    b. Parent of one ninth grade junior high student and one sixth
       grade elementary school student;
    c. Wife of Industrial Engineer
    d. Doctoral candidate from UNCG School of Education
       (1.) Teaching Assistant
       (2.) University student teacher supervisor
    e. Dr. Boyd Davis from UNC-Charlotte acquaintance.
3. This school will be my only base of research.
4. What can you expect from me?
    a. One to two days a week for the school year;
    b. Participatory research with you as partners within the research
       to:
       (1.) Keep journals of directive language as you note;
       (2.) Observation by me and participation if desired by you;
       (3.) Audio and video taping, respecting confidentiality, use
            of pseudonyms;
       (4.) Conferences with me to analyze language data and tapes;
       (5.) Continual update to all participants as research progresses;
       (6.) Copy of dissertation--upon completion and acceptance.
    c. Ethnographic research with language as a focus
       (1.) Descriptive not empirical;
       (2.) Presentation of findings and analysis.
5. What can you expect to gain?
    a. Career Development Ladder: Experience of professional growth and
       contributions to profession. (I have nothing to do with your
       evaluations, etc..)

b. New insights
   (1.) What are we teaching besides subject matter?
   (2.) Understanding how students and use language--contributing
       to your teaching successes and failures and to your
       students' learning success or failure.

Memo to Staff

To:      Sedgefield Staff
From:    Ann Pember
Wednesday, September 12, 1984

Thank you so much for your gracious cooperation, as well as offers to participate. Next week, I will be here on Thursday and Friday, September 20 and 21. I will want to drop by the classrooms of those of you who have agreed to participate, with no formal observation. This can be a chance to find your classrooms and actually see you in your own room. Also, I hope to meet with you informally to set up further research procedures. Let's plan to meet at 8 on Friday, September 21, in the media center.

Someone asked that I also include, "What can you expect from me?" as it relates to your participation:

1.  1 to 2 days a week during the school year (does not mean a visit/ week, scheduled visits)
2.  Participation with teachers as partners
3.  Keep journals on directive language you note, either within the classroom or outside the classroom, at home, etc..
4.  Observation by researcher
5.  Audio and video taping, later in the program, respecting confidentiality and using pseudonyms in analysis/description of language
6.  Conferences with the researcher, when needed, to analyze the linguistic data and tapes or films
7.  Continual update on the progress of the research
8.  Copy of dissertation upon completion and acceptance

Have a good week! I shall return to Greensboro to plan the next logical moves.

Data Access Consent Form

I agree that the linguistic data gathered through the research of Ann P. Pember at Sedgefield Junior High School in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Public Schools will remain in the files of the researcher, both during the research and upon completion of the research. I agree that any future access, after the completion of the study, for future research may be gained by submitting written reasons to the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Public Schools and the Sedgefield Junior High School principal, in consultation with the participating teachers. I understand that if the school system grants approval for the request, the school system would then forward the request to the researcher for her approval. I agree that these procedures are necessary to protect the confidentiality of the research participants.

_____

Signature of applicant

Approved by:            _____

Charlotte-Mecklenburg Public Schools

_____

Principal, Sedgefield

_____

Participating teacher(s)

_____

Ann P. Pember, Researcher

Research Participants' Cover Letter

To:    Sedgefield Junior High School Parents and Research Participants
From:  Ann P. Pember, Doctoral Student, School of Education
       University of North Carolina at Greensboro

By permission of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Public Schools and the
UNCG School of Education Human Subjects' Committee, I am conducting
classroom language research at Sedgefield Junior High School during the
1984-1985 school year to fulfill doctoral dissertation requirements.
This ethnographic research project will explore dimensions of classroom
language and interaction between junior high school teachers and
students.  It will focus on describing the characteristics of teacher
directive language, instructions to do, particularly as that language
varies and differentiates between male and female students.  Several
teachers have volunteered to participate in this research.  Your young
person's role as a student participant is entirely voluntary and may be
withdrawn at any time.  I am including a participation consent form for
you and your young person to sign as agreement to participate.

My procedures and methods will assure confidentiality and
participation for the participants.  In order to guard confidentiality,
participants' names will not be used either in the recording of
classroom language or the completed dissertation.  I will record
language through a variety of methods.  I will observe in the classroom.
Upon occasion, I will use audio and video taping which will only be
heard or seen by participants, university dissertation advisors,
professional colleagues, and me.  I will conduct interviews to analyze
the classroom language with the classroom teacher and students, when
appropriate or needed, to discuss possible reasons for language choices.
In addition, participants may note any linguistic interaction that they
believe is important between people.  The research may be important
because it contributes to understanding ways that people decide what to
say, to whom.  I will give regular reports to the participants as to the
progress of the research.  While conducting the research, I will be
available in the school two days per week to answer any questions.  When
possible, I shall attend P.T.A. meetings.  I shall present a bound copy
of the dissertation when I complete the research.

I welcome my participation in this research to explore the role of
student/teacher language in the school learning/communication network.
Since very little research has been conducted on adolescent language or
teacher/adolescent classroom language, I believe that we can make an
important contribution to educational and linguistic research.

## Consent Form

I agree to participate in the present study being conducted at Sedgefield Junior High School under the supervision of Ann P. Pember, doctoral candidate in the School of Education of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. I have been informed, either orally or in writing or both, about the procedures to be followed. The investigator has offered to answer further questions that I may have regarding the procedures of this study. I understand that confidentiality will be accorded and pseudonyms will be used throughout the investigation. I understand that I am free to terminate my participation at any time without penalty or prejudice. I am aware that further information about the conduct and review of human research at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro can by obtained by calling 379-5878, the Office for Sponsored programs.

| day | month | year | | Signature of Participant |
|-----|-------|------|--|--------------------------|

| | Signature of Parent |
|--|---------------------|

Directives

To:      Participating Sedgefield Teachers
From:    Ann Pember, September 27, 1984
Subject: Directives

I want to supply you with some general information on directives, the focus of our study. Ervin-Tripp defines directives as commands to do. Although we typically think of commands in terms of imperative sentence, directives can have forms other than the imperative if the function of the sentence is to command, direct, or control. Ervin-Tripp categorizes directives into need statements; imperatives, regular, elliptical, and imbedded; permissions; questions; hints. I base the following examples of these categories on an actual teacher directive that I heard spoken to a first grade child.

Need statement: I want/need you to open your eyeballs.

Imperatives:
    Regular:     Open your eyeballs. (Direct language)
    Elliptical: Eyeballs, open? (Indirect language)
    Imbedded:    Would/should/could you open your eyeballs?(Indirect)
Permission:     May I ask you to open your eyeballs?
Question:       Do/did you want/need your eyeballs open?(Indirect)
Hint:           Are your eyeballs open? (Indirect)
Direct:      States directly what is desired.
Indirect:    Implies, uses more polite language.
In addition to these sentence types, other terms in sentences signal a directive.

let's or we: Let's turn around. We know how to diagram a sentence.
I like the way: I like the way that group is working. (Positive)
Use of student's name alone:  Mary!
Tag question: I am on page 32, are you?
Passive voice: The homework was completed by very few students.
Conditionals: If you do not have your assignment, then you will
               get a zero.
Please/thank you: Thank you, Mary, for that excellent answer.
Modals or auxiliary verbs:
    can/could: Can you tell me how to find that answer?
    will/would: Would you answer number 3?
    shall/should: You should be at your desk.
    must: Must you talk to your neighbor?

Terms used to express: pleasure, displeasure, politeness,
                      rudeness, prohibitions
You will note terms that you use. For example, with displeasure I find myself saying, "I beg your pardon." It also covers my response to student rudeness, etc.. Thus, directives are often in response to students' actions, answers, etc..

Think about how and when you use directives, with whom.  What factors
influence your directive choice?  What patterns of directive choice
occur regularly?

Social Behaviors

Ann Pember
September 30, 1984
Participating teacher: _____
Subject (area):        _____

What patterns/characteristics do you look for in behaving and valuing in
your classroom?  Consider these characteristics with the context of
success and failure of students in your classroom.  Focus on these
patterns and characteristics specifically in relationship to boys and
girls.  I am using ideas specifically mentioned by Shirley Brice Heath
in Ways with Words, Cambridge University Press, 1983, Part 2,
Ethnographic Doing, Chapter 8, "Teachers as Learners," 263-310.

| | | Success | | Failure | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Social Behaviors: | | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys |
| 1. | Attitudes | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| 2. | Tone of voice | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| 3. | Respectfulness | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| 4. | Rudeness | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| 5. | Verbal Interaction:<br>a. with each other;<br>   student to student<br>b. with you as teacher | ____<br><br>____<br>____ | ____<br><br>____<br>____ | ____<br><br>____<br>____ | ____<br><br>____<br>____ |
| 6. | Loudness/softness<br>of voice | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| 7. | Truthfulness | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| 8. | Aggression | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| 9. | Passivity | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| 10. | Politeness | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| 11. | Respect of<br>property | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| 12. | Honesty | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| 13. | Dialect/linguistic<br>features | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |

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14. Leadership        _____    _____    _____    _____

15. Eye contact
    a. direct         _____    _____    _____    _____
    b. averted        _____    _____    _____    _____

16. Boisterousness    _____    _____    _____    _____


There may be other patterns/characteristics that I have omitted. If so, what are they?

Do these patterns cause you to use directives? If so, what types of directives or characteristics of directives can you attribute to these characteristics?

As you consider your present students and past students, what student profile emerges for a successful female and male student, unsuccessful female and male student?

