A DESCRIPTION OF THE LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE

CAREFUL SPEECH OF RECENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES IN

ENTRY-LEVEL POSITIONS OF JOB CATEGORIES OF

LARGE EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED COUNTIES

OF SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA

by

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INTRODUCTION

Traditional school curricula have undergone many changes in
the last decade. Formerly, curricula were developed around the
questions "who," "what," "when," and "where." Now curriculum de-
signers are more concerned with the "how" and "why." The current
curriculum reform movement pivots on the process, not the product,
of learning (Judy, 1974). Curriculum content--be it factual know-
ledge, basic skills, or value clarification--is no longer field-fed
to the masses. The impetus of this change in curriculum thinking
is the basic issue of ways and means: are the content, teaching
strategies, and materials of a given discipline adequate for achieving
the ends or goals of that discipline and are those ends relevant to
the needs and abilities of the students involved?

Changes in the textbooks of various secondary-school dis-
ciplines reflect this rethinking of school programs. In the dis-
cipline of English, however, many of the language textbooks contain
the Latin-based rules set down by eighteenth century grammarians
(Leonard, 1929; Marckwardt, 1968; Pooley, 1974). These rules often
provide a monolithic perspective of language (Billiard, 1974; Herndon,
1970). Yet, linguists agree that language is in a constant state of

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change (Hook, 1964; Herndon, 1970) and subject to social pressures

of siutational context (Hook, 1964). In a personal correspondence,

February 8, 1976, Lee Pederson, director of the Linguistic Atlas of

the Gulf States project and dialectologist at Emory University,

stated that textbooks "lag a half-century, at least, behind the

facts" (see Appendix A). Comparing the findings of a newly completed

dialect study with textbook content, Jean Malmstrom's five year

study (1959) of 312 current language textbooks revealed a discouraging

lag between research in language usage and textbook treatment of

correctness.

In The American Language, H. L. Mencken (1919:207) deplored the

grammar taught in schools as "a grammar standing four-legged upon

theorizing and false inferences of English Latinists. . . . and its

frank aim is to create in us a high respect for a book language

which few of us ever actually speak and not many of us ever learn to

write . . . ."

In a recent news conference, February, 1976, dealing with the

National Assessment of Educational Progress, W. Ross Winterowd,

professor of English at the University of Sourthern California, ex-

pressed his concern that the results of research and experiments in

the ways of language works have not been incorporated into the English

curriculum. Earlier, the members of the Commission on English in

Freedom and Discipline in English (1965:43) stated that:

> . . . By and large, English teaching today is less
> noticeably affected by remote curriculum makers than
> by textbooks chosen or assigned for classroom use.

> The evidence of syllabuses makes clear that too many
> teachers are letting textbooks do their curriculum
> thinking for them.

The issue facing the classroom teacher of English is whether

the means, established two centuries ago by arbitrary whims and

personal preferences (Fries, 1940; Leonard, 1929; Pooley, 1957) can

achieve the ends of helping the individual student understand and

control the power of language. Most experts agree that it cannot.

Not only does this failure stem from the false or dated nature of

language concepts in the curriculum but also from the fact that the

standard variety of language upon which the curricula of public

schools have been built has little correlation with the living

language of the various speech communities that make up the student's

idiolect (Herndon, 1970; McDavid, 1973). Consequently, the individual

student may not be able to assimilate the classroom usage into the

language of his world outside (Pooley, 1957; Billiard, 1974).

The linguistic studies of the last fifty years--carried on by

sociologists, anthropoligists, and psychologists as well as linguists

(Di Pietro, 1970)--have brought the social ramifications of dialectal

differences to the forefront of the teaching confusion. The linguist's

view of language is that there is no such thing as a standard dialect;

rather, there are varieties of standard dialect, i.e., a dialect

spoken by the cultivated people of a given geographic region (McDavid,

1966). Linguists believe that no one dialect, standard or otherwise,

is inherently superior to another, the "prestige comes from the

prestige of those who use it" (McDavid, 1966:55). Although the linguist does not attempt to judge the social or economic merit of different dialects, the prevalent opinion in literature is that speakers of nonstandard dialects may be penalized, socially and economically (Kurath, 1971; Green, 1964; Herndon, 1970).

The linguistic theory of the relativity of correctness especially as it was embodied in Webster's Third New International Dictionary offered a new perspective on the teaching of English in the class-room. The idea of an absolute "correctness" that could be prescribed in conventional rules of grammar was no longer unquestionably accepted (Pooley, 1974; Hook, 1964). Forced to relinquish his role as defender of the purity of a language that was not--and would never be--fixed (Evans, 1962) the English teacher found a new justification for teaching via the handbook: upward mobility (Herndon, 1970). The cause was supported by federal forces such as the Bilingual Education Program, Title VII, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and the Amendments of 1967 (Roeming, 1970). With the advent of this new justification for its teaching, standard English was entrenched more securely than before in the curriculum both in the regular program (Judy, 1974) and in programs designed to give non-standard speakers the language skills that would enable them to get and hold jobs (Bailey, 1969). Muller in The Uses of English (1968:37) summarized this reasoning:

> Standard English is not just a bourgeois dialect,
> after all, but the most common and widespread form of
> English, and no education for life in a democracy can be
> complete without some knowledge of it. Call the
> preference for it ignorant or snobbish, the fact remains
> that it is the language of educated people everywhere,
> and no person can hope to talk or write effectively for
> all his purpose unless he can use it with a fair degree
> of naturalness and correctness. Democratic idealism
> itself calls for the teaching of it to all children as
> an essential means to sharing the heritage of their
> society and the opportunities for realizing their
> potentialities, bettering themselves, both intellectually
> and socially. Refusing to teach it to poor children
> would automatically condemn most of them to remain poor
> and underprivileged, seal the division into sheep and
> goats.

The issue broiled into a national controversy, fanned by

educational jargonese: culturally deprived, disadvantaged, bi-

dialectalism, consensus dialect, upward-bound, head-start. Three

distinct approaches, each sanctioned by various factions of the

educational furor, have been preferred as solutions (Shuy, 1972).

The first, eradication, subscribes to a "right-wrong" canon of

usage. The cardinal principle of this approach is the elimination

of variant usage, i.e., usage different from that of the prestige

dialect. The second, bi-dialectalism (or functional bi-dialectalism),

advocates that a learner acquire a second dialect, the standard one,

and shift linguistic gears according to the social or cultural

situation. The third approach--whose advocators are most vociferous,

tying language bias to ethnic prejudice--advocates re-educating the

standard speaker to tolerate and understand differences in dialects.

A fourth approach, not widely discussed in literature but adopted

by some teachers in their confusion, is to omit language study from the curriculum (Pooley, 1957, Franza, 1970).

Green (1964:122) defending the first approach, eradication, urged that "area dialects which allow one to be identified and discriminated against should be reconstructed." Golden (1964), admitting that speech and culture are inseparable, proposed that changing a speaker's language patterns will enrich him culturally. This first approach was the goal of prescriptive English teaching and is still "common . . . in college, general in high school, and almost universal in the grades" (Dykema, 1966:126).

Educators like Lin (1965), Slager (1967), and Allen (1972) supported the teaching of English as a second language or dialect: bi-dialectalism. Troike (1972) pointed out the advantages of bi-dialectalism: the speaker is able to function in a wider range of social contexts and still retain his self-image and identity. Bailey (1969) stated that the teacher must be committed to adding the dimension of standard usage to the speaking habits of the nonstandard speaker.

Sledd (1969:1309) branded bi-dialectalism a political maneuver for "perpetuating the supremacy of white prejudice." Asserting that "linguistic change is the effect and not the cause of social change" (p. 1315), Sledd gave active support to the third approach, re-educating the majority. O'Neil (1972) and Smitherman (1973) also interpreted bi-dialectalism as a political move and not an educational

process. Judy (1974) declared that upward mobility is a myth and proposed that schools stop trying to enforce standard English and, instead, try to eliminate or eradicate language bias.

Those English teachers who chose to skirt the issue by omitting language study altogether "switched from formal grammar to functional grammar to no grammar at all; they tried linguistics; they choked on generative grammar" (Franza, 1970:783).

The current state of grammar and usage study in the school program runs the gamut from no teaching at all to the most authoritative approach steeped in inviolable rules and prescriptions. Teachers persisting in the teaching of language via a "right-wrong" canon of usage contend that, both on the job and in social situations, the individual's ability to use standard English is a major factor in society's measurements of his capabilities almost regardless of other kinds of evidence. Others, caught in the dilemma of conflicting ideologies, contend they will have little influence on the individual's speaking habits and so do nothing. They believe that the individual will change his language habits only when forces beyond the schoolroom make change important to his social and economic mobility.

Significance of the Study

Most linguists, while espousing the theory that no dialect is inherently good or bad, agree that fluency in a variety of standard English provides acceptance and advantage, both economically and

socially (Hook, 1972; Loban, 1961; McDavid, 1966). Schools have long

assumed the task of teaching students "the usage of educated speakers

. . . that they can speak and write this dialect to their advantage

when the situation calls for it" (Kurath, 1971:xiii). One "advantage"

would be in the area of employability. In their position paper the

Committee on College Composition and Communication of the National

Council of Teachers of English (1974:14) made this statement con-

cerning language and employability:

> The situation concerning spoken dialect and
> employability is in a state of change; many speakers
> of minority dialects are now finding opportunities
> that five or ten years ago would have been closed
> to them. Specific data is understandably difficult
> to find, yet it would seem that certain dialects have
> a considerable effect on employability.

The dynamic nature of language makes it mandatory that research

be frequent and systematic in order to provide English teachers and

textbook publishers with an accurate description of the way language

is being used in the here-and-now. A research of the literature

indicates that much has been done in the area of written usage,

e.g., deviations from standard English in the compositions of stu-

dents and the correlation between these errors and success in school

(Baird, 1963; Crews, 1971; Blount, 1968; Suggs, 1961). Numerous

studies concerned with the oral usage of school children provide

insight into language acquisition, development, and behavior (Graves,

1967; Shuy, 1968; Devere, 1971; Labov, 1966). Little has been done,

however, to study oral language usage in a career context. An

investigation of the speech characteristics of recent high school graduates with no additional formal training or education in an interview situation simulating a formal job interview should provide insight into the individual's ability to control specific linguistic features.

The Purpose of the Study

The central purpose of this study was to describe the characteristics of careful oral usage of persons employed in entry-level positions in job categories of high employment in selected counties of Southwest Virginia. The careful speech was elicited in an interview situation simulating a formal job interview. The job categories included a clerical worker, a salesperson, a service worker, a craftsman, and an assembly line worker.

There were five corollary purposes to the study:

1. to analyze and categorize usage items afforded attention in usage glossaries and handbooks in the seven language textbook series on the current state-adopted list,

2. to identify the degree of acceptability assigned the usage items by English teachers in selected counties of Southwest Virginia,

3. to identify the degree of importance placed on the usage items by the teachers in their classroom teaching,

4. to establish a methodology for studying speech in a career context, and

5.   to draw attention to the need for extensive research in the area of oral usage practices as they relate to career goals.

Limitations of the Study

The very nature of this study--the analysis of the transcripts of oral interviews--is a limiting factor because of the time element involved. Although the job categories were randomly selected, the availability of the type of job category was a factor in the final selection. The willingness of the employer(s) and employee(s) to participate in the study was yet another key factor in selection. Because the basic sample was limited to five informants from five selected counties in Southwest Virginia, the results cannot be extrapolated accurately to uninvestigated' regions of the state.

The research was handled as a case study: a detailed analysis of limited linguistic features. There was no control group as such; each informant served as a comparative group unto himself, i.e., the data included an analysis of the speech areas where the informant employed nonstandard usage and of the speech areas where he might have employed such usage, but did not. The data will not prove there is a correlation between employment and any particular usage practices.

Definition of Terms

These terms are defined as they were used in this study.

Controlled or careful speech: speech marked by careful

choice of words, used in speaking with those one does not know well (Labov, 1966).

Dialect: "all the language habits--pronunciation, vocabulary, and syntactic combination--which distinguish one regional or social variety of a language from another" (Herndon, 1970:106).

Dialectology: linguistic geography: the systematic description of a spoken language of a specific geographic region (Herndon, 1970).

Grammar: the study of the system by which language conveys meaning, including morphology and syntax (Pooley, 1957:104).

Idiolect: the speech habits of an individual speakers influenced by such factors as geographic region, age, sex, education, etc. (Pederson, 1974).

Informal or casual speech: speech that assumes a shared background and common understanding, used with family and friends (Labov, 1966).

Language: "a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by which thought is conveyed from one human being to another" (Hughes, 1966:6).

Morphology: the study of the changes which occur in word forms and the meanings of these changes, e.g., the ed suffix added to a regular verb form indicates past tense (Pooley, 1957).

Nonstandard English: language which deviates from the usage of people in social, political, or economic power (Labov, 1961).

Phonology: the sound system of a language (Herndon, 1970:65).

Sociolinguistics: the study of the social functions and significances of speech factors (Currie, 1952:28).

Standard English: "that set of language habits in which the most important affairs of our country are carried on, the dialect of the socially acceptable in most of our communities" (Fries, 1940:15).

Syntax: the arrangement of words within an utterance and the relationship between this arrangement and meaning (Pooley, 1957:104).

Usage: "range of socially significant choices available to a speaker within the grammar of a language" (Judy, 1974:36).

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

This chapter examines the finding of research undertaken for the purpose of describing and analyzing oral language usage. A review of the research and literature relevant to the approach undertaken in this study falls into five main categories: usage and the educator, usage and the dictionary, usage and linguist, and usage and the dialectologist and the methodology of dialectology. The introductory section of this chapter expands the definitions of grammar, dialect, and usage presented in Chapter 1.

Concerning usage from the educator's perspective, this chapter examines the attitudes of teachers toward current usage practices, the state of English instruction in the secondary school, research on written usage in the secondary classroom, and research on oral usage in the classroom. Since the dictionary has traditionally been one of the main authorities for language usage, three important dictionaries published in the last half of the twentieth century are reviewed. The section concerned with usage and the linguist deals with important studies of actual usage practices, such as those of S. A. Leonard (1932) and Charles Fries (1940). The last two sections review important dialect studies, especially the Linguistic Atlas projects, and the methodology of dialectology as it relates to the purpose of the present study.

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Language: Grammar, Dialect, and Usage

"Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of com-
municating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of volun-
tarily produced symbols" (Sapir, 1964:20). Language, then, is a
behavior that sets man apart from the other animals. It is the primary
basis of culture and embodies the fundamental social and ethnic charac-
ter of a particular group: what interests them; how they relate to
each other and to nature; and what concept of "self" they have adopted
(Thomas, 1974). Whatmough (1956) and other linguists defined language
as a system with a set of sounds and a set of arbitrary symbols used
for the purpose of communicating (Sapir, 1964; H. Allen, 1972). But
they also added another dimension: language is dynamic; every feature
and aspect of it is subject to change. This characteristic of lan-
guage makes it elusive and necessitates that the study of language
be constant and systematic.

Grammar. The grammar of a language is the description of the
structure of the language, i.e., the relationship of words, phrases,
and clauses within a sentence (Pooley, 1957; Thomas, 1974; Chomsky,
1966). Grammar, in this sense, refers to the objective, scientific
observation of what native speakers do when they employ the language
but is not a set of prescribed behaviors. Pooley (1957:104) assigned
two dimensions to grammar: syntax and morphology. Morphology is
concerned with the changes that occur in the structure of word forms
relative to meaning, e.g., "church" to "churches" or "sing" to "sang."
Syntax, the system of language patterns, is concerned with the way

words are ordered or arranged to convey meaning. For example, the utterance, "He don't know nothing," is grammatical; the utterance, "Don't know nothing he," is ungrammatical. Finnie and Erskine (1971) proposed that a violation of grammar, i.e., "bad" grammar, would probably break communication at the point of the violation.

Francis (1963:331) proposed that grammar may be defined in three ways: (1) "a form of behavior," (2) "a field of study, a science," and (3) "a branch of etiquette." As a behavior, language has regular patterns governing the combination of words. Before a child enters school, he knows the grammar of his language (Judy, 1974; Thomas, 1974). Francis' second definition of grammar, i.e., "a field of study," is concerned with the description and analysis of language patterns. A review of the literature revealed that this definition is used most frequently when reference is made to grammar, but it is frequently coupled with Francis' third definition, "a branch of etiquette." As "a branch of etiquette," grammar would dictate preferred patterns and standards. The last definition is generally employed in reference to usage. The distinction between grammar and usage is often not clearly defined in research. The confusion between the two has often obscured the goals of language instruction. According to Pooley (1957:107) grammar is concerned with the "form and structure of English sentences" and usage is concerned with "correctness and propriety in word and phrase." For the purposes of this study, grammar is "a form of behavior," and the approaches

to the study of grammar, i.e., traditional, structural, and generative, constitute "the science." Usage, or the choices one makes within the grammar of language (Judy, 1974), is the "branch of quette."

Dialect. The terms dialects and usage, referring to language habits and practices of an individual, are frequently used synonymously (Herndon, 1970). McDavid (1968:xxi) categorized dialect as a variety of usage:

> With any living language there will be varieties of usage associated with geographic origin (regional dialects or simply dialects), social status (social dialects or social levels), and relationships, (styles or functional varieties), as well as such special varieties as slang, argot, and technical language.

McDavid (1966:11) defined a dialect as a "habitual variety of a language, regional or social." He included in the definition the dimensions of vocabulary and semantics; grammatical forms; syntax; and pronunciation, including stress and intonation. He further stated that grammatical features (morphology and syntax) are the clearest markers of social dialects. McDavid's (1967:9-10) list of linguistic features that serve as social markers included

> Noun
>
> Lack of noun plural: Two boy come to see me.
> Lack of noun genitive: This is Mr. Brown hat.
>
> Pronoun
>
> Analogizing of the (-n) of mine to other absolute genitives, yielding ourn, yourn, hisn, hern, theirn.

Demonstratives

Substitution of <u>them</u> for <u>those</u>, as <u>them</u> books.
Compound demonstratives: <u>these-here</u> dogs, <u>them-there</u> cats.

Adjectives

Analogizing of inflected comparisons: the <u>wonderful-lest</u> time, a <u>lovinger</u> child.
Double comparisons: a <u>more prettier</u> dress, the <u>most ugliest</u> man.

Verb

Unorthodox person-number concord of the present of <u>to be</u>. This may be manifest in generalizing of <u>am</u> to <u>is</u> or <u>are</u>, or in the use of <u>be</u> with all persons.
Unorthodox person-number concord of the past of <u>be</u>: I <u>were</u> or we <u>was</u>.
Failure to maintain person-number concord of the present indicative of other verbs: I <u>does</u>, he <u>do</u>.
Omission of /-t, -d, -ed/ of the past tense: I <u>burn</u> a hole in my pants yesterday.
Omission of /ing/ of the present participle: He was <u>open</u> a can of beer.
Omission of /-t, -d, -ed/ of the past participle.
Omission of <u>to be</u> in statements before a predicate nominative: He a good boy; before adjectives: They ready; before present participles: I going with you; before past participles: The window broken.
Omission of <u>has</u> before <u>been</u> in statements: He been drinking.
Substitution of <u>been, done</u>, or <u>done been</u> for <u>have</u>, especially with a third person singular subject: He done been finished.

Usage. Pooley (1974:3) described usage as the choices one makes in "language at a certain time for a certain purpose." Pooley's definition of usage included phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical features. Pooley's guide for teaching standard English at the senior high level listed twenty-five items, many of which were included in McDavid's checklist for

discriminating social dialects. Pooley's (1974:208) list included

items such as the following:

> Use of the historic past forms of common irregular
> verbs such as <u>saw</u>, <u>gave</u>, <u>took</u>:
> Avoidance of double negative;
> Avoidance of <u>this here</u> and <u>that there</u>;
> Grammatical use of personal pronouns in compound
> constructions;
> Correct number agreement with the phrases <u>there</u>
> <u>is</u>, <u>there are</u>, <u>there was</u>, <u>there were</u>;
> Avoidance of pleonastic subjects: "my brother he";
> Distinction between <u>good</u> as an adjective and <u>well</u>
> as an adverb;
> Avoidance of <u>at</u> after <u>where</u>; and
> Avoidance of <u>learn</u> for <u>teach</u>, <u>leave</u> for <u>let</u>.

Pooley (1964) classified usage according to five levels from

illiterate to literary; earlier Krapp (1927) had used five levels,

vulgar to literary. Fries (1940) in his examination of over 3000

letters to a governmental agency classified this written usage as

vulgar, common, and standard. Kenyon (1948) asserted that the word

"level" suggested a grading of desirability and chose to differentiate

between levels (standard and nonstandard) and functional varieties

(formal to familiar). Lamberts (1962) stated that social levels are

more closely related to status than to class as there are no clear-

cut social classes in America. He agreed with Kenyon that language

differences are more easily assigned to the purpose (function) of

usage than to social levels. Lamberts (1962:239) suggested a third

level, "hyperstandard," for those who "bend over too far backward"

in attempting to use language correctly, such as "Whom did you say is

calling?"

Joos (1962) proposed usage to be scaled according to age, acquisition and development of language; style, functional varieties; breadth, experience and self-limitation; and responsibility, quality of usage. Each scale would have five gradations: age, baby to senile; style, intimate to frozen; breadth, popular to genteel; and responsibility, bad to best. Nelson (1965) related Kenyon's functional varieties with Joos' styles: casual, intimate, consultative, formal, and frozen and defined three social levels, educated or standard, vernacular, and uneducated. Labov (1969) insisted some variables which are used in style shifting can be designated as cultural and social markers, e.g., the phonological ing and the grammatical double negative. Labov found women especially addicted to hypercorrectiveness. DeCamp (1966) attributed six dimensions to language usage--seemingly combining Joos' scales, Kenyon's two major divisions, and the dialectologist's perspective--functional variety, geographical influence, time influence (historical change), age perspective, and cultural level.

Usage and the Educator

Teacher attitude. Textbook analyses (Lynch and Evans, 1963; Malstrom, 1959; Pooley, 1957) revealed the needless repetition of language concepts and the lag between linguistic research and textbook content which emphasized the "'what' and 'how' of grammatical knowledge without . . . explanation . . . of the 'why'" (Lynch and Evans, 1963:290). This lag might not loom so importantly if classroom

teaching reflected knowledge of current linguistic principles and attitudes of understanding and tolerance. In 1959, however, Womack used a questionnaire to assess the attitude of 339 teachers towards certain items of usage. He concluded that teachers are either uninformed concerning current research or choose to ignore it in their teaching to maintain the image of the conservative English teacher. Stoakes (1967), quoting the findings of a survey of 447 Florida teachers, inferred that the lack of agreement among the teachers themselves rendered their judgment meaningless. Mittins (1970), too, found no consensus of opinion in a survey of attitudes towards usage involving 457 respondents. Included in the sample were fifty-seven English teachers. The teachers were less tolerant of disputed usage items than other respondents. The cover letter of the questionnaire invited respondents to suggest other usages they thought unacceptable; the results netted over a hundred additional items reflecting personal prejudices and whims.

State of language instruction. Educators evaluating the state of language instruction found that methodology was, in general, outmoded and limited. Pooley and Williams' (1948:162) survey of the teaching of English in the senior high schools of Wisconsin revealed that grammar was taught primarily by memorization of rules and terminology and by formal exercise and drill to improve usage. "Analysis and terminology," stated the authors, ". . . is the predominant activity." Commenting on the disparities between research

and the actual state of language instruction, Fred C. Walcott (1948:49) surmised that in the teaching of English on the secondary level ". . . certain illusions have persisted for nearly half a century despite a good body of reputable research to disprove them. One of these illusions is the supposed efficiency of grammar in improving oral and written composition. . . ." In the classrooms of the 1970's, Howard Livingston (1974:18) found that "the study of language is the study of grammar in all too many cases," citing the underlining of subjects and predicates and the diagramming--via traditional lines or transformational trees--of sentences as examples. Postman and Weingartner (1970:458) concluded that "in all the areas of language study, grammar has the least potential for changing the writing and speaking behavior of students."

Written usage. A review of the literature indicates that considerable research has been done in the area of written usage, especially in the area of deviations from standard English in the compositions of students and the correlation between these errors and success in school. Smith (1933) analyzed courses of study in English programs in fifteen states and noted that the teaching of composition was preoccupation with mechanics and usage and little attention to maturity of thought and originality of expression. She emphasized at that time the pressing need for scientific investigation of the relationship between knowledge of grammar and writing competency because of the disproportionate emphasis on handbook drills and exercises she found in many classrooms.

Various studies (Ash, 1935; Baird, 1963; Whitehend, 1965) attempted to determine the effect of the study of formal grammar on improved usage and sentence structure in writing. Grammar instruction included traditional handbook principles and exercises and diagramming. The results were negative. Only one study claimed definite proof as to the effectiveness of grammar study in improving writing skills. Suggs (1961) sought to compare the effects of the teaching of language according to the principles of linguistic science with the teaching according to traditional grammar. For the experiment, eleventh graders were divided into two groups of students similar in mental ability and past performance in English. The experimental group used an inductive, pattern approach; the control group used a deductive, analytical, "rule" approach. Progress was measured with identical forms of a standardized writing test administered at the beginning and end of the experiment. Suggs concluded that the results obtained from the study lent definite proof that instruction in the English language according to linguistic science is superior to traditional grammar in its practical application to writing. Aside from the question of her method of equating groups, however, there were other weaknesses in the design of the experiment so that Suggs should have been more cautious in referring to "definite proof" of the superiority of the linguistic method.

Other studies examined do not give significant support to the contention that a linguistic approach is efficacious in improving

composition skills. For example, Johnson (1960) found that a linguistic approach was not different from a traditional approach in reducing errors in composition and improving the overall quality of writing and pointed out that neither approach correlated very highly with excellence in written composition. Schuster (1961) found that the linguistic approach to teaching grammar was as effective as the traditional approach when the criteria were verbal abilities (not composition skills) measured by objective tests. Studies by Blount (1968) and Crews (1971) proposed to show the effectiveness of teaching language according to the principles of linguistic science as compared with traditional grammar on the writing of high-school students. Although students who received instruction in the linguistic approach wrote sentences which showed greater variety and complexity than did the control group, the investigators acknowledged that there was no conclusive evidence regarding improvement in principles such as verb usage, pronoun usage, and subject-verb agreement.

Written language, without the support of paralinguistics like tone, pauses, and gestures, demands greater formality and greater attention to the conventions of language than does spoken language. But, as "no linguist argues that teachers accept in the writing of students all forms accepted in speech" (Loban, 1961:545), no linguists would advocate attempting to improve speech habits via corrections of an individual's writing. Writing, however, is more readily adapted to scientific investigation than speaking because writing is more concrete and permanent.

Oral usage. Speaking is spontaneous and, before the introduction of the tape recorder into speech investigations, more difficult to record and review than written language. The most reliable description of actual usage, however, comes from the spoken language because "language is primarily speech, secondarily writing" (Loban 1961:544). Although extensive research has been done in the areas of language acquisition, development, and competencies of pre-school and elementary-school children, perhaps because of research difficulties, comparatively little has been done with the oral language usage of secondary-school students (Peel, 1971).

The results of a study conducted by Walter Loban (1966) of the oral language development of 338 children over a period of ten years, kindergarten through grade 9, indicated that the most persistent problems of children handicapped by social dialects are those of usage, particularly verb usage. Recorded samples of the oral language of each subject were made yearly in terms of twenty-one deviations from standard spoken English. The students were classified in four groups: white students with high language proficiency, white students with low language proficiency, black students with low language proficiency, and a random sample. The progress of the four groups was plotted. Results indicated that in resolving the usage problems workbook drill was less effective than oral drill based on expressing ideas, concerns, and values.

Following research procedures similar to those of the present study, DeVere (1971) investigated the nonstandard morphology and syntax

of forty informants from the public school population of Norfolk,
Virginia. The informants included sixteen secondary students and
twenty-four elementary students with a race ratio of twenty-six blacks,
thirteen whites, and one Chinese. Although the sample was chosen ran-
domly, no upper-class informants were included. Interviews, lasting
from forty-five minutes to an hour, were conducted and taped in the
school setting. DeVere designed the questionnaire to elicit narra-
tives, single responses, and restructuring.

The transcripts of the taped interviews were analyzed for items
of nonstandard morphology and syntax, and the results were tabulated
according to frequency of occurrence by grade-level, race, and sex.
The distribution patterns of the study indicate that nonstandard
features seem to be regional rather than racial, as the variants ap-
peared in the speech of the white students as well as that of the black.
The investigator concluded that dialect variations seem to be regional
rather than social.

An investigation of both the written language and the spoken
language of four groups of students in east-central Alabama indicated
that social factors influence both the number of words and the com-
plexity of sentences in writing and speaking (Graves, 1971). The
informants were eighty eighth-grade students classified evenly into
four groups: upper-class white, upper-class black, lower-class white,
and lower-class black. This social classification was based on paren-
tal education and occupation. Graves analyzed both syntactic complex-
ity and selected usage items. In the usage analysis, the researcher

noted three features used significantly more frequently by the lower-
class black informants: the single subject with an uninflected verb;
the zero copula and the substitution of be for am, is, are, was, were;
and omitted plural noun inflections. Lower-class informants of both
races had a significantly higher frequency of occurrence of other se-
lected nonstandard usage items than did the upper-class informants
of both races, e.g., don't with a singular subject, ain't, and double
negative.

A three-year research project carried out at Claflin College,
South Carolina, studied the nonstandard dialect of college freshmen
from a culturally deprived black community (Lin, 1964). Using an
adaptation of the pattern-practice techniques of foreign-language
learning, structured discussions, and role playing, the project con-
centrated on nonstandard usage forms listed in five categories: verbs,
nouns, adverbs and adjectives, pronouns, and double constructions. At
the end of the project, the experimental group proved to be more suc-
cessful in identifying nonstandard patterns and converting them into
standard forms than did members of the control group. The evaluation
instrument was a locally prepared usage test. Lin concluded that the
project techniques, properly used, can improve students' awareness of
nonstandard forms and help them develop control of standard patterns.

Usage and the Dictionary

According to Taylor's (1972) survey dealing with the sources of
authoritative information on correct usage, the dictionary was the

most frequently cited source of authority. Malmstrom (1966:198)

credited dictionaries as "the most useful source of information" on

usage. Finnie and Erskine (1971) stated that a person's attitude

toward language can be judged by what he considers the function of a

dictionary to be. The public debate over the dropping of usage labels

in Webster's Third International Dictionary elicited pro and con

opinions from many sources, including The Atlantic Monthly, Life, the

New York Times, the Journal of the American Bar Association, and the

Washington Post (Evans, 1962). The issue was between the layman, who

wanted usage prescribed in a dictionary, and the lexicographer, who

saw his responsibility to be one of inventorying or describing usage

(Finnie and Erskine, 1971)

In the 1960's, three important dictionaries of the English lan-

guage were published, each dealing with the problem of usage in a

different way. Webster's Third International Dictionary (1961:6a),

with Philip B. Gove serving as editor-in-chief, adhered to the "three

cardinal virtues" of dictionary making: clearness, comprehension, and

accuracy, defining accuracy as

> . . . requiring freedom from error and conformity
> to truth . . . to state meanings in which words
> are in fact used, not to give editorial opinion
> on what their meaning should be.

Webster's Third made one concession to value judgments, the status

label which "provides a degree of usage orientation by identifying the

character of the context in which a word ordinarily occurs" (18a). The

status labels included two temporal labels, three stylistic labels, and

four regional labels. Substandard, one of the three stylistic labels,
"indicates . . . usage that exists throughout the American language
community but differs . . . from that of the prestige group of the com-
munity" (19a). The editors attached the label nonstandard to "a very
small number of words that can hardly stand without some status label
but are too widely current in reputable context to be labeled substand"
(19a). Webster's Third International Dictionary was the most permis-
sive dictionary of the English language in matters of grammar and usage
ever published (Follett, 1961).

   Jess Stein, editor-in-chief of the Random House Dictionary of the
English Language (1966), stated his interpretation of the function of
a dictionary editor: to record and to teach. As an authority on stan-
dards of usage, the editors adopted "a linguistically sound middle
course" (p. vi). The prefatory material included an essay by Raven I.
McDavid on the functional varieties of usage. McDavid observed that,
although grammar serves as the strongest linguistic mark of culture
and education, the grammar of educated people reflects few differences,
and those regional. The guide section of the prefatory materials noted
that labels were used to mark entries that are restricted to a level of
usage, but did not list the actual labels.

   The editors of the American Heritage Dictionary of the English
Language (1966) instituted a Usage Panel, consisting of 100 prominent
authors, public officials, professors, and journalists--all expert in
handling language--to offer guidance on good current usage. Included
in the roster of the usage panel were such names as Mario Pei, Daniel

Moynihan, Charles Kuralt, Langston Hughes, Margaret Mead, Eugene McCarthy, and Gloria Steinem. The panel members were conservative in their judgment but were unanimous on only one item, vetoing the use of "simultaneous" as an adverb (Bishop, 1971).

In some languages, an official body such as the Italian Academia della Crusca and the Academie Francaise has been charged with setting standards of correctness (McDavid, 1968:xxi). The academies generally selected one variety of cultivated speech and established it as the official standard. The English language has had no academy to set criteria for correctness, although Dr. Samuel Johnson desired to "fix our language" in his dictionary and "put a stop to alterations" (1963: 65) but finally admitted it was an impossible task. Because language changes, naturally and constantly, no lexicographer can hope to set standards of correctness for language usage (Bishop, 1971).

Usage and the Linguist

The usage surveys of the early decades of the twentieth century made a clear distinction between usage and grammar—a distinction often not made in the classroom presentation of language concepts. Linguists wanted to know if the "rules" were consistent with actual usage practices and so conducted a number of studies concerned with actual usage and attitudes toward usage.

A survey conducted by Sterling A. Leonard (1932) was concerned with the opinion of 229 "trained observers of language" (p. 66) concerning the usage status of certain words and constructions generally condemned in language textbooks and handbooks. The group of 229 judges included

thirty linguists; twenty-two authors; thirty editors; 100 members of the National Council of Teachers of English or the Modern Language Association, including college instructors and high school and elementary English teachers; nineteen business men; and thirty speech teachers. The survey consisted of two questionnaires. The first ballot, containing 102 items, was submitted to all the judges. A second ballot, containing 130 items, was sent to the linguists and to members of the National Council of Teachers of English. Seventeen linguists and thirty-two English teachers responded to the second ballot.

Leonard defined four classes for ranking the items on his questionnaire:

      1.   Formal standard English, appropriate for serious and important occasions,

      2.   Informal standard English,

      3.   Technical English, and

      4.   Illiterate speech, including slang and dialect forms not ordinarily used by cultivated speakers.

The judges ranked each item according to their observation of the actual usage as 1, 2, 3, or 4. Leonard asked the judges to indicate the facts of usage, based on their observations, not their opinions of what the usage should be.

In tabulating the ballots, Leonard considered items rated 1 (formal standard English and 2 (informal standard English) acceptable for use by cultivated speakers. Leonard concluded that items rated 4 (illiterate) should be avoided by educated speakers.

Leonard established an order of acceptability for the items from
one (high) to 230 (low). Each item was then assigned a usage status:
established, disputable, or illiterate. An item approved by 75 per-
cent of the judges was classified in the established group; an item
disapproved by 75 percent of the judges was classified in the illiter-
ate group; and an item approved by more than 25 percent of the judges
but less than 75 percent was classified as disputable. Leonard con-
sidered the rankings of the linguists more significant than that of
any other group because of their linguistic expertness.

The results of the study, as interpreted by Leonard (1938:135),
had implications for the teaching of written and spoken English:

> 1. A number of usages entirely in accord with
> the present rules of formal grammar are apparently
> avoided by careful speakers and writers because they
> are regarded as finical or pedantic . . .
>
> 2. There are expressions which are condemned
> by most handbooks and which are listed among improper
> usages in the chapters on dictions in many school
> rhetorics but which are nevertheless in frequent use
> by educated speakers . . .
>
> 3. Formal grammar is apparently at fault in
> setting up rigid rules for the case of personal pro-
> nouns after to be and of the interrogative pronoun
> who.

