



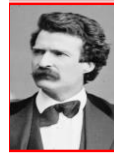
Confronting Language Divergence: An Integrated Model

Herr Research Center Symposium:
When Home and School Language Differ
A Conversation on Bilingualism, Bidialectism,
and School Performance

Walt Wolfram
NC STATE UNIVERSITY
Erikson Institute
October 25, 2013



Challenging Traditions on Language



"It ain't what you don't know that gets you in trouble.
It's what you know for sure that just ain't so."

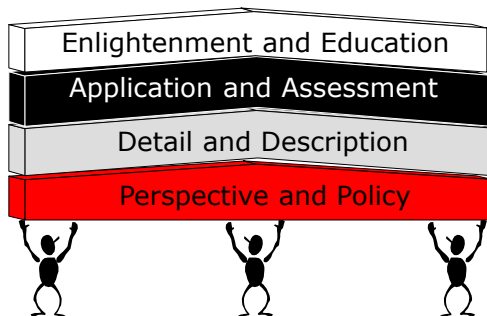
– Mark Twain



In the lives of individuals and of society, Language is a factor of greater importance than any other. For the study of language to remain solely the business of a handful of specialists would be a quite unacceptable state of affairs. *In practice, the study of language is in some degree or other the concern of everyone.*"

(Saussure (1916))

Model of Application: The ASHA Paradigm



Reactive Application

ASHA Policy Statement

It is the position of the American-Speech-Language-Hearing Association (ASHA) that no dialectal variety of English is a disorder or pathological form of speech or language. Each social dialect is adequate as a functional and effective variety of English. Each serves a communication function as well as a social solidarity function. It maintains the communication network and the social construct of the community of speakers who use it. Furthermore, each is a symbolic representation of the historical, social, and cultural background of the speakers. (Asha 25(9) 1983:22-23)

Implications of Position Statement on Dialects

- Knowledge of particular dialect as a rule governed linguistic system
- Knowledge of nondiscriminatory testing procedures
- Knowledge of the phonological and grammatical features of the community dialects

Implications (continued)

- Knowledge of contrastive analysis procedures
- Knowledge of the effects of attitudes toward dialects
- Thorough understanding and appreciation for the community and culture of the nonstandard speaker

Current Institutional Policy Educating the Educated

- Academics are gatekeepers, guardians, and authorities in the use of language
- The academy provides models for students in the normative uses of academic English
- Attitudes and behavior towards language diversity—by instructors and students—are not trivial or incidental; they affect students' attitudes about themselves, the university, and participation and performance in university life

www.youtube.com/watch?v=5ic-MYifM5M&feature=c4-overview&list=UUv9o-ocsGAWdGznovmwquqQ



Detail and Description:

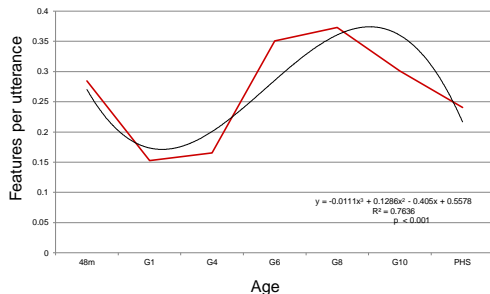
Dialect and School Achievement in the Early Lifespan

- Initiated in 1990 with Frank Porter Graham Child Development Institute (Chapel Hill, NC), ongoing; most recent data collection post-secondary (2011-13)
- 88 African American children from 6-12 months (mean 8.1 months); 71% below poverty level; from primary study, 67 continue in study through 2013. Supplemental peer sample added in Grade 6 forward; 61 peers remain in study; the subject retention rate is truly exceptional
- Caretaker (mother) interviews conducted at Grades 1 and 4; interviews with peers for Grade 6, 8, 10
- Batteries of standardized and nonstandardized tests, including progressively collected language samples annually or bi-annually; all school records
- Systematic data collected for more than 120 demographic, social, psychological, and educational variables, language samples