Sample Journal Entry Item

October 15, 1984

As the last period of the day closed, I went to the office en route to the pep rally which was to be held in the gym. Packed into the gym were 600 plus students on the bleachers, floors, etc.. In addition, the area superintendent had decided to attend the pep rally, the first of this school year. The cheerleaders (4 black females and 4 white females) are decked out in "shades" with the fashionable string dangling from behind each ear. As the cheerleaders finally get the students quiet, the "box" blares, and the cheerleaders breakdance to the music, "shades" and all. The students love it and applaud loudly. The students and the cheerleaders appear to be performing for each other. The cheerleaders continue to preen and prance as they begin the cheers. After some cheers, Mr. Taylor attempts to introduce the junior varsity football team. There is no loudspeaker system. Many students boo this group because they have not won a single game all year. The varsity coach introduces the varsity squad who receive a bit better reception. Then there are a few more cheers followed by a teacher's climbing a stepladder, where she sits on the top and waits for the student who will throw a pie in her face. A white girl climbs the ladder and smashes a pie in her face. The students go mad with excitement accompanied by flailing of arms, hoots, shouts, cheers, laughter. The pep rally is over...on to the 4:00 game.

Although I did not stay for the entire game, the Sedgefield Spartans won. The cheerleaders usually lead the cheers facing the team. The fans intermittently watch, cheered, gazed at each other, and moved around constantly. Mrs. _____, recipient of the pie, was a celebrity for getting the pie in her face. She said she loved doing it because the students need to see a teacher be made the fool. At halftime the queen, a lovely blonde eighth grader, was crowned with a tiara.

Scripting Sample

October 30, 1984

Mr. Hernan

Eighth Grade Remedial Language Arts


Hernan:          Get your dictionaries....
                 One sheet of paper first, OK?....

(Checking roll)

                 OK, one sheet of paper....Leave the dictionaries closed,
                 right now.

Black Female: We taking a test?

Hernan:          No, vocabulary.

(Students continue talking among themselves.)

Hernan:          Ok, first one...Remember we're going to write the sentence
                 first. (He is working with an overhead.)
                 Now look at the next one....Then I'm going to write 2b....
                 Wait, Katie!

Black Female: You forgot to put the number....(meaning numbering the
                 words)

Hernan:          Continuing down the list, #4.
                 5 quantity....We're going with quantity which means the
                 number. (differentiating between quality)

                 Elizabeth, you getting them down? What are you writing in
                 the book for?

Elizabeth:       I'm not writing in the book.

(They have completed going through the words.)

Hernan:          Now what are we going to do?
                 Write two words per sentence. (answers his own question)
                 Don't look up the meaning now.

Hernan:          Tony (black male), nothing to write with?
                 (Tony produces a pencil which he shows the teacher.)

                 Sally, gum.

Margaret, gum.
Arthur, gum.    (They know to get up and go deposit their gum in the gallon jar by the teacher's desk.)

Two years, what have I told you? Raise your hands.

I want you to close this (dictionary); write your own sentences (Elizabeth).

Tony, are you waiting for inspiration to rain on your head?

(Both Katie and Elizabeth are sucking their thumbs.)

Hernan:      Think about it (said to Katie whose hand is raised).

(Class goes through exercise of reading all their sentences.)

Hernan:      Has everybody pretty much got some sentences?
             Mr. _____, how about reading me any one of your
             sentences, OK?

(Mr. _____ complies.)

(The class peacefully goes through the exercise reading sentences with teacher response, tripartite.)

Hernan:      Ok, Margaret.

Margaret:    Yesterday we went on a hike in the woods...

Hernan:      Is this one sentence?

Margaret:    Yes, I saw a curious grisly bear.

Hernan:      Margaret, that can be right, Ok.

(During the exercise an extended assignment with these words surfaces.)

Hernan:      I want one page or more (composition)...to scare the pants off one little seventh grader.

(Note Vicente is asleep.)

Arthur:      Grisly, like a bear?

Hernan:      Why don't you look things up before blurting out.

(Students begin to work on composition assignment.)

Hernan:          (to Ann) Wake up!

(Katie cackles loudly.)

Hernan:          Excuse me, I have someone else to wake up (walks to
                 Vicente and jars him awake).

(Students begin to interact among themselves about their averages,
since the 9 week grading period is nearly over.)

Hernan:          Ladies!

(Students continue and Hernan enters the discussion as to how
their language arts grade is computed.)

Hernan:          (to white girl) Where is your dictionary? (means get one)
                 Go ahead and put the gum in there.

(Shore heard from a student; teacher believes it is Elizabeth and goes
to the board to write sure and shore there to correct pronunciation.)

Elizabeth:       You ain't heard nothing from me.

Arthur:          It's not fair! (had to do with time in class to complete
                 assignment)

Hernan:          I'll give you time.
                 Mary, sit down!
                 (prepares to hand out folders)

Arthur:          Let me hand them out.

Hernan:          You work on your work, and I'll hand them out.

(Arthur does not protest and begins playing with a projector next to
him.)

Hernan:          (to Tony) Good work. Why can't you do that every week?
                 (to Ann) Ann, you tired of me? How tired?

Ann:             Tired.

Hernan:          You tell me how tired at the end of the summer. You have
                 to have language arts....

Ann:             I ain't gonna be here in the summer.

Hernan:          Mary!

(one white girl and Katie are fussing. Katie sits behind the girl.)

Katie:          It's your problem; I'm telling for your own good.

Hernan:         (to Ann) Still tired of me?

Ann:            Uh huh.

White girl:     She hit me first.

(Elizabeth sucking her thumb, chimes in.)

Katie:          Girl, I wasn't talking to you.

White girls responds

Katie responds

Hernan:         Katie! (shouting)

(While this is going on, several black females are up, putting away dictionaries, checking the transparency...)

Hernan:         Ann, you're going to have a wonderful summer. I predict it.

Ann:            Can't predict it.

(Students are talking. Somewhere about this time Vicente has thrown a dictionary and hit Arthur, the would-be receptionist.)

Katie:          We got any homework? (loudly enough to be heard over the din)

(Both Katie and Elizabeth are sucking their thumbs again.)

Hernan:         When the bell rings, y'all remain seated.

Ann:            This is a fun class.

Margaret:       (begins a monologue)

(The bell rings. Students do remain seated. Hernan calls out students' names who are are dismissed.)

Vicente:        It ain't right (the sleeper).

Hernan:         You don't have much to say right now.

(Ann discusses problems with the white girl and Katie who are

reconciled.)

Ann:          (to Hernan) You have to let me go.

Hernan:      Ann, good-bye.

(Soon, they all leave.)

Scripting and Taping Combination Sample

Writing Lab, November 14, 1984
The tape is 30 minutes. The first part of the period is not on tape. The class divides itself into folder housekeeping, teacher information on grading, filling out white progress cards for parents' initialing, working on plays, and reading plays. Directives inform students of student procedures to follow to reinforce the importance of doing work according to directions, control behavior, direct students' attention to teacher evaluative comments about student work.

Scripted/not on tape:
Johnson: Ok, first thing I want to take your notes...
Secondly, take all of your papers out of your writing folder...
In your folder you have white assignment sheets. Put those back in your folder...Instead of a story...pull that out and put that back in...
Last item, take your journal apart...Ok, next thing, fill up the journal with new paper.

Black female: I ain't got any.

J: Borrow...8 or 9 is fine..,
All your old papers, get them together...We're passing a stapler around...Take them home.

Tape is on:
Teacher moves around and helps students. Today there is a new seating arrangement. Rather than straight rows, the chairs and desks are pushed together to form tables. Teacher says later this is designed to produce a better writing environment. Elizabeth is sucking her thumb. Students near the recorder begins to notice it which causes a stir among the students at her table.

Journal writing:

J: Most of you are finished...Go ahead and date your journal entries please. We're not going to write on last quarter's paper; we're going to start all over again...(moves out into the room)

I've got 4 people who are ready...(class stirring and talking)

Ok, timer's on...please begin. (some don't)
Please begin or continue (rising intonation on continue)...
Margaret, please write...(some continue to talk)

Ok, those of you that continue to talk; you're going to have to talk with me after class. This is a time to write, and you're all aware of it...

Keep writing until the bell.

White female: : Which bell?

J: The timer...(continued talking)
Ladies, I know you don't want to stay after class. Keep it up and you'll be here with me. (teacher moves out into classroom)

J: (inaudible)

Katie: I'm through.

J: Don't talk to Ann or anybody.

Katie: Don't talk to nobody.

J: Don't talk to Ann or anybody.

During this time I note another black female thumb sucker, either Katie or Abby, most likely Katie since she has just finished this exchange with the teacher.

Timer bell rings:

Teacher lecture on grades and importance of following "rules:"

J: This is the beginning of second quarter. After 6th period today, you will be getting your grade cards. Those of you, I have no idea what your grades will be. But if you would happen to have an F in language arts, you have another quarter to bring it up, which means you have until about the second week of January. The journals you have are part of your grade. Those of you who write every day and write nearly an entire page will end up with a 95% for your journals. Those of you who choose not to will have difficulty getting through your writing class. This is a part of your grade.....if you decide to write the ABC's this 9 weeks or you want to write your numbers 1 to 2000; that will be a zero for the day.

Black Female: You said...we're writing...

J: This is the 2nd quarter; you are perfectly capable to write sentences.

Black female: What'd you say?

J: Journal writing is a part of your grade.

White cards/progress report for parents' initialing:

J:  Ok, next item...I'm going to give you all a white card. It is a progress report for this writing class. I'd like for you to fill it out...I'm going to give these to you (emphasis on to you). You take them home, have your parents initial them....Bring it back to me or Mr. Hernan.

S:  When?(Ann or Mary)

J:  Soon as you can.

S(same):  We supozed to get these all the time?