Marckwardt and Walcott (1938) researched the recorded facts of
usage of Leonard's 230 disputed items; they used as their main source
of verification the Oxford English Dictionary with its Supplement. The
investigators concluded that the seventy-one established usages on
Leonard's list should present no issue at all in the English class,
that 106 of the 121 disputable usages are currently used by cultivated

speakers and the English teacher should not censure their use, and that even most of the thirty-eight illiterate usages were at one time in accepted usage. Marckwardt and Walcott pointed out that of the thirty-eight illiterate items, twenty deal with forms and uses of verbs.

A study of language with reference to social class differences by Charles Carpenter Fries (1940) analyzed the usage in some two thousand complete letters and one thousand excerpts from other letters. These letters were informal correspondence made available by the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior, United States Government. The writers of the letters were classified in three groups on the basis of family circumstances; educational attainment; and formal, non-linguistic matters in the letters themselves, such as spelling, capitalization and punctuation. The groups, from low to high, were labeled vulgar, popular, and standard. The primary concern of the study was the social differences of language.

The method used by Fries to analyze the language facts in the letters was threefold: (1) word form analysis, (2) word function analysis, and (3) word order analysis. Word form analysis dealt with inflections such as the plural of nouns and the tenses of verbs. Word function analysis dealt with grammatical devices that have replaced inflections in English grammar, such as the mother of the boy instead of the boy's mother. Word order analysis dealt with grammatical ideas which depended on word order for meaning, such as "The undersigned was given a physical examination for promotion by a medical board." The author contended the study was primarily a work for teachers, not

professional linguists. From the findings, Fries (p. 285) concluded

that "a study of real grammar of present-day English has never been

used in the schools . . ." and that "sensitiveness to usage . . . is

the only condition upon which good grammar can be won." Findings of

Fries' investigation which are relevant to the present study include

the following items:

      1. Use of them as a plural demonstrative form,
e.g., them nice little boys (found predominantly in
Group I, Vulgar, letters);

      2. Use of singular form was with plural pronoun
forms, e.g., "we was" (Vulgar);

      3. Expletive there followed by a singular verb
form before a plural subject, e.g., "There is also
three children" (all groups);

      4. Use of indefinite pronoun none with plural
verb, e.g., "None of the married children are in a
position to help" (all groups);

      5. Subject-verb disagreement (Vulgar);

      6. Use of past participles of strong verbs for
preterits and preterit forms for past participle,
e.g., "I seen" (Vulgar);

      7. Use of who in the object form in the inter-
rogative, e.g., "Who are you talking to?" (all groups);

      8. Use of object forms of pronouns in the sub-
ject slot, e.g., "Him and this man went to the game"
(Vulgar);

      9. Awful, pretty, real, and right used as inten-
sifiers, e.g., "awful bad" (Vulgar); and

      10. Like as a conjunction, e.g., "He is very sorry
he left me like he did" (all groups).

Another study of usage practices was conducted by prospective

teachers of English of the University of Utah and supervised by Mary

Vaiana Taylor (1972). The survey consisted of three parts: (1) infor-

mation regarding the respondent's source of usage standards, (2) degree

of acceptability assigned fifteen to twenty items of disputed usage,

and (3) information regarding the informant's actual usage practices.

Each of the twenty-seven prospective teachers constructed a usage

questionnaire incorporating the three components and surveyed at least

ten people. Questions to elicit information regarding the respondents

source of usage standards probed "Who uses good grammar?" and "Where

do you look, or whom do you ask to find out which usage is correct?"

(p. 758). Two hundred and twenty-two questionnaires were completed.

The general findings, which appeared to coincide, included seven obser-

vations (p. 759), three of which are relevant to the present study:

> 1. There is a wide-spread discrepancy on almost
> every educational level between what people claim is
> acceptable or unacceptable usage and what they admit
> they actually use.
>
> 2. . . . correlation of linguistic and social
> judgments was apparent in the reasons given for speak-
> ing or studying "good English." Typical answers were
> "to seem educated," "to improve myself," "to get a
> better job." Significantly, "to get a better job," the
> only clearly pragmatic reason, was least mentioned.
>
> 3. Informants almost unanimously chose the dic-
> tionary or a grammar book as the ultimate source of
> authority in matters of disputed usage. English
> teachers were less frequently cited.

Acknowledging the weaknesses and limitations of the study, Taylor

contended the results were "a valid indication of the basic connotations

which a large number of people of various levels of education attach to

the concepts 'good English' and 'bad grammar'" (p. 760).

Usage and the Dialectologist

Current usage studies deal, for the most part, with nonstandard regional or social dialects. Interest in dialectology came to the forefront in the 1940's, perhaps because of Fries' work, which certainly dealt with dialectal differences, but more probably because of that of Hans Kurath, the father of regional dialect research in the United States and the director of the Linguistic Atlas (Pederson, 1974).

Research in linguistic geography (dialectology) has provided insight into actual oral usage and language differences related to geographic area, social class, education, and occupation. Studies in dialectology such as the large-scale programs of the Linguistic Atlas project have investigated spoken dialects, both regional and social, by means of personal interviews. The projects included area studies of considerable magnitude, e.g., the New England Atlas work, recording interviews with over 400 informants (Kurath, 1939); and concentrated area studies, such as the analysis of the phonology, inflection, and phrase morphonemes of a single informant, a seventy-year old lady from southern Indiana (Sleator, 1957). Individual fieldworkers connected with the larger Atlas projects have used the records and data to investigate specific features of the spoken language, e.g., Atwood's (1953) interpretive analysis of Atlas data on verb forms used in the Eastern United States. Dialectologists have made use of mail surveys in the form of lexical checklists to add to the Atlas information (Davis, 1949; Reed, 1954; Allen, 1964) and to produce word geographies (Bright, 1967; Faries, 1967). A review of the methodology of American

dialectology as employed by Linguistic Atlas projects is discussed in the next section of this chapter. In this section, dialect studies relevant to the present study will be discussed.

Usage has a social basis and "the surest social markers in American English are grammatical forms" (McDavid, 1966:15). Atwood (1953) proposed that verb usage, more than vocabulary or pronunciation, delineates social lines. The work sheets of the Linguistic Atlas project, the model for most dialect studies, contained "pronunciation features, lexical peculiarities, morphological variants, and occasional syntactic characteristics" (Atwood, 1971:14). Malmstrom (1972) pointed out that because dialect studies have been more concerned with lexicon and phonology than with morphology and syntax, they have been more successful at describing regional dialects than social dialects. The use of the tape recorder, according to McDavid (1974), should make it possible to gather more grammatical characteristics.

One study concerned with grammatical characteristics (E. Bagby Atwood, 1953) tabulated verb usage in the responses to various items on the Linguistic Atlas worksheets for the eastern part of the United States. Atwood examined the field records of over 1,400 informants. The data gleaned from these field records included morphological variants in tense forms, personal forms of the present indicative, number and concord, negative forms, infinitive and present participle forms, and verb phrases. The investigator generalized that the leveling of the preterit and the past participle, i.e., using only one form for both, is a significant feature of popular usage, but that universal

education is bringing about an "unleveling" process, often with inter-
esting results. Atwood stated that the findings of the Atlas projects
can more validly be generalized as the usage of a geographic area than
of an individual community.

In another study related to the purposes of the present study,
McDavid and McDavid (1960) used the records of the Linguistic Atlas
of the North Central States to summarize and interpret grammatical
variants in the North Central States. The investigators found social
and regional variants for 125 grammatical items, grouped in eight cate-
gories, including verb formations, noun plurals, pronoun forms, adjec-
tive formations, articles (sandhi-alternation), adverbs and adverbial
phrases, prepositional syntax, and subordinating conjunctions. On
the basis of their interpretation of the linguistic data, the investi-
gators concluded that the judgment on usage matters made by educators
and handbooks does not accurately reflect the social differences in
grammatical features of the North Central region.

In a study concerned with social aspects of speech, Lee Pederson
(1964) investigated the speech habits of culturally deprived Chicago
blacks. Twenty of the informants had lived in Chicago for at least
twenty years; ten had recently moved to the area. To indicate the
sociolinguistic distribution of the 30 informants, the investigator
used a scale of seven categories: (1) place of birth and years in
Chicago, (2) education, (3) occupation, (4) parents' place of birth,
(5) parents' education, (6) parents' occupation, and (7) neighborhood
and housing. The questionnaire used in the study included selected

phonological, lexical, and morphological features. Analysis of mor-
phological features--specifically verb forms--showed a distinct pattern
of sociological distribution. The seven informants of twenty-year
residence who were ranked in the two lowest sociolinguistic groups
used a greater number of nonstandard verb forms than did the newly
arrived informants in the two lowest sociolinguistic groups. The in-
vestigator attributed this variance to the difference in educational
achievement for these informants: a medium grade level of 7.4 for the
twenty-year residents and a medium grade level of 10.6 for the newly
arrived. This finding supports the statement that verb forms are impor-
tant social class indicators.

Using the records of the Linguistic Atlas projects, Davis (1970)
investigated the data from the interviews of twelve informants from
three counties in Bluegrass Kentucky: seven Type I informants, three
Type II informants, and two Type III informants, to determine if there
are particular speech features that can be designated "racial," inde-
pendent of social or regional differences. Davis found there was no
definite sound system identifiable as black dialect, and no systematic
differences between the dialects of black and white informants of the
same social and educational background. He concluded the informant's
speech could be more readily characterized by geographic region than
by race. McDavid (1966:8) maintained that there are no "'racial'
dialects, independent of social and cultural experiences."

Williamson (1968) used the short worksheets of the Linguistic
Atlas for her study of the phonological and morphological features

of the black speech of Memphis, Tennessee. Williamson's study limited the community to the city of Memphis and the informants to twenty-four black informants conforming to Atlas Types I, II and III. She further classified the informants according to age: Type A, over sixty-five years old; Type B, between forty-five and sixty-five; and Type C, less than forty-five years old. Williamson used Kurath's short worksheet which is weighted more heavily for phonological and lexical features than for morphological. She found that the most distinguishing features of the informants' speech are revealed at the subphonemic level, but that their phonemic system is similar to other Southern varieties. The differences in morphology she related to social differences, i.e., education.

A dialect study of southeast Texas (Norman, 1956) focused on four counties (with a detailed investigation of one of the counties), a total population of slightly over 263,000. Norman selected twelve informants, corresponding to the three major types of the Atlas projects; he subclassified these three types according to age: Group A, sixty years old and over; Group B, forty to fifty-nine years; Group C, thirty-nine years and younger. The worksheets, based on Kurath's short forms, were highly standardized. The investigator's questions in Norman's study were actually mimeographed on the worksheet, in contrast to the Atlas worksheet where the fieldworker used the suggested context to phrase his own questions to produce the response. Norman's worksheet dealt with phonological and lexical features but elicited some variant verb forms and one syntactic peculiarity, "sick at the

stomach." The investigator used the findings of the Atlas project as a basis for his comparison of the speech features of the four southeast Texas counties with the speech features of the Eastern United States.

Methodology of Dialectology

Dialect study in the United States was patterned after the methodology of European dialect geographers, particularly that of Gillieron (Atwood, 1971). Kurath (1972:2) outlined the procedure of selective sampling used in dialect studies, asserting that "choosing a limited body of linguistic items for investigation in a limited number of carefully selected communities, each of them represented by a single speaker belonging to a certain social class, or by one for each of two or more social levels, the linguist hopes to obtain a general view of the dialectal structure of the total area within a relatively short time."

The first American project, LANE (Linguistic Atlas of New England), began in September of 1931 under the direction of Hans Kurath. The field work for LANE was completed in two years, 1931-1933, and the completed work was published in 1939-1943 (Atwood, 1971). According to Pederson (1974:8) the basic principles of dialectology outlined by Gillieron in AFL (L'Atlas linguistique de la France) were incorporated in the LANE project. These principles included

1. A network of selected communities,

2. Representative local informants in each community,

3. A questionnaire of selected items,

4. Interviewing by trained investigators,

5. Interviewing in conversational situation, and

6. Recording of responses in finely graded phonetics.

Each of the principles will be discussed in relation to dialect study in general and to the present study in particular.

Informants. Informants for Atlas projects are chosen by the fieldworker to represent a community or a particular age group or social class within the community (Kurath, 1972). The fieldworker scouts the community and makes contact with community leaders and others with wide knowledge of the community and inhabitants to direct him to possible informants. This method of selection necessitates that the fieldworker make judgments regarding the social class of the informants. Defending the validity of such judgments, McDavid (1974: 53) declared that

> (a) the fieldworker already knows something about the community,
>
> (b) the preliminary evaluation is made by members of the community--those who direct the fieldworker to the types of informants he is seeking,
>
> (c) the final evaluation comes after a long face-to-face conversation in the community setting and a chance to observe the kinds of people with whom the informant associates--a surer guide in the long run than house location or income.

The choice of informants generally includes three principle types (Pederson, 1974:9):

> Type I: Little formal education, little reading and restricted social contacts;

Type II: Better formal education (usually high school) and/or wider reading and social contacts; and

Type III; Superior education (usually college), cultural background, wide reading and/or extensive social contacts.

These types are further subdivided into

Type A: Aged, and/or regarded by the fieldworker as old-fashioned; and

Type B: Middle-aged or younger, and/or regarded by the fieldworker as more modern.

Selecting informants according to these three basic types and two subdivisions was adequate for the early Atlas projects; however, as Duckert (1971) pointed out, this system of classification cannot be applied to the mobile population of this last quarter of the twentieth century. Compulsory education, mass media, and modern transportation and technology have all but obliterated the Type I informant, i.e., little formal education, little reading, and restricted social contacts. Type II informants, many with college degrees, will be easy to locate, as will Type III. A rethinking of the classification and gradation of informants will be necessary in future regional dialect studies. For investigations of urban dialects, where both recent arrivals and bilinguals are to be included, a different classification must be used. Shuy, Wolfrom, and Riley (1967) attempted random sampling for their study of the Detroit dialect but resumed a method of selective sampling to obtain a more balanced representation of the different ethnic groups.

Selection of informants for the present study was limited by the

random selection of a job category for each of the five selected counties. The selection was further limited in that the informants had to meet the five specifications outlined in Chapter 3.

Questionnaire. The questionnaire or worksheet used by the fieldworker prescribes the linguistic features to be elicited (Kurath, 1972). Suggested contexts or frames that elicit similar linguistic features provide data that can be compared across individual informants and across communities. Questionnaires can be constructed for specific features, such as verb forms or phonemic contrasts, or for an over-all dialect survey. The items on the questionnaire are generally arranged in some topical or thematic sequence to provide a focal point for the informant's thoughts.

The original Atlas worksheets contained phonological, lexical, morphological, and occasionally, syntactic features (Atwood, 1971). The items were clustered in familiar topics: the weather, relatives, animals, etc. The total number of items for the LANE project totaled 711, requiring eight or more hours for the interview. The original questionnaire was reduced by Kurath in 1939 to some 500 items, the short worksheet.

Since the purpose of the present study was to describe specific features of careful speech in a situational context, it was necessary to design a questionnaire that would elicit free conversation in order to obtain more syntactic features. The questionnaire was centered on the subject of high school education as career preparation—a topic the informants, recent high school graduates in entry-level positions

of employment, were knowledgeable about and could readily identify
with. The full range of subtopics of the questionnaire is discussed
in Chapter 3.

Fieldworkers. The method of recording the interview--by phonetic
transcription or by mechanical devices--is a determiner in the selec-
tion of the fieldworker (McDavid, 1974). Beyond this consideration,
the fieldworker must be able to work with people, establishing the
rapport that permits a relaxed interview situation. The fieldworkers
for the LANE project were carefully trained in phonetic transcription
in a summer workshop in 1931 with the European dialectologists Jakob
Jud and Paul Scheuermeier serving as consultants (Atwood, 1971).
Fieldworkers for the LAMAS (Linguistic Atlas of the Middle Atlantic
and South Atlantic States) project included all of the experienced
fieldworkers of the LANE project and Raven I. McDavid, Jr. (Atwood,
1971:13).

The investigator of the present study served as the only field-
worker. McDavid (1974:38-39) identified teachers, journalists, sales-
men, and policemen--people experienced in working with the public--as
likely candidates for fieldwork. The investigator has had many years
experience in public school teaching and supervision.

The interview. The interviews of the Atlas studies are conducted
in an informal conversational tone (McDavid, 1974). Although the
questionnaire prescribes the dialectal features being sought, the
fieldworker is free to handle the material in any order. McDavid
suggested that the fieldworker begin with folklore, history, or the

like to make the informant relax and then use the other topics in the sequence that seems most natural with the particular informant.

The fieldworker attempts to elicit as much conversation as possible from the informant, keeping his own talking to a minimum (McDavid, 1974). The language the fieldworker uses is natural, informal usage. The informant is told the purpose of the interview, although the fieldworker would be wise, according to McDavid (p. 44), "to eschew the word dialects."

The present study attempted to create a situational context: an atmosphere simulating the formal job interview. The investigator's language was relatively formal, but not stilted. The physical setting was carefully chosen to add to the formal atmosphere, and the tape recorders were kept in clear view to add to the effect.

Phonetic transcription. The interviews on the LANE project were recorded in phonetic notation by the fieldworker (Atwood, 1971). The system of phonetic notation used in the Atlas projects consists of thirty-two basic vowel symbols and fifty consonant symbols. Diacritics are used to modify the symbols, indicating such qualities as nasalization, labialization, or retroflection for the vowels and aspiration, voicing, or palatalization for the consonants. Stress marks are used to indicate the primary and secondary accents of polysyllabic words. More recent Atlas projects are employing mechanical recording.

The present study was not concerned with phonological features. The interviews were mechanically recorded, and the transcripts of the taped interviews were coded for specific items of usage.

Summary

This chapter presented a review of literature and research relative to the purpose of the present study. Language is constantly changing (Sapir, 1964; H. Allen, 1972; Hill, 1958); therefore, there are discrepancies between the actual use of language and the rules of "correctness" (Pooley, 1957; Judy, 1974). Womack (1959), Stoakes (1967), and Mittins (1970) surveyed teachers' opinions regarding items of disputed usage and concluded that teachers still adhere to a doctrine of correctness. Experiments dealing with the effects of different types of grammar on student writing offered no conclusive evidence that one type is more efficacious than another (Blount, 1968; Crews, 1971). Research in the area of oral language development and usage indicated that verb usage is the most striking feature of non-standard speech (Graves, 1971; DeVere, 1971).

The decades of the thirties and forties produced a number of important usage studies (Leonard, 1932; Marckwardt and Walcott, 1938; Fries, 1940) which provide insight into actual usage practices. Dictionaries such as Webster's Third International Dictionary of the English Language, The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, and The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, sparked the usage controversies of the 1960's (Follet, 1961; Evans, 1962).

Studies of dialectologists describing the differences in morphological, lexical, phonological, and syntactic features of regional and social dialects (Kurath, 1939; Sleator, 1957; Williamson, 1968) were examined. The methodology of dialectology was reviewed according

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to the seven principles of the science (Pederson, 1974; Atwood, 1971;

McDavid, 1974; Kurath, 1972) and was compared to the basic design used

by the investigator in the present study.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

This chapter contains a detailed explanation of the design of
the study and the procedures for implementing it. First, a general
description of the design of the study is presented. The second sec-
tion contains a description of the setting. The third explains the
analysis of the textbooks. The fourth section deals with the postal
sample, including the construction of the questionnaire, a descrip-
tion of the informants, and the analysis of the survey findings. The
interview sample is discussed in the fifth section, including the
interview questionnaire and codesheets, the selection of job cate-
gories, description of informants, the taping of the interviews, and
the analysis of the interviews.

Design of the Study

Following the methodology of dialectology, the study was designed
to investigate a limited body of linguistic features in a limited
number of relatively homogeneous communities, each represented by an
informant belonging to a certain age and social class (Kurath, 1974).
The research procedure followed this order:

1. Selection of the setting,

2. Analysis of the textbooks,

3. Construction of the postal questionnaire,

4. Survey of English teachers' opinions,

5. Analysis of survey findings,

6. Selection of job categories,

7. Construction of interview questionnaire and codesheet,

8. Identification of informants,

9. Conduction of interviews,

10. Analysis of interviews,

11. Discussion of separate items of usage, and

12. Summary and conclusions.

The major purpose of the study was to investigate the speech characteristics of persons at entry-level positions in job categories of large employment in selected counties in southwest Virginia. The basis for the description of the speech characteristics was a list of usage items garnered from an analysis of the usage glossaries and handbooks in the seven language and composition textbook series on the current Virginia state-adopted list, 1972-78.

To support the assumption that the informants had been exposed to the textbook treatment of the usage items, a postal questionnaire of sixty-four items, designed from the textbook analysis, was sent to all full-time English teachers in the high schools in the five counties selected for the study. The postal questionnaire was sent to secondary-school English teachers in five additional counties (Carroll, Grayson, Patrick, Smyth, and Tazewell) making a total of ten contiguous counties in the postal survey. The postal survey respondent was asked to indicate both the degree of acceptability he

assigned each item and the degree of importance he placed on each item in his teaching. Information regarding years of teaching experience and grade levels taught was also obtained. The data from the postal survey were analyzed and the results used in the discussion of the separate items in Chapter 4.

From indices such as the Occupational Outlook Handbook, the U.S. Census, and the Tayloe-Murphy Institute of the University of Virginia, the ten job categories of largest employment in Virginia were identified. From these ten, five were randomly selected, one for each of the five Virginia counties involved in the study. One informant for a specific employment category was identified in each county, making a total of five informants. Each informant was a native of the county he represented, a product of the local school system, and a 1975 graduate of one of the county high school or schools. Other stipulations were that the informant had received no formal education or training beyond high school, had procured his job by means of an oral interview, and was employed in an entry-level position. Using a structured set of questions but adding questions and encouragement as needed to elicit conversation, the researcher interviewed each informant in a formal setting simulating the formal job interview atmosphere. The interviews were taped, transcribed, and analyzed on the basis of the list of usage items that the textbook analysis yielded.

The separate items of usage dealt with in this study were discussed in relation to

1. The usage study of Leonard (1932);

2. <u>Webster's Third International Dictionary of the English Language</u>, the <u>American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language</u>, or <u>The Random House Dictionary of the English Language</u>;

3. Pooley's (1974) and McDavid's (1967) lists of usage items that serve as social markers;

4. Findings of the <u>Linguistic Atlas of South Atlantic States</u>;

5. Results of the postal survey; and

6. Results of the taped interviews.

The summary of the findings of this study included generalizations regarding the speech characteristics of persons in entry-level positions in job categories of large employment.

The Setting

In a personal correspondence with the researcher (Appendix A), Lee Pederson, director of the Linguistic Atlas Project for the Gulf States, proposed that the findings of the study would be strengthened by limiting the survey "to a discrete subregion" which would provide "a sensible base for generalizations." Figure 1 shows the geographic area chosen for the study. The area consists of five contiguous counties in Southwest Virginia: Bland, Floyd, Giles, Pulaski, and Wythe. According to estimates by the Division of State Planning and Community Affairs (1975), Pulaski County is the smallest of the five counties in land area and the most densely populated. The population, the total land area in square miles, and the population density per

Counties in oral survey and postal survey

Counties in postal survey only
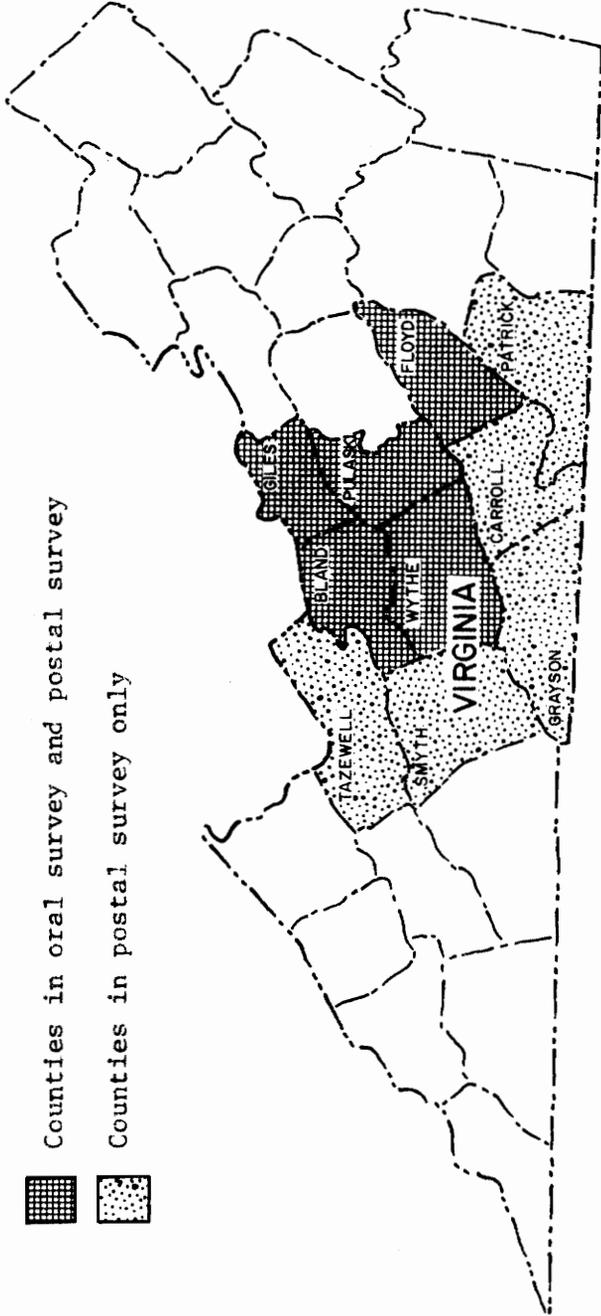
Figure 1

Counties Participating in Study

square mile of the five counties are as follows:

County	Population (1973 Census)	Land Area in Square Miles	Density
Bland	5,500	369	14.9
Floyd	9,700	383	25.3
Giles	18,100	363	49.9
Pulaski	30,100	327	92.0
Wythe	22,200	460	48.3

Bland and Wythe are in the Mount Rogers Planning District of Virginia; in these two counties, agriculture is an important industry with a majority of the farms specializing in livestock (Division of State Planning and Community Affairs, 1975). Floyd, Giles, and Pulaski are in the New River Valley Planning District. The five counties are in the mountainous region of Southwest Virginia. The U.S. Bureau of the Census (1970) statistics on occupations identify manufacturing as a major employment sector in each of the five counties. The percent of total employment in manufacturing is as follows:

County	Total Labor Force (1970)	Manufacturing	Percent of County Total
Bland	1,772	571	32.2
Floyd	4,745	1733	36.5
Giles	7,701	2349	30.5
Pulaski	16,535	5009	30.3
Wythe	11,597	3142	27.1

Improved highways, Interstate 81 in particular, have increased
the number of people commuting out of their resident county for employ-
ment. An analysis of the 1970 commuting pattern data (Division of
State Planning and Community Affairs, 1975) indicates that there is a
high level of cross-commuting among the counties (Figure 2).

According to statistics on per capita income supplied by the
Tayloe-Murphy Institute of the University of Virginia, the five coun-
ties fall in the lower 40%, economically, of all counties and cities
of the state. The standard deviation for the 1973 average per capita
income of the state is 1114. The z scores of the 1973 per capita
incomes of the five counties show a distance of less than half a
standard deviation (-.35179) between the highest per capita income
(Wythe) and the lowest (Floyd). The five counties are relatively
homogeneous communities with similar economic traits. The average
per capita incomes of the five counties involved in the study and
their ranking among 139 counties, towns, and cities of the state of
Virginia are as follows:

Area	Average Per Capita Income (1973)	Rank in the State
Bland	$3579	95
Floyd	$3214	118
Giles	$3440	101
Pulaski	$3604	92
Wythe	$3606	91
State	$4243	---
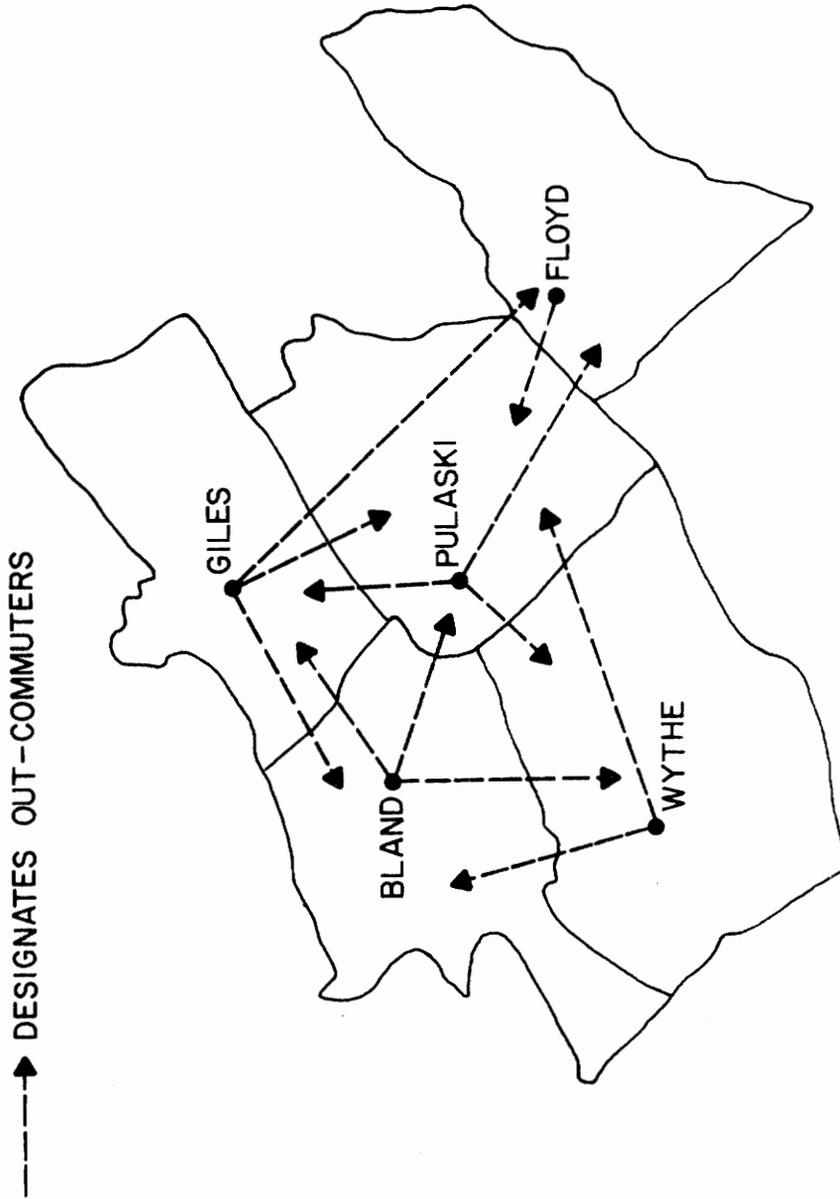
Figure 2

Crosscommuting Patterns in the Five Counties
Participating in Primary Research of Study[a]

[a]Division of State Planning and Community Affairs, 1975.

The postal survey included the five counties involved in the personal interviews and the five surrounding counties on the south and west: Carroll, Grayson, Patrick, Smyth, and Tazewell (Figure 1). The setting of the ten contiguous counties, therefore, represents a carefully limited geographic region.

Analysis of the Textbooks

An analysis of the seven language and composition textbook series on the current state-adopted list provided the basis for describing the speech characteristics of persons in entry-level positions in job categories of large employment. The following textbook series comprise the Virginia state-adopted list, 1972-1978:

1. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company:

   Tanner, et al.

   > English 8, (c) 1973
   > English 9, (c) 1973
   > English 10, (c) 1973
   > English 11, (c) 1973
   > English 12, (c) 1973

2. American Book Company:

   Conlin, et al.

   > Experiences with Our Language Today 8, (c) 1971

   Conlin/Herman

   > Operations in Modern Grammar and Composition, (c) 1971
   > Procedures in Modern Grammar and Composition, (c) 1971
   > Questions in Modern Grammar and Composition, (c) 1971
   > Resources for Modern Grammar and Composition, (c) 1971

3. Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich:

Warriner, _et_ _al_.

     English Grammar and Composition 8, (c) 1973
     English Grammar and Composition 9, (c) 1973
     English Grammar and Composition 10, (c) 1973
     English Grammar and Composition 11, (c) 1973
     English Grammar and Composition 12, (c) 1973

4. D. C. Heath

Glatthorn, _et_ _al_.

     The Dynamics of English Book 2, (c) 1971
     The Dynamics of English Book 3, (c) 1971
     The Dynamics of English Book 4, (c) 1971
     The Dynamics of English Book 5, (c) 1971
     The Dynamics of English Book 6, (c) 1971

5. Holt, Rinehart and Winston:

Kitzhaber, _et_ _al_.

     The Oregon Curriculum: Language/Rhetoric II, (c) 1968
     The Oregon Curriculum: Language/Rhetoric III, (c) 1968
     The Oregon Curriculum: Language/Rhetoric IV, (c) 1970
     The Oregon Curriculum: Language/Rhetoric V, (c) 1970
     The Oregon Curriculum: Language/Rhetoric VI, (c) 1970

6. McDougal, Littell & Company:

Littell

     The Language of Man Book 2, (c) 1972
     The Language of Man Book 3, (c) 1972
     The Language of Man Book 4, (c) 1971
     The Language of Man Book 5, (c) 1971
     The Language of Man Book 6, (c) 1971

7. Silver Burdett:

Bell, _et_ _al_.

     Contemporary English Curriculum 8, (c) 1973

Neuschulz, et al.

Contemporary English Curriculum 9, (c) 1973
Contemporary English Curriculum 10, (c) 1973

Battles, et al.

Contemporary English Curriculum 11, (c) 1973
Contemporary English Curriculum 12, (c) 1973

The analysis yielded a list of 161 usage items afforded attention in one or more of the texts of any particular series in usage glossaries, usage handbooks, or chapters devoted to usage study. When a usage item was treated in four or more of the seven textbook series, it was included in the final checklist. This final checklist provided the basis for the postal questionnaire and for the codesheet used to code the oral interviews.

Of the seven textbook series, the Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich Series is the most prescriptive, containing in each volume of the series a section devoted to usage study with drills and exercises and a glossary of usage. The usage sections vary little in format and content from grade level to grade level. The Language of Man Series, published by McDougal, Littell and Company, contains the most liberal treatment of usage, presenting it in essays, photographs, cartoons, stories, advertisements, and news items.

Two of the five counties involved in the study adopted the Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich Series exclusively. One county adopted the Addison-Wesley Series 11 and 12; the American Book Company Series 8-12; the McDougal, Littell Series 8-12; and the Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich Series, 12, purchasing the Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich text for average

and above-average twelfth-grade classes and the American Book Company

Series for all other classes. Another county adopted the Harcourt,

Brace, Jovanovich Series 8-12; the McDougal, Littell Series, 8-12; and

the Silver Burdett Series, 8, using all of these texts in the various

elective courses of the English program. One county adopted the

Addison-Wesley Series, 8-12; the D. C. Heath Series, 8-12; and the

Holt, Rinehart, Winston Series, 8-12; but the county purchased only

the D. C. Heath Series for use in the schools. A breakdown of basal

language and composition textbooks adopted in Virginia high schools

for the period 1972-1978 is presented in Table 1.

One of the five additional counties included in the postal survey

adopted the Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich Series exclusively; another,

the American Book Company Series. A third county adopted the Harcourt,

Brace, Jovanovich Series for grade twelve only and the D. C. Heath

Series, 8-12. One county adopted the Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich

Series, 8-12, for average and above-average classes and the Silver

Burdett Series, 8-12, for the low-ability classes. Another county

adopted the American Book Company Series, 8-12, for average and

above-average classes and the Silver Burdett Series for low-ability

classes. The Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich Series was edited by John

Warriner and is referred to by students and teachers alike as "War-

riner's." Warriner's book, the most traditional and prescriptive of

the series on the state-adopted list, was adopted and used, totally

or in part, by seven of the ten counties included in the study.