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Counter-Intuitive Findings from the Empirical Data



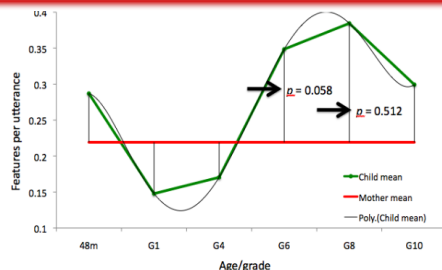
Regression Analysis of Social Factors and the Use of AAE

Integrate Race/Ethnicity and Psycho-Social Factors

(Van Hofwegen & Wolfram 2010)

| Factor | Coefficient | Std. Error | z | P > z |
|---|-------------|------------|-------|-----------|
| Gender (F = 1; M = 2) | .0373527 | .036612 | 1.02 | 0.308 |
| Age/Grade (P = 1; M = 2; S = 3) | .0876936 | .0207817 | 4.22 | 0.000 *** |
| Mother's ed. (# years formal education) | -.0214011 | .0084349 | -2.54 | 0.011 ** |
| Afro-centrality (Continuous range 1-5) | -.0030861 | .0242739 | -0.13 | 0.899 |
| AA Social Contacts (Continuous range 1-5) | .0068568 | .0302731 | -0.23 | 0.821 |
| Wh. Social Contacts (Continuous range 1-5) | -.0081895 | .0300278 | -0.27 | 0.785 |
| % AA in School | .0011543 | .000828 | 1.39 | 0.163 |
| Constant | .3499562 | .1955909 | 1.79 | 0.074 |

Shifting Child-Mother Correlations over the Early Lifespan



The application of a cross-sectional regression analysis indicates that only during the Grade 6 and Grade 8 periods is the children's speech significantly different from the mothers' speech.

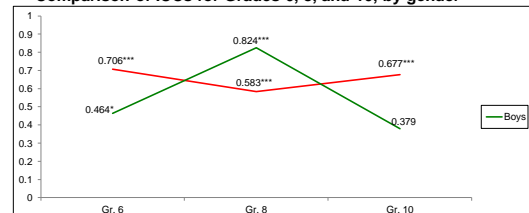
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Effect of Peer Cohort

Analyze the effects of peer speech

(Van Hofwegen 2012)

Comparison of ICCs for Grades 6, 8, and 10, by gender



Significance: *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001

Educational Measures: Reading

Relationship between Reading and Vernacularity

| | | Sample | | | | Grits | | | | Beans | | | |
|------------------|----------------|--------|---------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Intercept | Whether AAE | | -0.5*** | -0.4*** | -0.38*** | -0.28*** | -0.43*** | -0.35*** | -0.48*** | -0.39*** | -0.28*** | -0.41*** | -0.33*** |
| | AAE | -0.01 | -0.00 | -0.00 | -0.00 | -0.00 | -0.00 | -0.00 | -0.00 | -0.00 | -0.00 | -0.00 | -0.00 |
| | Whether TSP | | -0.08 | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.17 |
| | Whether TSP | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 |
| | Parent BAC | | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 |
| | Parent BAC | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 |
| | US Calculators | | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.12 |
| | US Calculators | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
| | Gender | | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 |
| | Gender | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Grits | Age | 26.00 | 26.00 | 26.00 | 26.00 | 18.44 | 18.44 | 21.19 | 21.19 | 18.44 | 18.44 | 21.19 | 21.19 |
| | Age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| | Age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| | Age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Level 2 of Grits | Age | 38.10 | 38.10 | 34.92 | 26.57 | 20.80 | 20.29 | 13.01 | 13.01 | 48.76 | 48.76 | 48.76 | 48.76 |
| | Age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| | Age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| | Age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Covariates | Age | 37.11 | 39.73 | 34.40 | 27.86 | 24.44 | 20.58 | 15.58 | 20.26 | 49.06 | 49.06 | 49.06 | 49.06 |
| | Age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| | Age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| | Age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Level 1 of Grits | Age | 30.00 | 39.92 | 36.36 | 71.10 | 45.33 | 41.21 | 39.21 | 32.09 | 124.09 | 124.09 | 124.09 | 124.09 |
| | Age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| | Age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| | Age | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Statistics | Distance | 16.18 | 16.18 | 16.18 | 16.18 | 15.65 | 15.65 | 15.74 | 15.74 | 16.18 | 16.18 | 16.18 | 16.18 |
| | Distance | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| | Distance | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| | Distance | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |

Significance: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. Intercept, Grits, and Distance are for Grits, comparison to the previous model, and

Significance: ^a $p < 0.10$; ^b $p < 0.05$; ^c $p < 0.01$; ^d $p < 0.001$. (Intercept, Growth, and Deviance only; for Deviance, comparison to the previous model, or else to the relevant cubic growth model.)

Challenge of Enlightenment and Public Education

Entrenched language ideology

The most persistent sociolinguistic challenge in all venues of public life continues to be the widespread application of the ***principle of linguistic subordination***:



Lippi-Green, 2012: 73

“Discrimination based on language variation is “so commonly accepted, so widely perceived as appropriate, that it must be seen as the last back door to discrimination. And the door stands wide open”

Emerging Conclusions: African American Speech in the Early Lifespan

- Prominent trajectories of AAE do not match the traditional assumptions and conventional wisdom; the predominant slope is a roller coaster pattern, with individual exceptions
 - Children are most divergent from their mother's speech during the middle school period
 - Style switching develops during the early grades and is firmly in place by Grade 6. **School achievement correlates with capability style shifting**
 - Peer influence is prominent during the grade 6-8 period but girls tend to be more accommodating of peer speech during middle-school than boys
 - Overall demographic density of ethnic populations correlates with the use of vernacular dialects
 - Vernacular speech affects literacy in both decoding and processing language
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Language Discrimination at any Age



The Magic Box
Language attitudes
from 3-5 year old
children

"I like him cause he sounds nice. I don't like him"

“Cause Steve is good, Kenneth is bad”

"I think I want my present from Kenneth if he doesn't bite."

Linguistic Profiling and Language Variation



<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zup2qIFuCDc>

The Social Consequences: The Case of “linguistic profiling”

- Definition: Using vocal cues to identifying the probable ethnicity or social affiliation of a person (often over the telephone) and then “discriminating” against that person because of a *perceived* ethnic or social affiliation
- Can happen in many contexts, including employment, housing, access to services, criminal convictions
- Estimated to be between 2 to 4 million cases annually of linguistic profiling related to housing (between 6000 and 15,000 cases per day)
- **Fair Housing Act: Sec. 804. [42 U.S.C. 3604 a-f]** “It shall be unlawful... (b) To discriminate against any person in the terms, conditions, or privileges of sale or rental of a dwelling, or in the provision of services or facilities in connection therewith, because of race, color, religion, sex, familial status, or national origin.”

The Paradigm Challenge

Lack of established tradition

There is no established tradition for public education about language diversity in American society; it does not fit within current paradigms of formal and informal education. Furthermore, most practitioners have little background in sociolinguistic awareness



Venues of Informal and Formal Education



Latest films

Lebanese in NC



Spanish Voices



The Media Challenge

Media presentations and popular presentation dominate the representation of American culture.

The public impact of linguistics is severely limited if the field does not effectively use a range of media venues.