TJ  Every time you get a report card.

(teacher gives directives to fill out every blank)

Play;

J:  Ok, next item...those of you that have your play, take that out of your folder. (Buzz)
Ok, I don't think anybody has read theirs yet. Has anybody read theirs the last time?

Class:  No.

T:    I'd like you to quietly move your chairs to get into your group. (sound of chairs scraping; 2 groups are now working/reading plays to each other.)

White male:  Shut up, boy.

J:     _____, he's going to stay where he is.  You're fine where you are.

J:    You have about 30 seconds. (more than 30 seconds pass.)

T:    Margaret, Katie, Sally, is your group ready?

Margaret: Yes, I'm always ready (double entendre).  (laughter)

J:    Arthur, is your group ready?

Vicente answers: No.

Arthur: No.

T:    Ok, Barbara, let's start with your group.

Hernan:  Vicente, don't mess with him at all.

White Boy:  Boy, come over here, boy.

Vicente:  Shut up.

White Boy:  Come on...come on...

J:      Vicente, keep working,

Katie:      What you want us to do?

J:  (referring to sitting or standing)  Whichever way you feel more comfortable.

Hernan:      _____, come over here.

Katie:      Y'all ready?

J:      We're all ready.

Katie:      Everybody be quiet.

J:  Ok, go ahead and begin...Vicente, just as quiet as you can work over there because we're starting to read ours.

(Katie and Margaret read their play on suicide.)

J:      Very good.  I like that...a good job.
        (calls on the group including Abby) You can either stand or sit, whichever way you're comfortable.  (read their play)

J:      Very interesting; you put an ending on that.

Tape stops:

The rest of the period, they finish reading plays.  Teachers continue to keep students, boys and girls, on the "task."

Some directives, variation of previously recorded:

J:      Ok, eyes up here...This next activity, ladies, is with a group...
        You're in a group...Ladies...Vicente, you need to listen...
        Margaret..Arthur...Katie...All your answers will go on these
        sheets. Where do your answers go?

White male continues to be belligerent; Hernan finally takes him to join a group.

Hernan:. Quit playing Mr. Hardhead and join this group.

J (to whole class): When you come back in, start this assignment.

Scripting and Taping Combination Sample

Today is the day that report cards are distributed to students.

<u>Nov. 15, 1984/Vance/SS</u>:

The class reviews the questions answered from the previous day and continues with other questions on the study guide. The teacher uses directives to focus instruction, to maintain control through the enforcement of rules, to focus thinking and recall. The period consists of determining whether there is to be a quiz (as Mrs. Vance announced yesterday as the class was leaving), review, new questions, announcement of test for following day. Margaret refrains from note-passing today, perhaps a result of her grade on the report card yesterday. There is little bidding from the black females; there interaction is teacher nomination, primarily.

<u>Determination of quiz for today</u>:

Many of the voices on tape are black female speakers, some of whom

I can recognize.

V:    Get your notes out and leave them where they are. We're going to review what we talked about yesterday--see how much you remember...

BF:   I don't remember anything.

V:    I hope it's everything...(some buzz among students) Pardon? Margaret: We goin' to have a test today?

V:    Test today?

Boy:  You said a quiz...

Student: Tomorrow.

another student: Tomorrow.

V:    We'll have to see how far we get...I'll let you know at the end of the period...whether we'll have one tomorrow or not.

<u>We</u>, caretaker, one who is in control and must control others? e.g. Heath? Interestingly, it is the BF (black females) who rarely bid or interact in class who are the most concerned about the quiz; perhaps, they have the most "to lose" in terms of failing.

## Review and discussion:

V:  Ok, how many tribes lived in N.C.?

Discussion, bids, and nominations continue from WF (white females) and WM (white males) and BM (black male) students, Oscar, Sandy, and Daniel. At 12:29 (class begins at 12:20) Mrs. Vance directs a question to a BF for the first time this period:

V:     Margaret, can you give me the years for the Paleo period?

Margaret:  (Silence)

V:     What were the dates on that?

Margaret:  10,000?

V:     Ok, 10,000 B.C. to about when?

Margaret:  (Silence)

V:  Ok, Abby, help her out, please.

Abby:  8,000.

V:     Ok, 8,000

A pattern of calling on the BF's in some type of order?  The teacher called on , directly after calling on Margaret and Abby.  Then one WF, and then Joan, then Paul WM, then Ann.  Within the nomination of Joan, the pattern of referring to another student's answer appears, thus directing the focus of thinking:

V:     What do you think, Joan, about farming?  Do you think they were farmers...grew their own vegetables...and fruits?

Joan: Yeah.

V:     Ok, what did Carlotta just say?  She said they were wanderers, didn't stay in one place very long...Do you want to change your answer?

Joan: (Silence)

V:     Ok, Paul

They exchange questions and answers and then the teacher again makes reference to Carlotta's answer:

V:     ...I repeat again. Carlotta said that they were wanderers

(emphasis). Do you think they were also farmers?

As Paul gets the answer right, the teacher commends him with, "Very good. Right," and moves on to the fact that they were meat eaters and calls on two more BF's, Ann and Katie.

V:     Uh, what was the animal, uh, Ann, that they hunted for...animal?

Ann:   (giggles)

V:     Pigs, cows?

A:     (giggles)

V:     Ross

R:     Mammoth.

V:     What was the mammoth. What was the mammoth, Katie?

Katie:    I don't know.

WM answers

After calling on WF, she agains calls on a BF:

V:     Where do mammoths live today, _____?

After moving to call on other students, the teacher pauses to see which students have not answered questions and realizes that Tony BM has not bid or been nominated. Tony is very shy, quiet. During the exchange with Tony, Sally and Joan are nominated. Mrs. Vance struggles to help Tony find the answer to the question. In addition, other students answer even when the question is directed to Tony, Sandy (BM).

As the class continues and finishes the review, the teacher uses directives to move into the next section and questions:

V:     Ok, yesterday, I told you we were going to have this chart, and I wanted you to keep it going as we went along. This is basically what we just talked about, these two things. Now, we're going on to the third one, the Woodland Period.

BF chorus:

BF#1:  Do you want us to write this down?

BF#2:  We supozed to take notes on this?

BF#3:  We have to get this down.

V:    I said yesterday it would be a good idea so you can compare; you have this out on a sheet of paper...Make it..turn it sideways, your paper, and make a chart so as you go across you'll be able to compare...

Again, we see a concern for "following rules of a 'good student'" which are particularly important when report card grades are so freshly in mind.

During the next part, there are several directives about raising hands before speaking.  It does not apply to the BF's who are not raising hands, but it does apply to one WF, example:

V:    What was that comment you made before?  I ignored you because you didn't raise your hand.

WF:   I said it.

V:    I know you said it. I didn't call on you because you didn't raise your hand.

Another rule, don't talk and disturb others so that they cannot hear, example:

V:    Describe three things about their villages; this is number?

S:    22?

V:    22, Tony.

Tony: (silence)

V:    Teddy (WM)

(Teddy begins his answer)

V:    Sorry, I can't hear you; somebody's talking. (pause) Ok, go ahead.

(this is also giving a directive to one person but its command is for someone else, Heath '83).

another example:

V:    I can't hear you; there's other people talking that shouldn't be (said to Sandy (BM) but meant for Paul (WM) who did not take the directive)

V:    Sandy, wait a minute, Paul has to interrupt. He has something very important to say. Go ahead, Paul.

Paul: No, I don't.

The class continues, with few bids, if any,from BF's. The teacher does take a note from 1 BF. Margaret asks Abby quietly for help. Sally receives a question later as does Abby.

V:      What would be the purpose of having a fence,uh, Patty?

Patty: To keep out animals and other...

V:      Ok, to keep out unfriendly animals and do what else, Abby?

Abby:  To keep out unfriendly people.

V:      Ok, good. To keep unwanted visitors out.

V:      What's the date of the Mississippian Period, uh Sally?

Sally: 1000 AD to 1550 AD.

V:      The Mississippian Period?

Male student:  That's right.

V:      Ok, 1000 AD to 1550 AD.

At 12:59 Katie is sucking her thumb.
Shortly after this the teacher again attempts to get Tony to answer, unsuccessfully, after an unsuccessful attempt to get Sally to define agriculture.

V:  What's agriculture, Sally?

Sally:     (silence)

V:      Sally, if I said that I was going to go to college and I was going to major in agriculture or agriculture is my occupation, what am I talking about?

S:      (silence)

V:      Have you heard the word agriculture before?

S:      (acknowledges not hearing it)
The teacher next asks Joan who doesn't know; Teddy WM answers.

The defining of basic words continues with intensive, community. Margaret is nominated to define community.

V:     Uh, Kristy said larger communities and so they developed
       particular skills. What does community mean, uh, Margaret?

Margaret:  More people in a group?

V:     Very good.  More people in a group.
The tape goes off at 1:15.  All other directives/exchanges are scripted.

Another rule, having textbook opened when told to:
V:     I don't see everybody's book opened.

V:     You're not looking at your books, and you're not giving me
       intelligent language. Look in your books. I'm waiting for everyone

       to put their hands up.


       Tomorrow, you will have a quiz.

The class ends.

Minute by Minute Field Notes
February 1, 1985
Language Arts, Mr. Hernan

Minutes

0       Teacher is standing by the side of the room.  Much class
noise, with Mary's voice heard above the others.  Teacher begins to
tell class today's agenda:  vocabulary test and a pop test on the
story read on Monday.  Margaret protests that she hasn't read it.
Carlotta comes in bring books from another teacher and the class
greets her--Ann says both "hello" and "good-bye."