Judy (1974) likened the influence of Warriner's book in the twentieth

Table 1

Basal Language and Composition Textbooks
Adopted in Virginia High Schools
1972-1978

Publisher, etc.	Grade	Number of Divisions	Percent of Divisions*
Addison-Wesley:			
Tanner, et al.			
(Addison-Wesley/Secondary	Grade 8	29	22
English Series)	Grade 9	29	22
	Grade 10	25	19
	Grade 11	25	19
	Grade 12	25	19
American:			
Conlin, et al.			
(Modern Grammar and	Grade 8	33	25
Composition)	Grade 9	36	27
	Grade 10	35	26
	Grade 11	35	26
	Grade 12	35	26
Harcourt:			
Warriner, et al.			
(English Grammar and	Grade 8	69	52
Composition)	Grade 9	67	51
	Grade 10	67	51
	Grade 11	66	50
	Grade 12	73	55
D. C. Heath:			
Glatthorn, et al.			
(Dynamics of Language)	Grade 8	22	17
	Grade 9	22	17
	Grade 10	22	17
	Grade 11	24	18
	Grade 12	22	17

Table 1 (Continued)

Publisher, etc.	Grade	Number of Divisions	Percent of Divisions*
Holt:			
Kitzhaber, et al.			
(Language/Rhetoric)	Grade 8	11	8
	Grade 9	12	9
	Grade 10	12	9
	Grade 11	12	9
	Grade 12	13	10
McDougal, Littell:			
Littell			
(Language of Man Series)	Grade 8	21	16
	Grade 9	22	17
	Grade 10	22	17
	Grade 11	22	17
	Grade 12	22	17
Silver Burdett:			
Bell, et al.			
(Contemporary English	Grade 8	48	36
Curriculum)	Grade 9	44	33
	Grade 10	43	32
	Grade 11	44	33
	Grade 12	45	35

*Individual items do not total 100% because of rounding and multiple adoptions.

century to that of Lindley Murray's book in the nineteenth century.
The content of the two books are similar, both dealing with the
"'basic' structure of English" (Judy, 1974:15).

The language used in most of the handbooks and glossaries gener-
ally does not define a right-wrong canon of usage; for the most part,
the authors advise the learner to "avoid" using a particular item or
caution him that the item is not acceptable in standard English. A
discussion of the textbook treatment of each item is included in
Chapter 4.

<div align="center">The Postal Sample</div>

The linguistic characteristics described in this study were
limited to the list of usage items garnered from an analysis of usage
glossaries and handbooks of the seven language and compositions
textbook series on the current Virginia state-adopted textbook list.
The section of the Code of Virginia, 22-296 (1975:176) dealing with
selection of textbooks states:

> The State Board shall select textbooks and edu-
> cational appliances, including films, for use in the
> public schools of the State, exercising such discre-
> tion as it may see fit in the selection of books
> suitable for the schools in the cities and counties
> respectively.

The five informants of the interview sample were products of the
county school systems and 1975 graduates of county high schools. Thus
it was assumed that the informants were exposed to the textbook treat-
ment of the usage items. To support this assumption, a postal survey
was made of all full-time English teachers in the five counties of

the interview survey and, in addition, five other surrounding counties

in Southwest Virginia.

The Questionnaire

A postal survey of English teachers' attitudes toward certain

items of usage served as the basis for the description of the speech

characteristics of the five informants. The postal survey consisted

of sixty-four items of usage. The postal questionnaires used by

Leonard (1932) and Mittins (1970), discussed in the review of the

literature, were studied in structuring the format of the question-

naire. The selection of the usage items was based on the analysis of

the usage glossaries and handbooks in the seven language and composi-

tion textbooks on the current state-adopted list. No attempt was made

to systemize the order of the items on the questionnaire. The sixty-

four items of the postal questionnaire appear in Table 2.

Respondents were asked to indicate the degree of acceptability

they assigned each item by making a mark (√) in the appropriate column:

(1) always acceptable, (2) informal acceptable, (3) questionable, and

(4) never acceptable. The questionnaire did not seek judgments on

"correctness" or information on the usage practices of the respondents.

The questionnaire surveyed teachers' attitudes toward certain dis-

puted items of usage and the extent of agreement among the respondents.

The respondents were asked to indicate the degree of importance

they placed on each item in their classroom teaching. For this pur-

pose, respondents were asked to indicate (1) items dealt with in

Table 2

Usage Items of the Postal Survey

1. There <u>was</u> a man, a woman	33. it was <u>him</u>
2. Neither . . . <u>were</u>	34. didn't <u>do</u> too <u>bad</u>
3. None . . . <u>were</u>	35. won't <u>leave</u> me help
4. Let's you and <u>I</u>	36. <u>setting</u> up with
5. Bankruptcy is <u>when</u>	37. <u>reached</u> . . . <u>forgot</u>
6. It's . . . <u>me</u>	38. <u>felt</u> badly
7. . . . anyone . . . <u>them</u>	39. That <u>there</u> dog
8. Helen and <u>me</u> went	40. better <u>then</u> stew
9. Between Jamie and <u>myself</u>	41. That fellow <u>he</u>
10. Between you and <u>I</u>	42. coach with . . . players <u>were</u>
11. <u>Who</u> for	cheered
12. <u>whoever</u> the delegates elect	43. <u>Most</u> anyone
13. older than <u>me</u>	44. by <u>theirselves</u>
14. of <u>them</u> . . . talking	45. <u>can't help but</u>
15. Neither . . . <u>their</u> . . . <u>them</u>	46. <u>real</u> warm
16. . . . mentioned . . . you and <u>I</u>	47. wish I <u>was</u>
17. . . . has <u>drank</u>	48. jumped <u>off of</u>
18. . . . choir <u>sung</u>	49. where . . . <u>at</u>
19. . . . looks <u>well</u>	50. <u>kind of</u> shy
20. <u>laid</u> down	51. data . . . <u>is</u>
21. Drive <u>slow</u>	52. Anyone . . . <u>they</u>
22. . . . <u>sure</u> is	53. team . . . of <u>which</u>
23. <u>Leave</u> me alone	54. <u>pretty</u> cute
24. <u>The</u> kind of . . . <u>are</u>	55. <u>use</u> to see
25. could <u>of</u> gone	56. moves <u>slower</u>
26. . . . everyone go <u>accept</u> John	57. <u>between</u> the four
27. audience was . . . <u>effected</u>	58. Act <u>like</u> you
28. <u>ain't</u> I?	59. you feel <u>good</u>?
29. <u>besides</u> the stream	60. Mrs. Haley <u>learned</u> me
30. <u>Irregardless</u>	61. to <u>them</u> people
31. I <u>will</u> be	62. <u>Lay</u> down
32. Neither the principal <u>nor</u> the	63. <u>Sit</u> the baby
teacher deserve	64. <u>best</u> . . . by . . . or through

written work, (2) items dealt with in oral work, and (3) items not dealt with in class. Respondents checked both "written work" and "oral work" for those items they stressed in class.

In December, 1975, permission was obtained from the school superintendents of the ten selected counties to survey the English teachers' opinions regarding certain items of usage. In early February, 1976, the chairman of the English departments of the twenty-three high schools in the ten counties were sent (1) sufficient copies of the questionnaire for each full-time English teacher in the department, (2) cover letters for each questionnaire to explain the purpose of the study, and (3) a stamped, self-addressed envelope. A copy of the materials sent appear in Appendix B.

After February 23, nonrespondents were contacted by phone. By March 15, responses has been received from each of the twenty-three high schools. In Table 3, the number of respondents from each county and each school and the percent of usable responses from each county and each school are presented.

The Respondents

The postal sample included 132 full-time English teachers in ten contiguous counties in southwest Virginia. The researcher procured the number of full-time English teachers in the twenty-three high schools in the ten counties by telephoning the central office of each school. Junior high schools and intermediate schools were not included in the survey since, in many cases, they adopted books not on the secondary-school list.

Table 3

Responses to Postal Survey by School

County	Number of Teachers	Number Responding	Number of Usable Responses
Bland			
Bland County	2	2	2
Rocky Gap	3	3	3
Carroll			
Carroll County	8	5	5
Floyd			
Floyd	7	7	7
Giles			
Giles	9	9	9
Narrows	6	6	6
Grayson			
Fries	3	3	3
Independence	5	5	5
Mount Rogers	2	2	2
Patrick			
Patrick	13	10	10
Pulaski			
Pulaski	17	17	17
Smyth			
Chilhowie	5	5	5
Marion	11	10	10
R. B. Worthy	4	3	3
Sugar Grove	2	2	2
Tazewell			
Graham	8	6	6
Pocahontas	5	5	5
Richlands	9	7	7
Tazewell	9	8	8
Wythe			
Fort Chiswell	6	6	6
George Wythe	7	4	4
Rural Retreat	4	4	3
Total	148	133	132

Percent of response 89%

The respondents involved in the postal survey were asked to supply information regarding years of experience and grade level assignments for this school year. Since a majority of the teachers were assigned two or three different grade levels, this particular information was not usable in this study. Figure 3 presents information regarding the teaching experience of the postal respondents. The mean, the median, and the mode of the entire postal sample, of the five counties involved in the inverview sample and the postal sample, and of the five counties participating only in the postal sample, are as follows:

	Number of Teachers	Mean	Median	Mode
Entire Postal Sample	132	11.4	9	7
Postal and Interview	57	12.1	9	6
Postal Only	75	10.9	10	7

Analysis of the Findings

To summarize the results of the postal survey, the number of observations (responses) in each category of response on the questionnaire were tallied. Since many respondents chose to mark both the "written work" and the "oral work" category of the degree of importance placed on an item in classroom teaching, a fourth column, "written and oral work," was added to the tally sheets of the degree of importance. The results of the survey were then tallied separately for each of the 64 items on the questionnaire. The predominance of censoriousness over permissiveness is reflected in the following table:

68
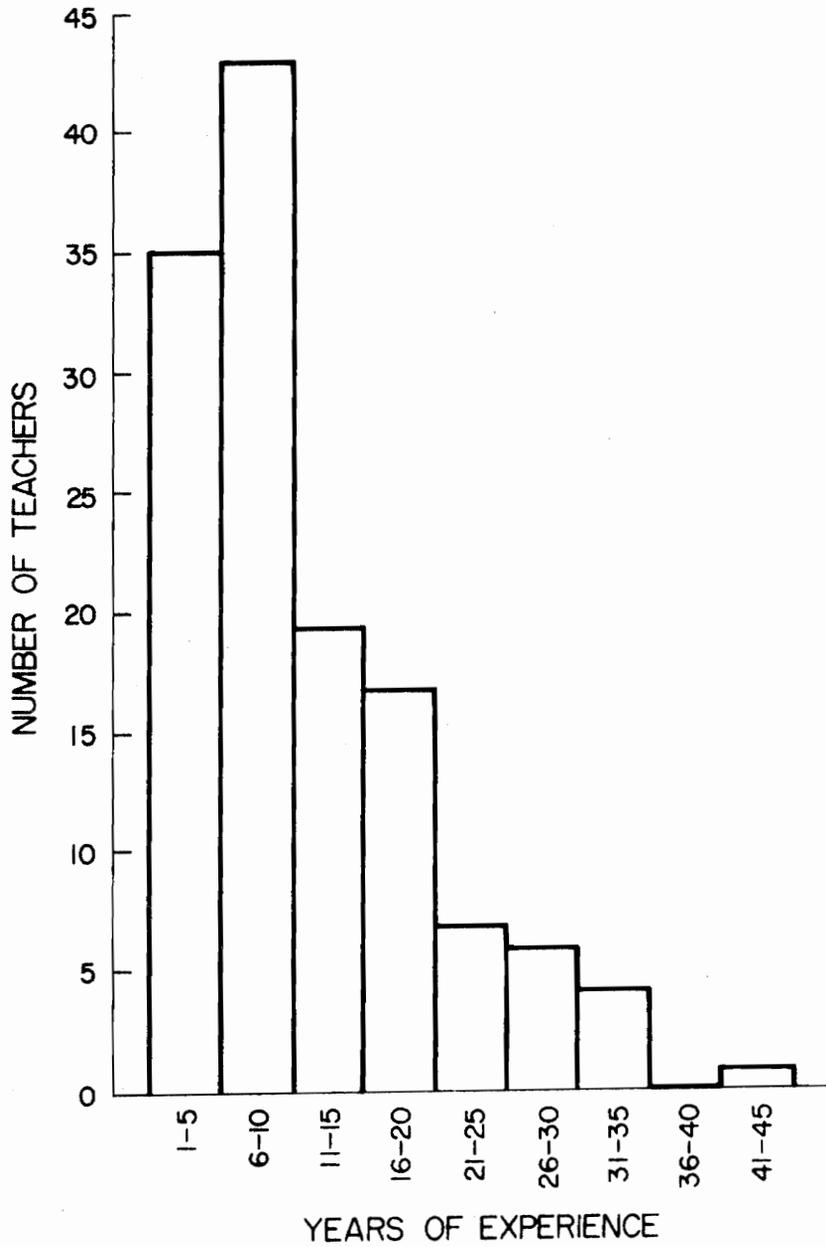
Figure 3

Teaching Experience of Postal Respondents

	Number of Responses	Percent of Responses
Always acceptable	398	5%
Informal acceptable	1755	21%
Questionable	880	10%
Never acceptable	5415	64%
Total	8448	100%

With 132 respondents considering the degree of acceptability of the 64 items, the number of judgments totaled 132 x 64 = 8,448. With the addition of the fourth column, "written and oral work," the number of judgments for degree of importance placed on the items in teaching was 132 x 64 = 8,448. By converting the raw scores to percentages, it was possible to establish the percentage of acceptance for each item and to determine the range of acceptability, i.e., the extent of the variation of responses between the extremes of "always acceptable" and "never acceptable." This information appears in the discussion of the separate items in Chapter 4.

By assigning the numerical value of 4 to "always acceptable," 3 to "informal acceptable," 2 to "questionable," and 1 to "never acceptable" and multiplying this assigned value by the observations (responses) in each acceptance category, a rank order of acceptance for the sixty-four items was established. This information is included in the discussion of the separate items in Chapter 4.

The Interview Sample

Before beginning the field research, the researcher interviewed a volunteer meeting the specifications of the study: a native of the county, a product of the local school system, a 1975 graduate of a county high school with no further formal education or training beyond high school, and an entry-level employee in a job category of large employment who had procured her job through an oral interview. The volunteer was from one of the five counties included in just the postal survey. The trial interview permitted the researcher to establish the approximate time of the interview, to check the validity of the inter- view questionnaire, and to test her interviewing techniques. The final form of the interview questionnaire was not determined until after the pilot interview.

The Interview Questionnaire

The questionnaire used in the oral interview incorporated some of the features of Shuy's (1968) questionnaire for the Detroit dialect study and that of Graves (unpublished dissertation) in his study of the language differences among upper-class and lower-class eighth graders, black and white. The interview questionnaire was designed for a limited purpose: the determination of linguistic features of careful speech of representative informants. Labov (1966) defined careful speech as the style of speech which is appropriate for an interview situation. For the purposes of this study, careful speech is operationally de- fined as controlled speech, marked by careful choice of words. In a

situation appropriate for careful speech, the speaker uses standard

forms of usage items over which he has control, but may use nonstandard

forms of usage items ingrained in his dialect. For the purposes of the

teaching of English, careful speech is an important aspect of an indi-

vidual's idiolect because it is the vehicle of social and economic

mobility (Kurath, 1971; Hook, 1972).

The interview questions were structured around the context of high

school education as career preparation. The questions were concerned

with classes, teachers, counselors, extra curricular activities, friends,

and the job world. A copy of the interview questionnaire appears in

Appendix C.

The Codesheet

The list of usage items resulting from the analysis of usage glos-

saries and handbooks in the seven language and textbook series on the

current Virginia state-adopted list provided the basis for coding the

speech characteristics of the five informants. The sixty-four items

of the postal questionnaire were classified in eight categories, includ-

ing (1) agreement usage, (2) verb usage, (3) pronoun usage, (4) modifier

usage, (5) lexical usage, (6) redundancy, (7) pronunciation, and (8)

other. The first four categories follow the divisions of the usage

sections which appear in every grade-level volume of the Harcourt, Brace,

Jovanovich Series. The classification of the sixty-four items under

these eight categories appears in Table 4. Classification according to

kind must necessarily be crude and arbitrary; clearly some items can be

considered under more than one of these headings. It was necessary,

Table 4

Categories of Usage Classification

I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII	
Agreement		**Verb**		**Pronoun**		**Modifier**		**Lexical**		**Redundancy**		**Other**	
Item	Item	Item	Item	Item	Item	Item	Item	Item	Item	Item	Item	Item	Item
1	There was a man, a woman	17	has drank	4	Let's you and I	19	looks well	26	accept Johnny	30	Irregardless	58	Act like
2	Neither . . . were	18	choir sung	6	It's . . . me	21	Drive slow	27	audience . . . was effected	39	That there dog	5	bankruptcy's when
3	None . . . were	20	laid down	8	Helen and me	22	sure is good	29	besides the stream	41	That fellow he		
7	Anyone . . . them	23	Leave me alone	9	between Jamie and myself	34	didn't do . . . bad	57	between the four	45	Can't help but		
15	Neither . . . their	28	ain't I?	10	between you and I	38	felt badly			48	off of the roof		
24	kind . . . are	31	I will be	11	who . . . for	43	Most anyone			49	where . . . at		
32	Neither . . . deserve	35	leave me help	12	whoever . . . delegates elect	46	real warm						
42	Coach . . . with players . . . were	36	setting up	13	older than me	50	kind of shy						
51	data . . . is	37	reached . . . forgot	14	of them . . . talking	54	pretty cute						
52	Anyone . . . they	47	wish I was	16	mentioned . . . you and I	56	moves slower						
		60	learned me	33	it was him	59	feel good						
		62	Lay down	44	by theirselves	61	them people						
		63	Sit the baby	53	team . . . of which	64	best . . . by . . . or through						

however, to devise some system of classification for coding the speech characteristics of the five informants. In some cases, the item could be judged as an isolated characteristic, as in the case of most of the items assigned to the lexical heading; however, "ain't," classified as verb usage, could also be considered an isolated characteristic. Some of the items had to be considered in relation to usages elsewhere on the list, e.g., "setting" (Item 36) and "sit" (Item 63). Many of the items served as a sample of a whole class of disputed usages, e.g., "has drank" (Item 17) as a sample of the nonstandard usage of verb forms.

Items classified as agreement usage included subject-verb concord and pronoun-antecedent concord. Verb usage included consistency of tense; incorrect verb forms; troublesome verbs, e.g., sit and set; and ain't. Items included in pronoun usage involved case of pronouns and use of -self compounds. Modifier usage included choice of part of speech (adverb or adjective) and comparison. Lexical items involved distortion of meaning, e.g., the confusion between "affect/effect. The items included under redundancy involved superfluous use of words. Three items on the questionnaire were classified as pronunciation by the researcher; these items were "then stew" (Item 40), "use to see" (Item 55) and "could of gone" (Item 25). As this study was not concerned with the phonological characteristics of the informant's speech, these three items were omitted in the coding of the taped interviews and in the discussion of the separate items. Two items of usage could not be classified under any of the other headings. These items,

coded as "other," included "bankruptcy is <u>when</u>" (Item 5) and "<u>like</u> you don't" (Item 58).

The codesheets consisted of seven categories--with the pronunciation category omitted--with two columns to code the standard and the nonstandard usage. The researcher coded the instances when the informant employed nonstandard usage in the negative (-) column and instances when he might have employed nonstandard usage, but did not, in the positive (+) column. The data from these codesheets were used to describe the specific characteristics of careful speech of the five informants who represent a particular age and social class in the limited subregion of this study.

The Job Categories

This study investigated the speech characteristics of persons at entry-level positions in job categories of large employment. The <u>Occupational Outlook Handbook</u> (1973-74) and the <u>Census of Population: 1970, Characteristics of the Population</u>, (1973) were used to identify ten job categories of large employment in Virginia. The following ten categories of large employment were identified:

1. Clerical: secretaries, stenographers, etc.;
2. Clerical: bookkeepers, file clerks, other;
3. Sales occupations: retail;
4. Sales occupations: wholesale, other;
5. Craftsman;
6. Operatives: durable goods manufacturing;
7. Operatives: nondurable good manufacturing;

8.   Laborers: except farm;

9.   Service workers: janitors, police, dry cleaners, others; and

10.   Service workers: food preparation and service.

Five job categories were randomly selected, one for each of the
five counties in alphabetical order. When no individuals meeting
the specifications of the study were employed in the job category se-
lected for a particular county, a second selection was made for the
county. The five job categories used in the study, given out of
assigned order to insure the anonymity of the informants, were as
follows:

1.   Clerical: bookkeepers, file clerks, other;

2.   Operatives: nondurable manufacturing;

3.   Craftsman;

4.   Sales occupations: retail; and

5.   Service workers: food preparation and service.

The Informants

According to Kurath (1972), the choice of a single informant
representing a social class for each community in a carefully limited
geographic region provides the most reliable information on a limited
corpus of linguistic features. The informants in this study repre-
sented a particular social class, i.e., recent high school graduates
without further formal education or training at entry-level positions
in job categories of large employment. In the methodology of dialec-
tology, the informants of this study would be characterized as II B,

with Type II being informants with high school education and/or fairly
wide reading and social contacts and Type B being middle-aged or
younger (Kurath, 1939).

The county high schools' follow-up studies of 1975 graduates
listed places of employment, but not the names of the graduates who
went into the employment. The procedure was followed to insure pri-
vacy. An employer matching the job category selected was contacted
for a personal interview. When there were several places of employ-
ment falling in the job category selected for a particular county,
one was randomly selected. During the interview with the employer,
the researcher explained the nature of the interview; i.e., questions
related to high school education as career preparation, and the
specifications for the informant. The real purpose of the interview,
i.e., the analysis of language usage, was not discussed unless the
employer or employee asked how the information provided by the inter-
view was to be used. When an informant was identified, permission to
talk with him at his place of employment was obtained. The willing-
ness of the employer and the identified informant to participate in
the study was a key factor in selection.

In three situations, employers permitted the researcher to inter-
view informants during work hours. The other informants were inter-
viewed after work hours or on a holiday. The setting in all cases
simulated the atmosphere of a formal job interview: the conference
room of a bank, the conference room of a manufacturing plant, the
conference room of a school board office, and a private office at a

school board office.

Each informant was a native of the county he represented, a product of the local school system, and a 1975 graduate of the county high school or schools. The informant, who is identified by an Arabic numeral to insure anonymity, may be classified according to age and by sex.

	Age	Sex
Informant 1	18	F
Informant 2	19	F
Informant 3	19	M
Informant 4	19	F
Informant 5	18	F

Three of the five informants had one parent deceased; none came from a broken home. Each informant was a third-generation resident of the county he represented on at least one parent's side. Information on the educational attainment and the occupations of the parents was obtained from the personal data form completed by each informant (Appendix D). A numerical value of 1-6 (high prestige to low prestige) was assigned the occupation of the father on the basis of Roe's (1956) two-way classification of occupations. In all five instances, the mother's occupation was listed as "housewife." This information is presented in Table 5.

The Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1974-75, provided the high school enrollment of the five counties

Table 5

Classification of Occupations

	Father's Education Attainment	Father's Occupation	Occupational Prestige Scale[a]
Informant 1	12	Electrician	4
Informant 2	5	Farm laborer	6
Informant 3	12	Kiln worker	5
Informant 4	7	State convict guard	6
Informant 5	5	Farm tenant	5

	Mother's Education Attainment	Mother's Occupation	
Informant 1	11	Housewife	
Informant 2	5	Housewife	
Informant 3	12	Housewife	
Informant 4	7	Housewife	
Informant 5	11	Housewife	

	Informant's Occupation	Occupation Prestige Scale	Social Mobility[b]
Informant 1	Bank Clerk	4	S (Steady)
Informant 2	Operative	6	S (Steady)
Informant 3	Auto body repairman	4	U (Upward)
Informant 4	Salesclerk	4	U (Upward)
Informant 5	Waitress	5	S (Steady)

[a]A. Roe, The Psychology of Occupations (New York: Wiley, 1956).

[b]William Labov, "The Effect of Social Mobility on Linguistic Behavior," Sociological Inquiry, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Spring, 1966) 186-203.

involved in the study and the number of graduates for the school year
1974-75. Statistics provided by the Census of Population: 1970,
Characteristics of the Population (1973), indicated that, in 1970,
approximately half of all eighteen and nineteen year old males and
females in those counties were in the labor force. As it relates to
this study, this information indicates that approximately half of this
particular age group (18-19 year olds), which should include most of
the recent high school graduates, were employed.

County	High school Enrollment (8-12)	1975 Graduates	18/19 year olds in labor force
Bland County	363	58	49.8%
Floyd County	851	127	44.9%
Giles County	1331	223	52.2%
Pulaski County	2440	389	55.7%
Wythe County	1779	288	53.8%

The Interview

When an employer matching the job category selected for a particu-
lar county was identified, he was contacted by telephone and arrange-
ments were made for a personal interview. At this meeting the method
of selecting the job category, the specifications for the informant,
and the procedures for interviewing the informant were explained. The
researcher obtained permission to ask questions pertaining to high
school education as career preparation, the pretext of the interview.
Two employers asked how the results were to be used, and the researcher

explained the real purpose and design of the study. Assured of the anonymity of the informant, the employers consented to participate. No informant asked how the results were to be used; all consented that the interviews be taped.

In four of the five counties, an informant was identified during the meeting between the researcher and the employer and was asked to participate in the study at that time. In the fifth county, three informants were contacted before one consented to participate in the study. Arrangements were made for the interview to take place in a setting simulating a formal job interview. Three informants were interviewed at their places of employment during working hours; the other two were interviewed after working hours.

	Job Category	Interview Setting
Informant 1	Clerical	Bank conference room
Informant 2	Operatives: Nondurable	Plant conference room
Informant 3	Craftsman	Conference room at large automobile distributor
Informant 4	Sales Occupation: retail	Conference room: school board office
Informant 5	Service worker: food	Private office: school board office

The interviews were taped on two tape recorders, one serving as a back-up precaution: a Lafayette Cassette recorder, AK81, and a Wollensak magnetic tape recorder. The recorders were kept in full view to add to the formal atmosphere of the interview.

McDavid (1972:46) proposed that the interview be organized around topics in order not to resemble a testing format. The interview for this study was organized around the topic of high school education as career preparation, with subtopics of classes, teachers, counselors, friends, extra curricular activities, and the real job world. The questions at the beginning of the interview were short-answer questions to set the stage for questions that elicited free conversation. The researcher found that nonverbal communication--nods of approval or encouragement, smiles--worked well as conversational stimuli, as did verbal cues such as "What did you do then?" or "Was that the usual procedure?"

The pace of the interview was determined by the informant. The questionnaire was not followed in the same sequence in all interviews, as the researcher attempted to take advantage of opportunities for free conversation. The times of the recorded interviews were as follows:

	Time of Interview
Informant 1	38 minutes
Informant 2	38 minutes
Informant 3	42 minutes
Informant 4	40 minutes
Informant 5	43 minutes

Analysis of Interviews

The oral interviews were transcribed and typed. The transcript of the interview with Informant 2 is included in Appendix E. The typed

copies were analyzed for the limited number of linguistic characteris-
tics identified in the analysis of the usage glossaries and handbooks.
These characteristics were coded in seven categories: agreement
usage, verb usage, pronoun usage, modifier usage, lexical usage, re-
dundancy, and other. The researcher coded the occurrence of non-
standard usage as a - and the speech areas where the informant might
have employed nonstandard forms, but did not, with a +. The cumula-
tive responses in each category, both + and -, were converted to per-
centages for each informant. These data appear in the discussion of
the separate items in Chapter 4. The frequency of errors in the
various categories was graphed to allow comparison of the predominant
characteristics of the informants' speaking habits. This information
appears in Figure 11 of Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Chapter 4 presents the data derived from the examination of the unpublished Atlas field records, the analysis of the postal survey, and the analysis of the codesheets of the interview transcripts. In the first part of the chapter, the sixty-four items of the postal survey are discussed in relation to

1. Leonard's usage study,

2. Pooley's and McDavid's lists of usage items that serve as social markers,

3. Dictionary treatment of the particular word or phrase,

4. Findings of the Atlas field records of the South Atlantic States,

5. Results of the postal survey, and

6. Data from the coded transcripts.

Thus, each of the sixty-four discussions includes six distinct sections presented in the order described above. In addition, the textbook treatment of the particular item is given to serve as a basis for the discussion. Since a great deal of information and data is presented in the discussions, introductory material before the actual discussions gives the major source of information for each section and defines terminology so that references to sources and page numbers will not encumber the discussion.

In the second part of the chapter, the coded transcripts of the five interviews are discussed in relation to the broad categories of agreement usage, verb usage, pronoun usage, modifier usage, lexical usage, redundancy, and other. These data are used in describing a limited number of linguistic characteristics of the careful speech of persons at entry-level positions in job categories of large employment in selected counties of Virginia.

Sources for Discussion

Each of the sixty-four items on the postal survey is discussed in relation to six sources of linguistic information.

Textbook Treatment

The sixty-four items of the postal survey were garnered from an analysis of seven language textbook series on the current state-adopted list. The textbook treatment of each item is, therefore, presented as a basis for the discussion. With a few exceptions, the rules for and descriptions of the items were taken from the Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich Series. The series, the most prescriptive and traditional on the state-adopted list, is referred to as Warriner in in the discussions of the sixty-four items. Of the seven series, the Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich Series edited by Warriner, et al., was adopted and used, totally or in part, by four of the five counties included in the primary research of the study.

Leonard's Study

Each of the sixty-four items of the postal questionnaire is discussed in relation to Leonard's study. In his survey, Leonard included 230 words and expressions generally questioned by textbooks and handbooks. Since textbook treatment of specific items of usage served as the basis for the postal questionnaire of the present study, many of the sixty-four items correspond to items in Leonard's study. All of the material for this section of the separate discussions is taken from Current Usage in Grammar by Sterling A. Leonard (1932). A detailed review of Leonard's study is included in Chapter 2 of this study.

McDavid's and Pooley's Lists of Linguistic Social Markers

Each of the sixty-four items of the postal questionnaire is discussed in relation to McDavid's list of twenty-six diagnostic linguistic features and Pooley's list of twenty-five minimum standards of cultivated usage. All the material presented in this section of the separate discussions is taken from "A Checklist of Significant Features for Discriminating Social Dialects" by Raven I. McDavid, Jr. (1967) and The Teaching of English Usage by Robert C. Pooley (1974). A review of the two lists is included in Chapter 2 of the present study.

Dictionary Treatment

Each of the sixty-four items of the postal questionnaire is discussed in relation to the treatment of the item in Webster's Third International Dictionary of the English Language, the Random House

Dictionary of the English Language, or the American Heritage Dictionary

of the English Language. Because of the rather strict compression of

data in the discussion of the sixty-four items, the titles of the dic-

tionaries have been abbreviated. Webster's Third (p. 19a) employs the

status level "substandard" for words or phrases in use throughout

the "American language community" but different from that of the

"prestige group in the community." The editors attach the label "sub-

standard" to words that "can hardly stand without some status label

but are too widely current in reputable context" for the substandard

stigma.

The judgments of the Usage Panel of the American Heritage are

presented in percentages in sections labeled Usage at the end of

various word entries in the dictionary. The editors (p. xlvi) attach

"nonstandard" to words and phrases that are in common use but "have

never been admitted to standard language." Other labels such as

"informal," "vulgar," "slang," and "obsolete" are also used.

In the prefatory material of Random House, the editors state

that labels are used to mark entries restricted to a level of usage

but do not list or define the actual labels. In the entries, one

finds labels such as "colloquial," "informal," and "nonstandard."

A review of the three dictionaries is included in Chapter 2 of

the present study.

Linguistic Atlas Field Records

The unpublished field records of ten Southwest Virginia counties

included in the South Atlantic States project of the Linguistic Atlas

were examined by the researcher. The counties were Bland, Floyd, Pulaski, Grayson, Roanoke, Franklin, Craig, Washington, Russell, and Bedford. Bland, Floyd, and Pulaski were three of the five counties chosen for the primary research of the present study. Grayson was one of the five additional counties included in the postal survey of the present study. The counties investigated by the Atlas field workers, like the counties included in the research of the present study, are in the mountainous region of Southwest Virginia. Figure 4 shows the geographic location of the ten counties included in the Atlas project. Figure 5 shows the cross representation of the sixteen counties in relation to (1) the Atlas dialect study, (2) the postal survey of the present study, and (3) the oral interviews of the present study.

The Linguistic Atlas for Middle and South Atlantic States, or LAMSAS, was begun in 1933 with Guy S. Lowman doing most of the field-work. The work, interrupted by Lowman's death and by World War II, was completed by Raven I. McDavid in 1949. A total of seventy-five Virginia counties were included in the Atlas project. At the present time, the records are being edited for publication by McDavid and by O'Cain of the University of South Carolina. Generally, two informants were interviewed in each county; however, three informants were inter-viewed in Roanoke County and only one in Russell County. Data on the sex and age of the twenty informants at the time of the interviews and the classifications assigned them are presented in Table 6.

Most of the material presented in the Atlas section of the
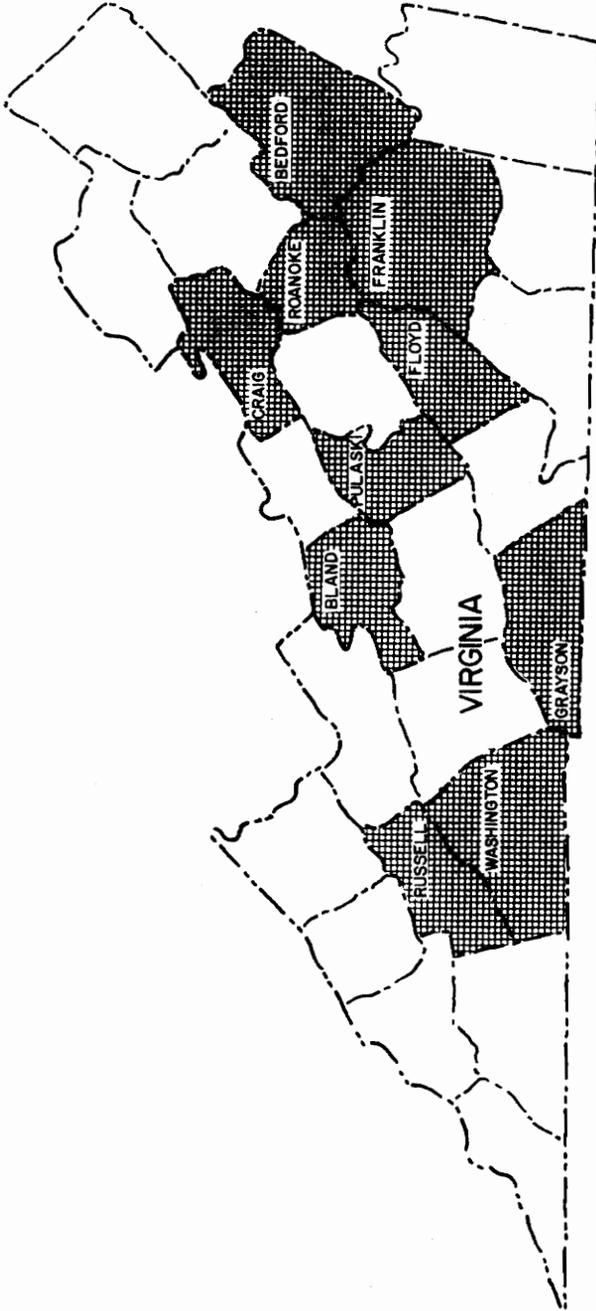
Figure 4

Ten Southwest Virginia Counties in the Atlas Dialect Study
of the South Atlantic States.