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Video Vignette

Appalachian English

Scenes from *Mountain Talk* (NCLLP 2004)



<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=03iwAY4KIUU>

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Video Vignette

African American Language

Scenes from *Voices of NC*



<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RTi07IVDeww>



Venues of Public Education

Museum Exhibits

- *The Ocracoke Brogue*, 1997-present
Museum of the Ocracoke Preservation Society, Ocracoke, NC
- *Lumbee Language and Life*, 2001-present
Museum of the Native American Resource Center, Pembroke, NC
- *Freedom's Voice: Celebrating the Black Experience on the Outer Banks*, 2006-2007
Outer Banks History Center, Manteo, NC
- *The North Carolina State Fair*
Raleigh, NC

Curricula

- *Voices of North Carolina Dialect Curriculum*, ongoing
- *Language Variation in TESOL: A Teacher's Toolkit* (Camurati 2012)₂₄

North Carolina State Fair, Oct. 17-28, 2013



North Carolina State Fair

Language and Dialect Panels at the NCLLP Exhibit



Dialect Quiz

<http://ncsu.edu/linguistics/ncllp/dialectquiz.php>



North Carolina State Fair

Souvenir Buttons-State Fair



Rationale for Dialect Study

➤ Utilitarian

"Such a message has proven to be empowering for my minority students. For many of them, this is the first time they have been told in a school setting that their dialect is valid and not 'broken'" (classroom teacher)

➤ Scientific

"Many students in my standard level class enjoyed trying to predict the rules governing a dialect before we even looked at examples... The recognition of language patterns and governing rules made the students feel for the first time that their varied use of 'standard' English did not indicate a lack of intelligence"

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Rationale for Dialect Study

➤ Cultural

"I had no idea how fascinated they would become with the study of dialects"

"Language is culture and culture is language"

"I began to see the beliefs and prejudices once held by some of my students slowly to dissipate"

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Curriculum Summary

- 450-minute, multi-media instructional unit
- Classroom teacher taught
- Dovetails with the NC 8th grade social studies Standard Course of Study
- Three products (updated 2007):
 - Teacher manual (211 pages)
 - Student workbook (45 pages)
 - Support DVDs (12 video vignettes, 6 listening exercises, 2 interactive maps, summative “Jeopardy” review game)

Dovetailing the Curriculum with SCS

NC eighth-grade SCS objective

- 1.01 Assess the impact of geography on the settlement and developing economy of the Carolina colony
- 1.07 Describe the roles and contributions of diverse groups, such as American Indians, African Americans, European immigrants, landed gentry, tradesmen, and small farmers to everyday life in colonial North Carolina, and compare them to the other colonies
- 3.05 Compare and contrast different perspectives among North Carolinians on the national policy of Removal and Resettlement of American Indian populations

Met in curriculum by:

- Isolation caused by ocean, swamps, and mountains is examined, as is the Great wagon Road
- American Indians, African Americans, and diverse groups of European Americans are examined in urban and rural contexts
- The historical contexts of the Lumbee and Cherokee are contrasted, including the early integration and loss of native tongue for the Lumbee and the forced removal and return of the Cherokee

Dovetailing the Curriculum with SCS

NC eighth-grade SCS objective

8.01 Describe the changing demographics in North Carolina and analyze their significance for North Carolina's society and economy

Met in curriculum by:

→ One of the fastest growing populations in North Carolina is Hispanics. This causes people to make assumptions about the effects of this group. The linguistic and social effects are examined

8.04 Assess the importance of regional diversity on the development of economic, social, and political institutions in North Carolina

→ Understanding regional diversity can be enhanced by examining regional linguistic diversity, which is reflective of social and economic institutions

In total, the curriculum directly addresses
12 objectives
and 6 of 9 strands



Language Prejudice

During phone conversations, it is often possible to tell a number of things about a person based on the characteristics of their voice. You will see a 1-minute commercial produced by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The purpose of this commercial is to raise awareness of how discrimination can occur over the phone. As you watch the video, think of answers to the following:

Video Vignette African American Language Scenes from *Voices of NC*



<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RTt07IVDeww>



Language Prejudice

1. How common do you think it is for people to be discriminated against on the phone?
2. How strong are people's prejudices about language?
3. Why do you think people have such strong prejudices about language?