1       Teacher goes back to agenda and informs class of which book
they had read their story in.  There are protests.  Teacher gives
directives.  Margaret says that this isn't fair.  Teacher responds
that all were here on Monday.  Margaret continues to protest, as do
Ann and Mary.

2       Margaret makes herself heard and explains that she was in the
office.  Teacher says, "Listen," and pauses;  they all listen for a
moment.  Then Mary begins more fussing to which all going into.
Teacher moves to the board to write up the story's page number;
Vicki asks Margaret what page it's on.  Teacher responds, "33."

3       Margaret and Mary mouth and fuss while teacher writes on the
board;  some look up to see what he's writing.  Kristy, Douglas,
and Abby are merely observers.  Vicki says for the teacher to leave
the vocabulary words up there on the board.  Margaret and Vicki
continue to fuss about the quiz on the story.

4       Mary makes her voice heard in the fuss while the teacher is
still at the board, facing the class.  Mary goes up to him.  Ann
gets out of her desk;  Margaret comments and they continue to talk.
Mary goes back to her seat;  teacher turns to write more on the
board.

5       Margaret talks over Vicki while the teacher writes.  Her
topic is staying out of the office so that she can be in class.
Hernan turns to ask her why she was in the office.  Her response
was Mr. wanted to talk over some business;  Vicki mockingly says,
"Business".  All BF's look at Margaret, Abby obviously because of
her desk placement across the room.  Margaret is holding court.
Others inquire as to events surrounding this;  Elizabeth enters the
room and goes to the teacher's desk, assume she has been to get her
certificate from the assistant principal that says she was
nominated for Super Spartan.  These nominees are going to attend a
movie this period;  Elizabeth says she is a nominee.  Elizabeth
talks to Margaret.  Vicki looks at Elizabeth.  Teacher says in
response to question about leaving words up on the board that he
will leave them up.  Elizabeth chants the letters and announces in

chant what she will do with the words up, spelling them out.  She
then goes to her desk, placing her Super Spartan certificate on the
desk behind her.

6        Teacher tells class to get their definitions out and tells
them that he will help them;  he begins to go up and down the rows
seeing that they are getting out their definitions.  He also tells
them that they can study with their neighbors.  Then he goes to his
desk .50.  Douglas studies;  others are not really studying, merely
talking about it.

7        Margaret's voice is loud enough to be heard above others and
says, "Come on over here," (missed to whom this was said).  The
assistant principal announces on the intercom that Super Spartan
nominees may come to the auditorium to see the movie.  Class talks
through the announcements, especially Margaret, Vicki, Mary, and
Ann who are seated near to each other and near to the teacher's
desk.  Mary asks about going;  teacher says to Elizabeth that he
will see her later.  Elizabeth say that she wants to take her test
(remember the F on the report card in LA).

8        Teacher asks Mary when she was nominated.  Vicki makes
comments that she could be president.  Margaret retorts that since
she has put up with this school for a year and a half that she is a
Super Spartan.  Elizabeth turns her desk around to take the test.
Black girls continue to talk;  Mary advance the possibility that
the movie is "Ole Yeller" or "Lassie."  Vicki repeats what Mary has
said and laughs.

9        Teacher has moved over in front of Abby to give Elizabeth her
test, pauses to tell them (group of talkers) to be quiet.  Ann
asks, "Why?"  Abby tells her that Elizabeth is taking a test.  Mary
responds that she wants to take mine's, too.  Teacher repeats,
"Mine's too?"  Margaret says that she wants to take hers.  Teachers
continues to ask why s on mine.  Margaret (initiator) and Vicki
join in with the teacher correcting Mary.

10       Teacher still at Elizabeth's left calls Vicki down.  Mary
looks at Vicki, then the teacher, and changes the subject and
begins to talk about her report card.  Abby tries to give advice to
Vicki.

11       Teacher still giving Elizabeth instructions about the test.
Across the room, Margaret has Mary's report card, looking at it,
and begins to comment about a D in reading, disparagingly as though
nobody makes a D in reading.  She then sings, "Dum-de-dum-dum."
BF's except for Abby and Elizabeth chime in to sing on the last
dum.  Mary begins to try to defend herself.  Margaret goes on with
D in general math;  Mary continues to defend herself.  They are
eyeing each other and being watched by Vicki, Ann, and Abby--from

across the room. Ann continues to look at Margaret as is Mary. Teacher stops helping Elizabeth, looks up, and calls out, "Mary," three times before he gets her attention and tells her that Katie's (absent) mother came to school today. "So what," responds Mary. Teacher continues about Katie's mouth. While this is going on, Margaret is looking out the window. Mary says, "Ain't anything she can do about it." Teacher retorts, "Sure there is."

12       Ann asks why Mr. 's name is listed on her schedule. Margaret returns to subject of grades; Mary joins in. A quintet is developing with Margaret as the leader/challenger; Ann, respondent; Mary, defender; Vicki, chimer-in; Abby, on-looker. Elizabeth is still taking her test; Kristy (WF) is a silent listener. Teacher is still standing by Elizabeth, steadily inching to her desk.

13       On the other side of the room Margaret begins a new theme, related to the older son of her aunt and this son's grades. Her aunt went to school about her son's bad work in school, but good report card grades. Both Ann and Mary respond. Abby and Vicki watch and listen to them. Elizabeth finishes her test and goes to the movie.

14       Teacher tells class to clear their desks; they continue to talk. He says it again--and once more. With his hands on the test, he closes the classroom door. Teacher say, "Everything off desks." Mary is still talking; some clearing is going on, but Mary is looking for her pencil. Teacher begins handing out the tests, one by one, interacts with Mary about his being the "white sheep of her family." Class laughs heartily at his joke. Mary still scurrying around trying to find her pencil. Teacher continues that he cannot wait until they read Romeo and Juliet to which Mary responds by singing. At this point, the teacher says that she is the worst singer, other than Katie, in all his classes. Mary responds,"Mrs. taught me how to sing." Teacher responds,"Tried to teach you to sing." Mary pulls a "Hernan" and spells taught, letter by letter. Teacher continues handing out test papers and says, "Very good, spelled correctly." Ann gets into the act and says to him, "Hey, cuz." to which all laugh. Teacher says, "I'm cuz to her."

15       Margaret now joins in with, "Hey, Mr. Hernan." to which he shoots back, "Hey." Students are beginning to look over the test; Vicki points out that he's changed the definitions. However, the teacher defends this with the fact that he's left the words up on the board today. Silence. All in the class are working on the test.

16        Silence continues with all working.  .20 Ann is changing an answer and has her head down.  Teacher has moved to the side of the room where Ann, Margaret, Vicki, and Mary are sitting.

17        Still silence with heads bent.  .46, Abby looks at him as he reads the question, then writes.

Same silent, working pattern with no questions until:

22        .5 Abby and Vicki look at him as question is read.  Mary turns to look at him as he finishes.  .53 Kristy shifts her body around facing him.

23        Ann is looking as question is asked/read.  Vicki is lying across her desk.  Margaret is drawing.  Unsure about Abby.  .7 teacher moves to the board and writes M.A.D.

24        Mary, Abby, Ann, Vicki look at him--not the board.  He gives directive, "It's up there."  .8 Abby looks at him while he is reading and sucks her thumb.  Ann looks at Margaret who looks at Vicki.

25        Tony looks at teacher as he reads .9 Teacher begins moving around, taking up the papers one by one, starting with Kristy.

26        Mary asks, "Can I?" and teacher corrects to, "May I?" explaining the difference in meanings.  Ann shifts in her desk looking at Mary.  Teacher moves over to his desk to begin grading papers, telling the class to be getting together their vocabulary work and stories.  Mary begins talking about mine's on Monday; both Margaret and the teacher correct her with Margaret's deep mine.

27        Vicki gets hers together and gets up and starts to the edge of the teacher's desk to staple hers, checks Ann's along the way.  Vicki then moves over to the stapler, staples her;  Ann gets up.

28        Abby gets up and moves to the stapler;  Vicki is still there.  Ann has gotten back in her chair and shifts her body around to Margaret for conversation.  Tony looks on.  Teacher announces that Douglas has done well.  Vicki walks back to Vicente's desk and grabs his paper.  Mary is getting up to staple.  Vicki and Vicente exchange words.  Teacher announces that Abby did well.

29        Vicente responds with a wisecrack to Vicki;  she struts off down the aisle and gives him an obscene gesture,"the bird," as she takes his paper up to staple.  Margaret has begun leading a conversation on the other side of the room.  The teacher announces

that Vicki made a 95; she responds gleefully, claps for herself, and the others join in. Mary makes a comment about Vicki's haircut.

30        Margaret makes a comment about Vicki's hair's on fire, which Vicki hotly denies as the others laugh. Mary rushes to the teacher's desk and back. Margaret makes more comments and laughs. Vicki sits down in front of Margaret; Tony looks at them as does Abby who has returned to her desk.

31        Ann sits sideways facing Margaret and Vicki. Kristy made 105. Mary goes up to the teacher's desk and back and asks Margaret about taking paper. Margaret replies. All of the class look at them but Vicente and Douglas.

32        Vicki sits sideways facing Ann. Kristy is also facing Margaret, but the conversation is among Margaret, Ann, Vicki, and Mary. Ann goes up to the teacher's desk and back. Vicki is talking and looking out the window.

33        Conversation continues. Teacher says that he will go over the extra-credit questions. Also, announces that one of their good friends, (WM), won't be with them any more. Vicki says, "Who cares?" Mary asks where he will be; teacher responds, "Where they exclude people." Then they know and Margaret begins to tell a story about the school; teacher says, "OK," Margaret continues. From the back, Vicente asks for his score; teacher doesn't hear him and begins a question/answer format.