SURVEY / COUNTY	ATLAS	POSTAL	ORAL
BEDFORD	●		
BLAND	●	●	●
CARROLL		●	
CRAIG	●		
FLOYD	●	●	●
FRANKLIN	●		
GILES		●	●
GRAYSON	●	●	
PATRICK		●	
PULASKI	●	●	●
ROANOKE	●		
RUSSELL	●		
SMYTH		●	
TAZEWELL		●	
WASHINGTON	●		
WYTHE		●	●

Figure 5

Southwest Virginia Counties in the Atlas Survey,
Postal Survey, and Oral Survey

Table 6

Sex, Age, and Classification of Atlas Informants[a]

County	Sex	Age	Type
Bedford	F	59	I
	F	83	I
Bland	F	48	I
	F	61	I
Craig	F	73	I
	M	80	I
Floyd	M	52	I
	F	79	I
Franklin	M	52	I
	F	70	I
Grayson	F	51	I
	M	75	I
Pulaski	F	--*	I
	M	83	I
Roanoke	F	35	III
	M	56	I
Russell	M	63	I
Washington	F	56	II
	M	77	I

*Middle-aged

[a]Unpublished records of the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States.

individual discussions of the sixty-four items was taken from the actual field records; however, information about the various methods of inquiry was taken from A Manual for Dialect Research in the Southern States edited by Lee Pederson (1974). A review of the methodology of dialectology was presented in Chapter 2 of the present study.

Postal Survey

Each of the sixty-four items of the postal questionnaire is discussed in relation to the findings of the postal survey. Respondents were asked to indicate the degree of acceptability they assigned each item by making a check (√) in the appropriate column: (1) always acceptable, (2) informal acceptable, (3) questionable, and (4) never acceptable. By assigning the numerical value of 4 to "always acceptable," 3 to "informal acceptable," 2 to "questionable," and 1 to "never acceptable," and multiplying this assigned value by the number of responses in each acceptance category, a rank order of acceptability from 1 (high) to 64 (low) was established. This ranking is presented in Table 7.

On the postal questionnaire the respondent indicated the degree of importance placed on each item in classroom language instruction by checking "written work," "oral work," or "neither." The teachers checked both "written work" and "oral work" for those items they stressed in class; therefore, a fourth column "written and oral" was added to the tally sheets. By assigning the numerical value of 4 to "written and oral," 3 to "written," 2 to "oral," and 1 to "neither" and

Table 7

Order of Acceptability of Usage Items

Rank Order	Item Number	Item	Degree of Acceptability (4 pt. scale)
1	31	I will be	3.121
2	23	Leave me alone	2.705
3	51	The data . . . is	2.576
4	6	It's . . . me	2.500
5	56	he moves slower	2.417
6	12	whoever . . . the delegates elect	2.364
7	3	None . . . were	2.326
8	11	Who . . . for?	2.303
9	50	kind of shy	2.295
10	54	pretty cute	2.280
11	45	can't help but	2.235
12	58	Act like you	2.212
13	46	real warm	2.083
14	57	between the four schools	2.076
15	22	It sure is	2.038
16	38	mentioned both you and I	1.977
17	33	it was him	1.970
18	21	Drive slow	1.932
19	5	Bankruptcy is when	1.894
20	37	By the time John reached . . . forgot	1.856
21	43	Most anyone	1.833
22	24	kind . . . are	1.818
23	59	you feel good	1.811
24	14	of them . . . talking	1.795
25	47	I wish I was	1.773
26	7	anyone . . . them	1.765
27	34	I didn't do too bad	1.720
28	64	best . . . by . . . or through	1.712
29	1	There was a man, a woman	1.644
30	4	Let's you and I	1.643
31	13	older than me	1.640
32	53	team . . . of which	1.636

Table 7 (Continued)

Rank Order	Item Number	Item	Degree of Acceptability (4 pt. scale)
33	19	looks well in that dress	1.561
34	32	Neither the principal nor the teacher deserve	1.545
35	62	Lay down	1.458
36	52	Anyone . . . they	1.482
37	9	. . . between Jamie and myself	1.462
38	42	The coach . . . with . . . players were	1.460
39	63	Sit the baby	1.439
40	2	Neither . . . were	1.432
41	55	I use to see	1.409
42	20	She had just laid down	1.341
43	28	ain't I?	1.318
44	30	Irregardless	1.288
45	49	where at	1.286
46	15	Neither their . . . them	1.242
47	48	off of	1.227
48	18	choir sung	1.205
49	16	mentioned both you and I	1.197
50	10	between you and I	1.189
51	36	turns setting up with	1.159
52	27	audience was . . . effected	1.136
53	41	That fellow he	1.134
54	25	could of gone . . .	1.129
55	35	won't leave me	1.121
56	29	besides the trees	1.098
57	40	better then stew	1.077
58	39	That there dog	1.076
59	8	Helen and me went	1.068
60	26	go accept John	1.066
61	60	Mrs. Haley learned me	1.061
62	17	has drank	1.053
63	44	by theirselves	1.038
64	61	to them people	1.015

multiplying this assigned value by the number of responses in each importance category, a rank order of importance from 1 (high) to 64 (low) was established. This information is presented in Table 8.

By converting the raw scores, i.e., the number of responses, in each acceptance category to percentages, it was possible to establish the percentage of teachers accepting an individual item. Using the percentages, it was possible to determine the spread or range of acceptability, i.e., the extent of variation of responses between the extremes of "always acceptable" and "never acceptable." A wide spread indicated strong agreement on the part of the teachers. For example, Item 61 had the widest spread, with no teacher voting for acceptance in all speech situations and 99 percent of the teachers banding together in a strong vote of condemnation. A small spread indicated strong disagreement among the teachers. For example, Item 51 ranked at the bottom of the order of spread with 26 percent of the teachers condemning the usage and 24 percent accepting it in all speech situations. The five items showing the greatest range of acceptability were near the bottom of the order of acceptability, indicating that the majority of the teachers disapproved the usages. The five were in the top half of the order of importance.

Rank of Spread	Item	Rank of Acceptability	Rank Importance
1	61. to them people	64	5
2	44. by theirselves	63	1
3	39. that there dog	58	11
4	26. accept John	60	19
5	60. learned me	61	3

Table 8

Ranking of Items According to Importance Placed
on them in Classroom Language Instruction

Rank Order	Item Number	Item	Degree of Importance (4 pt. scale)
1	44	by theirselves	3.583
2	8	Helen and me went	3.530
3	60	Mrs. Haley learned me	3.492
4	17	has drank	3.462
5	61	to them people	3.447
6	28	ain't I?	3.424
7	18	choir sung	3.402
8	16	mentioned . . . you and I	3.348
9	10	between you and I	3.326
10	36	setting up with	3.311
11	39	That there dog	3.307
12	20	had . . . laid down	3.258
13	63	Sit the baby	3.242
14	49	where . . . at	3.227
15	62	Lay down	3.189
16	41	That fellow he	3.182
17	57	between the four	3.152
18	25	could of gone	3.150
19	26	accept John	3.129
20	15	Neither . . . their . . . them	3.106
21	42	Coach with . . . players were	3.053
22	2	Neither . . . were	3.045
23	3	None . . . were	3.038
24	1	There was a man, a woman	3.030
25	33	was him	3.023
26	13	older than me	3.015
27	48	jumped off of	3.008
28	47	wish I was	3.000
29	9	between Jamie and myself	2.992
30	7	anyone . . . them	2.991
31	52	Anyone . . . they	2.989
32	34	didn't do . . . bad	2.985

Table 8 (Continued)

Rank Order	Item Number	Item	Degree of Importance (4 pt. scale)
33	27	audience was effected	2.977
34	6	It's . . . me	2.962
35	32	Neither . . . nor . . . deserve	2.955
36	21	Drive slow	2.953
37	64	Is it best	2.909
38	59	You feel good	2.906
39	29	besides the stream	2.894
40	14	of them . . . talking	2.891
41	11	who . . . for	2.889
42	40	better then stew	2.886
43	35	leave me help	2.856
44	24	kind of peanuts are	2.841
45	12	whoever the delegates elect	2.833
46	22	sure is	2.826
47	4	Let's you and I	2.811
48	53	team . . . of which	2.788
49	38	felt badly	2.780
50	46	real warm	2.689
51	55	use to see	2.686
52	30	Irregardless	2.674
53	37	reached . . . he forgot	2.652
54	56	moves slower	2.636
55	43	Most anyone	2.614
56	19	looks well	2.591
57	50	kind of shy	2.553
58	5	Bankruptcy is when	2.492
59	31	I will be	2.477
60	58	Act like you	2.409
61	23	Leave me alone	2.402
62	45	Cant't help but	2.311
63	51	data . . . is	2.310
64	54	pretty cute	2.288

Conversely, the five items showing the least spread between the two extremes of acceptability ranked near the top of the order of tolerance, indicating that teachers were divided in their opinions as to the status of the usages. With the exception of Item 3, the items were not high in the priorities of classroom language instruction.

Rank of Spread	Item	Rank of Acceptability	Rank of Importance
60	12. whoever the delegates elect	6	45
61	56. moves slower	5	54
62	3. none . . . were	7	23
63	23. Leave me alone	2	61
64	51. data . . . is	3	63

Each item was assigned a usage status: established, disputable, or illiterate. An item disapproved by 20 percent or less of the respondents was classified as established; an item disapproved by 80 percent or more of the respondents was classified as illiterate; and an item disapproved by more than 20 percent but less than 80 percent of the respondents was classified as disputable. This information is presented in the separate discussions of the sixty-four items of usage.

Oral Interviews

Each of the sixty-four items on the postal questionnaire is discussed in relation to the analyses of the five interviews. The interviews were conducted in atmospheres simulating formal job interviews;

therefore, the informants should have employed their careful speech appropriate to an interview situation. The typed transcripts of the interviews were analyzed for the limited number of linguistic features delineated in the postal questionnaire. These characteristics were coded in seven categories: agreement usage, verb usage, pronoun usage, modifier usage, lexical usage, redundancy, and other. This information is presented in Table 9. Utterances in which the informant employed nonstandard usage or, for some items, informal usage were coded (-) negative. Utterances in which the informant might have employed nonstandard forms, but did not, were coded (+), positive.

Discussion of Separate Items

Item Number 1: There <u>was</u> a man, a woman, and two children in the car.

The textbook rule states "when the subject follows the verb, as in questions and in sentences beginning with <u>here</u> and <u>there</u>, be careful to determine the subject and make sure that the verb agrees with it."

Leonard's survey included the sentence "There <u>was</u> a bed, a dresser, and two chairs in the room." In Leonard's list of 230 disputed usages, this usage was ranked ninetieth, established, by the linguists; and Leonard concluded that this usage could not be considered incorrect in informal cultivated speech. The expression, however, was condemned as illiterate by ninety-eight of the other judges and rated disputable by the whole group of judges.

McDavid did not include this particular expression in his list of significant features for discriminating social dialects. Pooley,

Table 9

Agreement Usage
(Items 1, 2, 3, 7, 15, 24, 32, 42, 51, 52)

Item	Response (+)	Response (−)
1	There were about a few in there there were about three	there's not enough (students) to have there wasn't very many to take there's several at the court-house there was about three they was about fifteen they's men they's boys they's twelve in the box they's some inspectors it's just about two that writes me now there's two there was two or three guys it's just about two or three little holes it was my two friends too there was about thirteen of them there was about six schools there is just so many differ-ent kinds of dents there was two different teachers there's just so many jobs there was different teachers for both there was different things there is too many dates to re-member there was a couple there was nine pages there's two there was some other groups there is a couple of them working there's some working there's some working

Table 9 (Continued)

Item	Response (+)	Response (−)
		there was two of them there's just certain people it was National Honor Society members it was departments
2, 3	most of them have some of them are going one of my friends wants one of them wants most of them are most of them were	most of them's going to college the one that helped me the most were I didn't think any of them were as modern some of them's working there
7, 15, 52	fix them . . . then ours go any of my friends would be in my class but they were the ones that were going to college for people who were going to college somebody you wanted to be . . . put an application in front of him several that were in students who are doing very highly	fix them . . . which is ours go to each teller's window and pick up their each of us to spend . . . our spending money there's just two that writes me now ones that hasn't been done people that's low income all of the things that was about things that was happening other one . . . they talked depends on the person's point of view . . . the way they talk bring anybody . . . sign their name each would take a page and then they two that is working one of these guys that's weird
24, 32, 42, 51	credits mean how commercials were made you were being we were pep rallies has-have-changed you were able to take things	debits means dances was the biggest money maker I thinks they did what you was going to do if you wasn't getting in

Table 9 (Continued)

Item	Response (+)	Response (−)
	you weren't getting you were going on to college you were going into you were graded on cook doesn't my shoes were untied what the subjects were a couple have jobs. the teacher doesn't	you was in it three different years you was in D.E.I. we was graded on it

Verb Usage
(Items 17, 18, 20, 23, 28, 31, 35, 36, 37, 47, 60, 62, 63)

Item	Response (+)	Response (−)
17, 18	that girl hadn't taken notes	I should have took we come we . . . seen I seen this factory I really liked it when I come in here we just come in here I knowed something about that he done we eat lunch together and went it come at about we seen that's how close I come I would took you supposed but they all done it just come easier that a man run one that just come in on us we seen how we'd been graded you done he had drove in the city she hadn't took notes
20, 23, 35, 36, 60, 62, 63	I enjoy learning would teach one learning the different she would teach just one year . . . taught teaching me the subject	setting by my machine get back in your seat and set there he brought us over we bring in maybe two or three we'd come to school and set

Table 9 (Continued)

Item	Response (+)	Response (-)
	slower to learn	you're setting there
	let them get out of hand	that girl set there
	he laid me off	I'd set beside her
	skills that we learned	
	to let you understand	
	set it on a box	
	to set it on	
	I lay the ones	
	teach her the multiplication	
	he taught us how	
	she was teaching	
	let us use our head	
	she taught us Spanish	
	let us do it	
	let me help her	
	let us fix it	
	she let me help that girl	
	she taught the class	
	should let them help them	
	let the students run over	
	just leave them untied	
	the way she taught	
	leaving them united	
	she'd been teaching	
	she was teaching it	
	he'd let them do it	
	would let us know	
	who lets you express	
	they taught us	
	just up there to teach	
	was getting set up	
	there to teach	
	getting laid off	
	got laid off	
28		she ain't found
		if I ain't mistaken
		if I ain't mistaken
31		
37	we seen (saw) how we had been graded	now I watch the news and stuff more after I had it we had about 35 went

Table 9 (Continued)

Item	Response (+)	Response (−)
	I would have gotten a better job if I had gone	we knew each other ever since we were in
		I wouldn't have know . . . if it wasn't
		she showed us . . . how we
		` would be using the . . . that we learned in
		they are wanting to show that they are growing up
		if it was printed part of the students might have been able
40		I wouldn't have done that if I hadn't 've
41		it better be better than the worksheet I had turned in
		she knew she said it wrong
47		if it was a larger school
		if I was you

Pronoun Usage
(Items 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 33, 44, 53)

Item	Response (+)	Response (−)
4, 8, 10, 13, 16	brought us over--me and a friend	Between Mrs. . . . and I
	picked me and two other guys	
	than I am	
	than I am	
	most of my friends and I . . . had	
6, 33		
14		just you having the material
		them standing there watching me
		anybody standing over them

Table 9 (Continued)

Item	Response (+)	Response (-)
		I can see us taking one or two years
11, 12, 53	(checks) which are ours several who showed films who my parents were who sold how much who lets you express buffer which has . . . pad who are college-bound who could just get along who had a car who was going to college who had different things which ends about half an hour who are doing who was real short who taught me to drive	had perfect attendance . . . missed two days--that's how close I come we were all going to take the same class . . . which really surprised me they talked to the teacher . . . that's what got him his job who you had to paying attention to
9, 44	killed himself	did most of the work their- selves let us do it ourself paint a car by ourself

Modifier Usage
(Items 19, 21, 22, 34, 38, 43, 46, 50, 54, 56, 59, 61, 64)

Item	Response (+)	Response (-)
19, 54, 34, 38	understand her . . . well just felt comfortable	could just understand good it didn't look good something looks good just didn't like it as good we have done pretty good
21, 43, 56	are slower to learn got a F honestly getting a B dishonestly who are doing . . . highly was dating steadily as far as we got work got slow	it just come easier I do it regular now send those off different have exams and tests a lot drove in the city a lot worked with FCA a lot confuses you a lot

Table 9 (Continued)

Item	Response (+)	Response (−)
	patience mostly just mostly taught me mostly they just talked anyway	probably work somewheres most all of them are I think they did some just wanted to work somewheres that's about the most we've gone when I'm out somewheres
22, 46, 54	a very good place fuss very much it was really good most of them were really good it was really hard very young really nice doing very highly	she was just real understanding I'm not real close pretty rowdy real good pretty good real pleased real well a real good job awful hard real good real modern real close to me pretty smooth real dull, dull shine real, real fine sanding they were really-real-concerned pretty amazing jumped back awful fast pretty excited one time real short a real nice teacher pretty nice
19, 61	those little scribbling things	them little things
50		sort of like an office sort of wanted me was sort of nervous sort of got on her nerves was sort of nervous it feels sort of funny they sort of tend watched sort of like from the others sort of strict was sort of weird

Table 9 (Continued)

Item	Response (+)	Response (−)
64	my reference gave me the biggest push are slower to learn it was a larger school could have gotten a better job understand her better get off earlier than the other factories they'd treat some people better could have made better friends a student can explain it better I made the best friends	most funniest thing

Lexical Usage
(Items 26, 27, 29, 57)

Item	Response (+)	Response (−)
26		accept it didn't accept for me
27		
29	beside (of) my machine beside her	
57		

Redundancy
(Items 30, 39, 41, 45, 48, 49)

Item	Response (+)	Response (−)
30, 45	I didn't have any idea they didn't cheat somebody I hadn't done anything I don't have any conversations	there wasn't no job didn't hardly fuss very can't hardly tell

Table 9 (Continued)

Item	Response (+)	Response (−)
	we didn't have to pay for any- thing and don't know anything they don't want any help hadn't heard anything I hadn't even taken any I never could find anyone when there was no jobs available they didn't need any more help	
39		
41		my older sister she didn't go my father he died our teacher he taught my history teacher she was when the girls they would some counselors . . . they just kept most of my friends and I we economics it shows you general business it shows some teachers they sort of tend my sister . . . she
48, 49	pockets on the garment out the window	in between classes on account of so it sewed it on to the garment beside of my machine know where I'm at won't rust back up through accept for me that you have off of your total I cook in between one and three o'clock

Table 9 (Continued)

Item	Response (+)	Response (−)
	Other Usage (Items 58, 5)	
48	cash-in is money coming into the bank it was the time when there were no jobs	that is where I have to go to each teller cash-out is where they take it out best part is when I get my tickets other one is where I come from
5		teach us like in the medical field I felt like it was at a time seemed like she mentioned stuff feel like you're following them around felt like you were getting into more wasn't like it use to be feels . . . like everybody's watching you act like you're an accountant like it was departments give . . . like a boss would normally he looked . . . like I had been

however, listed it as a minimum requirement of standard usage. In his discussion of the usage, he acknowledged "another victory of usage over logical grammar," especially in relation to the contraction of the expletive and the verb, i.e., there's, as an accepted pattern for introducing the subject, singular or plural.

Neither Webster's Third nor Random House refer to a usage question in the entry for there. American Heritage concedes that, in this construction, a singular verb can be used before a compound subject when both elements of the subject are singular, e.g., "There is much pain and toil involved," or when the first part of the compound subject is singular, e.g., "There was a man and two children in the car."

According to the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, Frame 25.2, "There are many people who think," elicited fourteen single forms, there's, and four plural forms, there are. The cultured informant chose the plural verb. Fieldworker Rachel S. Harris couched the item in the following context: "If I ask you if you think--[using the name of any candidate] is going to be elected, you might say, 'No, but . . .'"; and the informant would then employ the expletive there plus his choice of verb number (is or are) to complete the sentence. Another inverted subject item, Frame 25.1, "Here are your clothes," elicited sixteen single forms, here's, and three plural forms, here are. Again, the cultured informant chose the plural verb.

The singular verb with the compound inverted subject was considered always acceptable by 5 percent of the teachers responding to the postal survey but was condemned as never acceptable by 65 percent

of the teachers. The spread between the two extremes of acceptability was 60 percent, placing the item close to midpoint on both the acceptability scale and the spread scale.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 1	29	33	24	Disputable

The informants combined the introductory word-singular verb-plural subject pattern a total of thirty-three times. This usage was the most frequent single item coded for the five informants. Informant 3 combined the introductory word-plural verb-plural subject pattern in two utterances; no other informant used a plural verb in the pattern. Bailey (1968) maintained that a non-standard dialect often substitutes "it is" or "it was" for the standard "there is" or "there was." Informant 3 and Informant 5 each combined two it-singular verb-plural subject patterns. Informant 2 employed they's in the pattern instead of the standard there's, e.g., "They's about fifteen or so in the class."

Item Number 2: Neither of his arguments were really valid.

Warriner lists the following words as singular: each, either, neither, one, no one, every one, anyone, someone, everyone, anybody, somebody, everybody. Included in an exercise containing subject and verb agreement errors is this sentence: "Neither of the stories were good enough to publish." Item 2 is incorrect usage according to Warriner's rule.

In Leonard's study the expression "Neither of your reasons are really valid" was ranked 130, disputable, by the linguists. Leonard noted that the linguists ranked this item higher than did the teachers responding to the survey. Fries (1940) found the plural verb commonly used with neither by both Group II, the users of "common" English, and Group I, the users of "standard" English.

McDavid did not include this usage in his checklist of social markers. Pooley identified concord with antecedent pronouns such as one, anyone, each, no one, either, and neither as a minimum standard. Pooley cautioned that these indefinite pronouns could not be limited to singular use only.

Webster records the pronoun neither as singular in construction in most instances but often plural in a construction with an intervening periphrastic genitive, e.g., "Neither of them were in." American Heritage limits it as a pronoun to two, citing none as the proper pronoun when more than two are involved. In correct usage, according to the Usage Panel of the American Heritage, neither takes a singular verb, e.g., "Neither of the houses is finished."

In the worksheet of the Linguistic Atlas for the South Atlantic States, this usage was not included in the items of grammar or usage.

Results of the postal survey show that only 3 percent of the teachers considered this usage acceptable in all social situations while 74 percent negated it for any situation, creating a relatively large spread.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 2	40	26	22	Disputable

Item 2 was coded as an agreement usage in the analysis of the transcripts. Of the eighty-nine coded responses in the agreement category, ten were directly related to the problem of singular or plural meaning of an indefinite pronoun subject. Six responses coded positive included the following:

"Most of them were"

"Most of them have"

"One of my friends wants"

"One of them wants"

"Some of them are going"

"Most of them are"

Four responses coded negative included the following:

"Most of them's going to college"

"The one that helped me the most were"

"Some of them's working here"

"I didn't think any of them were as modern"

(Informant 3 in the last response was comparing the vocational shops of three other schools to the shop of the informant's school.)

Item Number 3: None of our students were involved.

This sentence is from Warriner, offered as an example of the plural meaning of none. None, according to Warriner, may be either

singular or plural, depending on the meaning of the sentence. Warriner lists some, any, all, and most as pronouns with singular-plural property. A usage note following the example explains that, although a singular verb could have been used in the example, the plural verb is the preferable form in modern English usage. Item 3 is correct usage according to Warriner.

Leonard's survey included the item "None of them are here." The judges were not unanimous in their acceptance of this item, although the teachers joined with the linguists in placing it in the class of established usages. The linguists ranked it 37 of the 230 items; the whole group of judges ranked it 84. Twenty-two authors and editors classified it as illiterate usage.

This item is not included in McDavid's list of linguistic social markers. Pooley contended that modern usage permits a singular or plural verb in this construction, particularly in informal contexts.

Random House presents two examples, one with a singular verb, "None of the members is going," and one with a plural verb, "None were left when I came." Webster's Third agrees none may be either singular or plural in construction, as did 68 percent of American Heritage's Usage Panel.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, there was no item similar to this in construction.

The teachers ranked this item high in acceptability, seventh of the sixty-four items. In formal or informal contexts, according to 44 percent of the teachers, the usage is standard; however, 39

percent of the teachers would not accept it in any speech situation. The factions were rather evenly divided so that the spread was negligible.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 3	7	62	23	Disputable

Item 3 was coded as agreement usage. The informants' responses related to the problem of agreement between an indefinite pronoun subject and the verb are included in the discussion of Item 2.

Item Number 4: Let's you and I try to help her.

Warriner states that the subject of an infinitive is in the objective case and an appositive is in the same case as the word with which it is in apposition. One sentence in a review exercise asks the student to choose the correct case of the pronoun: "He refused to let (us, we) boys help him." In this sentence us is the subject of the infinitive help and boys is in apposition to us. In Item 4, us is the subject of the infinitive and the pronouns you and I are in apposition to us. Item 4 was adapted from an example of pronoun usage in the Conlin series; the exact sentence read, "Let's you and me try especially hard to improve our scores." Item 4 would be incorrect usage by Warriner's definition.

Leonard did not include this usage in his study. Neither McDavid nor Pooley considered it a minimum standard of linguistic social acceptance.

Webster's Third and Random House acknowledge that let's is a
contraction of let us but make no further comment. American Heritage
adds that let is followed by objective pronouns in constructions such
as "Let you and her do it."

The frames of the Atlas worksheets were constructed to elicit
phonological, lexical, and--to a limited extent--syntactic or gram-
matical features. The construction dealt with in Item 4 was perhaps
too complicated for the interview format.

The teachers reacted with some degree of tolerance to this item
with 23 percent of the teachers accepting it in formal and informal
situations. With 61 percent of teachers condemning the usage, the
usage was ranked thirtieth of the sixty-four items of the survey.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 4	30	35	47	Disputable

Item 4 was coded as pronoun usage. Informant 3 was the only
informant to employ an appositional element and his construction was
standard usage: "brought us over--me and a friend."

Item Number 5: Bankruptcy is when one's debits exceed one's credits.

Warriner cautions the student to avoid using when and where in
definitions.

Leonard's study included "Intoxication is when the brain is
affected by certain stimulants." The English teachers voted four to one
to classify this usage as illiterate; the linguists rated it disputable.

The lists of McDavid and Pooley did not include this item.

Random House states that this construction is not used in care-
ful English, suggesting that an expression such as "A holiday is when
we have time off" be rewritten "A holiday is an occasion when we have
time off." American Heritage agrees that the construction is not
acceptable usage.

This construction did not appear in the Atlas field records
examined by the researcher.

The results of the postal survey ranked Item 5 nineteenth of the
sixty-four items, with 32 percent of the teachers accepting it in
formal and informal situations. Thirty-one percent of the teachers
did not consider this usage important enough to take up classroom
instruction time.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 5	19	48	58	Disputable

Item Number 6: Don't be frightened. It's just me.

The Warriner handbook rule states that a predicate nominative
is in the nominative case, i.e., any pronoun that follows a form of
the verb be and renames or defines the subject is in the nominative
case. Warriner adds that it is now generally acceptable to use me
or us as a predicate nominative in informal speech, e.g., "It's me."
This tolerance is not extended to third person pronouns, him, her or
them.

Leonard's study included the following four items concerned with the case of pronouns following some form of the verb be:

1. It is me.

2. If it had been us, we would admit it.

3. I'll swear that was him.

4. I suppose that's him.

Leonard classified each item of usage on his survey according to the rank assigned the item by the linguists because he believed their expertness in linguistic matters made their opinions more significant. The linguists approved "It's me" and "It's us" as established usage but assigned "I'll swear that was him" and "I suppose that's him" a disputable status. Leonard conceded that "'correctness,' in such cases at least, is entirely a matter of usage, and has little to do with logic and less than grammar."

Webster's Third defends the construction as acceptable usage though disapproved by some grammarians. The Usage Panel of the American Heritage termed this construction acceptable in speech on all levels.

This construction was not included in McDavid's list. Pooley included the grammatical uses of personal pronouns, e.g., I and me, in his list of linguistic features that serve as social markers. He noted that "It's me" has gained full acceptability and similar constructions with third person pronouns are gaining acceptability in informal speech.

Frame 25.7 and Frame 42.5 of the Atlas worksheets dealt with

the case of pronouns used as predicate nominatives. The method of inquiry employed by fieldworker Bernard Block to elicit a response to Frame 25.7 was, "If somebody asked, 'Was that you I saw in town yesterday?' you might say, 'No it . . . .'" Lowman phrased the context for Frame 42.5 in the following informal manner:

> If you knock at the door and they say "Who's there?" They know your voice and so you say, "It's . . . ." If we are sitting here expecting some man who knocks at the door, you say, "Oh, it's only . . . ." If it is a woman, you say, ". . . ." If it's two people, you say, "It's . . . ."

Lowman recorded eighteen "me" responses for Frame 25.7 The cultured informant chose the alternate, "No, it wasn't I." Lowman's method of inquiry for Frame 42.5 elicited objective case pronouns, i.e., "It's me, him, her, them," in all instances but the responses of the cultured informant who chose the nominative case forms, I, he, she, and they.

In spite of the evidence of linguistic research, 26 percent of the teachers condemned this item for any speech situation. The approval of 68 percent of the teachers (6 percent professed confusion on the issue) placed this issue high in the order of acceptability. The teachers indicated, however, that they feel it necessary to continue treating this usage in class by ranking it thirty-fourth in order of importance.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 6	4	59	34	Disputable

Item 6 was coded as pronoun usage. There were thirty-three coded responses for the five informants in the pronoun usage category, but no response similar to the construction of Item 6.

Item Number 7: If anyone calls, tell them I'll be back later.

According to Warriner, the pronouns each, either, neither, one, everyone, everybody, nobody, anyone, anybody, someone, and somebody are referred to by singular pronouns such as he, him, his, she, her, hers, it, its. The authors suggest that, when the antecedent may be either masculine or feminine, the student choose the masculine pronoun but avoid the awkward use of two pronouns, e.g., "If anyone calls, tell him or her I'll be back later." The authors do not, however, suggest that the student substitute their in the construction. Item 7 would be incorrect usage according to Warriner's rule.

The usage problem in Item 7 was presented in several ways in Leonard's study. A similar construction, "You just had a telephone call." "Did they leave any message?" does not present the same problem; Leonard discussed it as a vague or an ambiguous reference problem. This usage in Leonard's study received the approval of the majority of the judges as established. A construction using the "his or her" referent was ranked eleven of the 230 items on the survey. The item, "Each person should of course bear his or her share of the expenses," was classified by Leonard as a problem in gender. Leonard conceded that the expression was correct, but stilted. Perhaps the item on Leonard's study that was closest to the construction

in Item 7 was "Everyone was here, but they all went home early."
Leonard's judges approved the usage for informal situations.

McDavid did not consider this usage a social marker. Pooley
considered proper agreement in number with antecedent pronouns one,
any, anyone, each, no one, either and neither a linguistic feature
that serves as a social marker. Pooley admitted that the problem is
complicated by the lack of a common-gender singular pronoun. He
reviewed the twentieth-century textbook treatment of this usage
problem and concluded that rules limiting the indefinite pronouns
to singular use only were not valid. To support this statement, he
quoted Margaret Bryant's (1962:9-10) stand that "they/them/their is
established as a common-gender singular form in all but the most
formal usage" and Evans and Evans (1957:221) argument that the use of
a masculine singular pronoun

> . . . is always unidiomatic English in a state-
> ment that is actually about an indefinite number of
> individuals some of whom may be female, although some
> textbooks require if anyone calls tell him I have
> gone. . . . The best modern writers, like the great
> writers of the past, sometimes use the singular he and
> sometimes the plural they, depending upon the circum-
> stances rather than on any rule of thumb about the
> "number" of an indefinite pronoun.

Random House labels this usage nonstandard. American Heritage
defines anyone as a singular pronoun requiring a singular verb and,
in written usage especially, singular accompanying pronouns, e.g.,
"Anyone is entitled to change his (not their) mind occasionally."

The Atlas worksheets examined by the researcher did not include
a frame for this construction.

Although 58 percent of the teachers responding to the postal survey disapproved this usage for all speech situations, 4 percent of the teachers approved it in any and all situations and 27 percent approved it for informal speech situations.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 7	26	39	30	Disputable

Item 7 was coded as an agreement usage. Of the eighty-nine coded responses in this category of usage, twenty-one responses involved the problem of pronoun-antecedent agreement. The negative responses included such expressions as

"Each would take a page and then they,"

"Each of us . . . our own spending money,"

". . . go to each teller's window and pick up their,"

". . . bring anybody . . . sign their name," and

". . . other one . . . they talked."

Item Number 8:   Helen and me went to the store for mother.

The textbook rule states that the subject of a verb is always in the nominative case. Warriner cautions that, when the subject is compound, many persons make mistakes in their selection of pronouns.

Although Leonard's study included an item dealing with the use of a nominative case pronoun in an objective slot, there was no construction similar to Item 8 among the 230 usages on his survey. In Fries (1940:95) study, the letter writers used the objective form in

947 instances, "generally in normally 'objective' territory." Fries
found a few instances of the objective form pronoun in a subjective
slot in the letters of Group III, the speakers of vulgar, or illiter-
ate, English. Fries maintained that the use of an objective case
pronoun as the subject of a verb "never seems to be found in Standard
English."

McDavid did not include the use of the objective form in the
subjective slot as a diagnostic feature of social dialects. Pooley
considered the misuse of the personal pronouns in compound construc-
tions characteristic of a nonstandard dialect.

Webster's Third labels the misuse of the objective form pronoun
in a subjective slot substandard but adds that the objective form
pronoun as part of a compound subject was once used by reputable
writers.

Frames 42.2 and 42.4 of the Atlas worksheets dealt with compound
subject construction. "You and I'll have to do it" and "He and I are
coming over." Recorded responses to the first frame included two
"you and me," eleven "me and you," and five "you and I." For the
second frame, Lowman's context was "If some friends of yours and you
are coming over to see me," you say, '. . . and . . . are coming over.'"
The responses included one "him and me," ten "me and him," and six
"he and I." The cultured speaker chose the nominative case forms in
both instances.

The teachers responding to the postal survey strongly condemned
this usage. The item ranked second of the sixty four usages in the

order of importance, indicating that teachers consider the eradication

of this usage a primary goal of classroom language instruction.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 8	59	8	2	Illiterate

Item 8 was coded as pronoun usage. This category had only thirty-

three coded responses; only the lexical and "other" usage categories

had fewer responses. One response corresponded to this usage problem,

and, although the construction was combined with a pleonastic sub-

ject, the informant used the standard pronoun form: "Most of my

friends and I we had vocational classes together." The utterance

was coded positive in the pronoun usage category but was coded nega-

tive in the redundancy category.

Item Number 9: This matter is strictly between Jamie and myself.

The textbook rules states that the object of a preposition is in

the objective case. According to Warriner, in standard formal English

the pronouns ending in -self, -selves are usually used only to refer

to or to emphasize another word in the sentence. The authors caution

the student not to substitute -self pronouns in the subject function

filled by personal pronouns.

In Leonard's study, the construction "They invited my friends

and myself" is similar to Item 9. Leonard's study also included a

-self pronoun in the subject function: "Yourself and your guests are

invited." The construction employing the -self pronoun in the object

function was rated established with 62 percent of all the judges approving. Leonard concluded that although the construction could not be condemned as incorrect, careful speakers would avoid it. A majority of the linguists approved the construction employing a -self pronoun in the subject function. A large majority of the English teachers condemned it. The construction, according to Leonard, did not rank with the similar use of the -self pronoun in the object function.

McDavid and Pooley considered the misuse of the -self pronouns a diagnostic feature of nonstandard dialects, but they were more concerned with the analogical forms, hisself and theirselves, than with function.

Random House defines myself as a pronoun used reflexively as a substitute for me: "She wanted John and myself to take charge." The editors label any reflexive pronoun substitution for an objective form pronoun nonstandard: "He gave it to me (not myself)." Webster acknowledges the -self pronoun for emphasis instead of the non-reflexive me in three objective functions: object of preposition, indirect object, and direct object. American Heritage reports myself in compound objects was condemned by 95 percent of the Usage Panel and that myself in compound subjects was also strongly condemned.

The Atlas field records for the Virginia counties examined by the researcher contained no item similar to Item 9.