DIALECT PATTERNING

The Regional Dimension



The Use of **A-** Prefixing

Sentence pairs for **A-** prefixing

- 1 a ___ Building is hard work
b ✓ She was building a house
- 2 a ___ He likes hunting
b ✓ He went hunting
- 3 a ✓ The child was charming the adults
b ___ The child was very charming



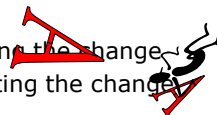
List B:

A Further Detail for A-prefixing

- 1 a ___ They make money by building houses
b ✓ They make money building houses
- 2 a ✓ People can't make enough money fishing
b ___ People can't make enough money from fishing
- 3 a ___ People destroy the beauty of the island through littering
b ✓ People destroy the beauty of the island littering

List C: Yet a Further Detail for **A-** prefixing

- 1 a ___ She was discovering a trail
✓ b ___ She was following a trail
- 2 a ___ She was repeating the chant
✓ ___ She was hollering the chant
- 3 ✓ ___ They were figuring the change
b ___ They were forgetting the change



Dialect Patterning: An Urban Ethnic Pattern



Patterning of **BE** in Urban African American English

Number of People Who Chose the Following:



- 1 a **32** They usually be tired when they come home
b **3** They be tired right now
- 2 a **31** When we play basketball, she be on my team
b **4** The girl in the picture be my sister
- 3 a **3** My ankle be broken from the fall
b **32** Sometimes my ears be itching

Applying the Rule



Now that you understand the rule of **Be**, can you predict its use in the following sentences?

- 1 **yes** The students always **be** talking in class.
- 2 **No** The students don't **be** talking right now.
- 3 **yes** Sometimes the teacher **be** early for class



| Dialect Levels | Dialect History | Language Attitudes | Say it Our Way | Definition |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------|------------|
| 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 200 | 200 | 200 | 200 | 200 |
| 300 | 300 | 300 | 300 | 300 |
| 400 | 400 | 400 | 400 | 400 |
| 500 | 500 | 500 | 500 | 500 |

What is pronunciation?

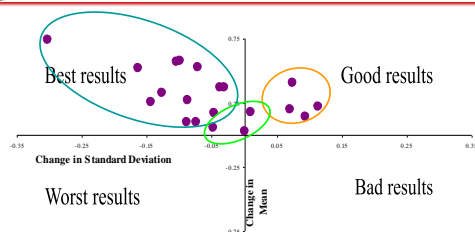
"It's hoi toid on the sound soid" is an example of this level of dialect.



Row 1, Col 1



Summary of Curriculum Piloting (N=129)



Post-Curricular Changes (significant changes only)

| Statement | Change in mean | Post-curricular mean | Fewer Don't know |
|--|----------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 9. There are people who do not speak a dialect | + .74 | 3.45 | 22 |
| 2. Everyone should speak Standard English every time they talk | + .58 | 3.44 | 8 |
| 20. People who have a "Hispanic accent" speak Spanish and are still learning English | + .57 | 3.26 | 11 |
| 5. Dialects are sloppy forms of English | + .53 | 3.42 | 10 |
| 8. Dialects do not have patterns | + .52 | 3.52 | 32 |
| 1. Everyone should know and be able to use Standard English | + .41 | 2.18 | 3 |
| 13. Students need to master Standard English to be successful in life | + .37 | 2.80 | 1 |
| 3. Some people are too lazy to learn Standard English | + .37 | 2.79 | 2 |
| 18. Standard English is the best language variety to use with my friends outside of school | + .33 | 3.19 | 2 |
| 4. There is never a good reason to speak a dialect | + .27 | 3.62 | 19 |
| 6. I speak a dialect of English | -.26 | 1.50 | 8 |
| 17. Standard English is the best language variety to use at school | + .22 | 2.28 | 5 |
| 7. I can speak more than one dialect of English | -.20 | 2.09 | 9 |
| 12. Professional authors would never use non-standard English | + .18 | 3.24 | 7 |
| 11. Dialects should never be used in writing | + .17 | 2.98 | 1 |
| 15. There are good reasons for using non-standard varieties of English | -.14 | 1.76 | 12 |
| 19. Dialects can never be more useful than Standard English | + .10 | 3.18 | 17 |

Summary of Free-Response Questions

Question 1:

What was the most surprising thing that you learned about dialects?