34        Abby answers a question. Teacher nominates Douglas. As teacher goes over the questions, Douglas and Abby look at the teacher; others don't. Mary, in the midst of Q/A, complains and explains that she was "fixin'" to say that; teacher comes down on "fixin'" and asks Margaret if she believes that. Teacher tells her to put down what you think. Mary concedes with, "Ok."

35        Teacher continues with Q/A. Margaret makes comments about teacher's umbrella on his desk, which he stands and twirls. Vicki makes a comment about the question. Abby asks another question. Mary informs the teacher that he's skipped a question; he tells her that he has the questions in front of him; he hasn't skipped any. Mary reminds him that he had said to let it all out; he responds, "In the right order."

36        All look at the board as the teacher asks what those letters stand for. Abby answers the questions; Ann looks at the teacher and says that she put that down, "You just can't see it." Margaret volunteers that it was invisible ink and launches into a discussion about a Charlotte murder; all eyes turn to her. Mary responds.

37     Margaret continues graphically with her story. Teacher
questions her. Mary interacts. All look at Margaret; teacher
makes comments and asks Margaret questions.

38     Vicki, Ann, and Mary interact. Abby listens and watches, as
do all but Vicente, who watches intermittently. Teacher continues
to direct his questions to Margaret, who continues as all listen,
watch her, and interact appreciatively. Vicente asks about his
test score again--unheard--then finally heard and given.

39     In the same vein, teacher tells a story about teaching in
north-west Charlotte where someone decided to steal his bike while
he was riding down the street. All look at him and howl. Abby
makes a contribution. Teacher then initiates a story about a
housing project, in which he drops Margaret's name in the sentence.

40     Teacher continues telling about being hit on the backside by
an iron pipe while riding there. All listen, watch, comment;
Margaret says she's black and is afraid there. Vicki, Ann, Mary,
Douglas, and Abby join in.

41     Margaret launches into one of her own stories; Vicki
responds and there is a mention of fighting. Teacher stops them
and asks Margaret to explain to Mrs. Pember and myself why in
junior high school that guys never fight--always the girls. They
glance at me; uproar breaks out. Margaret offers her explanation,
leaning forward to tell about jealousy and boys.

42     All look at Margaret but Kristy and Vicente. Margaret
continues and offers an example about Joan, her friend, recounting
details of a fight. Vicente looks up now and laughs. Mary offers
a quick comment as does Vicki, "Get all pot-bellied up." Mary,
Vicki, and Margaret are talking. Margaret's voice is heard over
all.

43     Teacher asks Mary to explain "pot-bellied" but others
interrupt her, including Margaret. Mary keeps on trying and said
she's take it all the way to the Supreme Court to make a guy
support her and her baby. Margaret, Vicki, Ann, and Mary are the
participants.

44     Abby stands up and moves to the front of Ann to have better
contact and to try to get her bit in. Margaret continues, "He be
telling you that he loves you." She offers more explanations;
Vicki chimes in and adds to the commentary. Teacher continues to
glance at me intermittently; I sense that Kristy, Vicente, and
Douglas are trying to be nonchalant, but they are also unsure as to
what is coming up in the discussion next. They make no

contributions to the discussion. Margaret is using hand motions and bending her body to her listeners, bends over to Ann when making a point.

45      Teacher asks about Margaret and her boyfriend or former boyfriend. Margaret, Vicki, Ann, and Mary are in a tight wedge, facing each other, with Abby still standing on the outside. All laugh and Margaret is the "center." Teacher asks what about the baby. Mary and Margaret offer explanations.

46      Vicki keeps talking; Margaret regains the floor. Abby tries to tell something. Vicki keeps on talking and regains the floor with, "My mama done told me...." Tape goes off with a click.

47      They realize it's on tape as Abby verbalizes it. Abby asks me if I want her to eject it; I say yes. She ejects it and brings it over to me. Abby finally, after returning in front of Ann, gets her turn. All look at her and she tells the group what the preacher said. Margaret speaks to Vicki; others look at Margaret.

48      Teacher again addresses a question to Margaret. Abby pops her thumb in her mouth, still in front of the group. Mary responds to Vicki.

49      Mary begins a story about an incident at Bojangles. Teacher asks some questions.

50      Mary continues to talk. Margaret and Vicki take over the conversation. .46 Elizabeth returns from the movie, sits down, and says it was produced in the 1800's--so bad she'd rather be in class.

51.23   Teacher makes a contribution. Mary returns to Bojangles. Margaret begins; students look at her--not the teacher.

52      Margaret hushes the others who try to interrupt and continues with some interaction with Mary and Vicki. .52 Elizabeth enters the conversation.

53      Vicki regains the floor and tells who has a baby; resumes the conversation about Bojangles and dirty rice's "tasting like dog food." .28 Elizabeth--up on her feet facing the group--asks Vicki how she knows how dog food tastes. All howl appreciatively; Abby crosses the room and clasps her hand, saying, "That's good."

54   Elizabeth is still on her feet and is repeating a commercial. Abby has gone back in front of the group. .24 Vicki has a short turn; .35 Margaret takes over. .51 Elizabeth begins on Vicente, "Do the bird."

55   Bell rings.

APPENDIX B

FIGURE B-1
Map of Sedgefield Junior High School
2700 Dorchester Place, Charlotte, North Carolina 28209
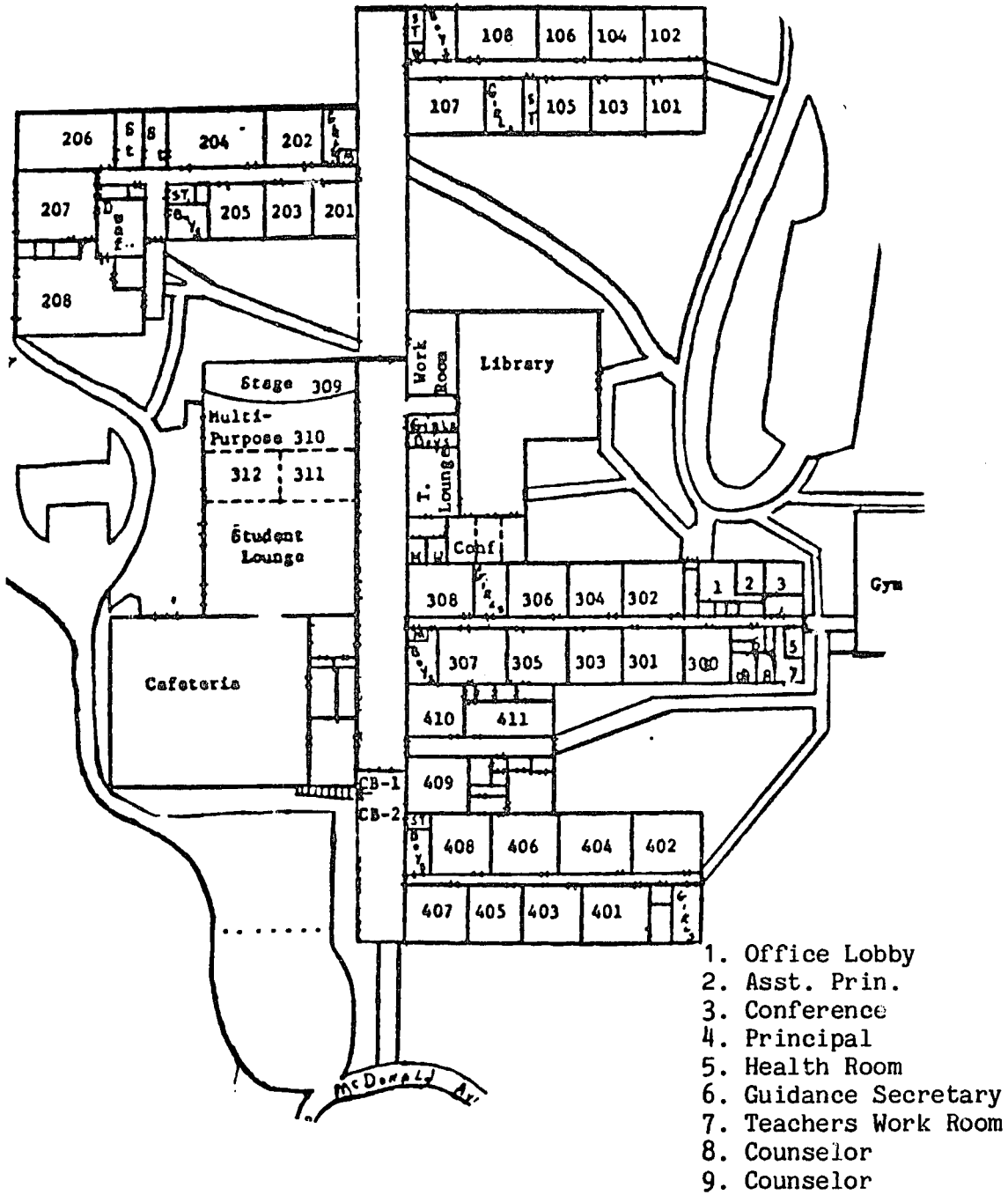


1. Office Lobby
2. Asst. Prin.
3. Conference
4. Principal
5. Health Room
6. Guidance Secretary
7. Teachers Work Room
8. Counselor
9. Counselor