The teachers responding to the postal survey indicated their confusion as to the status of this usage. More than one-fifth of the

respondents checked the "questionable" column; no other item on the survey was granted this much uncertainty.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 9	37	30	29	Disputable

Item 9 was coded in the pronoun usage category. There was no response related specifically to the construction, although three responses involved analogical forms of the -self pronouns.

Item Number 10: Just between you and I, she is not a good teacher.

The textbook rule states that the object of a preposition is in the objective case. Warriner cautions the student to avoid errors in the use of pronouns when the object is compound. Item 10 is incorrect usage according to Warriner's rule.

Leonard's study included "All came except she," which Leonard discussed as a question of case-form. The English teachers were unanimous in condemning it, and only two linguists showed any tolerance toward this usage. The construction was labeled illiterate.

This construction was not one of McDavid's indices of social stratification. Pooley considered the grammatical use of personal pronouns in compound constructions a minimum requirement of standard dialect.

Webster labels the construction substandard. American Heritage, admitting it occurs frequently in speech, labels the construction nonstandard.

The Atlas field records examined by the researcher contained no construction similar to Item 10.

Reaction of the teachers to Item 10 was not favorable; 88 percent of the respondents rejected the usage for all speech situations. Rather surprisingly, 5 percent of the respondents accepted the construction in informal speech. Consistent with the stamp of disapproval was the evidence of classroom time devoted to the eradication of the usage.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 10	50	15	9	Illiterate

Item 10 was coded in the pronoun usage category. Informant 4, ranked as mobility type U, upward, employed this construction with a noun as the second part of the compound object, "Between Mrs. . . . and I." The response was coded negative.

Item Number 11: Who are you working for?

The textbook rule states that the object of a preposition is in the objective case. Warriner concedes that in informal usage who is used as an interrogative pronoun regardless of case but in formal usage the distinction between who and whom is still recognized. The exercises following the discussion of who-whom as interrogative and relative pronouns contained no examples of the interrogative function.

Leonard's study included the construction "Who are you looking

for?" The linguists labeled the expression an established usage; other judges ranked it as disputable. Leonard concluded the usage was acceptable in informal speech. Fries (1940) found no instance of the interrogative whom in the letters of Group I, Group II, or Group III. From his findings, Fries concluded that who is the usual form of the interrogative.

Neither McDavid nor Pooley considered this construction a marker of linguistic behavior with social implications. Pooley reasoned that, in the initial position as an interrogative, who is representative of cultivated usage regardless of case but whom is preferred when the pronoun follows a verb or a preposition: "For whom was it sent?"

Webster's Third recognizes who as the usage of speakers on all educational levels in direct or indirect questions, as in "Tell me who was elected president." The editors admit that who occurs less frequently when preceded by a preposition, as in "from who." The Usage Panel of the American Heritage conceded that who is the more common form in questions in the initial position but whom is preferred as the object of a preceding preposition.

The Atlas field records examined by the researcher did not include the construction dealt with in Item 11.

On this item the postal survey respondents were divided nearly evenly. With only 35 percent of the teachers dissenting, the approval of 58 percent (8 percent, always acceptable; 50 percent, acceptable informal) ranked the item eighth in the order of acceptability. The

importance placed on the item in classroom teaching appears somewhat
disproportionate considering the acceptability rating.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 11	8	56	41	Disputable

Item 11 was coded as pronoun usage. The analysis of the tran-
scripts produced no response involving the use of who as an inter-
rogative pronoun.

Item Number 12: The next chairman will be whoever the delegates elect.

The textbook rule states that the case of the pronoun beginning
a subordinate clause is determined by its use in the clause that it
begins. Warriner concedes that the use of whom is becoming increas-
ingly uncommon in spoken English but devotes two pages to the distinc-
tion between the two forms and ends the section with a twenty sentence
exercise. Item 12 is the third sentence in the exercise.

Leonard's study included the item "Invite whoever you like to the
party." The linguists approved the construction as established usage
in informal speech. Fries (1940) found that who was used in the object
function in about one-third of the instances and whom in about two-
thirds. He reported frequent instances of hypercorrectness involving
whom in the standard English letters, as in "Would you kindly let me
know whom should be notified in case of accident."

Neither McDavid nor Pooley included the construction in their
indices of social stratification. Pooley discussed Warriner's and

other textbooks' treatment of the who/whom issue and provided an
interesting summary of his findings:

> Considering the importance some people place
> on mastery of these forms as a sign or shibboleth
> of education, the schoolbooks may be justified in
> distinguishing the case forms for the relative pro-
> nouns for literary usage. But to insist that these
> literary and formal distinctions be made in informal
> writing and speech as necessary to achieve "correct-
> ness" is to do violence to the readily observed
> facts of usage. It has been shown, moreover, that
> even in literary usage the forms are not indisputable.

Webster's Third gives two examples of whoever in the object func-
tion, e.g., "That is not true, whoever you heard it from." The editors
add their pat phrase, "used by speakers on all educational levels and
by many reputable writers though disapproved by some grammarians."

The Atlas field records examined by the researcher contained no
item similar to this construction.

The findings of the postal survey indicated that the majority of
the teachers approved this construction. Slightly over 12 percent
sanctioned it for all occasions and 40 percent recognized it as stan-
dard informal speech. Exactly one-fifth of the respondents were un-
certain as to the status of the construction and chose to mark the
uncommitted "questionable" column. The spread between the two extremes
of opinion was very narrow.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 12	6	60	34	Disputable

Item 12 was coded as pronoun usage. No responses involving who-
ever were recorded. The five informants made frequent use of the

relative pronoun <u>that</u>, thus eliminating any necessary choice of case. Informant 2, who was ranked as the lowest social level, did not use <u>who</u> in a single instance. Among the other four informants, there were thirteen responses involving <u>who</u> as a relative pronoun, only one of which was coded negative: ". . . who you had to be paying attention to."

<u>Item Number 13</u>. I know she is older than <u>me</u>.

The textbook rule states that in elliptical constructions after <u>as</u> and <u>than</u> the form of the pronoun is governed by its use in the clause.

Leonard's study contained two constructions similar to Item 13: "You are older than me" and "I am older than him." Both constructions were rated disputable by the judges, but the <u>me</u> sentence was ranked 124 and the <u>him</u> sentence was ranked 181. Again, "correctness" appeared to be a matter of usage with "little to do with logic and less with grammar."

Neither McDavid nor Pooley considered the use of the objective case pronoun in an elliptical clause introduced by <u>as</u> or <u>than</u> a social marker. In his discussion of the construction, Pooley pointed out that, while the nominative case is generally required in the elliptical construction, the objective case is at times correct, as in "She likes him better than (she likes) me." According to Pooley, the correct use of the objective case in constructions similar to the one quoted has contributed to the informal use of the objective case

in all instances regardless of the case required.

Webster's Third maintains that, though earning the disapproval of some grammarians, the objective case pronoun is used by speakers on all educational levels and by many reputable writers in comparisons after than or as even when the completed clause requires a nominative. American Heritage explains that when the objective case follows than, the speaker is construing than as a preposition. The editors label such a construction "less formal."

In the Atlas worksheets, the elliptical construction appeared in Frames 42.6, 43.1, and 43.2: "He isn't as tall as I am," "I'm not as tall as he is," and "He can do it better than I can." Lowman couched these terms in the following contexts:

42.6 "Comparing how tall you are, you say, 'He is not as tall as . . . . '"

43.1 "Comparing how tall you are again, you say, 'I'm not as . . . . '"

43.2 "Comparing how well you can do something, you say, 'He can do it better than . . . . '"

For Frame 42.6, Lowman recorded six instances of the objective case pronoun and twelve instances of the nominative. For Frame 43.1, he recorded only two instances of the objective case pronoun and sixteen instances of the nominative case pronoun. For Frame 43.2, Lowman elicited sixteen nominative case responses and three objective case responses.

The teachers who responded to the postal survey were not especially

tolerant of the objective case pronoun in an obvious subjective func-
tion, ranking it near mid-point of the sixty-four items. Eighty-one
of the 132 respondents, or 62 percent, condemned the construction.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 13	31	34	26	Disputable

Item 13 was coded as pronoun usage. Of the thirty-three responses
coded in the pronoun usage category, two dealt with adverb clauses of
comparison. Informant 5 employed "than I am" in two utterances, both
coded positive.

Item Number 14:   I do not approve of them habitually talking in class.

The textbook rule states that the possessive case of a noun or
pronoun is used before a gerund.

Leonard's study included two constructions involving gerunds,
one with a preceding proper noun "What was the reason for Bennett
making that disturbance?" and one with a preceding pronoun, "What
are the chances of them being found out?" The noun-gerund construc-
tion was rated as established usage, but the pronoun-gerund construc-
tion was assigned a disputable status. Leonard concluded that "the
possessive of a proper name before a gerund is less obligatory than
that of a pronoun." Fries found only one example of the possessive
form of the noun before a gerund in all the letters he examined. In
the pronoun-gerund construction, 52 percent of the instances appearing
in standard English letters had the possessive form of the pronoun

before the gerund but 48 percent had the objective form. Fries reported
only ten pronoun-gerund constructions in vulgar English, three having
a possessive pronoun and seven having an objective pronoun.

Neither McDavid nor Pooley listed the pronoun-gerund construction
as a diagnostic linguistic feature. Pooley reviewed the textbook
treatment of this particular construction, citing differences in mean-
ing and emphasis that would require the objective rather than the
possessive case before a gerund.

Webster's Third reports that, in general usage, them is used
like the adjective their with a gerund. Random House labels the objec-
tive pronoun before a gerund informal usage because "in traditional
grammar a gerund, being considered syntactically identical to a noun,
requires modification by the genitive form of the noun or pronoun pre-
ceding it." The editors admit that many educated writers and speakers
do not adhere to the rule and that, in some cases, the possessive form
is not possible. "These situations, however, are exceptions: in care-
ful speech . . . the genitive case . . . is more common than the objec-
tive case."

The Atlas field records examined by the researcher did not include
the pronoun-gerund construction.

The findings of the postal survey indicated 27 percent approval
of the objective case pronoun before a gerund and 53 percent censure.
About 20 percent of the respondents chose to make no definite commit-
ment, labeling the construction questionable.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 14	24	44	40	Disputable

Item 14 was coded as pronoun usage. Of the thirty-three responses coded in this category, four involved the pronoun-gerund construction. In the three cases, Informant 4 employed the construction with the objective case pronoun before the gerund: ". . . you having the material," "them standing there watching me," and "anybody standing over them." Although, in the researcher's opinion, the objective pronoun was the better choice, the responses were coded negative to follow the format of the study. Informant 3 gave the negative response, "see us taking."

Item Number 15: Neither of the girls brought their skis with them.

The textbook rule states that a pronoun agrees with its antecedent in number and gener. Warriner identifies neither as a singular indefinite pronoun to be referred to by a singular pronoun. The authors make the following concession:

> Like some of the rules for agreement of subject and
> verb, the rules for agreement of pronoun and ante-
> cedent show variations between formal and informal
> usage. Standard informal usage follows meaning
> rather than strict grammatical agreement. The sen-
> tences below marked "informal" are acceptable in
> informal writing and speaking. In exercises, however,
> follow the practices of formal English.
>
> FORMAL: Neither of the girls brought her skis with her.
>
> INFORMAL: Neither of the girls brought their skis
> with them.

Leonard's study included one construction involving a singular

indefinite pronoun with a plural antecedent: "Everybody bought their own ticket." The linguists were divided in their acceptance of the construction; the whole group of judges rated it disputable.

McDavid did not consider this usage a significant social marker. Pooley listed proper agreement of antecedent with certain singular indefinite pronouns such as neither as a minimum standard for people desiring to speak a standard dialect. He noted, however, that with everybody, everyone, somebody, someone, and none some leniency of number concord is accepted.

Random House labels nonstandard the use of their in place of his or her after a singular indefinite antecedent, as in "Someone left their book on the table." American Heritage notes that in correct usage neither takes a singular verb and that accompanying pronouns and pronominal adjectives must agree with the verb. Webster's Third states that a periphrastic genitive between neither and the verb may make the construction plural in form, as in "Neither of them were in."

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no instances of the construction were recorded.

The teachers responding to the postal survey tended to be slightly less tolerant of this construction than they were with a preceding item containing the indefinite pronoun neither, i.e., Item 2, "Neither of his arguments were really valid." Although 71 percent condemned Item 15 compared to 74 percent for Item 2, 16 percent of the teachers accepted Item 15 for formal and informal speech occasions compared to 14 percent acceptance for Item 2. Consistent with their censure was

the amount of classroom attention allotted to the two items: Item 15

ranked twenty in order of importance and Item 2 ranked twenty-two.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 15	46	28	20	Disputable

Item 15 was coded as agreement usage. Of the eighty-nine responses

coded in the agreement usage category, twenty-one responses involved

the issue of pronoun-antecedent agreement. These responses are coded

in Table 9 in the introductory material of this chapter.

Item Number 16. The paper mentioned both you and I.

The textbook rule states that the object of a verb is in the objec-

tive case. Warriner cautions the student to choose the correct case

for pronouns used in compound objects.

Leonard's study did not deal with the problem of case forms in a

compound object of a verb. Another study concerned with attitudes and

opinions of English usage (Mittins, 1970) included the construction,

"She told Charles and I the story." The respondents to the survey

granted a 27 percent acceptance to the construction and ranked it

fortieth of fifty items on the survey. The researchers discussed the

possibility that the few remaining case-forms may disappear from the

English language.

McDavid did not delineate the problem of case-forms in his list

of linguistic social markers. Pooley, however, included the grammati-

cal misuse of personal pronouns in compound constructions in his

indices of discriminating linguistic behavior.

Webster's Third labels the construction substandard; American Heritage gives it the label nonstandard.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no instance of the construction was recorded.

The teachers responding to the postal survey were distinctly intolerant of the construction; with an overall censure from 88 percent of the respondents, Item 16 was ranked forty-ninth of the sixty-four items. Less than 1 percent of the teachers accepted the usage in all speech situations.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 16	49	17	8	Disputable

Ranking the item eighth in the order of importance, 70 percent of the teachers indicated that they direct classroom instruction to similar constructions in both the speaking and the writing of the students.

Item 16 was coded as pronoun usage. Only two informants employed compound constructions. One of the coded compounds involved the direct object of a verb, "picked me and two other guys."

Item Number 17: Tom has drank too much.

The textbook rule states that the perfect tense is formed with have or has plus the past participle. Warriner lists the principal parts of drink as infinitive drink, past drank, and past participle drunk. No alternative form is given for the past or past participle.

Leonard's study included a construction similar to Item 17: "I have drank all my milk." The construction ranked near the bottom (number 210) of the 230 items of the survey. The judges condemned it as illiterate usage.

Although McDavid outlined twelve diagnostic linguistic features in verb usage, he did not include the confusion of the past with past participle of irregular verbs. In the material preceding his list, however, McDavid declared that "discriminating the principal parts of irregular verbs, as past tense saw and past participle seen, is a part of the linguistic behavior that constitutes standard English." Pooley identified the use of the historical past forms and the past participles of common irregular verbs as characteristic of a standard dialect. He listed as examples the irregular past forms saw, gave, took, brought, bought, stuck.

American Heritage lists the principal parts of drink as drink, drank or archaic drunk, drunk or obsolete drunken. Webster's Third gives drink, drank or dialectal drunk, drunk or drank. Random House records drink, drank (or nonstandard drunk), drunk or often drank.

Frame 49.1 of the Atlas worksheet dealt with the principal parts of drink. Lowman's method of inquiry for eliciting the verb forms was "If I asked you how much did you drink, you say, 'I . . . a lot of it.' Then you might ask me, 'How much have you . . . ?'" In the field records examined by the researcher, Lowman recorded sixteen instances of drank, three instances of drunk, and two instances of drinkt for the past-form response. For the participle response, he

recorded thirteen instances of drank, three instances of drunk, and three instances of drinkt. The combination of the standard forms for the past (drank) and the past participle (drunk) was used by only two informants. A leveling of the past and the past participle was evident in the responses of fifteen informants; thirteen employed a drank-drank combination; one, a drunk-drunk combination; and one a drinkt-drinkt combination. A drunk-drinkt combination was recorded.

The teachers responding to the postal survey gave a heavy 96 percent censure to the usage presented in Item 17. The spread ranged from 96 percent rejection to less than 1 percent acceptance, with 3 percent checking the questionable status. Consistent with their strong disapproval, the teachers ranked the item high on the table of importance.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 17	62	7	4	Illiterate

Item 17 was coded as verb usage. In the verb category there were twenty-two negative responses related to the confusion of past forms with past participle forms. Informant 1 did not make an error of this kind. The responses coded negative for Informant 2 included expressions such as the following:

"I should have took,"

"We come and seen,"

"We eat lunch together and went home,"

"I would took,"

"he done," and

"That a man run into."

The seventeen negative responses of Informant 2 are coded in Table 9 of this chapter. The response coded negative for Informan 3 was "one that just come in on us." For Informant 4, the negative responses were "we seen how we'd been graded" and "you done." Informant 5 had two negative responses: "he had drove in the city" and "she hadn't took notes."

Item Number 18: The choir sung four Christmas Carols.

The textbook rule states that the past tense is formed regularly by adding -d or ed to the infinitive form of the verb for a regular verb or in "some other way" for an irregular verb. Warriner lists the principal parts of sing as infinitive sing, past sang, and past participle sung. An alternative past form, sung, is also listed. Item 18 is correct usage by Warriner's definition.

Leonard's study included nine constructions involving the problem of the past tense form of irregular verbs: begin, drink, run, sing, swing, come, dive, and eat. The construction employing a form of sing, "She sung very well," was rated disputable by the whole group of judges but accepted as established usage by the English teachers.

The discussion of Pooley's and McDavid's lists presented in Item 17 is applicable to Item 18 since both items deal with the past and past participle forms of irregular verbs.

Random House lists the principal parts of sing as sing, sang (or often sung), sung. Webster gives sing, sang or sung, sung (also

sang). In <u>American Heritage</u> the principal parts of <u>sing</u> are given as <u>sing</u>, <u>sang</u> or <u>sung</u>, <u>sung</u>.

In the Atlas field recorders examined by the researcher, no instances of any part of the verb <u>sing</u> were recorded.

The postal survey resoondents reacted more favorably toward the verb usage in Item 18 than to that in Item 17, but they still condemned the usage with a strong 88 percent vote.

	<u>Acceptability</u>	<u>Spread</u>	<u>Importance</u>	<u>Status</u>
Item 18	48	16	7	Illiterate

Item 18 was coded as verb usage. The discussion of the verb usage under Item 19 is applicable to Item 18.

<u>Item Number 19</u>: She looks <u>well</u> in that dress

<u>Warriner</u> presents <u>well</u> both as an adverb and as an adjective, assigning the following three meanings to the adjective function:

1. To be in good health: "He feels well."

2. To appear well-dressed or well-groomed: "She looks well in that dress."

3. To be satisfactory: "All is well."

<u>Good</u>, by <u>Warriner's</u> definition, is always an adjective. Item 19 is an example from <u>Warriner</u> and is correct usage by the textbook's definition.

Leonard's study did not include a construction similar to Item 19. The confusion between the adjective <u>good</u> and the adverb <u>well</u>

was not dealt with in Leonard's study.

Pooley included the distinction between good as an adjective and well as an adverb among the specific items of usage that serve as social markers. McDavid made no direct reference to the good/well issue in his list of features for discriminating social dialects.

Random House gives four uses of well as an adjective: (1) in good health, (2) satisfactory, pleasing, or good, as in "All is well," (3) proper, fitting, as in "It is well you did not go," and (4) in a satisfactory position, well-off, as in "I am very well as I am." The editors comment that good is rarely encountered as an adverb in the speech and writing of educated people. Webster's Third records without comment that good is used as an adverb in constructions such as, "He showed me how good I was doing." The sixth definition of well as an adjective is "pleasing or satisfactory in appearance" with the example, ". . . looked very well when he was dressed."

The Atlas field records examined by the researcher contained no responses employing well or good.

An analysis of the responses to Item 19 on the postal survey produced a 69 percent resistance in spite of Warriner's sanctioning of well in the adjective function. The 69 percent censure placed the item in the disputable category. The complete approval of 11 percent of the teachers placed it near the half-way mark (thirty-third) of the order of acceptability.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 19	33	36	17	Disputable

Item 19 was coded as modifier usage. There were two responses involving the particular usage issue presented in Item 19: "If I think something looks good I tell them," and "I wouldn't tell you something looked good if it didn't." These responses from the interview with Informant 4 were coded negative. Other negative responses involving the good/well usage issue included "just didn't like it as good," "could just understand good," and "we have done pretty good." Positive responses included "most of them were really good," "it was really good," and "could understand her real well."

Item Number 20: She had just laid down when the telephone rang.

The textbook rule states that the past perfect tense is formed with had and the past participle of the verb being conjugated. Warriner treats lie and lay as one pair of "three troublesome pairs of verbs." The authors distinguish between the functions of the two verbs in this manner: lie (lay, lain) is always intransitive, i.e., it never has an object; lay (laid, laid) is transitive, i.e., it either has an object or is in the passive voice. Item 20 is not correct usage by Warriner's definition.

Leonard's study included five constructions dealing with the issue of transitive and intransitive verbs. Three of the constructions employed the transitive verb lay; however, one of the constructions was a technical usage of the verb as a nautical term not applicable to the present study. Item 20 of the present study is from Leonard's study with a third person pronoun subject instead of a first

person pronoun subject. A second construction on the 1932 survey was
"I must go and lay down." Both constructions were rated illiterate
by the judges; in both cases, the vote of censure was nearly unanimous.

Although McDavid limited his indices of linguistic social markers
to items he felt lent themselves to productive drill, i.e., patterned
features such as I make, he makes, he stressed that the list was by
no means definitive. He pointed out that verb usage is a linguistic
behavior of social significance. Pooley identified verb usage as a
linguistic feature of social stratification.

Random House states that the two verbs, lie and lay, are not
synonymous. Webster's Third employs the usage label nonstandard on
the single word definition of "lie" for the verb lay.

Frames 96.6 and 97.1 of the Atlas worksheet involved the usage
problem of lie/lay. Lowman recorded responses for Frame 96.6 in the
contexts "If you are tired, you say, 'I am going to . . . down in bed'"
and McDavid's method of inquiry for Frame 97.1 was "All morning he
. . . in bed." For the present form, Lowman recorded eighteen instances
of lie and only two of lay. For the past form, Lowman recorded fifteen
instances of laid and four of lay. The standard usage of lie in the
present was combined with the nonstandard usage laid in the past by
fourteen informants. Four informants combined the standard forms
lie (present)-lay (past). Two informants combined the nonstandard
forms lay (present)-laid (past).

The high ranking of this item in the order of importance (twelfth)
with 89 percent of the teachers directing attention to the usage in

both written and oral work perhaps reflected the emphasis of four
textbook pages on "the troublesome pair" in Warriner.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 20	42	23	12	Disputable

Item 20 was coded as verb usage. Four responses involving the
verb lay were coded positive. There were no responses involving the
verb lie. Three of the responses were the idiomatic expression "laid
off" meaning "to be released from employment." Informant 2 said,
"I lay the ones."

Item Number 21: Drive slow through the school grounds.

According to Warriner, slow can function as an adverb or an ad-
jective; slowly functions only as an adverb. The authors add this
word of caution:

> Except for the expressions Drive slow and Go slow,
> which have become acceptable because of their wide
> use on highway signs, you will be on the safe side
> if you use slow only as an adjective.

Item 21 is correct usage according to Warriner's definition.

Three constructions employing the adverb slow were included in
Leonard's study:

"That's a dangerous curve; you'd better go slow."

"Drive slow down that hill!"

"My father walked very slow down the street."

The three constructions were ranked as established usages by the

judges and Leonard concluded that slow as an adverb is "safely established."

Neither Pooley nor McDavid considered the usage problem presented in Item 21 significant in discriminating social dialects.

Webster's Third records without comment the use of slow as an adverb, quoting, among others, Franklin Delano Roosevelt: "I would go pretty slow on that." Random House, too, uses no label in recording slow as an adverb.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no instance of slow was recorded.

The teachers responding to the postal survey were almost evenly divided on the issue of slow as an adverb: 49 percent condemned it in any speech situation; but 6 percent approved it in all speech situations; 30 percent accepted it in informal speech; and 16 percent considered the status of the usage still questionable.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 21	18	47	36	Disputable

Item 21 was coded as modifier usage. Of the eighty-four responses coded in the modifier category, no response included slow as an adverb.

Item Number 22: It sure is good to see you again.

Warriner advises the student to decide what word is being modified and then choose an adjective to modify a noun or pronoun but an adverb to modify a verb. The Conlin Series presents the following

corrected example: "We ~~sure~~ certainly welcome your criticism."
Item 22 would be incorrect usage according to the textbooks' rules.

Two constructions on Leonard's study employed <u>sure</u> as an adverb.
"It sure was good to see Uncle Charles," and "Will you go? Sure."
Both items were rated disputable usage, but <u>sure</u> used as a single
word answer, ranking 133, was more acceptable to the judges than
<u>sure</u> modifying an expressed verb, ranking 176.

The usage problem dealt with in Item 22 was not discussed by
McDavid or by Pooley in their lists of linguistic social markers.

<u>Random House</u> labels the adverbial use of <u>sure</u> informal, "an
idiomatic cliche" still "somewhat less than standard usage." <u>Web-
ster's Third</u> records the adverbial use without comment.

Two items on the Atlas worksheets involved the word <u>sure</u>. Frame
13.4 was recorded "I'm not sure/for sure;" Frame 91.2 was concerned
with the pronunciation of <u>sure</u>. As neither of these items was ap-
plicable to the usage problem presented in Item 22, the responses
were not tallied.

Item 22 received a vote of approval in informal contexts from
45 percent of the teachers and a vote of disapproval from 42 percent.
A mere 1 percent accepted the usage in all speech situations.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 22	15	49	46	Disputable

Item 22 was coded as modifier usage. There were no instances of
<u>sure</u> in the eighty-four responses coded in the modifier category.

Item Number 23: Leave me alone or else get out.

Warriner does not deal with leave/let in the usage section devoted
to verbs but does list the pair in the usage glossary. The authors
contend that both "Leave me alone" and "Let me alone" are correct and
can be used interchangeably. The authors, however, distinguish between
the two, explaining that "Leave me alone" suggests that somebody go
away, leaving you by yourself, and that "Let me alone" suggests that
somebody stop bothering you. Item 23 has the physical departure
stated clearly in the second part of the construction, and the first
clause of the construction clearly asks that somebody stop bothering
you. Item 23 could be considered either correct or incorrect, depend-
ing on the interpretation given the first clause.

Item 23 is from Leonard's study. A second construction concerned
with the leave/let confusion was included on the 1932 survey: "He
won't leave me come in." The "leave me alone" construction was ac-
cepted by the judges; the second construction was rated illiterate by
98 percent of the judges.

Pooley specifically defines the leave/let confusion as a cri-
terion for identifying social dialects. McDavid's statement concern-
ing verb usage as an important diagnostic feature broadly interpreted
would include the usage problem in Item 23.

Webster's Third records the construction "leave alone" without
comment. The editors of Random House comment that "leave alone" means
"don't bother" as well as "go away."

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no instance of <u>leave</u> or <u>let</u> was recorded.

The teachers gave this usage a very strong stamp of approval, ranking it second in the order of tolerance. Consistent with the acceptability rating was the teachers' indication of the small importance placed on the usage in classroom teaching, ranking it close to the bottom of the order (sixty-first).

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 23	2	62	61	Established

Item 23 was coded as verb usage. Every response employing the verbs specifically treated in the postal survey were coded positive or negative. There were eleven positive responses directly employing some form of <u>let</u>; all of these responses had the construction <u>let</u> or <u>lets</u> + a noun or a pronoun + infinitive, as in, "let them get out of hand" and "lets you express." Informant 5 employed <u>leave</u> in two positive responses: "I decided to leave them untied" and "leaving them untied." The informants did not produce a negative response involving this usage.

<u>Item Number 24</u>: The kind of peanuts she wants <u>are</u> dry-roasted and unsalted.

The textbook rule states that a verb agrees with its subject in person and number and the number of the subject is not changed by an intervening phrase. Item 22 is incorrect usage according to <u>Warriner's</u> rule.

Leonard's study included the construction "The kind of apples you mean are large and sour." With the exception of one, the linguists approved this usage as standard cultivated English.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid dealt with the specific usage problem presented in Item 24.

Random House makes no comment as to the number status of constructions consisting of "the kind" plus a prepositional adjective phrase, but presents only singular examples.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no instance of the construction dealt with in Item 24 was recorded.

Over half the postal survey respondents, or 55 percent, rejected Item 24 as acceptable usage; slightly over a third, or 32 percent, approved it as standard English. Confusion as to the status of the usage was expressed by 14 percent of the respondents.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 24	22	42	44	Disputable

Item 24 was coded as agreement usage. Of the eighty-nine responses coded in the agreement category, there were no responses similar in construction to Item 24; however, Item 2 was concerned with subject (indefinite pronoun) verb agreement affected by an intervening periphrastic phrase and the informants' responses discussed under Item 2 would have bearing on Item 24.

Item Number 25: Jack's sister could of gone too.

Warriner lists both could of and had of in the usage glossary, explaining could of as a careless mistake for could have and labeling the of after had redundant. Item 25 was not dealt with in the analysis of the transcripts as the spoken construction could be construed as careless pronunciation of the auxiliary have. One informant inserted of after had in a negative construction with the past perfect tense, e.g., "hadn't of taken the course." The response was not coded.

Item Number 26: The teacher let every one go accept Johnny.

In the glossary of usage, Warriner defines accept only as a verb and except as a verb and a preposition. Item 26 is incorrect usage according to Warriner's definitions.

Leonard's study did not include a construction dealing with the lexical confusion in Item 26.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid included any item of lexical usage on their checklists of linguistic social markers.

Webster's Third defines accept only as a verb. Random House acknowledges that accept and except are sometimes confused as verbs because of the similarities in speech, but does not mention the confusion in the prepositional function.

The Atlas worksheets for the South Atlantic States did not include the lexical item accept/except.

The teachers ranked the lexical usage relatively high on the order of importance (eighteenth). No teacher was willing to accept the usage in all speech situations but 4 percent approved it for informal speech. The strong dissenting vote of 91 percent of the respondents ranked the item sixtieth in the order of tolerance.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 26	60	4	19	Illiterate

Only four responses were coded in the lexical usage category. Two of the four involved the use of accept for except. Both utterances were coded negative. Informant 3 said "and everybody would get a big laugh accept for me." Informant 2 said, "And here in this factory I use a plain sewing machine accept that it back tacks."

Item Number 27: The audience was deeply effected by his speech.

According to Warriner, affect means "to impress or to influence," and effect means "to accomplish or to bring about." Effect can also be used as a noun. Item 21 is incorrect usage according to Warriner's definitions.

Leonard's study did not deal with the particular usage problem presented in Item 27.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid included any item of lexical usage on their checklists of linguistic social markers.

Both Random House and Webster's Third define affect and effect without comment on the lexical confusion.

The Atlas worksheets for the South Atlantic States did not include the lexical item effect/affect.

The lexical usage presented in Item 27 was only slightly more acceptable to the postal survey respondents than the accept/except confusion of Item 26. Again, no teacher approved the lexical usage for all speech situations, but five percent accepted it in informal situations. The rate of disapproval mustered 91 percent.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 27	52	13	33	Illiterate

Item 27 was coded as lexical usage. No informant employed either affect or effect in the interviews.

Item Number 28: I'm the one to tell him, ain't I?

Warriner mentions ain't in the introduction to the usage section. The Silver Burdett Series advises students to avoid using ain't unless they wish to "imitate" nonstandard or colloquial speech.

Leonard's study included three items containing the word ain't: "I suppose I'm wrong ain't I?" "Ain't that just like a man?" and "That ain't so." Six linguists approved the first expression for informal speech situations of cultivated people, but the majority of the judges disapproved and rated the expression disputable. The other two expressions were almost unanimously condemned. Leonard concluded that the lack of commonly accepted interrogative contraction for the first person

singular permits some tolerance of ain't as it was used in the first expression.

McDavid considered verb usage the strongest linguistic social marker, but he did not list ain't specifically on his checklist of diagnostic linguistic features. Pooley listed ain't among the analogical forms characteristic of nonstandard dialects.

Random House labels ain't as nonstandard usage in the United States:

> Ain't is so traditionally and widely regarded as a nonstandard form that it should be shunned by all who prefer to avoid being considered illiterate. Ain't occurs occasionally in the informal speech of some educated users, especially in self-conscious or folksy or humorous context but it is completely unacceptable in formal writing and speech. Although the expression "ain't I?" is perhaps defensible--and it is considered more logical than aren't I? and more euphemistic than amn't I?--the well-advised person will avoid any use of ain't.

Webster's Third records that ain't is more common in less educated speech, but is used orally by many educated speakers, especially in the phrase "ain't I?"

In the Atlas field records, ain't I for the negative first person form of the present tense of be was recorded in the context, "I'm right, am I not?" Block's method of inquiry for the item was "If you have having [sic] an argument with somebody and you wanted to ask him if he didn't think you were right about this, you would say, 'Well, I'm right ... ?'" For the interrogative expression, Lowman recorded eighteen instances of ain't (or hain't) and one instance of "am I not?," the Type III informant's choice.

The great majority of teachers, or 80 percent, condemned this usage; however, 2 percent approved it for all speech situations and 7 percent assigned it to informal speech. The teachers placed the usage sixth in order of importance, indicating that the eradication of this usage is a goal of classroom language instruction.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 28	43	21	6	Illiterate

In the analysis of interviews, Item 28 was coded as verb usage. Informant 2 employed ain't in three negative responses:

"she ain't found one yet,"

"if I ain't mistaken she did," and

"if I ain't mistaken that's what."

Item Number 29: There was a lovely grove of elms besides the stream.

In the glossary of usage, Warriner defines beside as "by the side of" and besides as "in addition to." Item 29 is incorrect usage according to Warriner's definition.

Leonard's study did not include a construction similar to Item 29.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid included this lexical usage in their checklists of linguistic features that serve as social markers.

In Webster's Third, the second definition of beside is "besides" as in, "Many creatures beside man live in communities." No label is attached to the definition. Only two meanings are given for besides:

"in addition to" and "other than." American Heritage gives "in addi-
tion to" as definition of the adverb beside, but does not define
besides as "by the side of."

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no in-
stance of this lexical usage was recorded.

Item 29 received a strong vote of censure from the teachers re-
sponding to the postal survey; 95 percent of the teachers condemned
it. The spread of tolerance between the two extremes of acceptance
and rejection was wide.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 29	56	56	54	Illiterate

In the analysis of the interviews, Item 29 was coded as lexical
usage. There were two responses involving the beside/besides confu-
sion. Informant 2's use of "beside of my table" was coded positive
in the lexical category and negative in the redundancy category. In-
formant 5 was coded positive for the expression "I'd set beside her."

Item Number 30:   Irregardless of how you feel, I intend to date
                   Jerry again.

The Holt, Rinehard and Winston Series analyzes irregardless as a
double negative, i.e., both less and ir are negative affixes. The
student is advised to avoid the word "because so many people consider
it an uneducated usage."

Leonard's study did not include an expression similar to Item 30.

McDavid did not include this lexical usage on his checklist of social markers. Although Pooley did not include specific lexical items on his list of distinctive features of standard English, he did include the avoidance of the double negative.

Webster's Third attaches a nonstandard label to irregardless. American Heritage contends the word is never acceptable usage with the exception of a clearly humorous context.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no instance of irregardless was recorded. A discussion of a double negative construction recorded in the Atlas field records appears under Item 45, "I can't help but pity him."

Slightly more than 8 percent of the postal survey respondents approved the use of irregardless in informal speech situations. Only 1 percent of the teachers accepted the expression as standard English; 81 percent condemned it.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 30	44	20	52	Illiterate

In the analysis of the interviews, Item 30 was coded in the redundancy category. Irregardless, because of two negative affixes ir and less, is considered a multiple negative. Three instances of the multiple negative construction were coded negative:

"There wasn't no job,"

"didn't hardly fuss very much," and

"can't hardly tell."