Question 2:

What did you learn about dialects that changed the way you think about language?

Summary of Responses to Questions 1 & 2

Question 1: What was the most surprising thing that you learned about dialects?

Question 2: What did you learn about dialects that changed the way you think about language?

The five themes mentioned most often:

1. Dialects have rules/patterns (34.1%)
2. Large number of dialects (31.8%)
3. Dialects reflect culture, heritage, history (27.1%)
4. Everyone speaks a dialect (25.6%)
5. Unrelated to intelligence, education, laziness (23.3%)

Summary of Free-Response Questions

Question 4:

Do you think it is important to study different dialects? Why or why not?

- 113 “yes” or some equivalent (“yeah,” “definitely,” etc.) (87.6%)
- 6 “sort of” (4.7%)
- 10 “no” (7.8%)

Sample Responses to Question 4

- Yes, it is important because you're learning about your language and culture
- Yes, because I overlooked many things about dialects and did not appreciate them as much as I do now
- Yes, because you'll have more respect for people with different dialects and it will give you an open mind. You'll probably judge people on things beside their dialect and the stereotypes attached to that dialect

In Sum

- 98% of the students reported learning something that would change the way they thought about language
- Teachers without linguistic training are able to teach about language variation with the right materials
- Students found the materials to be interesting and important

Dividends of Public Education Programs

- Mainstreaming the public discussion of language differences
- Confronting language prejudice and stereotypes
- Promoting the practice of linguistic equity
- Promoting linguistic heritage and the language-culture connection

Appendix on Commonsense Notions and Dialect Reality

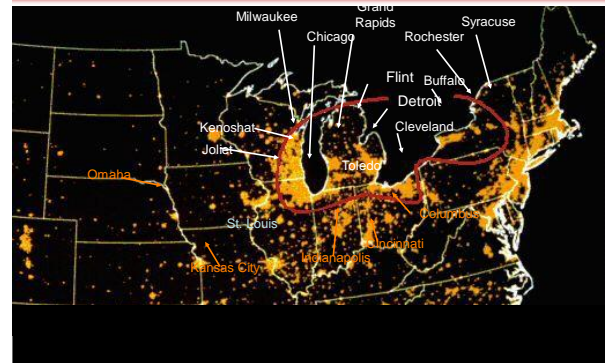


Dialects are homogenizing due to the influence of the mass media, mobility, and virtual accessibility



Dialects are dynamic; while some dialects are receding, others are intensifying. There is no unilateral convergence or divergence of dialects in the US

The Inland North and Northern Cities-At Night (from Labov 2008)



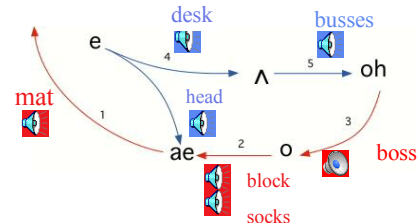
Project on Cross-Dialectal Comprehension: Gating Experiment

| | Word | Phrase | Sentence |
|----|------|--------|----------|
| 1. | | | |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | | | |
| 5. | | | |
| 6. | | | |

(From Labov 2008)

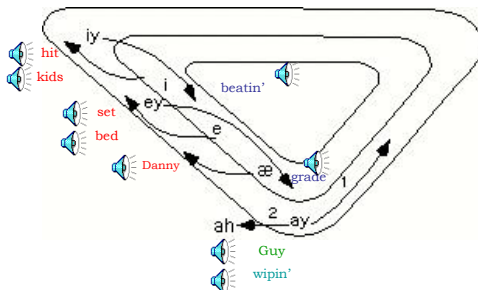
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The Northern Cities Vowel Shift



(From Labov, 2008)

Listen to the Southern Vowel Shift



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