TABLE B-1
Neighborhood Distribution of Students in the Sedgefield
Attendance Zone by Gender, Race, and Academic Placement

| Class | Unknown or Out of District | Myers Park Dilworth | Sedgefield | Wilmore | Brookhill Village | Savannah Woods | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A.G. LANGUAGE ARTS | 0 | 30 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 30 |
| White Females | 0 | 21 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 21 |
| White Males | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Black Females | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Black Males | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | |
| SOCIAL STUDIES | 4 | 4 | 12 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 28 |
| White Females | 1 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| White Males | 1 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Black Females | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 7 |
| Black Males | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 5 |
| Lumbee Indian | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | | | | | | |
| LANGUAGE ARTS WRITING LAB | 2 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 13 |
| White Females | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| White Males | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Black Females | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 8 |
| Black Males | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

**TABLE B-2**

Neighborhood Characteristics of the Sedgefield Attendance Zone

| Neighborhood | Myers Park | Dilworth | Sedgefield | Wilmore | Brookhill Village | Southside | Savannah Woods |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Family Mean Income | $32,045 | $21,315 | $19,596 | $13,110 | $7,601 | $4,060 | $4,198 |
| % Below Poverty | 1.2% | 10.3% | 11.8% | 24.5% | 44.1% | 64.3% | N/A |
| Median Age | 39.3 | 36.7 | 32.4 | 28.5 | 27.6 | 28.3 | N/A |
| Persons/Family | 2.77 | 2.83 | 2.84 | 3.57 | 3.23 | 3.41 | 3.30 |
| % Black | 1.3% | 12.0% | 1.6% | 84.8% | 99.7% | 99.3% | 98.0% |
| % Public Assistance | 1.1% | 9.7% | 2.9% | 18.1% | 21.3% | 48.0% | N/A |
| % Unemployment | 3.2% | 3.7% | 2.7% | 8.9% | 8.9% | 51.6% | 72.2% |
| Households Headed By Females | 34.4% | 32.5% | 40.0% | 35.6% | 53.8% | 88.5% | 91.8% |

Note: N/A = Not Available

All information comes from the United States Census Bureau except information on Savannah Woods which comes from the Charlotte Housing Authority.

FIGURE B-2
Map of Neighborhoods in the Sedgefield Attendance Zone

TABLE B-3
Girls' Indications, by Neighborhood, of Places They Frequent

| Location | Myers Park Dilworth | Sedgefield | Wilmore Savannah Woods Brookhill Village |
|---|---|---|---|
| Beach | 13 | 1 | 0 |
| Mountains | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| Movies | 6 | 1 | 0 |
| Godfather's | 6 | 0 | 4 |
| Queen's Park | 0 | 4 | 8 |
| Shopping Centers | 5 | 9 | 7 |
|     Park Road | 4 | 2 | 1 |
|     South Park | 1 | 5 | 0 |
|     Eastland | 0 | 2 | 5 |
|     Tryon | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Church | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Freedom Park | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Skating Rink | 0 | 1 | 5 |

TABLE B-4
Girls' Indications, by Neighborhood, of Out-of-School Activities

| Activity | Myers Park Dilworth | Sedgefield | Wilmore Savannah Woods Brookhill Village |
|---|---|---|---|
| Beach | 13 | 1 | 0 |
| Mountains | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| Movies | 6 | 1 | 0 |
| Godfather's | 6 | 0 | 4 |
| Queen's Park | 0 | 4 | 8 |
| Shopping Centers | 5 | 9 | 7 |
|     Park Road | 4 | 2 | 1 |
|     South Park | 1 | 5 | 0 |
|     Eastland | 0 | 2 | 5 |
|     Tryon | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Church | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Freedom Park | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Skating Rink | 0 | 1 | 5 |

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TABLE B-5
Girls' Indications, by Neighborhood, of In-School Activities

| Location | Myers Park Dilworth | Sedgefield | Wilmore Savannah Woods Brookhill Village |
|---|---|---|---|
| Track | 6 | 0 | 1 |
| Executive Council | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Student Council | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Cheerleader | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Softball | 4 | 0 | 1 |
| Newspaper | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Basketball* | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Chorus | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| Band | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Orchestra | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Industrial Arts Club | 0 | 5 | 0 |

* One native American girl who lived outside the district also participated in basketball.

TABLE B-6
Girls' Indications, by Academic Placement, of In-School Activities

| Activity | AG White | SS White | SS Black | SSNA | LA/WL White | LA/WL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Track | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Executive Council | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Student Council | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Cheerleader | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Softball | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Newspaper | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Basketball | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Chorus | 3 | 1 | 3* | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Band | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Orchestra | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Industrial Arts Club | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |

* These three girls are also counted in the LA/WL figures.
LEGEND: AG = Academically Gifted
        SS = Social Studies
        LA/WL = Language Arts/Writing Lab
        NA = Native American

FIGURE B-3
Friendship Clusters in Language Arts and in Writing Lab
Langauge Arts - Mr. Hernan
Writing Lab - Mrs. Johnson

SALLY

MARY

KATIE

VICKIE

ARTHUR

ELIZABETH

ANN

VINCENTE

TONY

MARGARET

ABBY

DOUGLAS

TERRY

KRISTY

HENRI

○ - BLACK FEMALES      ——— - MUTUAL CLAIM
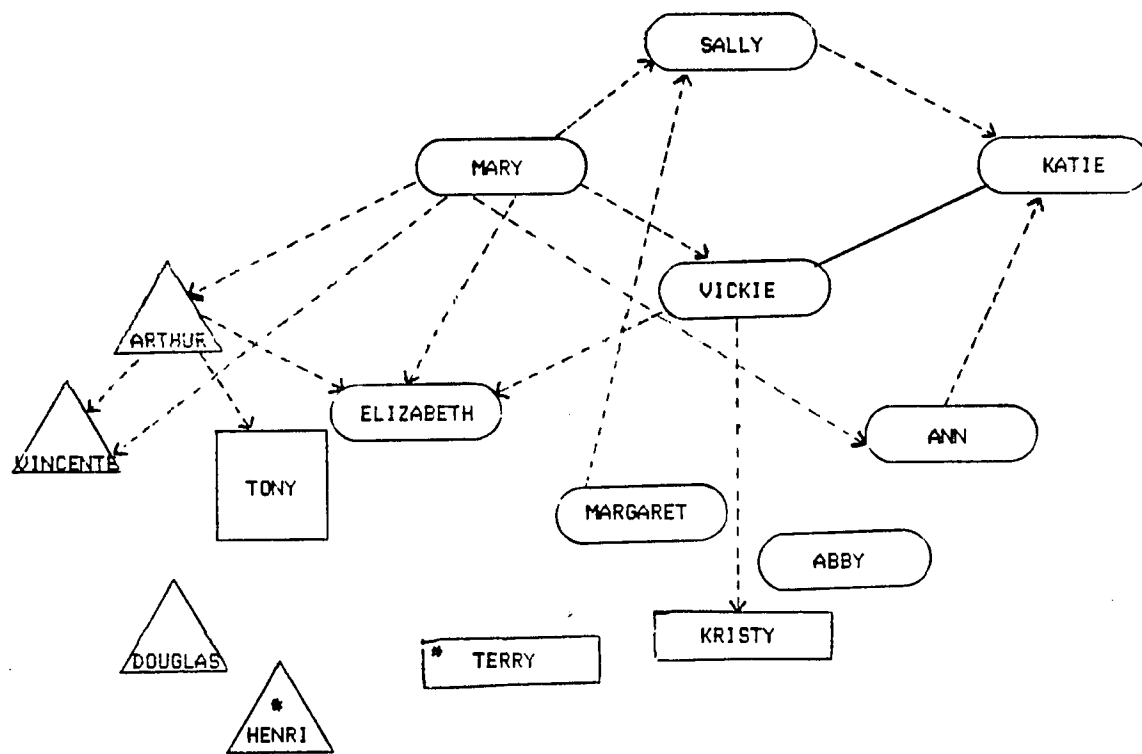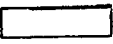
△ - BLACK MALES      - - - - - - - UNILATERAL CLAIM

▭ - WHITE FEMALES

▢ - WHITE MALES

\* - Students not interviewed (withdrew)