Twelve instances of controlled usage involving a negative construction were coded positive.

Item Number 31: I will be there on Friday.

According to Warriner, the distinction between shall and will is no longer required. Item 31 is correct usage according to Warriner's rules.

Leonard's study included the expression "My colleagues and I shall be glad to help you." The expression was rated established usage by all the judges with the complete approval of the teachers.

Neither McDavid nor Pooley included this item on their checklists of linguistic features that serve as social markers.

Webster's Third assigns both shall and will to expressions of simple futurity. Random House perpetuates a distinction of shall with the first person personal pronouns in formal speech and writing. The editors note that this distinction sometimes occurs in the speech of educated individuals, but that, in ordinary speech, shall is no longer in favor.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no instance of the simple future was recorded.

Item 31 ranked first in the order of tolerance with 45 percent of the teachers accepting it as standard English and 36 percent approving it in informal speech. Fourteen percent of the teachers rejected the usage for any speech situation.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 31	1	54	59	Established

In the analysis of the transcripts, Item 31 was coded as verb usage. No informant employed the simple future construction.

Item Number 32:   Neither the principal nor the teacher deserve
                  ridicule.

According to Warriner, singular subjects joined by or or nor take a singular verb, as in "Neither the president of the company nor the sales manager is a college graduate." The editors add that informal usage often permits a plural verb if the meaning is clear, as in "Neither Lucy nor Carol have any money left." The student, however, is advised to follow the rules of formal usage in working the text-book exercises.

Leonard's study included the expression "Neither author nor publisher are subject to censorship." Sixteen of the linguists condemned the construction as illiterate usage; the final assigned status was disputable. Leonard concluded that the expression, once in good repute, was losing favor.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid included this subject-verb concord in checklists of linguistic features that serve as social markers.

Webster's Third, without editorial comments, offers only one example for the neither/nor construction: "Neither my father nor I were by nature inclined." American Heritage holds that when the

elements within the neither/nor construction are singular, a singular verb is required.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no instance of the neither/nor construction was recorded. For a discussion of subject-verb agreement forms appearing in the Atlas materials, refer to the discussion of Item 1.

Item 32 is a borderline usage, rejected by 67 percent of the teachers and approved in informal speech by 17 percent and in all speech situations by 2 percent. The usage fell near mid-point in the rankings of acceptability, spread, and importance.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 32	34	31	35	Disputable

In the analysis of the interviews, Item 32 was coded as verb usage. No informant employed a construction that corresponded to Item 32.

Item Number 33: I thought it was him.

The textbook rule states that a predicate nominative is in the objective case. Item 33 is incorrect usage according to Warriner's rule.

Leonard's study included five expressions containing some form of the verb be followed by a pronoun as a predicate nominative. Two of the expressions contained a third person masculine personal pronoun: "I'll swear that was him" and "I suppose that's him." The judges'

vote placed the two expressions among the disputable usages. The

expression "It is me" was placed among the established usages by the

judges. Leonard concluded that the objective me after a form of the

verb be was more firmly established in educated colloquial usage.

The usage problem dealt with in Item 33 was not included on

McDavid's checklist of linguistic features that serve as social

markers. Pooley included the grammatical uses of the personal pro-

nouns as a minimum requirement of a standard dialect. He noted that

"It's him," while not on the same level as "It's me," is gaining

approval as cultivated informal speech.

Webster's Third records the use of the objective form pronoun

after the verb to be by speakers and writers on all educational

levels.

In the Atlas field records, the objective form pronoun after the

verb to be was recorded in the context, "It's I; . . . he; . . . she;

. . . they." Lowman recorded sixteen instances of the objective forms

being used and one instance of the nominative forms, the response of

the Type III informant.

Consistent with the findings of Leonard's study, the teachers

were less tolerant of "it was him" than they were of "It's me."

Nearly half of the teachers--49 percent--condemned the expression.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 33	17	46	25	Disputable

In the analysis of the interviews, Item 33 was coded as pronoun

usage. The use of an objective form pronoun after the verb to be is discussed under Item 6.

Item Number 34: Mrs. Jones said I didn't do too bad on this test.

According to Warriner, bad is an adjective modifying nouns and pronouns and badly is an adverb modifying verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Item 34 is incorrect usage according to Warriner's rules.

Leonard's study contained the expression "John didn't do so bad this time." The expression was approved as educated colloquial usage by 50 percent of the linguists and over 35 percent of the teachers.

Although Pooley specifically mentioned the distinction between good as an adjective and well as an adverb as a mark of standard speech, he did not include bad and badly. McDavid did not include this usage on his checklist of linguistic features that serve as social markers.

Random House labels the use of bad as an adverb, informal usage. Webster's Third records without comment the adverbial property of the word.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no instance of the adverbial property of bad was recorded.

The use of bad as an adverb falls among the list of disputable usages with 18 percent of the teachers professing confusion as to its status. The item was condemned by 55 percent of the teachers and accepted in informal speech by 26 percent. One percent of the teachers judged it standard English.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 34	27	31	32	Disputable

In the analysis of the interviews, Item 34 was coded as modifier usage. The usage dealt with in Item 34 is the general issue of adverb-adjective confusion. Responses that involved adjective-adverb confusion included expressions such as

"it just come easier,"

"I do it regular now," and

"send those off different."

Item Number 35: He won't leave me help him.

The Silver Burdett Series identifies the confusion between the verbs leave and let as the misuse of leave to mean "allow." Item 35 is incorrect usage according to the textbook definition of the two verbs.

Leonard's study included the expression "He won't leave me come in." With 98 percent of the judges condemning it, the expression was rated illiterate.

Pooley included the leave/let confusion on his checklist of linguistic features that serve as social markers. McDavid did not consider the issue an index of nonstandard dialect.

In the entry for leave, Webster's Third records "let" as substandard, as in "leave him go" and "leave him have it." Random House contends that only let can be followed by the infinitive.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no

instance of _leave_ or _let_ was recorded.

The teachers condemned this usage by a vote of twenty to one. Only one teacher accepted it as standard English, and only five approved it for informal speech situations.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 35	55	10	43	Illiterate

In the analysis of the interviews, Item 35 was coded as verb usage. The _leave/let_ issue is discussed under Item 23.

Item Number 36: His friends took turns setting up with him.

Warriner's definition of _sit_ is "to assume or to be in an upright, sitting position." _Set_, according to the authors, means "to put, to place something." _Sit_ is "almost always" an intransitive verb, rarely taking an object; _set_ is a transitive verb, taking an object. Item 36 is incorrect usage according to Warriner's definitions.

Leonard's study included the expression "The neighbors took turns setting up with him." No linguist approved the expression. Ranked near the bottom of the 230 expressions (229), the expression was almost unanimously condemned.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid included the _sit/set_ confusion on their checklists of linguistic features that serve as social markers. McDavid emphasized that verb usage is the strongest diagnostic feature of speech.

American Heritage makes the distinction that <u>set</u>, with some exceptions, is transitive and <u>sit</u> is more commonly intransitive.

Frames 49.2 and 49.3 of the Atlas worksheet dealt with the principal parts of the verb <u>sit</u>. Frame 49.2 sought the infinitive form in an imperative construction "Sit down." For Frame 49.3, Pederson's method of inquiry was "So then, he . . . and began to eat. No one else was standing, they had all . . . " Lowman recorded sixteen instances of <u>set</u> for the imperative construction and four instances of <u>sit</u>. For Frame 49.3, he recorded eleven instances of <u>set</u> for the past form and eight instances of <u>sat</u>. Four informants, including the cultured speaker, chose the orthodox <u>sit-sat</u>. Four informants chose the <u>set-sat</u> combination, but the majority of the informants chose the leveled forms <u>set-set</u>.

No teacher approved this usage for all speech situations; eight teachers considered it established in informal speech. Ninety percent of the teachers rejected it.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 36	56	14	10	Illiterate

In the analysis of the interviews, Item 36 was coded as verb usage. Informant 1 did not employ any form of <u>sit</u> or <u>set</u>. For the other informants, one or more negative responses were coded. Informant 2 employed a form of <u>set</u> in two positive expressions: "set it on a box" and "to set it on." The instances coded negative were

"You're setting there,"

"We'd come to school and set,"

"That girl set there,"

"I'd set beside her,"

"Setting by my machine," and

"Get back in your seats and set there."

Item Number 37: By the time John reached Ruth's house, he <u>forgot</u>
his problem.

This construction presents a problem in tense sequence. The
textbook rule states that the past perfect tense is used for the
earlier of two past actions. Item 37 is incorrect usage according
to <u>Warriner's</u> rule.

Leonard's study contained two expressions involving the problem
of tense sequence: "Galileo discovered that the earth moved" and
"I wouldn't have said that if I had thought it would have shocked
her." The judges approved the first expression but were divided in
their opinions of the second, rated disputable.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid included unorthodox tense sequence
on their checklists of linguistic features that serve as social
markers.

This usage was not recorded in the dictionary.

The Atlas worksheets were constructed to elicit phonological,
lexical, and--to some extent--grammatic and syntactic forms, but

constructions as complicated as orthodox tense sequences were not included.

Although 52 percent of the teachers condemned this unorthodox tense sequence, 26 percent approved it as informal standard English and 6 percent approved it as standard English for all speech situations. Twenty-four percent of the respondents indicated they did not deal with this usage problem in their classroom teaching.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 37	20	45	53	Disputable

In the analysis of the interviews, Item 37 was coded as verb usage, i.e., tense sequence. Tense sequence was the most difficult usage to code because the informants often strung the clauses of an utterance together with conjunctions, making it difficult to isolate a sentence. When the conjunction was definitely a subordinator, the sequence of the tenses employed in the dependent and independent clauses was considered. Twelve responses were coded as tense sequence. The responses recorded negative were

"They are wanting to show that they are growing up,"

"Now I watch the news and stuff more after I had it,"

"She explained . . . how we would be using the accounting skills . . . that we learned,"

"She knew she said it wrong,"

"If it was printed part of the students might have been able to read it,"

"We knew each other ever since we were in,"

"I do it regular now and I wouldn't have done that if I hadn't
've,"

"I wouldn't have known what to do when I got out of school if
it wasn't for my counselor,"

"We had about thirty-five went," and

"It better be better than the work sheet I had turned in."
One positive response contained another unorthodox verb usage, the
substitution of the past participle for the past tense, but the tense
sequence was orthodox: "We seen (saw) what we had been graded on."
The second positive response was "I could have gotten a better job if
I had gone."

Item Number 38: I felt _badly_ about his accident.

According to _Warriner_, the expression "felt badly," although
ungrammatical, has been established through usage as standard English.
Item 38 is correct usage according to _Warriner_.

Leonard's study included "I felt badly about his death." Four
linguists condemned the expression as illiterate, but the majority
of the judges considered the expression educated colloquial usage.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid included this modifier usage in their
checklists of linguistic features that serve as social markers.

Random House records without label the adjectival property of
badly, as in "feel badly about a spiteful remark" and "feel badly
about another's misfortune." _Webster's Third_ records that after the

verb <u>feel</u> both <u>bad</u> and <u>badly</u> are equally accepted in standard English, although <u>bad</u> is preferred in formal writing.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no instance of <u>bad</u> or <u>badly</u> was recorded.

The teachers were about equally divided between approval and disapproval of this usage. Thirty-four percent of the teachers approved it as standard informal English; 50 percent of the teachers condemned it.

	<u>Acceptability</u>	<u>Spread</u>	<u>Importance</u>	<u>Status</u>
Item 38	16	52	49	Disputable

In the analysis of the transcripts, Item 38 was coded as modifier usage. The usage in question here is the linking verb-adjective construction. Informant 4 employed this construction in three expressions. The expression, "felt comfortable" was coded positive. The expressions "it didn't look good" and "something looks good" were coded negative. For an explanation of the negative scoring, refer to the discussion of Item 19.

<u>Item Number 39</u>: <u>That</u> <u>there</u> dog is really mean.

The <u>there</u> in Item 39 is unnecessary according to <u>Warriner</u>. The authors label the construction substandard.

Leonard's study included the expression "That there rooster is a fighter." The judges' strong disapproval placed the expression among the illiterate usages.

Both Pooley and McDavid listed this usage as a distinct diagnostic feature of social dialects.

Random House labels this usage nonstandard; *Webster's Third* labels it substandard.

Frame 52.1 of the Atlas worksheets dealt with the demonstrative plural adjective "those." McDavid's method of inquiry was "It wasn't these boys; it must've been one of . . . . Or suppose you are identifying a certain group, you say, 'It wasn't these boys; it was . . . . '" Lowman recorded six instances of those, three instances of these (fellows here), one of them, and ten of them there.

The teachers were almost unanimous in condemning this usage. No teacher approved the usage for all speech situations; no teacher felt uncertain about its status. Five teachers were willing to accept the usage in informal speech.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 39	58	3	11	Illiterate

In the analysis of the interviews, Item 39 was coded as redundancy. No informant employed this construction.

Item Number 40: I like spaghetti better then stew.

Item 40 dealing with the confusion between than and then is a matter of pronunciation. The item, though ranked in the analysis of the postal survey response, could not be clearly distinguished in the taped interviews.

<u>Item Number 41</u>: That fellow <u>he</u> has a great sense of humor.

Item 41 presents a problem in redundancy. In this construction "That fellow" serves as the subject of the verb "has," but the unnecessary pronoun <u>he</u> makes a double, or pleonastic, subject. All of the language textbook series on the current state-adopted list give attention to the problem of redundancy, but this material is generally not included in the usage sections.

Leonard's study included "My Uncle John, he told me a story." The judges condemned the expression as illiterate.

McDavid did not include the pleonastic subject in his checklist of linguistic features that serve as social markers. Pooley considered the use of this redundant construction an index of nonstandard speech.

<u>Webster's Third</u> records the use of the pleonastic subject in poetry and in substandard speech.

The Atlas short worksheets used in the South Atlantic States contained about 520 items some of which were syntactic; however, syntactic items like the pleonastic subject are best recorded in free conversation. In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no instance of a pleonastic subject was recorded.

Ninety-three percent of the teachers condemned the pleonastic subject. The teachers ranked this item relatively high in the order of importance.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 41	53	11	16	Illiterate

In the analysis of the interviews, Item 41 was coded in the redundancy category. Every informant but Informant 4 employed a pleonastic subject in the interview. The redundant constructions included

"my older sister she didn't go to college,"

"my father he died,"

"our teacher he taught us,"

"my history teacher she was,"

"when the girls they would ask him,"

"most of my friends and I we,"

"some counselors . . . they just kept on,"

"economits it shows you,"

"my sister . . . she,"

"general business it shows," and

"some teachers they sort of tend."

Item Number 42: The coach with his seven exhausted players were cheered.

The textbook rule states that a phrase coming between a subject and its verb does not change the number of the subject. Item 42 is incorrect usage according to Warriner's rule.

Leonard's study included the expression "The fire captain with his loyal men were cheered." The item provoked disagreement among the judges. Thirteen judges (but no linguists) approved the expression as literary English; sixteen linguists condemned it as

illiterate. The final assigned status of the usage was disputable.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid included subject-verb concord on their checklists of linguistic features that serve as social markers.

This construction was not recorded in any of the dictionaries examined by the researcher.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no instance of the concord usage presented in Item 42 is recorded.

Eighteen percent of the teachers professed confusion as to the status of this usage; 69 percent considered it acceptable. Thirteen percent of the teachers cast a weak vote of approval.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 42	38	29	21	Disputable

In the analysis of the interviews, Item 42 was coded as agreement usage. No informant employed a construction that corresponded exactly with the construction in Item 42.

Item Number 43: Most anyone can tell you how to get there.

The Heath series advises the student to use almost for "nearly" and most for "the majority; greatest in quantity, extent, or degree." Item 43 is incorrect usage according to the textbook definition.

Leonard's study included the expression "Most anybody can do that." The opinion of the judges was nearly evenly divided between approval and disapproval. The expression was ranked among the disputable usages.

Neither McDavid nor Pooley included this modifier usage on their checklists of linguistic features that serve as social markers. Pooley, however, in his discussion of the most-almost confusion maintained that most in an initial position, as in "most anyone," has gained some degree of acceptability. He concluded that this usage should not be condemned in informal speech situations.

Webster's Third records without comment an adverbial property for most, as in "most anywhere in Europe" and "You feel the way most everybody else has felt." Random House labels colloquial the adverbial property of most.

Frames 70.1 and 70.2 of the Atlas worksheets dealt with the adverb almost. Most was not offered as a response to the item. The researcher did not record the responses to these frames.

The teachers were divided between condemnation (51 percent) and acceptance (33 percent) of this usage. Only one teacher approved the usage for all speech situations. Sixteen percent of the teachers checked the questionable column.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 43	21	43	55	Disputable

In the analysis of the interviews, Item 43 was coded as modifier usage. Informant 1 employed the adverbial property of most in the expression, "Most all of them are." The expression was coded negative. Other negative responses that were judged by the researcher as being the same type of usage included:

"I think they did some,"

"We never got together much," and

"That's about the most we've gone."

Four instances of <u>mostly</u> were coded positive.

<u>Item Number 44</u>: They can't do it by <u>theirselves</u>.

<u>Warriner</u> labels <u>hisself</u> and <u>theirselves</u> substandard usage. Item 44 is incorrect usage according to <u>Warriner</u>.

Leonard's study did not include an expression dealing with the analogical forms of the <u>-self</u> pronouns.

Both McDavid and Pooley considered this analogical form an important diagnostic feature of social dialects.

<u>Random House</u> labels the analogical form of the <u>-self</u> pronoun nonstandard usage; <u>Webster's Third</u> labels it substandard usage.

Frames 44.1 and 44.2 of the Atlas worksheets dealt with the plural and the masculine singular <u>-self</u> pronoun. Lowman's method of inquiry for the two frames was "If no one else will look out for them, you say they've got to look out for . . . " and "If no one else will do it for him, you say he had better do it . . . . " Lowman recorded nine instances of <u>themselves</u>, four instances of <u>themself</u>, five instances of <u>theirselves</u>, and two instances of <u>theirself</u>. For the masculine singular pronoun, he recorded nine instances of <u>himself</u> and eleven instances of <u>hisself</u>. Six informants chose an analogical form for both responses; six, including the cultured speaker, chose the orthodox (with <u>-selves</u> in the plural form) form for both responses.

Only one other item on the survey ranked lower in the order of tolerance. Two teachers accepted theirselves in informal speech situations. One teacher professed confusion. This item made the top of the order of importance with 79 percent of the teachers dealing with the usage in both written and oral work of their students.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 44	63	2	1	Illiterate

In the analysis of the interviews, Item 44 was coded as pronoun usage. There were four instances of -self pronouns. Informant 3 used the analogical form theirselves in one expression; in two expressions he used the first person plural -self pronoun with a singular ending, i.e., ourself. Informant 5 used the orthodox form of the third person singular in the expression, "He jumped out the window and killed himself."

Item Number 45: I can't help but pity him.

Warriner calls can't help but a double negative, considered substandard usage.

Leonard's study included the expression "I can't help but eat it." The vote of the linguists was equally divided between condemnation and acceptance. The usage was classified disputable. Another expression, "I haven't hardly any money," also involved a double negative. This expression was almost unanimously condemned.

McDavid did not include the double negative in his checklist of

linguistic features that serve as social markers. Pooley listed the avoidance of the double negative construction a minimum standard of cultivated speech.

Webster's Third records without comment this double negative construction. Random House reports the expression common in familiar speech but frowned upon by careful speakers.

Frames 40.6, 40.7, and 40.8 dealt with multiple negative constructions. McDavid's method of inquiry for Frame 40.6 was "A schoolboy might say of a scolding teacher 'Why is she blaming me, I . . . wrong?'" Lowman recorded fifteen instances of "I ain't (hain't) done nothing" and three of "I haven't done nothing." McDavid's method of inquiry for Frame 40.7 was "Someone apologizes for breaking your rake and you say, 'That's all right. I didn't like it . . . .'" Lowman recorded nine instances of no way, three instances of no ways, and seven instances of no how. Pederson's method of inquiry for Frame 40.8 was "A crying child might say, 'He was eating candy and didn't give me . . . .'" Lowman recorded nineteen instances of none. No responses were recorded for the cultured informant for the three frames.

The particular construction dealt with in Item 45 probably did not evoke a true indication of teacher attitude toward the multiple negative. The usage was condemned by 34 percent of the teachers and approved for informal speech by 42 percent. Eight percent of the teachers accepted the usage as standard English for all occasions.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 45	11	57	62	Disputable

In the analysis of the transcripts, a multiple negative was coded in the redundancy category. Three instances of the multiple negative construction were coded negative:

"There wasn't no job"

"didn't hardly fuss very much"

"can't hardly tell"

Twelve instances where the informants might have employed double negatives but did not were coded positive:

"hadn't heard anything"

"I hadn't even taken any"

"I never could find anyone"

"they don't want any help"

"and don't know anything"

"he didn't need any more help"

"when there were no jobs available"

"I hadn't done anything"

"I didn't have any idea"

"they didn't cheat somebody"

"I don't have any conversations"

"We didn't have to pay for anything"

Item Number 46: It's real warm today.

The Silver Burdett Series defines real as an adjective meaning "true, genuine." The use of real as an adverb to mean "very" is, according to the authors, acceptable in speech but not in writing.

Leonard's study included the expression "It's real cold today." Sixteen of the linguists rejected the expression for use by educated people. The expression was ranked in the disputable usage category.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid included this modifier usage in their checklists of linguistic features that serve as social markers. Pooley, moreover, defended the adverbial use of real for informal speech situations.

Random House labels informal the adverbial property of real. Webster's Third comments that, in the adverb function, real does not occur often in formal use.

Frame 91.7 of the Atlas worksheet sought an adverb functioning as an intensifier. Pederson's method of inquiry was "It wasn't just a little cold this morning; it was . . . cold." Lowman recorded twenty instances of real in this context, including the choice of the Type III informant.

No teacher accepted the adverb function of real as standard English for all speech occasions. Nearly half the teachers, i.e., 49 percent, approved the usage as informal standard English. Forty percent of the teachers condemned the usage.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 46	13	50	50	Disputable

In the analysis of the transcripts, Item 46 was coded as modifier usage. The informants used real as an intensifier in fourteen instances, including Informant 4's self-correction: "really-real-concerned."

Informant 1 employed <u>real</u> as an intensifier four times; Informant 2, three times; Informant 3, four times; Informant 4 one time; Informant 5, two times. Eight responses employing the adverbs <u>very</u> and <u>really</u> were coded positive; three of these were recorded for Informant 4.

<u>Item Number 47</u>: I wish I <u>was</u> rich.

<u>Warriner</u> states that the subjunctive <u>were</u> is used to express a wish and to express a condition contrary to fact, as in "I wish it were true." The authors concede that in modern English these uses occur mainly in formal writing.

Leonard's study included the expression "I wish I was wonderful." Two-thirds of the judges approved the expression as established informal English.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid included this usage in their checklists of linguistic features that serve as social markers.

<u>Webster's Third</u> records as substandard and archaic the use of <u>was</u> as the past subjunctive of <u>be</u>.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no instance of the subjunctive was recorded.

More than half the teachers, i.e., 55 percent, condemned this usage. Fifteen percent of the teachers professed confusion, checking the questionable column. Fifty-one percent of the teachers indicated they gave attention to the use of subjunctive mood in both the written and oral work of their students; another 30 percent concerned themselves only with the written work. Eleven percent of the respondents

indicated they did not teach the subjunctive.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 47	40	28	28	Disputable

In the analysis of the transcripts, Item 47, dealing with the use of the subjunctive, was coded as verb usage. Informant 1 and Informant 5 employed the indicative was in statements expressing a condition contrary to fact, "If it was a larger school" and "If I was you." There were no positive responses involving this usage.

Item Number 48: The cat jumped off of the roof.

According to Warriner, off of is substandard usage. The of in the construction is a superfluous word.

Leonard's study included the expression "She leaped off of the moving car." The censure of over two-thirds of the judges consigned this expression to the class of illiterate usages.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid included this usage in their check-lists of linguistic features that serve as social markers. Pooley, however, listed the redundant construction "where . . . at."

Webster's Third records without comment off of as a preposition. Random House labels the construction nonstandard "because it is re-dundant and poor style."

Frames 34.4 and 34.5 of the Atlas worksheet dealt with redundant pronoun constructions off of and out of. Lowman's method of inquiry for Frame 34.4 was "If you couldn't stay on, you'd say 'I fell . . .

the horse.'" Lowman recorded nine instances of <u>off</u>, two instances of

<u>off'n</u>, and nine instances of <u>off of</u>. For the second construction,

McDavid's method of inquiry was "Say a little child went to sleep in

bed and found himself on the floor in the morning, he'd say, 'I must

have . . . .'" Lowman recorded nineteen instances of <u>out of</u> and one

instance of <u>out'n</u>.

No teacher accepted this usage as standard English for all occa-

sions. Eighty-five percent of the teachers condemned it.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 48	47	18	27	Illiterate

In the analysis of the transcripts, Item 48 was coded as redun-

dancy. The redundancy category contained thirty-six coded responses;

eleven of which involved the redundant preposition including one <u>off</u>

<u>of</u> construction. The responses coded negative were

"in between classes,"

"on account if so it,"

"sewed it on to the garment,"

"beside of my machine,"

"that you have off of your total,"

"know where I'm at,"

"won't rust back up through,"

"accept for me," and

"I cook in between."

The responses coded positive were

"pockets on the garment," and

"jumped out the window."

Informant 2 used both "on the garment" and "on to the garment," the second expression for more emphasis.

Item Number 49: Now where were we at before he interrupted us?

In an imperative sentence, Warriner tells the student not to use at after where. Item 49 is incorrect usage according to Warriner's rule.

Leonard's study included the expression "Now just where were we at?" Leonard's judges condemned this usage.

Pooley included the avoidance of at after where as a minimum standard of cultivated usage. McDavid did not consider the construction an index of nonstandard speech.

According to Random House, the use of at or to with where should be avoided in writing and speech. Webster's Third labels the construction substandard.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no response involving where . . . at was recorded.

Only one teacher responding to the postal survey permitted this construction in all speech situations; twelve approved it for informal speech; and 108 negated it for any speech situation. The item was ranked high (twelfth) in the order of importance.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 49	45	19	12	Illiterate

Item 49 was coded as redundancy in the analysis of the transcripts. Informant 2 gave the response, "know where I'm at," which was coded negative.

Item Number 50: He is kind of shy, isn't he?

Warriner cautions the student to avoid the use of kind of and sort of in standard formal speech.

Leonard's study included the expression, "He is kind of silly, I think." Authors and editors disapproved this usage. The whole group of judges ranked the expression among the disputable usages.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid considered the usage issue dealt with in Item 50 a significant linguistic social marker.

Webster's Third records without editorial comment the use of kind of as an adverb, as in "the wind kind of slowed up." Random House states that, as an adverb, this construction is disapproved by teachers because it reflects "a vagueness in thinking" and "inadequacy in expression."

Frame 90.4 of the Atlas field records dealt with adverbs of degree in the context, "it's . . . cold." McDavid's method of inquiry for eliciting a response was "Better put a sweater on; it's getting . . . chilly." Lowman records twelve instances of "sort of," the cultural informant's response, and seven instances of "kind of." No informant used "rather" or "somewhat."

The teachers were nearly equally divided between acceptance and condemnation of Item 50. A total of seventy teachers, or 53 percent, approved of usage and a total of sixty-two teachers, or 47 percent, disapproved the usage or expressed doubt as to its status. Forty-nine percent of the teachers afforded the usage attention in both the written and oral work of the students; 39 percent did not include the usage in classroom language instruction.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 50	9	58	57	Disputable

Item 50 was coded as modifier usage in the analysis of the interviews. Informant 3 did not employ either kind of or sort of in his interview. A total of ten utterances involving this usage were coded for the other informants, i.e., two for Informant 1, three for Informant 2, one for Informant 4, and four for Informant 5. The ten responses, coded negative, were:

"sort of like an office,"

"sort of wanted me,"

"was sort of nervous,"

"sort of got on her nerves,"

"sort of nervous,"

"it feels sort of funny,"

"they sort of tend,"

"watched sort of like from the others,"

"sort of strict," and

"was sort of weird."

Item Number 51: The data he quotes is often inaccurate.

Warriner, defining data as the plural of datum, concedes that the word, like a collective noun, is used with a singular verb in standard informal speech.

Leonard's study included the expression, "The data is often inaccurate." Leonard placed the expression among the illiterate usages on the basis of the linguists' strong vote of disapproval. Businessmen and speech teachers accepted the usage as standard English.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid considered this unorthodox person number concord a diagnostic feature of social dialects.

Webster's Third records data as the plural of datum but adds that the plural form is often singular in construction, as in, "until more data is available." Data as a singular collective was approved by 50 percent of the Usage Panel of the American Heritage.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no response similar to Item 51 was recorded.

Over one-forth, or 26 percent, of the English teachers responding to the postal survey condemned the use of data as a singular collective noun; slightly less than one-fourth, or 24 percent, approved the usage for all speech situations. This narrow range of opinion, therefore, placed Item 51 last in the spread ranking. Only one item ranked lower than this construction in the order of importance.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 51	3	64	63	Disputable

Item 51 was coded as agreement usage. No informant employed datum/data in a response.

Item Number 52: Anyone can go to the game if they buy their ticket early.

The discussion of Item 7 as it relates to the Leonard Study, Pooley's and McDavid's lists, dictionary treatment, and the Atlas findings is applicable to Item 52.

Only two teachers approved the plural referent for anyone for all speech situations; twenty-three accepted it in informal speech situations. Ninety-five teachers condemned the expression.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 52	36	25	31	Disputable

Item 52 was coded as agreement usage. The analysis of the tran-scripts yielded twenty-one responses involving pronoun-antecedent agreement. Informant 4 employed a construction in which he chose a singular referent for the indefinite pronoun somebody: "somebody you wanted to be . . . put an application in front of him." Informant 4 chose a plural referent for the indefinite pronoun anybody: "bring anybody . . . sign their name." Three responses involving each as a pronoun or as an adjective combined plural referents with the singu-lar each:

"go to each teller's window and pick up their,"

"each of us to spend . . . our spending money," and

"each would take a page and then they."

Item Number 53:   The scrub team has eleven sophomores, only three of

which are expected to make varsity.

According to Warriner, who is used to refer to people; which is

used to refer to things; and that may be used to refer to both people

and things.   Item 53 is incorrect usage according to Warriner's rule.

Leonard's study included the expression "The people which were

here have all gone."   The expression was ranked 209 of the 230 items.

The judges voted more than ten to one to condemn the use of which as

a referent to people.

McDavid did not include any use of relative or interrogative

pronouns in his list of linguistic social markers.   In Pooley's list,

the rather broad reference to "the use of who and whom as referents

to persons" might be interpreted to include the usage issue dealt with

in Item 53.

Webster's Third records which as referent to animals, inanimate

objects, groups, or ideas, as in

"fish which are dangerous,"

"bonds which represent the debt," and

"a generation which has been taught."

The editors record that which is still used occasionally to refer to

persons, as in, "the children which are treated."   Random House states

that which is never used to refer to people.

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no response similar to Item 53 was rec orded.

Four percent of the teachers responding to the postal survey approved the use of which as a referent to persons for all speech occasions; 64 percent disapproved the usage in any speech situation.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 53	32	32	48	Disputable

Item 53 was coded as pronoun usage. Of the thirty-three responses coded in the pronoun category, nineteen involved the use of relative pronouns. The positive responses offered by Informant 1, Informant 3, and Informant 5 employed which as a referent to inanimate things or ideas:

"checks . . . which are ours,"

"buffer which has . . . pad," and

"party which ends about half an hour."

There were no responses employing which as a referent to persons.

Item Number 54: The girls are pretty cute.

The Addison Wesley Series labels the use of pretty as an intensifier standard informal spoken English. Warriner cautions the student to choose an adjective to modify a noun or pronoun and an adverb to modify a verb, an adjective, or an adverb.

Leonard's study included the expression, "Our catch was pretty

good." Only one of Leonard's judges condemned this usage; the judges classified it as established standard usage.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid considered this usage, i.e., pretty as an adverb, or any usage in the same category a significant linguistic social marker.

Webster's Third records without comment the adverbial property of pretty as in "pretty sure of the facts." Both American Heritage and Random House acknowledge but attach no label to the adverbial property of the word.

Frame 79.4 of the Atlas worksheet for the South Atlantic States elicited a response to the greeting, "How are you?" Most of the responses included a qualifier and an adjective. Lowman recorded six instances of "pretty well," nine instances of "pretty good," and three instances of "pretty fair." Eighteen of the twenty informants chose "pretty" as a qualifying adverb.

Over half, or 52 percent, of the teachers responding to the postal survey accepted pretty as an adverb in informal speech situations; 34 percent disapproved it for any speech situation. Forty percent of the teachers did not consider the issue important enough to occupy class time.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 54	10	53	64	Disputable

Item 54 was coded as modifier usage. Of the eighty-five responses coded in the modifier category, six involved pretty as an adverb:

"pretty rowdy,"

"pretty good,"

"pretty smooth,"

"pretty amazing,"

"pretty excited," and

"pretty nice."

This item was grouped with Item 22, Item 43, and Item 46 to represent a particular issue of usage, i.e., employing as adverbs words normally considered adjectives.

Item Number 55: I use to see him every Wednesday.

Item 55 was not included in the analysis of the taped interviews; the item was considered a matter of pronunciation.

Item Number 56: On the football field, he moves slower than Joe.

The discussion of Item 21 as it relates to Leonard's study, Pooley's and McDavid's lists, dictionary treatment, and the Atlas findings is applicable to Item 56.

The teachers responding to the postal survey were rather tolerant toward this usage, which was ranked fifth in the acceptability rating of the sixty-four items. Thirty percent of the teachers condemned the usage; 17 percent accepted it as formal standard English.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 56	5	61	54	Disputable

Item 21 was coded as modifier usage. Of the eighty-four responses coded in the modifier category, no response included any form of <u>slow</u> as an adverb.

<u>Item Number 57</u>: The agreement <u>between</u> the four schools was cancelled.

According to <u>Warriner</u>, <u>between</u> is used when two items are being considered individually, regardless of whether there are more than two involved, as in, "What is the difference between the four plans?" <u>Among</u> is used when more than two items are being considered. Item 57 is correct usage according to <u>Warriner</u>.

Leonard's study included the expression, "A treaty was concluded <u>between</u> the four powers." The English teachers responding to Leonard's survey looked more favorably on this item than did any other group of judges, but the majority of all judges approved the expression as established usage in formal literary English or standard colloquial usage.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid considered the distinction between the two prepositions <u>between/among</u> a significant linguistic social marker.

Webster's Third, recording no distinction in the use of <u>among</u> and <u>between</u> as to number, defines <u>between</u> as "involving the reciprocal action of," as in "two years of quiet talk between the three."

In the Atlas field records examined by the researcher, no response involving <u>between/among</u> was recorded.

The distinction between the two prepositions <u>between/among</u> was upheld by the 70 percent of the postal survey respondents who condemned

Item 57. The item was ranked seventeenth in the priorities of class-room teaching.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 57	33	36	17	Disputable

Item 57 was coded as lexical usage. Only four responses were coded in this category; none dealt with between/among in the sense of reciprocal action. Two responses involved between in the sense of "intermediate in the space separating two items," as in "we met (in) between classes."

Item Number 58: Act like you don't see her.

According to Warriner, like should not be used for the conjunctions, as if or as though. Warriner cites several examples of like as a conjunction for informal speech.

Leonard's study included three expressions involving the use of like as a conjunction:

"We don't often see sunsets like they have in the tropics,"

"It looked like they meant business," and

"Do it like he tells you."

Leonard's judges ranked the three expressions in close order: 180, 185, and 186. The majority of the judges condemned the use of like as a conjunction, but a number of judges accepted the use as standard colloquial speech. The three expressions were ranked among the disputable usages. Leonard concluded that like as a conjunction was not an established usage for cultivated speech.

Neither Pooley nor McDavid considered the use of <u>like</u> as a conjunction a significant linguistic social marker.

<u>Random House</u> states that the use of <u>like</u> for the conjunction <u>as</u>, though in common use, is universally condemned by teachers and editors. The editors suggest that the use of <u>like</u> for the conjunction <u>as if</u> is not so offensive. <u>Webster's Third</u> records without comment the use of <u>like</u> as a conjunction but labels substandard the use of <u>like</u> as an adverb in constructions such as "valley surrounded with like little mountains" and "raise the children decent like."

Frame 88.3 of the Atlas worksheets eliciting the subordinate conjunctions <u>as though</u> or <u>as if</u> was not included in the short worksheets used by Lowman in the interviews of the South Atlantic States.

Exactly 50 percent of the teachers responding to the postal survey accepted <u>like</u> as a conjunction in informal speech situations; another 2 percent approved it as formal standard English. Exactly one-third of the teachers resisted its acceptance for any speech situation.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 58	12	55	60	Disputable

Item 58 dealt with the use of <u>like</u> as a conjunction and was coded as "other" as it did not relate to any of the other categories of usage. Of the seventeen responses coded in the "other" category, eleven responses, coded negative, involved the use of <u>like</u> as a conjunction:

"teach us like in the medical field,"

"I felt like it was at the time,"

"seemed like she mentioned the stuff,"

"feel like you're following them around,"

"felt like you were getting into more,"

"wasn't like it used to be,"

"feels . . . like everybody's watching you,"

"act like you're an accountant,"

"were like it was departments,"

"give . . . like a boss would normally do," and

"he looked . . . like I had been."

Informant 4 did not employ <u>like</u> as a conjunction. No response employ-ing the conjunction <u>as</u> or <u>as if</u> was recorded.

<u>Item Number 59</u>: Your face is flushed; don't you feel <u>good</u>?

The discussion of Item 19 as it relates to Leonard's study, Pooley's and McDavid's lists, and dictionary treatment is applicable to Item 59.

Frame 79.4 of the Atlas field records elicited a response to the greeting "How are you?" Nine of the informants gave <u>good</u> sualified by "pretty" as a natural response. The completed elliptical utterance would have been "I am pretty good." Six of the informants gave <u>well</u> qualified by "pretty," as in, "I am pretty well." Another three in-formants chose <u>fair</u>, again with "pretty" as a qualifier.

Twenty-seven percent of the teachers responding to the postal

survey considered this usage informal standard English, and another 6 percent approved it as formal standard English, acceptable in all speech situations. A negative vote was cast by 58 percent.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 59	23	41	38	Disputable

Item 59 was coded as modifier usage. Of the eighty-four coded responses in the modifier category, six involved the good/well issue. Informant 2 used good (negative) and well (positive) in the same utterance: "understand her . . . well" and "could just understand good." Informant 1 and Informant 4 each gave one negative response involving good as an adverb: "we have done pretty good" and "just didn't like it as good." Two responses of Informant 4 involved the use of well or good in the sense of "well-dressed" or "well-groomed." These responses, coded negative, were "it didn't look good" and "something looks good."

Item Number 60: Mrs. Haley learned me all I know.

According to Warriner, learn means "to acquire knowledge" and teach means to "dispense knowledge," as in, "I learn more when he teaches me." Item 60 is incorrect usage according to the textbook definition.

Leonard's study did not include an expression dealing specifically with the learn/teach issue; however, it did contain expressions dealing with lie/lay, sit/set, leave/let, and rise/raise. The judges

classified the following expressions illiterate:

"I must go and <u>lay</u> down,"

"I had hardly <u>laid</u> down again when the telephone rang,"

"Just <u>set</u> down and rest awhile,"

"The neighbors took turns <u>setting</u> up with him,"

"He won't <u>leave</u> me come in," and

"Both leaves of the drawbridge <u>raise</u> at once."

The opinion of the judges was divided on two expressions involving troublesome verbs and classified them disputable:

"<u>Leave</u> me alone or else get out," and

"John was <u>raised</u> by his aunt."

Pooley identified the orthodox use of the historical past and past participle forms of common irregular verbs as a minimum standard for speakers desiring to master standard English. McDavid considered verb usage a primary diagnostic feature of standard dialect.

Random House restricts the use of <u>learn</u> in the sense of "instruct in, teach" to nonstandard speech. <u>Webster's Third</u> records that the use of <u>learn</u> in the sense of "teach" is now chiefly substandard.

Frame 101.1 of the Atlas worksheets dealt with the <u>teach/learn</u> confusion. Lowman's method of inquiry for eliciting a response was "If someone can do something very well and you would like to learn how to do it too, you ask, 'Who . . . you how to do that?'" Lowman recorded six instances of "taught" and thirteen instances of "learned" or "larnt." Three informants attached the preposition "of" to "larnt,"

i.e., "larnt of." The cultured speaker was among the informants choosing "taught."

Item 60 was one of two items about which status no teacher professed confusion. With two teachers accepting learn in the sense of "instruct in" as formal standard English and one teacher approving it for informal speech, a strong note for condemnation by 129 teachers placed this usage near the bottom of the acceptability ranking.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 60	61	5	3	Illiterate

Item 60 was coded as verb usage. Of the eighty-eight responses coded in the verb category, forty-eight involved troublesome verb pairs, including teach/learn. Nineteen responses involving the teach/learn confusion were coded positive; there were no responses coded negative for teach/learn. Only Informant 2 gave no response involving this verb pair.

Item Number 61: We will have to talk to them people.

The Heath Series states that them, the objective form of the third person personal pronoun, should not be used as a determiner. Item 61 is incorrect usage according to the textbook rule.

Leonard's study did not contain an expression similar to Item 61.

Webster's Third designates the use of them as an adjective substandard. Random House labels it nonstandard, as in, "He don't want them books."

Frame 52.1 of the Atlas worksheets dealt with the plural demon-
strative adjective those. McDavid's method of inquiry for eliciting
a response was "It wasn't these boys it must have been one of . . . .
Or, suppose you are identifying a certain group, you say, 'It wasn't
these boys; it was . . . .'" Lowman recorded six instances of "these,"
ten instances of "them there," two instances of "these here," one
instance of "them," and one instance of "these (fellows) here."

No teacher supported the use of them as a demonstrative adjec-
tive in any speech situation and only two professed confusion as to
the status of the usage. With 131 teachers condemning the usage,
Item 61 placed at the bottom of the acceptability ranking, 0 percent,
and at the top of the spread ranking, from 0 to 98 percent.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 61	64	1	5	Illiterate

Item 61 was coded as modifier usage. Of the eighty-four re-
sponses coded in the modifier category, one response involved the use
of them as a demonstrative adjective. The response, coded negative,
was given by Informant 2: "them little things."

Item Number 62: Lay down, Spot.

The discussion of Item 30 as it relates to Leonard's study,
Pooley's and McDavid's lists, dictionary treatment, and the Atlas
findings is applicable to Item 63.

Seventy-two percent of the teachers considered this intransitive

use of _lay_ unacceptable in any speech situation. Ten percent of the teachers thought the status questionable. Two percent of the teachers accepted _lay_ in this expression as formal standard English; 16 percent accepted it as informal standard English.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 62	35	27	15	Disputable

Item 62 was coded as verb usage. There were forty-eight coded responses involving troublesome verb pairs such as _lie/lay_, _sit/set_, _teach/learn_, _let/leave_, and _bring/take_. Forty of these responses were coded positive; eight were coded negative. Four of the responses, all coded positive, involved the _lie/lay_ confusion:

"I lay the ones,"

"he laid me off,"

"getting laid off," and

"got laid off."

Item Number 63: _Sit_ the baby in his highchair.

The discussion of Item 26 as it relates to Leonard's study, Pooley's and McDavid's lists, dictionary treatment, and the Atlas findings is applicable to Item 63.

Item 63 was supported by 7 percent of the teachers as formal standard English acceptable in all speech situations and by 9 percent as informal standard speech. The teachers placed this item rather high (thirteenth) in the priorities of classroom language instruction.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 63	39	24	13	Disputable

Item 63 was coded as verb usage. Of the eighty-eight responses coded in the verb category, forty-eight involved troublesome verb pairs such as lie/lay, sit/set, leave/let, teach/learn, and bring/take. Nine of the responses employed some form of set; three were coded positive:

"set it on a box,"

"to set it on," and

"was getting set up."

Six of the responses were coded negative:

"setting by my machine,"

"get back in your seat and set there,"

"we'd come to school and set,"

"you're setting there,"

"that girl set there," and

"I'd set beside her,"

Only Informant 1 had no negative response coded for troublesome verb pairs.

Item Number 64:   Is it best to go by the main highway or through the town?

According to Warriner, the comparative degree is used to compare two things; the superlative degree is used to compare more than two.

Regardless of the number involved, the superlative degree is often used for emphasis in informal speech.

Leonard's study included the expression, "of two disputants, the warmest is generally in the wrong." Although a majority of Leonard's judges condemned the expression, a sufficient number supported it as standard colloquial usage so as to prevent its being classified illiterate. The expression was assigned to the class of disputable usages.

McDavid considered double comparisons and analogical comparison, i.e., the wonderfullest time, linguistic features serving as indices of social stratification; however, he did not include the unorthodox use of the different degrees of modifiers in comparing two or more items. Pooley included only four modifier usages in his list: them as a determiner, avoidance of this here and that there, correct use of a and an, and the distinction betweel well and good.

The Random House entry for best defines it as the superlative form but does not limit it to the comparison of more than two items. American Heritage defines the word as the superlative degree of good and the superlative degree of well but does not limit it to the comparison of more than two items.

Frame 26.3 of the Atlas field records dealt with the adjective pretty in the comparison of two items. McDavid's method of inquiry for eliciting a response was "Suppose you remark to your mother, 'Susy's dress was pretty, but mine is .. . than hers.'" Lowman recorded ten instances of "prettier" and eight instances of the double

comparison "more prettier." Frame 66.1 dealt with the comparative

form of the polysyllabic adjective loving in the context. "Peggy is

a . . . child than Jane." Lowman recorded thirteen instances of

"lovinger." No response was recorded for the other seven informants.

Nearly one-fourth, or 24 percent, of the teachers approved the

use of the superlative form in comparison of two items as informal

standard English; another 3 percent accepted it in all speech situa-

tions. A vote of condemnation was cast by 58 percent of the teachers.

Fifteen percent checked the questionable column.

	Acceptability	Spread	Importance	Status
Item 64	28	37	37	Disputable

Item 64 was coded as modifier usage. There were ten responses

dealing with the comparison of adjectives or adverbs. Seven of the

responses involved the comparison of two items, implied or explicitly

expressed:

"are slower to learn,"

"it was a larger school,"

"could have gotten a better job,"

"got off earlier than the other factories,"

"they'd treat some people better,"

"could have made better friends," and

"a student can explain it better."

Three responses employed the superlative degree; these responses all

involved more than the two items:

"my references gave me the biggest push,"

"I made the best friends," and

"most funniest thing."

The last expression, a double superlative, was coded negative.

Analysis of Interviews

Informant 1

Informant 1 graduated as valedictorian of a graduating class of thirty-two students. In school, she held various club and class offices, positions of leadership and responsibility. She married a local farmer immediately after high school.

Informant 1 was the third generation of her family to be born and reared in the county she represented. The father was a high school graduate; the mother's highest level of educational achievement was grade eleven. The father, now deceased, was an electrician who owned his own small business. The mother's occupation was listed as housewife. According to Roe's (1956) classification of occupations, the father's occupation was identified as Level 4.

The informant was hired as a file clerk, an entry-level position, at the local bank; she also substituted as a teller. According to Roe's (1956) classification of occupations, Informant 1's occupation was identified as Level 4. This classification, on the same level as that of her father's occupation, ranked Informant 1 as S, steady, in social mobility (Labov, 1966).

Informant 1 appeared to be at ease throughout the interview which was held in the conference room at the bank. She had no conspicuous phonological features in her speech. Independent clauses of a single utterance were generally clearly defined thoughts, not strung together with and or but. For example, in response to a question concerning her job interview, the informant replied:

> He asked me what courses I had had in school. He asked me who my parents were. He knew them. He asked me if I had worked at any type of work like this before. He asked me if I would be going to college after I got out of school, if I was getting married, if I was interested in permanent work or just part time--different questions like that.

Informant 1 did not employ a passive voice construction. Shifts in person of pronoun and tense of verb became more frequent in the second half of the interview; however, with the exception of Informant 2, Informant 1 employed fewer shifts than any of the other informants. The informant's speech contained many instances of the pronoun they with a vague or implied antecedent, as in, "It was a show in Seaworld where they had fountains," and "Like on the newspaper staff . . . they would give you an article." Sixty-three responses were coded for Informant 1. Thirty-four or 54 percent were coded positive and twenty-nine or 46 percent were coded negative. These data are presented in Figure 6.

Agreement Usage. Of the sixty-three responses coded for Informant 1, sixteen involved agreement usage. There were four instances of there + singular verb + plural subject pattern; there was no instance of the informant's controlling this usage. The informant
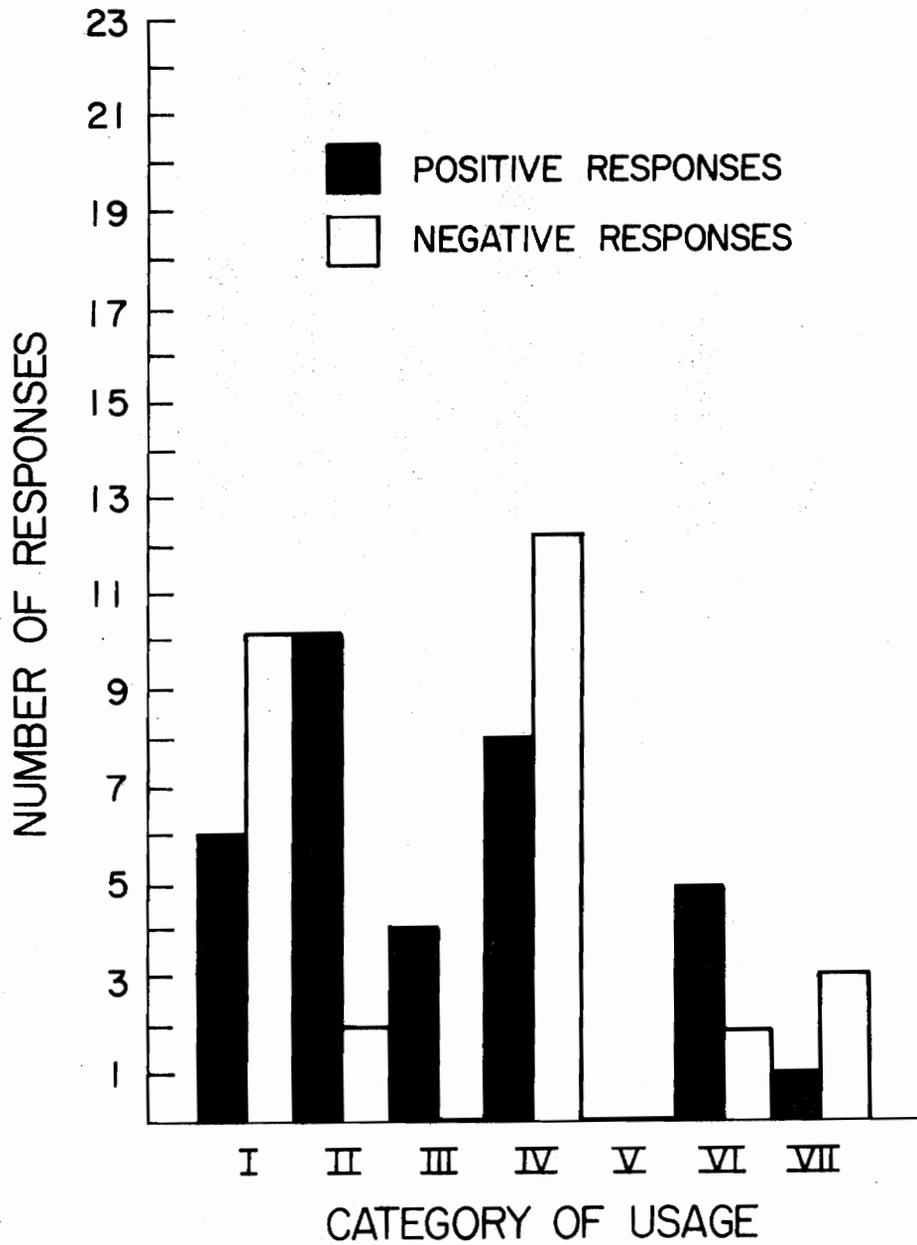
Figure 6

Analysis of Transcript of Interview with Informant 1

employed a plural pronoun with a singular antecedent in three instances:

"go to each teller's window and pick up their,"

"fix them . . . which is ours," and

"each of us to spend . . . our spending money."

One utterance included both a positive and a negative response involving the same antecedent: "we have to fix them someway to know which is ours and then ours go."

Three negative responses involved subject-verb concord: "most of them's going to college," "debits means," and "dances was the biggest money maker." Again, a single utterance included both a controlled and a nonstandard usage "credits mean . . . and debits means."

Verb usage. Informant 1 had ten responses coded positive in Category II, verb usage. Two negative responses included a tense sequence construction, "we had about thirty-five went," and a subjunctive construction, "if it was a larger school."

Pronoun usage. Informan 1 had no negative responses in Category III, pronoun usage. Four positive responses involved the standard usage of the relative pronouns who and which. Informant 1 employed that as a demonstrative pronoun in three instances and as a relative pronoun in one instance.

Modifier usage. Twenty responses were coded for Informant 1 in Category IV, modifier usage. The informant employed real as an intensifier in four instances and pretty in two instances:

"real understanding,"

"real close,"

"real pleased,"

"real good,"

"pretty rowdy," and

"pretty good."

One negative response involved the good/well issue: "we have done pretty good." Other negative responses included two instances of sort of as an adverb, one instance of a lot as an adverb, and one instance of the most as an adverb. The informant employed most as an adverb in the response, "most all of them are."

Four instances of the comparative degree of adjectives employed in a comparison of two items were coded positive. Other positive responses included two instances of the adjectival use of slow after a linking verb: "are slower to learn" and "work got slow."

Lexical usage. No responses were coded for Informant 1 in Category V.

Redundancy. Seven responses were coded in Category VI. Informant 1 employed a pleonastic subject in one instance, "my older sister she didn't." One instance of a superfluous preposition, "in between classes," was coded negative. Five negative constructions involving indefinite words, a speech area in which the informant might have employed nonstandard usage but did not, were coded positive:

"I didn't have any idea,"

"they didn't cheat somebody,"

"I hadn't done anything,"

"I don't have any conversations," and

"We didn't have to pay for anything."

Other. Three negative responses were coded in Category VII. In two instances, the informant employed the word where in a definition:

"that (machine operation) is where I have to go to each"

"cash-out is where they take"

The utterance containing the last response also included a response coded positive: "cash-in is money coming into the bank." One instance of like as a conjunction was coded negative.

Informant 1 employed like to mean "for example" in seven instances. The Addison Wesley Series warns the student that the use of like in this context is "exceedingly colloquial, perhaps even nonstandard." This usage was not coded.

Informant 2

Informant 2 was the third generation of her father's family to be born and reared in the county she represented. The mother's family came from another county in Southwest Virginia. The highest level of education achieved by either parent was grade five. Informant 2 was the only member of her family, which included six children, to graduate from high school. The informant married during her senior year. The husband is not a high school graduate.

The informant's father died during her senior year, and the two days of school missed for his death kept the informant from having a perfect attendance for her high school career. The father's occupation was listed as a farm laborer, classified as Level 6 according to Roe's

(1956) classification of occupations. The mother's occupation was listed as housewife.

The informant was hired at an entry-level position as an operative in a garment factory, classified Level 6 according to Roe's scale. The specific task assigned to the informant in the assembly line was to sew pockets on garments. Informant 2 was classified as S, steady, in social mobility (Labov, 1966) because both her occupation and her father's occupation were Level 6.

There were seventy-one coded responses for Informant 2; eleven or 15 percent coded positive and sixty or 85 percent coded negative. These data are presented in Figure 7. Informant 2 had fewer positive responses and more negative responses than did any other informant. Informant 2's transcript was the shortest; but the actual interview, thirty-eight minutes, ran as long as that of Informant 1. Informant 2 spoke slowly and deliberately, weighing each question before she answered.

Informant 2's speech was marked by several conspicuous phonological features: "git" for "get," "jest" for "just," "they's" for "there's," and omission of the beginning s sound in "specific." Other conspicuous features of the informant's speech included "reckon," as in "I reckon I didn't like the subject"; "un-huh" and "huh-un" for "yes" and "no"; "never did" for "did not"; and "aheping" for "helping," as in, "he's aheping."

Agreement usage. Of the seventy-one responses coded for Informant 2, thirteen involved agreement usage. Six instances of the introductory
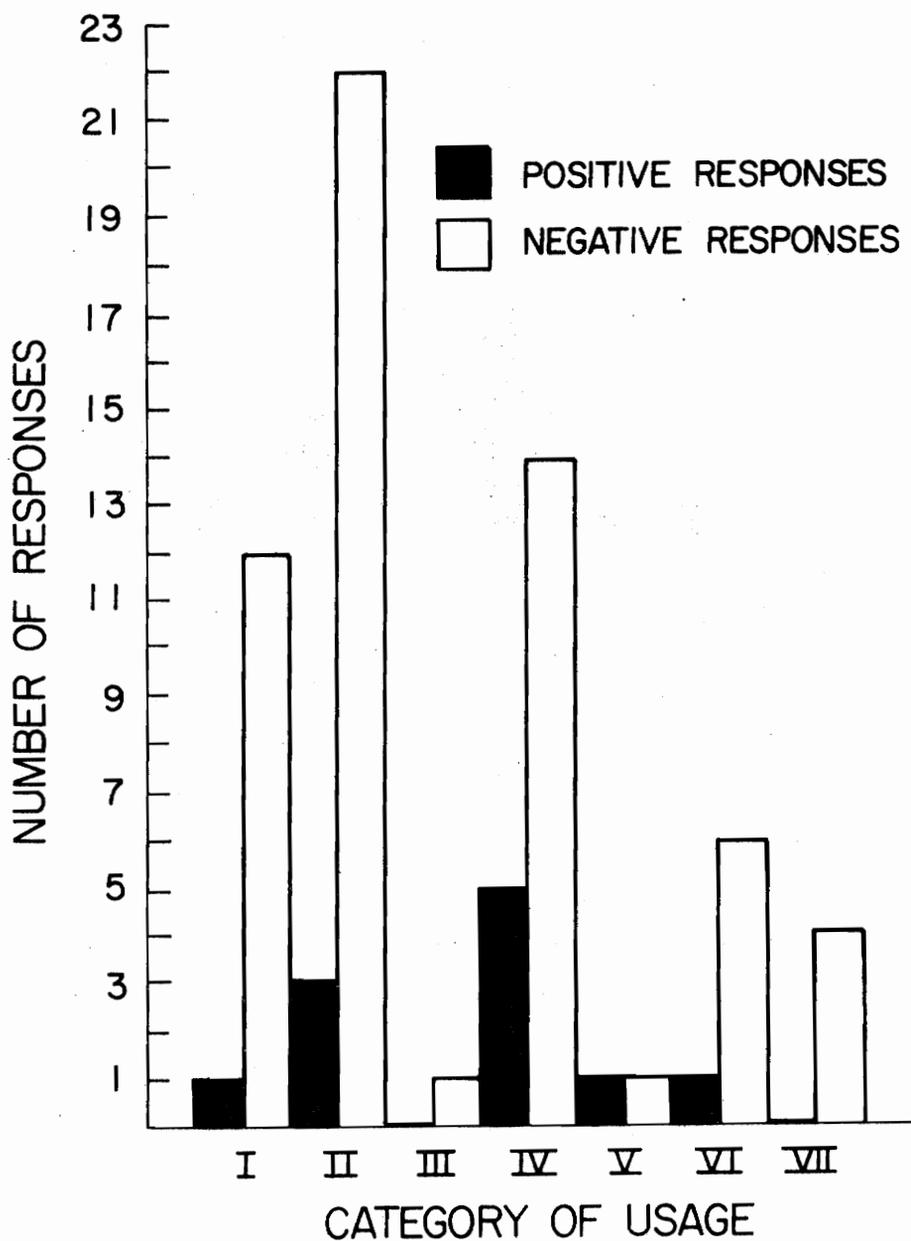
Figure 7

Analysis of Transcript of Interview with Informant 2

word-singular verb-plural subject pattern were coded, including five

"they's" and one "it's." No standard use of this construction was

coded for Informant 2. Five instances of unorthodox pronoun-antecedent

concord were coded negative. One instance of subject-verb disagree-

ment involved the first person singular of the present indicative,

i.e., "I thinks." McDavid considered unorthodox person-number concord

of the present indicative the "most clearly diagnostic feature" of

a nonstandard dialect. One positive response was coded in Category 1

for Informant 2: "how commercials were made."

Verb usage. Informant 2 employed twenty-two unorthodox verb

forms, coded negative. Three positive responses were coded in Category

II. Two involved the sit/set issue: "set it on a box," and "to set

it on"; one involved the lie/lay issue: "I lay the ones." One of

the twenty-two negative responses involved the sit/set issue: "setting

by my machine." No instances of teach/learn or leave/let were coded.

Sixteen negative responses involved nonstandard variants of com-

mon irregular verbs; one negative response involved unorthodox usage

of a regular verb. According to Atwood (1967) who surveyed the verb

forms of the Atlas field records for the eastern United States, social

lines are rather clearly marked by nonstandard verb usage, i.e.,

nonstandard variants are more common in the speech of uneducated

speakers in isolated communities than in that of cultivated speakers.

In twelve instances, the standard past participle forms, such as

come, seen, done, and run were leveled to serve as both the past form

and past participle form, as in "he done" and "I've done." In two

instances the past form <u>took</u> was used as the past participle as in

"should have took" and "I would've took."

In the examination of the Atlas field records, the researcher

did not record responses involving <u>run</u>, <u>do</u>, <u>come</u>, or <u>take</u>, although

the principal parts of these verbs were elicited in various frames

of the worksheet. Frame 102.5 dealt with the principal parts of

<u>see</u>, and Lowman recorded six instances of "seed," six instances of

"seen," and seven instances of "saw" for the past form. The two

Atlas informants from the county represented by Informant 2 used

variant forms.

The informant leveled the past form to the present form of

<u>eat</u> in "we eat lunch . . . went to," thus eliminating all inflection.

According to Atwood (1967), the uninflected form of <u>eat</u> is rather

common in popular speech.

In one instance the informant inflected one irregular verb

regularly, i.e., <u>knowed</u>. In the Atlas field records examined by the

researcher, Frame 101.6 elicited the past form of <u>know</u>. Thirteen

instances of "knowed" were recorded, as in, "I just knowed it" and

six instances of "knew." It was interesting to note that the two

Atlas informants from Informant 2's county employed "knowed."

Informant 2 used the construction "the number you supposed to

get off is 112." In this construction, an auxiliary form of the

verb <u>be</u> has been omitted.

Informant 2 was the only informant to employ <u>ain't</u>. Three in-

stances were coded negative:

"she ain't found,"

"if I ain't mistaken," and

"if I ain't mistaken."

One negative response in Category II involved faulty tense sequence: "now I watch the news and stuff more after I had it."

Pronoun usage. One response, negative, was coded in Category III for Informant 2. This response involved vague reference of a relative pronoun, "had perfect attendance . . . missed two days--that's how close I come." Informant 2 did not employ who or which as relative pronouns; that was used in all instances involving relative pronouns.

Modifier usage. Of the seventy-one responses coded for Informant 2, nineteen involved modifier usage. Five were coded positive; fourteen were coded negative. Instances of controlled speech occurred sometimes in the same utterance with nonstandard usages probably ingrained in the informant's dialect.

Controlled	Nonstandard
"a very good place"	"a real good job"
"understand her . . . well"	"just understand good"
"those little scribbling marks"	"them little things"

Three instances of somewheres and a like number of sort of, pronounced "sorta," were coded negative. The informant used both real, as in "real well," and awful, as in "awful hard," as intensifiers. The adverbial use of some, as in "I think they did some," was coded negative.

Two instances of the comparative degree referring to two items

were coded positive: "understand her better" and "get off earlier than the other factories."

Lexical usage. Two responses, a positive and a negative, were coded in Category V for Informant 2. The negative response involved the accept/except confusion, as in "accept it didn't." The positive response involved the standard usage of beside to mean "by the side of." The informant added the superfluous preposition of to beside, i.e., "beside of my machine," coded a negative response for Category VI, redundancy.

Redundancy. Of the seventy-one responses coded for Informant 2, seven involved superfluous words. Six negative responses included one multiple negative, "there wasn't no job"; one pleonastic subject, "my father he died"; one where . . . at combination, "know where I'm at"; and three redundant phrases: "sewed it on to the garment," "on account of so it," and "beside of my machine." The informant juxtaposed a controlled usage with a nonstandard variant in the same utterance, i.e., "sewed it on to the garment" and "sew pockets on the garment."

Other. In Category VII, two instances of when and where in definitions were coded negative: "best part is when I get" and "other one is where I live." The informant employed like as a conjunction in two instances: "I felt like it was at the time" and "seemed like she mentioned stuff." No positive responses were coded in this category for Informant 2.

In three instances, Informant 2 used the article a before a

word beginning with a vowel phoneme, "a aunt," "a assembly," and "a assembly," pronounced without the initial syllable as in "it wasn't a sembly." These responses were not coded. In Leonard's (1932) study, the expression "There was a orange in the dish" was designated as illiterate, ranked 218 of the 230 usages, by the linguists and 228 by the whole group of judges. Leonard noted that the vote of the judges was unanimous, not one judge included the expression among the acceptable usages.

There were three instances of like to mean "for example" in the informant's speech. These responses were not coded.

Informant 3

Informant 3 was the third generation of his family, paternal and maternal, to be born and reared in the county he represented. Both parents were high school graduates. The father's occupation was listed as kiln operator, classified Level 5 in Roe's (1956) classification of occupations. The mother's occupation was listed as housewife.

Informant 3 was hired at entry-level position as an auto body repair man in a large body shop of an automobile dealership. This occupation is classified Level 4 in Roe's (1956) scale. Informant 3 was classified as U, upward, in social mobility (Labov, 1966) because his occupation was classified at a higher social level than that of his father.

Seventy-three responses were coded for Informant 3. Thirty, or 41 percent, of the responses were coded positive; forty-three, or 59 percent, were coded negative. This information is presented in

Figure 8. In Informant 3's speech, the independent thoughts of a

single utterance were, for the most part, clearly defined sentences:

> They just mostly taught me the trade. Our teacher he
> taught us how to do it. He would show us the basics.
> He would let us use our head to do it so we would be
> prepared. He didn't come in and do everything for us.
> He would let us do it ourself.

Although the informant's speech contained no outstanding phonologi-

cal features, the informant employed a conspicuous syntactic feature,

i.e., verb-preposition combinations such as

"got out" for "finished,"

"filled out" for "completed,"

"got on" for "hired,"

"come in" for "arrive,"

"left off" for "quit,"

"have out" for "finish,"

"keep on" for "continue,"

"pick out" for "choose,"

"take off" for "leave," and

"beat out" for "defeat."

Other verb-preposition combinations were merely redundant construc-

tions, such as, "pull out," "mix up," "file off," "prime over," "cover

up," "scuff up," "mask off" and "buff over." These responses, however,

were not coded in the redundancy category.

Agreement usage. Of the seventy-three responses coded for In-

formant 3, sixteen were coded in Category I. The informant employed

the introductory word-singular verb-plural subject pattern seven

times, with two it's and five there's. Informant 3 controlled this
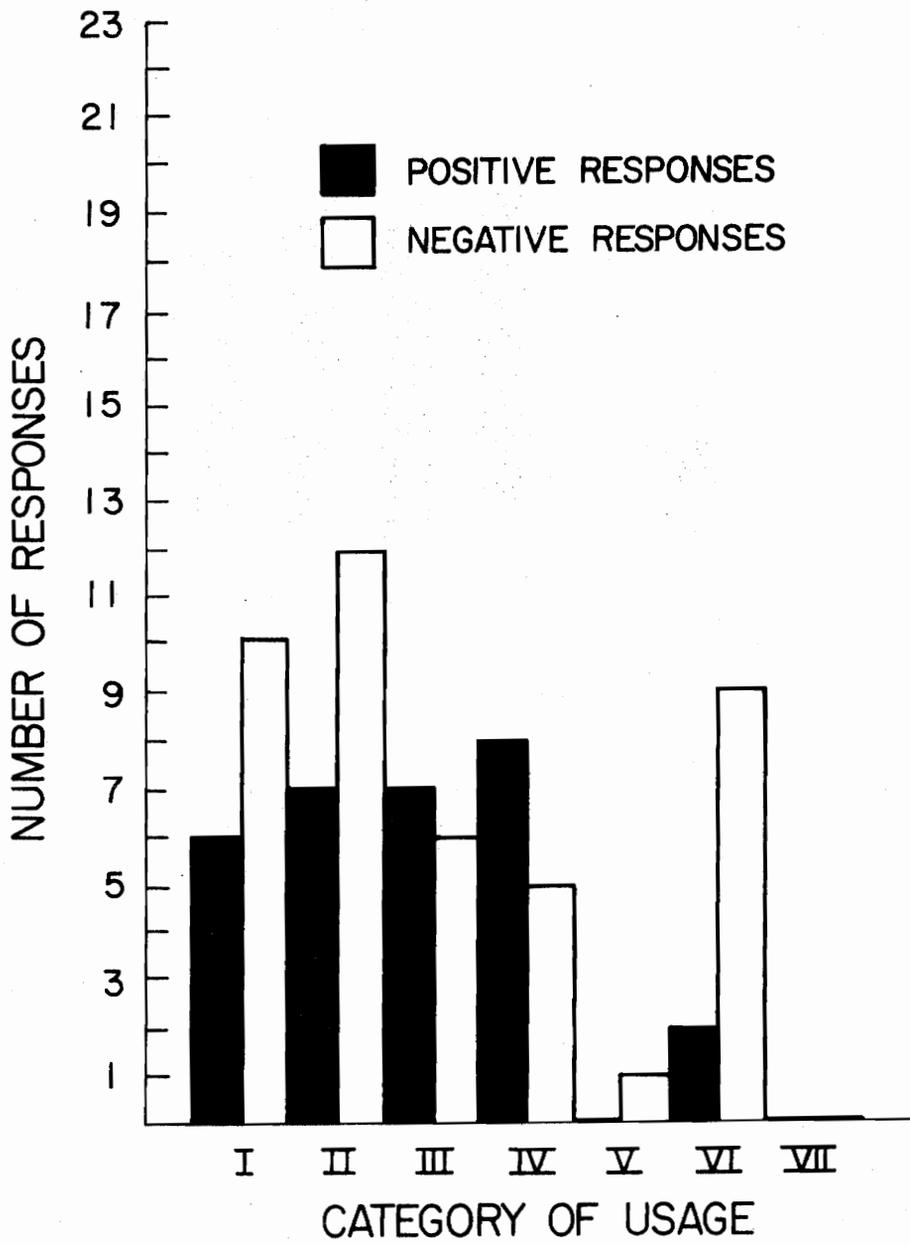
Figure 8

Analysis of Transcript of Interview with Informant 3

usage in two instances, "there were a few" and "there were about three."

Instances of subject-verb disagreement included "the one that helped me . . . were" and "any of them were modern." One negative response involved pronoun-antecedent disagreement, "other one . . . they talked," and four positive responses involved standard pronoun-antecedent concord.

Verb usage. In Category II, twelve responses were coded positive; seven, negative. All positive responses involved the teach/learn and the let/leave confusion. Three negative responses involved the sit/set and the bring/take confusion. The informant employed nonstandard tense sequence in three responses, coded negative: "we knew each other since we were in," "I wouldn't have known . . . if it wasn't," and "she knew she said it wrong."