FIGURE B-4
Friendship Clusters in Social Studies
Social Studies - Mrs. Vance



☐ - BLACK MALES

△ - WHITE MALES

▬▬▬ - MUTUAL CLAIM

▬ ▬ ▬ - UNILATERAL CLAIM

⬭ - BLACK FEMALES

▭ - WHITE FEMALES

◯ - NATIVE AMERICAN FEMALES
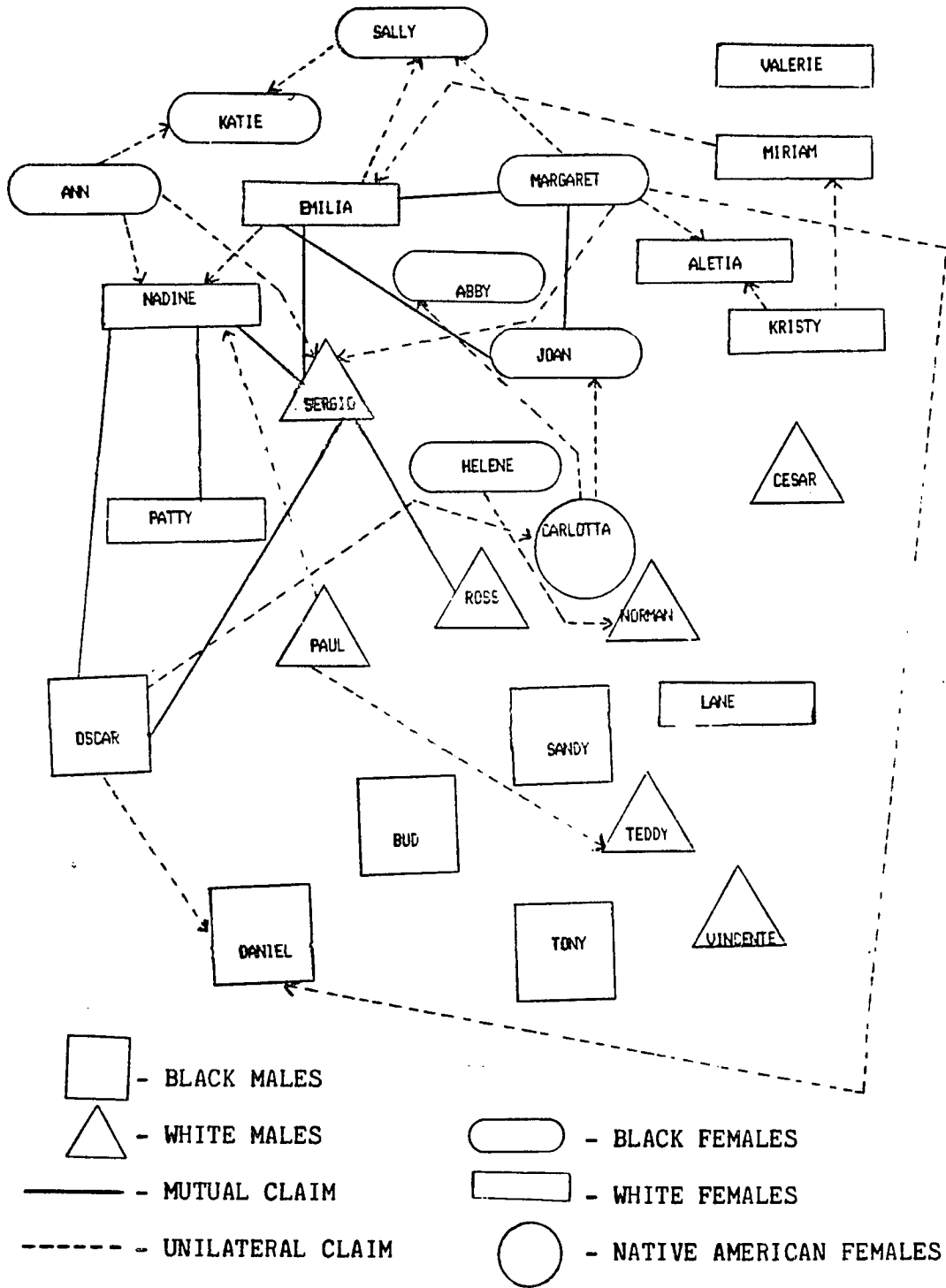
FIGURE B-5
Friendship Clusters of Academically Gifted Students -
Academically Gifted Links to Students in either
Social Studies, Language Arts or Writing Lab



----- UNILATERAL CLAIM

◯ - AG WHITE GIRLS

△ - AG WHITE BOYS

▭ - SOCIAL STUDIES WHITE GIRLS

──── - MUTUAL CLAIM

▭ - SOCIAL STUDIES OR
LANGUAGE ARTS
BLACK GIRLS

□ - SOCIAL STUDIES
BLACK BOYS

◇ - SOCIAL STUDIES
WHITE BOYS
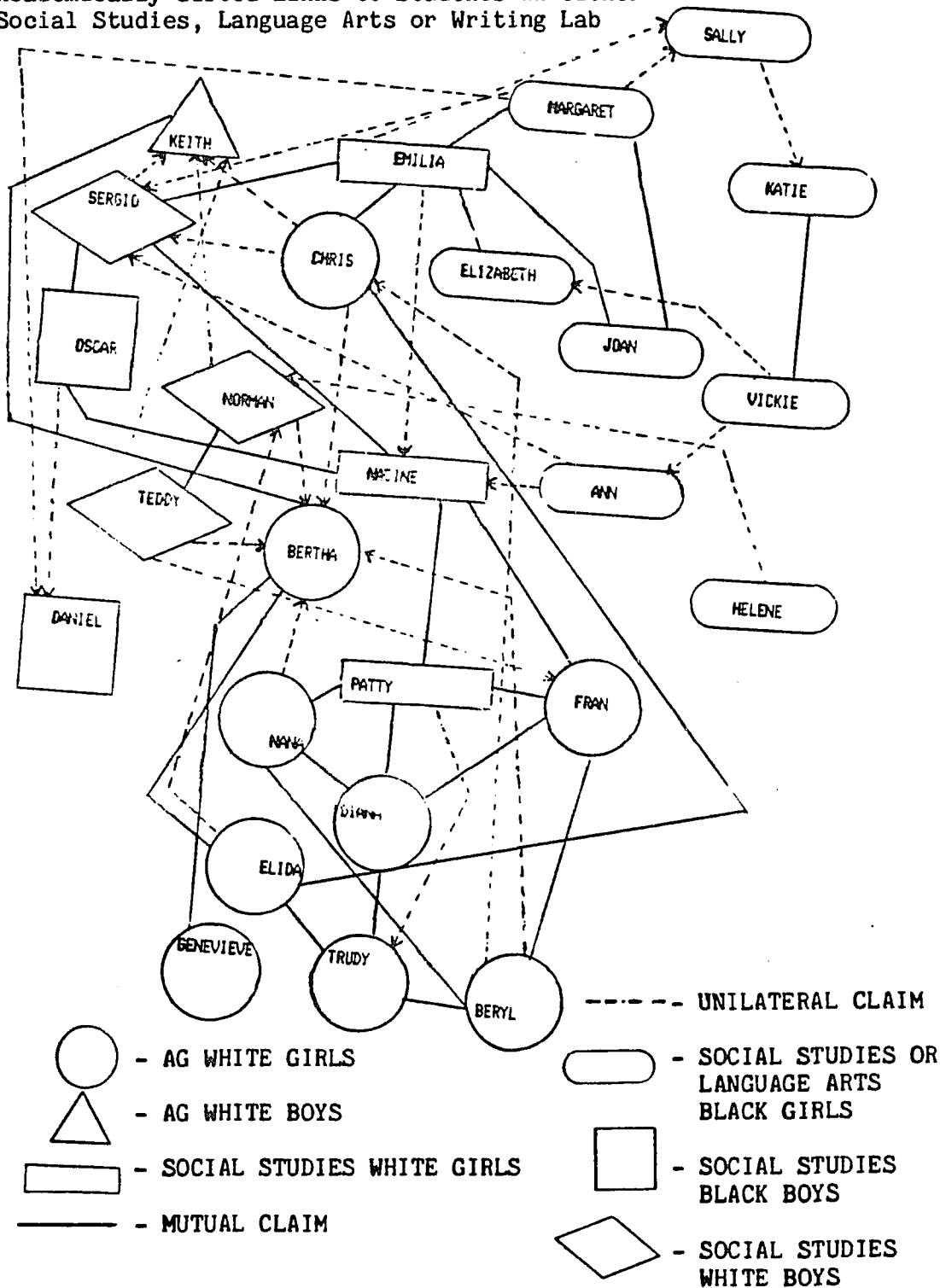
APPENDIX C

FIGURE C-1
Friendship Clusters and Social Structures
Black Girls' Link to Girls Outside their
Race and to Acknowledged School Leaders
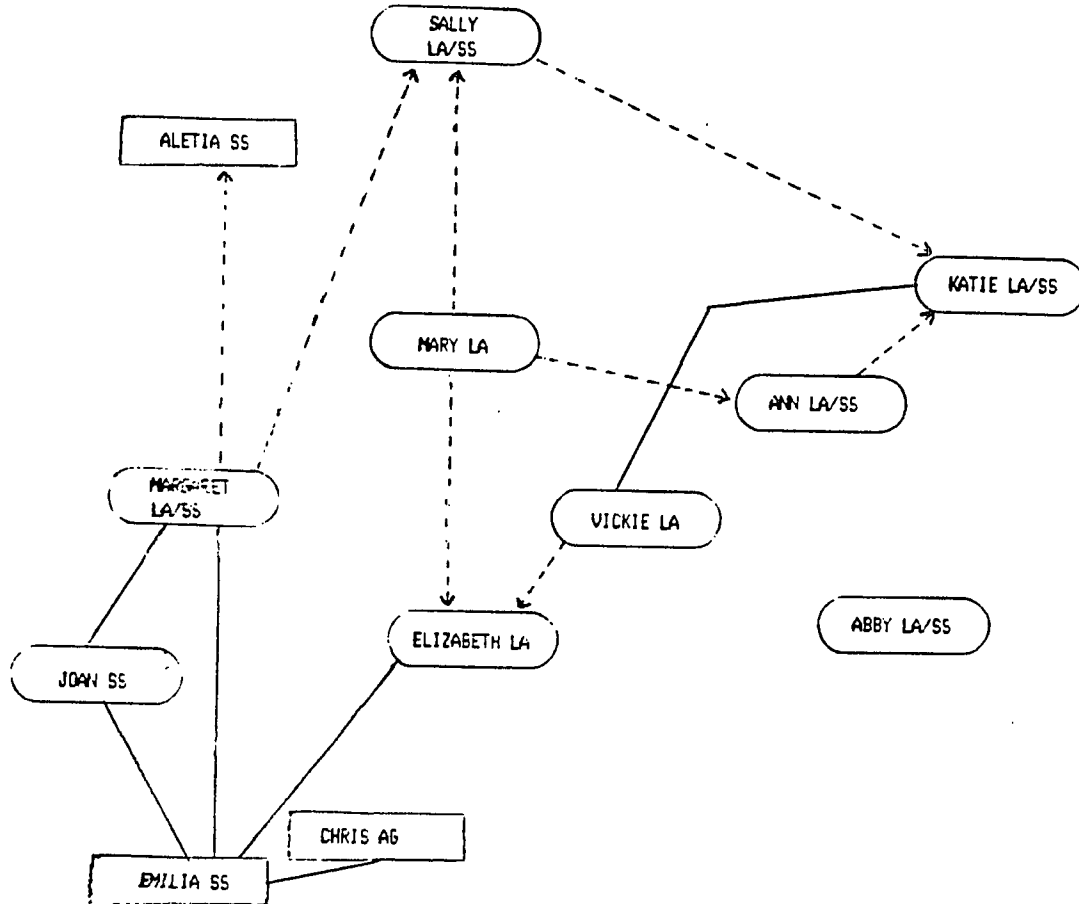


- BLACK FEMALES

- WHITE FEMALES

——— - MUTUAL CLAIM

------ - UNILATERAL CLAIM

LA/SS - LANGUAGE ARTS/SOCIAL STUDIES

AG - ACADEMICALLY GIFTED

APPENDIX D

TABLE D-1
Totals of Ask Variants in Interviews and in Classrooms
by Race and by Gender

| Students | ask/æsk/ | ast/æst/ | ax/æks/ | axt/ækst/ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| INTERVIEW | | | | |
| White | | | | |
| Male | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Female | 12 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Lumbee | | | | |
| Female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Black | | | | |
| Male | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Female | 4 | 7 | 3 | 26 |
| | | | | |
| CLASSROOM | | | | |
| White | | | | |
| Male | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Female | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Lumbee | | | | |
| Female | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Black | | | | |
| Male | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Female | 2 | 2 | 0 | 6 |
| | | | | |
| Teachers: | | | | |
| INTERVIEW | | | | |
| White | | | | |
| Male | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Female | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Black | | | | |
| Male | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Female | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | |
| CLASSROOM | | | | |
| White | | | | |
| Male | 5 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Female | 14 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Black | | | | |
| Male | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Female | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | |
| TOTALS: | 43 | 17 | 3 | 35 |

GRAND TOTAL: 98

TABLE D-2
Charlotte and Mecklenburg County Population[1], by Race, Since 1730

| Year | Total | White | Free Black | Slave Black |
|------|-------|-------|------------|-------------|
| 1730 | $0^2$ | | | |
| 1754 | $854^3$ | | | |
| 1767 | 8025 | 7377 | | 648 |
| 1790 | 11395 | 9722 | 70 | 1603 |
| 1800 | 10317 | 8371 | $15^4$ | 1931 |
| CHARLOTTE | 122 | 65 | | 57 |
| 1810 | 14272 | 10778 | 34 | 3494 |
| 1830 | 20063 | 12777 | 140 | 7146. |
| 1850 | 13914 | 8285 | 156 | 5473 |

The following figures are all from Charlotte Only.[5]

| Year | Total | White | Free Black |
|------|-------|-------|------------|
| 1870 | 4473 | 2593 | 1880 |
| 1890 | 11551 | 6417 | 5134 |
| 1910 | 34011 | 22259 | 11752 |
| 1930 | 82675 | 57490 | 25163 |
| 1950 | 134042 | 96531 | 37481 |
| 1970 | 241420 | 167287 | 72972 |
| 1980 | 314447 | 212980 | 97627 |

[1] (Crow, 1984; Conner, 1973; U.S. Census, 1790-1980)
[2] All North Carolina inhabitants lived on the Coastal Plain
[3] Includes Indians, women and slaves
[4] Excludes Indians
[5] The figures for total population include all other races

TABLE D-3
Percentages of <u>Ask</u> Variants by Variant and by Student

| Students | <u>ask</u>/æsk/ | <u>ast</u>/æst/ | <u>ax</u>/æks/ | <u>axt</u>/ækst/ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Margaret | 0 | 3 | 0 | 9 |
| Elizabeth | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| Ann | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Vicki | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| Sally | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| Mary | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| Katie | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Abby | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Helene | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Sandy | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| TOTALS: | 6 | 9 | 3 | 3 |
| GRAND TOTAL: | 50 | | | |
| VARIANT % OF GRAND TOTAL: | 12.0 | 18.0 | 6.0 | 64.0 |

TABLE D-4
Totals of <u>Ask</u> Variants by Variant and by Phoneme Following
the Variant

| Consonant | Labial Vd. Stop | Labial Nasals /m/ | Palatal Glides /y/ in you | Glottal Vl. Fricative /h/ in her | Inter-dental Vd. Fricative /th/ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ask/æsk/ | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| ast/æst/ | 1 | 3 | 1 (t)2 | 1 | 0 |
| ax/æks/ | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| axt/ækst/ | 0 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 3 |
| TOTALS: | 2 | 12 | 9 | 8 | 3 |

| Consonant | Alveolar Vd. Stop /d/ | Alveolar Vl. Fricative /s/ | Cons. Vl Cluster /wh/ | Velar Vl. Stop /k/ | Velar Nasal /no/ | Vowels follow: /schwa/ /em/ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ask/æsk/ | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| ast/æst/ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | (t)1 | 1 |
| ax/æks/ | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| axt/ækst/ | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | (t)1 | 4 |
| TOTALS: | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 5 |

GRAND TOTAL:    50

TABLE D-5
Percentages of <u>Ask</u> Variants by Student and by Variant

| Student | Percentage Variant | <u>ask</u>/æsk/ | <u>ast</u>/æst/ | <u>ax</u>/æks/ | <u>axt</u>/ækst/ |
|---------|-------------------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
| Margaret | 24% | 0 | 3 | 0 | 9 |
| Elizabeth | 10% | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| Ann | 6% | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Vicki | 12% | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| Sally | 24% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| Mary | 6% | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| Katie | 2% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Abby | 2% | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Helene | 8% | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Sandy | 4% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Joan | 2% | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| TOTALS: | 100% | 6 | 9 | 3 | 32 |

TABLE E-1
Use of Be Forms by Neighborhood

| | Unconjugated Be | | | | | Invariant Be | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Neighborhood/ Area Residents | is/am/are were deletions | % of 4 | will/would deletions | % of 4 | be 2 | % of 147 | ambiguous | % of 4 |
| Savannah Woods | | | | | | | | |
| Elizabeth | 1 | | 1 | | 16 | | 0 | |
| Sandy | 0 | | 0 | | 3 | | 0 | |
| SUBTOTALS: | 1 | 25.00 | 1 | 25.00 | 19 | 12.93 | 0 | 0.00 |
| Brookhill Village | | | | | | | | |
| Sally | 0 | | 0 | | 19 | | 0 | |
| Margaret | 0 | | 1 | | 45 | | 0 | |
| Katie | 0 | | 0 | | 3 | | 0 | |
| Helene | 0 | | 0 | | 5 | | 1 | |
| Mary | 0 | | 1 | | 8 | | 0 | |
| Bud | 1 | | 0 | | 7 | | 1 | |
| SUBTOTALS: | 1 | 25.00 | 2 | 50.00 | 87 | 59.18 | 2 | 50.00 |
| Wilmore | | | | | | | | |
| Abby | 0 | | 0 | | 4 | | 0 | |
| Ann | 1 | | 1 | | 11 | | 0 | |
| Vicki | 0 | | 0 | | 22 | | 2 | |
| Tony | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| SUBTOTALS: | 1 | 25.00 | 1 | 25.00 | 37 | 25.17 | 2 | 50.00 |
| Segdefield | | | | | | | | |
| Oscar | 0 | | 0 | | 4 | | 0 | |
| Daniel | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| SUBTOTALS: | 0 | 0.00 | 0 | 0.00 | 4 | 2.72 | 0 | 0.00 |
| Unknown (tuituion) | | | | | | | | |
| Joan | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| Girl in SS | 1 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| SUBTOTALS: | 1 | 25.00 | 0 | 0.00 | 0 | 0.00 | 0 | 0.00 |
| TOTALS: | 4 | 100.00 | 4 | 100.00 | 147 | 100.00 | 4 | 100.00 |

TABLE E-2
Use of Be Forms by Student and by Gender

| | Unconjugated Be | | | | Invariant Be | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | is/am/are were deletions | % of 4 | will/would deletions | % of 4 | be 2 | % of 147 | ambiguous | % of 4 | total be's |
| FEMALES | | | | | | | | | |
| Elizabeth | 1 | | 1 | | 16 | | 0 | | 18 |
| Sally | 0 | | 0 | | 19 | | 0 | | 19 |
| Margaret | 0 | | 1 | | 45 | | 0 | | 46 |
| Katie | 0 | | 0 | | 3 | | 0 | | 3 |
| Helene | 0 | | 0 | | 5 | | 1 | | 6 |
| Mary | 0 | | 1 | | 8 | | 0 | | 9 |
| Abby | 0 | | 0 | | 4 | | 0 | | 4 |
| Ann | 1 | | 1 | | 11 | | 0 | | 13 |
| Vicki | 0 | | 0 | | 22 | | 2 | | 24 |
| Joan | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 |
| Girl/SS | 1 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 1 |
| SUBTOTALS: | 3 | 75.00 | 4 | 100.00 | 133 | 90.48 | 3 | 75.0 | 143 |
| MALES | | | | | | | | | |
| Sandy | 0 | | 0 | | 3 | | 0 | | 3 |
| Bud | 1 | | 0 | | 7 | | 1 | | 9 |
| Tony | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 |
| Oscar | 0 | | 0 | | 4 | | 0 | | 4 |
| Daniel | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 |
| SUBTOTALS: | 1 | 25.00 | 0 | 0.00 | 14 | 9.52 | 1 | 25.00 | 16 |
| TOTALS: | 4 | 100.00 | 4 | 100.00 | 147 | 100.00 | 4 | 100.00 | 159 |