Pronoun usage. In Category III, seven positive responses and six negative responses were coded for Informant 3. Positive responses included standard pronoun usage in a compound appositive, a compound object, and a compound subject: "brought us over--me and a friend," "picked me and two other guys," "most of my friends and I . . . had." Four positive responses involved standard use of the relative pronouns who and which.

Negative responses included one instance of an object form pronoun before a gerund, "us taking one or two years," and three instances of nonstandard -self pronouns, "theirselves," "ourself," and "ourself."

Two responses involved vague antecedents of relative pronouns: "we were all going to take the same classes . . . which really surprised me" and "they talked to the teacher . . . that's what got him his job."

Modifier usage. In Category IV, eight responses were coded positive, and five responses were coded negative. The positive responses included, "as far as we got," "very much," "mostly taught me," "mostly they just talked," and "anyway." In two instances, the informant employed the comparative form better in comparing two items, and, in one instance, the superlative form best for more than two.

Four instances of real and one instance of pretty as intensifiers were coded negative. Informant 3 was the only informant not to employ the adverb sort of.

Lexical usage. The use of accept as a preposition was coded negative in Category V. The informant added a superfluous preposition to the construction, i.e., "accept for me"; therefore, the response was coded in both Category V and Category VI.

Redundancy. In Category VI, eleven responses were coded for Informant 3. The informant controlled the negative construction in two instances, "when there were no jobs," and "he didn't need any more help," but employed a multiple negative in two other instances, "didn't hardly fuss much" and "can't hardly tell."

The following five pleonastic subjects were coded negative:

"our teacher he taught,"

"my history teacher she was,"

"when the girls they would,"

"some counselors . . . they just kept," and

"most of my friends and I we."

Two redundant prepositional phrases were coded negative: "won't rust back up through the paint" and "accept for me."

Other. No responses were coded for Informant 3 in this category.

Informant 3 employed the adverb just thirty-five times and the adjective construction a lot of seven times, as in "a lot of teachers would." These usages were not coded. The informant made frequent shifts of person or tense within utterances.

Informant 4

Informant 4 was the third generation of the family to be born and reared in the county she represented. The highest educational level achieved by either parent was seventh grade. The father was employed as a state convict guard, an occupation rated Level 6 in the Roe (1956) classification of occupations. The informant's mother, whose occupation was listed as housewife, died several months before the informant's graduation from high school. The informant was hired at an entry-level position in retail sales in a small, rather expensive ladies apparel shop. At the time of the interview the informant's working day included saleswork and all the bookkeeping, except the payroll. Informant 4, whose occupation fell in Level 4 of the Roe (1956) classification of occupations as compared to the Level 6 of her father's occupation, was the only informant who made self-

corrections during the interview and who employed a construction, i.e., "between Mrs. . . . and I," that might be termed a hyper-correction. Informant 4 was ranked as U, upward, in social mobility (Labov, 1966).

An analysis of the transcript of the interview with Informant 4 produced a total of 58 responses related to the seven categories of usage identified in this study. In addition to these responses, the researcher noted many instances of person or tense shift within a single utterance, although not generally within the same sentence. The sentences of an utterance were generally strung together by the coordinating conjunctions and and but. The speech of Informant 4 appeared more stilted and confined than that of any other informant. The most conspicuous phonological feature of the informant's speech was "git" for "get."

Informant 4 appeared to be very nervous throughout the inter-view. Utterance were punctuated with phrases such as "something (things, all) like that" or "you know," as frequently as seven times in a single utterance. The following is an example of such an utter-ance, the informant's response to a question concerning a favorite teacher:

> You know we could talk about problems I you know
> had or you know you know I just felt comfortable if
> I you know you know was having any trouble with
> you know anything.

Informant 4 made two self-corrections during the interview. One correction involved modifier usage; and the other, agreement usage. Responding to a question dealing with the attributes of a good teacher,

the informant replied: "They you know were really--were real concerned." This response was coded negative as the self-correction was the less formal usage. The second self-correction involved subject-verb concord: "pep rallies and things has--have changed." This response was coded positive as the correction was standard usage.

Figure 9 presents a graphic representation of the positive and negative responses of Informant 4. Of the fifty-eight responses, twenty-five, or 43 percent were coded positive and thirty-three, or 57 percent, were coded negative.

Agreement usage. In the category of agreement usage, twenty-one responses were coded for Informant 4. Ten of the responses were coded positive and eleven were coded negative. Four of the negative responses involved subject-verb concord in sentences introduced by there:

"There was two different lunches,"

"There's just so many jobs,"

"There was different teachers for both," and

"There was different things."

The informant had no positive responses involving the inverted subject with there.

The informant employed a singular verb with a plural subject in two other instances, "Some of them's working there" and "pep rallies and things has changed," with an immediate self-correction of the latter expression, "pep rallies and things have changed."

Two pronoun-antecedent disagreements were coded negative. Four
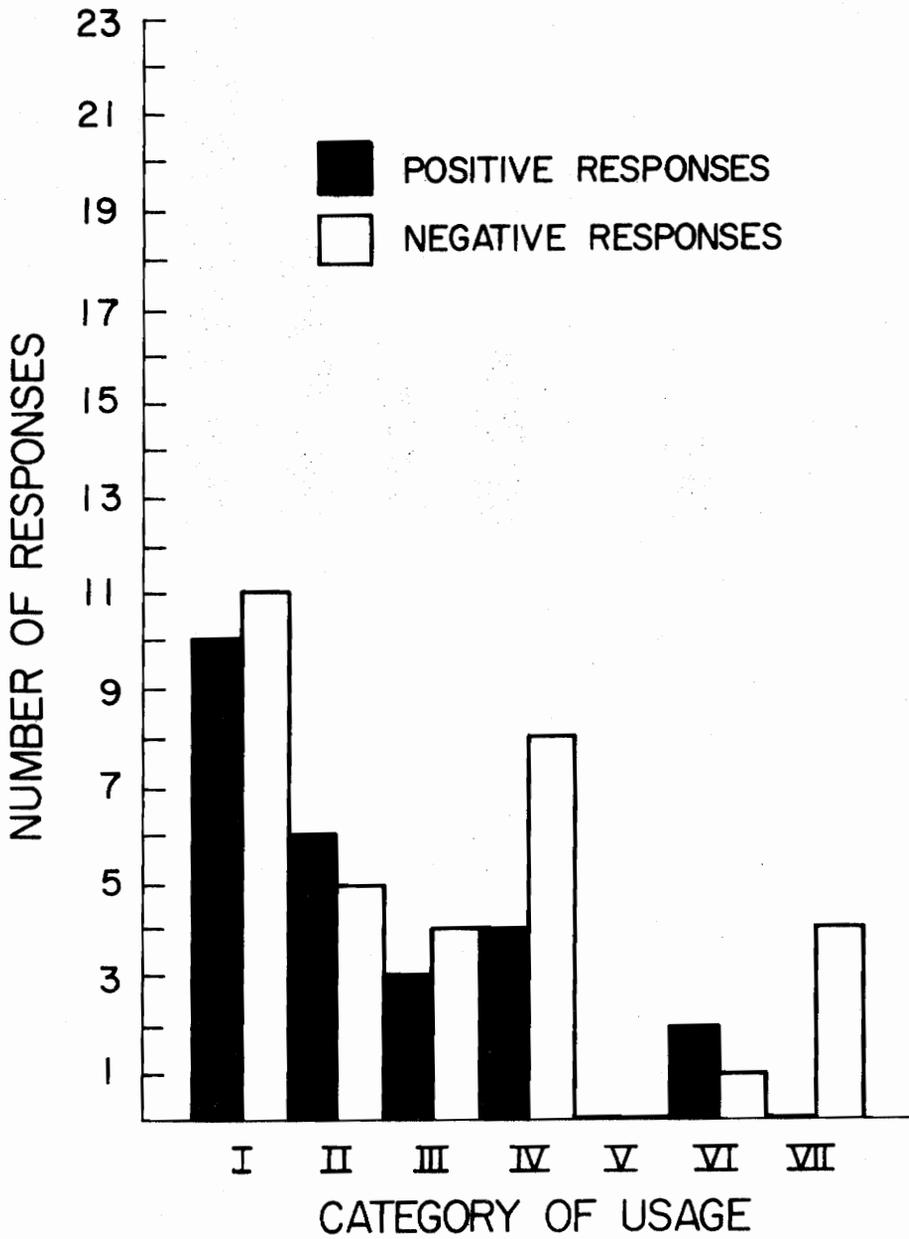
Figure 9

Analysis of Transcript of Interview with Informant 4

instances of subject-verb concord involving the indefinite pronouns some and more were coded positive.

The informant employed the second person pronoun as subject of a form of be nine times in the interview. Five of the responses "you were," were coded positive, and four of the responses, "you was," were coded negative.

Verb usage. Informant 4 used the passive voice a total of seven times, more frequently than any other informant. She had no negative responses involving passive voice constructions. Two of the responses in the verb category involved sequence of tenses: "we seen how we'd been graded," coded positive, and "I wouldn't have done that if I hadn't 've," coded negative. There were two instances of nonstandard usage of strong verb forms, "we seen" and "you done."

The informant controlled teach/learn in two utterances, but employed "set" in two utterances where the intransitive "sit" was required. The informant used the verb "lay" in the expression "laid off" meaning "released from employment."

Pronoun usage. Informant 4, who made a more obvious effort to control her usage than any other informant, provided one example of hypercorrectness, "Between Mrs. . . . and I." Among the informant's negative responses were three instances of an objective case pronoun before a gerund. The informant employed that as a relative pronoun in all but three instances:

"with a friend . . . who had a car,"

"We talked about who was going to college," and

"people . . . who had different things."

Modifier usage. The informant's second self-correction involved modifier usage; in this instance, the informant chose the more informal usage, "They were really--real--concerned." However, the informant appeared to control this usage; in three utterances she employed the intensifier really to modify an adjective.

Informant 4, describing her work in a clothing store, said "it didn't look good" and "something looks good." These constructions, employing an adjective after a linking verb, were coded negative because of the treatment of this particular construction in Warriner, i.e., "She looks well in that dress" (Item 19). A similar construction, "just felt comfortable," was coded positive.

Other negative responses in Category IV included:

"didn't like it as good,"

"do it regular now,"

"send those off different,"

"have exams and tests a lot," and

"feels sort of funny."

Informant 4 employed the adverb just thirty-three times in the interview.

Lexical usage. No responses were coded in Category V for Informant 4.

Redundancy. The informant controlled the negative construction in two responses coded positively: "and don't know anything" and "they don't want any help." A response coded negative in Category VI

involved the <u>off</u> <u>of</u> construction, "that you have off of your total."

Other. Informant 4 employed <u>like</u> as a conjunction in four instances, coded negative:

"feel like you're following,"

"felt like you were getting,"

"wasn't like it used to be," and

"feels . . . like somebody's watching."

The informant dropped the <u>to</u> before an infinitive in combination with the verb <u>go</u>; "You would go see him," "You wouldn't go talk to," and "You could just go talk." Other nonstandard usages employed by Informant 4 but not coded in one of the seven categories included three instances of the indefinite article <u>a</u> before a word beginning with a vowel phoneme "a idea," "a eight o'clock class," and "a eight o'clock class." The mastery of the use of definite articles <u>an</u> and <u>a</u> before vowel and consonant phonemes was one of Pooley's minimum requirements of standard usage.

Informant 4 employed <u>like</u> as a prefatory word meaning "for example" in six instances, as in "like the teachers call you down." These responses were not coded.

Informant 5

Informant 5 was the third generation of the paternal family to be born and reared in the county represented by the informant. The family lived in the home place built by the grandfather. The maternal grandmother and the paternal grandmother were sisters. The father's

occupation was listed as a farm tenant, classified Level 5 on Roe's (1956) classification of occupations. The mother's occupation was listed as housewife. The highest educational level attained by the father was grade five; the mother attended school through grade eleven.

The informant was hired at an entry-level position as a waitress and part-time cook in a family-type restaurant. This occupation is classified as Level 5 on Roe's (1956) scale. Informant 5 was classified as S, steady, in social mobility (Labov, 1966).

In the analysis of the transcript, eighty-six responses were coded for Informant 5. Thirty-eight, or 44 percent, were coded positive, and forty-eight, or 56 percent, were coded negative. This information is presented in Figure 10. The informant's speech contained several distinct phonological features: "git" for "get," "learnt," "ast" for "asked," and "lak" for "like."

Agreement usage. In Category I, seven responses were coded positive, and sixteen were coded negative for Informant 5. The informant provided an interesting contrast of controlled usage and natural usage.

Controlled	Nonstandard
"several that were in"	"two that is working"
"my shoes were untied"	"we was graded on it"

Negative responses included twelve instances of introductory word-singular verb-plural subject pattern, including ten instances of there's and two of it's. There was no instance of standard usage
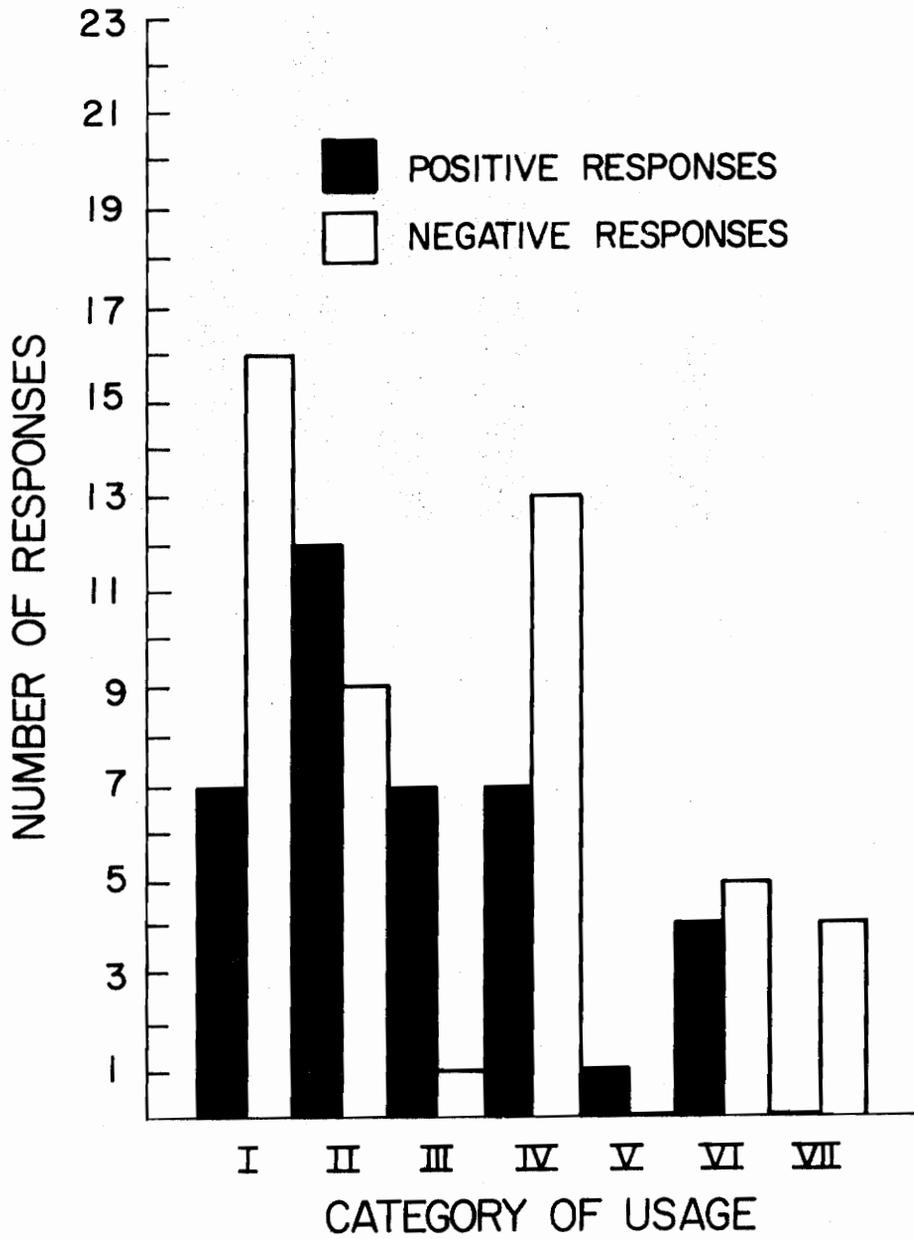
Figure 10

Analysis of Transcript of Interview with Informant 5

of this pattern in the informant's recorded interview. Three in-
stances of pronoun-antecedent disagreement included:

"each would take a page and then they,"

"two that is working," and

"one of these guys that's weird,"

Verb usage. In Category II, twenty-one responses were coded for
Informant 5. In the same utterance, the informant provided an interest-
ing contrast of controlled usage and nonstandard usage.

Controlled	Nonstandard
"the girl hadn't taken"	"she hadn't took"

Other variant verb forms employed by the informant were the
leveling of the past form drove for the past participle, as in, "he
had drove" and the uninflected form set, as in "that girl set there"
and "I'd set beside her." Four instances of nonstandard tense se-
quence were coded negative, including:

"we would be using . . . that we learned,"

"they are wanting to show that they are growing up,"

"if it was printed part of the students might have been able," and

"it better be better than . . . I had handed."

One instance of nonstandard usage of subjunctive, i.e., "if I was
you," was coded negative.

Eleven positive responses involved two troublesome verb pairs,
leave/let and teach/learn.

Pronoun usage. Seven positive responses and one negative response
were coded in Category III, pronoun usage. The negative response in-
volved the nominative form of the relative pronoun who as the object

of a preposition: "who you had to be paying attention to." Positive responses included two instances of standard usage of the nominative form of the first person personal pronoun in elliptical adverb clauses beginning with than, one instance of the standard form of himself, and four instances of standard usage of the relative pronouns who and which.

Modifier usage. In Category IV, twenty responses were coded for Informant 5: seven positive and thirteen negative. The informant's speech provided a contrast of controlled usage and natural usage in several responses.

Controlled	Nonstandard
"very young"	"real short"
"really nice"	"pretty nice"
"very highly"	"awful fast"
"a student can explain it better"	"the most funniest thing"

Negative responses included two instances of a lot in an adverb function and four instances of sort of in an adverb function.

Lexical usage. Informant 5 gave one response, coded positive, involving lexical usage, i.e., "beside her."

Redundancy. In Category VI, nine responses were coded for Informant 5. The four positive responses included three standard negative constructions and the prepositional phrase "out the window." The five negative responses included one superfluous preposition, "in between," and four pleonastic subjects:

"Economics it shows you,"

"General Business it shows,"

"some teachers they sort of tend," and

"my sister . . . she."

Other. Four negative responses coded for Informant 5 in Category VII involved the use of like as a conjunction, as in:

"act like you're an accountant,"

"like it was departments,"

"give . . . like a boss . . . would do," and

"he looked . . . like I had been."

No positive responses were coded in this category for Informant 5.

In three instances of the same response, Informant 5 employed the articles a before a vowel phoneme, "a F," but the informant also employed an before a word beginning with a vowel phoneme, as in "an accountant." In five instances, the informant employed like to mean "for example." These responses were not coded.

General Description

Although the five informants were high school graduates from counties in the mountainous region of Southwest Virginia, each had a distinct idiolect; therefore, the description of the specific linguistic features which appear to be characteristic of careful speech must be limited to the five informants representing a particular age and social class in the limited subregion of this study.

The positive and negative responses in each category of usage were presented in Table 9. The frequency of controlled usage and

variant usage for the five informants is graphed in Figure 11 to allow comparison of the areas of usage problems.

Agreement usage. Probably the most distinct linguistic feature of the study was the introductory word-singular verb-plural subject pattern which was coded thirty-three times. Informant 1 employed the pattern four times; Informant 2, six times; Informant 3, seven times; Informant 4, four times; and Informant 5, twelve times. Only two responses involving the traditional pattern of introductory word-plural verb-plural subject were coded; both were given by Informant 3, classified U, upward, in social mobility.

There were nine responses involving the disagreement of subject and verb in the traditional word order pattern; seven of these involved disagreement of subject with some form of the verb be. Four of these, "you was," were given by Informant 4, classified U, upward, in social mobility. The informant controlled the usage, "you were," in five responses. Every informant employed at least one nonstandard subject-verb pattern.

The social mobility of the informants according to the prestige of both the father's occupation and the informant's occupation (Table 5 of Chapter 2) permitted a comparison of the certain characteristics of usage as indices of social stratification. The graphing of the frequency of occurrence of the introductory word-singular verb-plural subject pattern (Figure 12) divides the informants into 3 groups: (1) Informant 1 ranked S, steady, in social mobility and Informant 4 ranked U, upward, with four instances each; (2) Informant 2, ranked
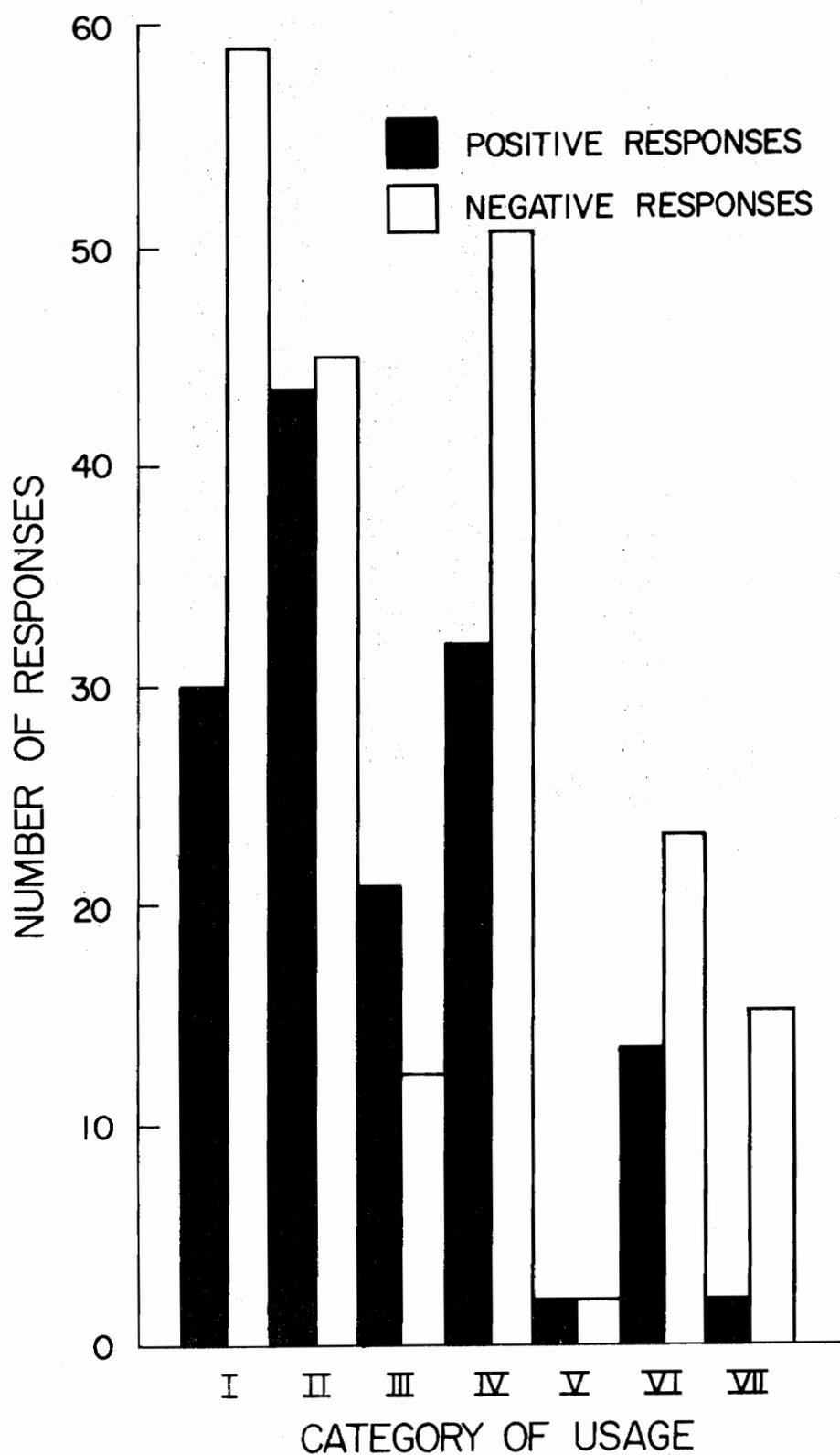
Figure 11

Analysis of the Transcripts of the Interviews with All Informants
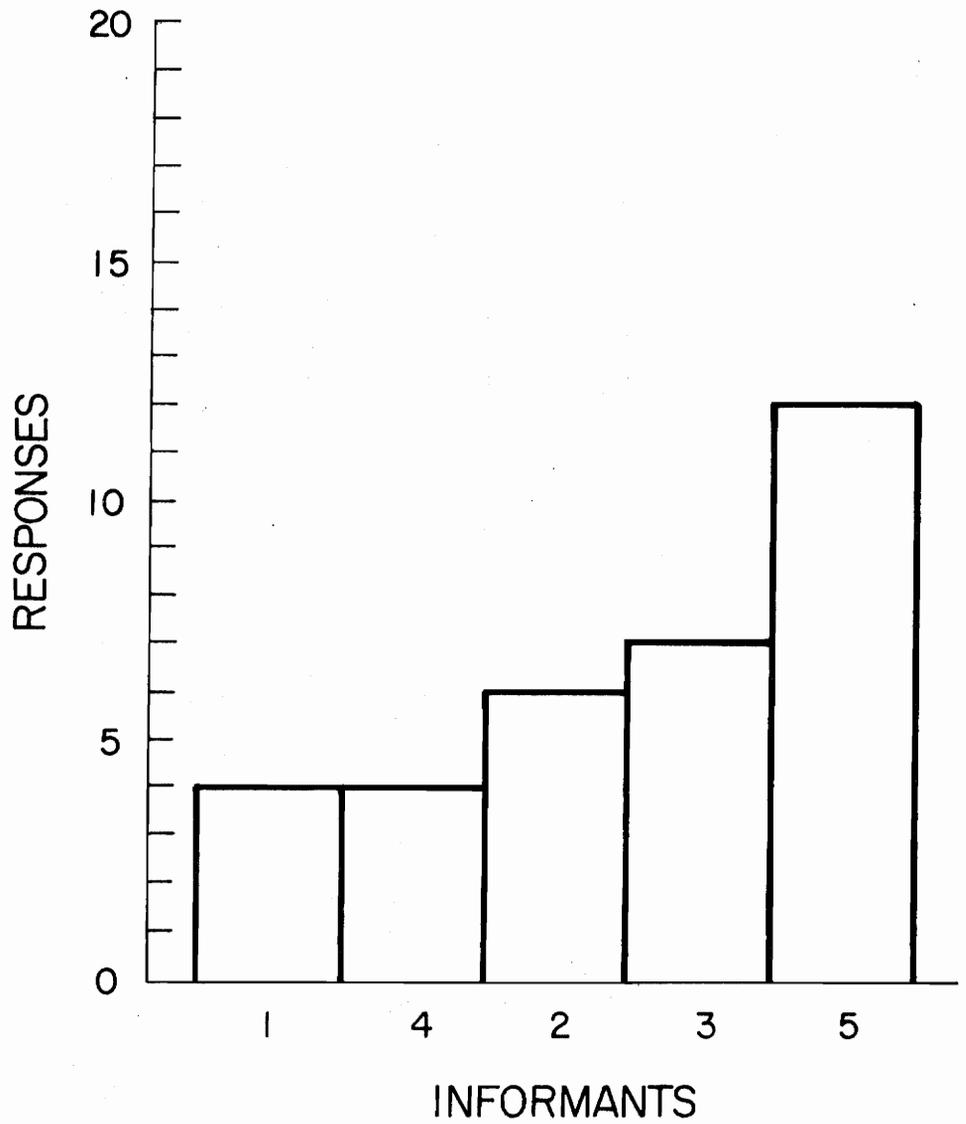
Figure 12

Frequency of Occurrence of <u>Introductory Word-</u>

<u>Singular Verb-Plural Subject</u> Pattern

S, steady, with six instances and Informant 3, ranked U, upward, with seven instances; and (3) Informant 5, ranked S, steady, with twelve instances. Since the quantity of Informant 2's speech was considerably shorter than that of the other four informants and more of the interview time was taken up by the researcher's talking in an attempt to elicit free conversation, the quantitative frequency of this agreement usage for Informant 2 is not a valid measure compared with the relative frequency of occurrence in the speech of the other informants.

Informant 1, Informant 3, and Informant 5 appeared able to control pronoun-antecedent agreement because instances of both controlled usage and nonstandard usage were coded for each. Informant 2 and Informant 4 employed nonstandard pronoun-antecedent usage; however, neither gave a controlled response.

The greatest number of negative responses was coded in Category I, agreement usage.

Verb usage. The postal questionnaire included items dealing with the troublesome verb pairs sit/set, lie/lay, leave/let, and teach/learn; therefore, any response involving a form of these verbs was coded. This coding resulted in forty-three positive responses in Category II.

With the exception of Informant 2 who did not employ a form of the verbs, the informants appeared to control the teach/learn confusion. The nineteen responses involving the verbs were standard usage.

Concerning the leave/let confusion, Informant 1, Informant 3, and Informant 5 appeared able to control the verbs with no nonstandard

forms coded. Neither Informant 2 nor Informant 4 employed a form of the verbs.

Concerning the sit/set confusion, four informants employed the uninflected set in nonstandard usage. Informant 1 employed no form of the verbs.

Concerning the lie/lay confusion, Informant 1, Informant 2, and Informant 4 gave controlled responses. Three of the responses involved the idiom laid off, meaning "released from employment." The fourth response was "I lay the ones." The number and kind of responses involving the lie/lay confusion were insufficient for any valid description.

The distinct characteristic of verb usage was the nonstandard variant of common irregular verbs. With the exception of Informant 1, every informant employed at least one nonstandard form of a common irregular verb. In the ranking of social order by occupations (self and fathers), Informant 1 ranked at the top of the social order, Level 4. This characteristic of usage was particularly conspicuous in the speech of Informant 2 for whom seventeen nonstandard usages were coded. Informant 2 was classified at the bottom of the social order, Level 6. Informant 2 also employed ain't in three responses. No other informant used this nonstandard usage.

The graphing of the predominant characteristic of verb usage (Figure 13) suggests that this usage, i.e., a nonstandard variant of a common verb, is probably more accurate as an index of social stratification than either agreement usage or modifier usage. The
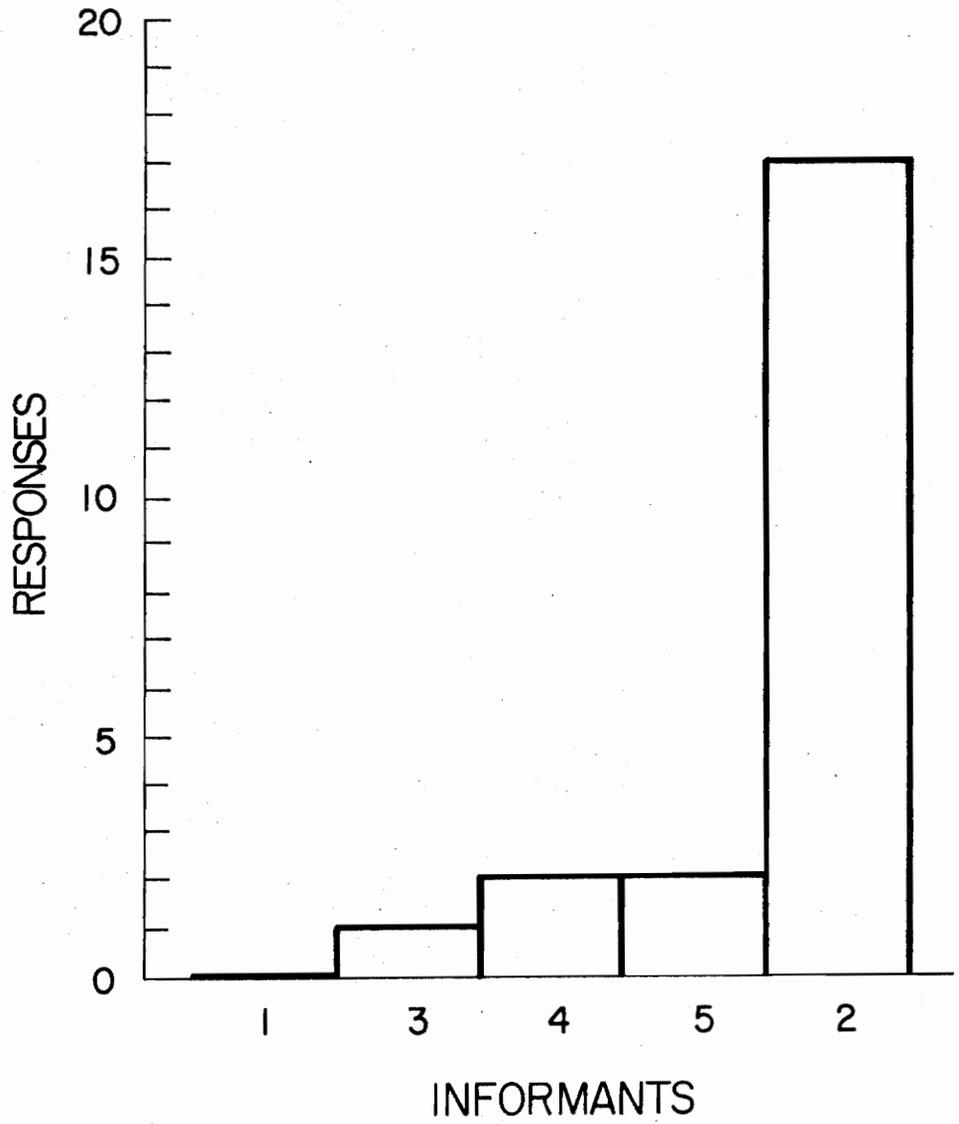
Figure 13

Frequency of Occurrence of Nonstandard Verb Forms

frequency of occurrence of this nonstandard usage in the speech of Informant 2 makes it more valid as a social index since the actual quantity of speech for that informant was less.

Pronoun usage. Thirty-three responses were coded in Category III, pronoun usage. Only four instances of compound subjects and complements were coded; Informant 3 gave three standard responses: "brought us over--me and a friend," "picked me and two other guys," and "most of my friends and I . . . had." The compound object of a preposition, "Between Mrs. . . . and I," was coded negative for Informant 4.

Four responses involving -self pronouns were coded; one response, "killed himself," was standard usage. Informant 3 employed three nonstandard variants: theirselves and ourself (two instances).

Four responses involving a pronoun form before a gerund were coded negative; the objective form pronoun was the choice of both Informant 3 (one instance) and Informant 4 (three instances).

There was no distinct characteristic of pronoun usage evident in the coded transcript. Ten of the twelve negative responses coded in Category III were given by the two informants coded U, upward, in social mobility, i.e., Informant 3 and Informant 4.

Modifier usage. A distinct characteristic of modifier usage was the use of real as an intensifier. This usage, coded thirteen times, appeared to be a usage ingrained in the careful speech of all informants but Informant 4. Informant 4 made an obvious effort to control the usage but in one self-correction chose the less acceptable form "they were really-real-concerned." The graphing of the use of

real as an adverb suggests that this usage does not serve as an index of social stratification. This information is presented in Figure 14.

The use of sort of as an adverb was coded nine times, with only Informant 3 not employing the usage. This modifier usage appeared to be a natural feature of the careful speech of four informants.

Lexical usage. With only four responses coded in Category V, no characteristic lexical usage was evident.

Redundancy. In Category VI, thirty-six responses were coded. The predominant characteristic of usage in this category for the five informants was the pleonastic subject coded in eleven responses. With the exception of Informant 4, each informant employed a pleonastic subject. This characteristic is graphed in Figure 15.

With the exception of Informant 2, the informants appeared able to control the multiple negative with eleven standard responses coded positive and three nonstandard responses coded negative. Although Informant 3 employed two multiple negatives, he controlled the negative construction in two responses "when there were no jobs available" and "he didn't need any more help." Informant 2 employed one multiple negative but employed no standard negative construction.

Every informant was coded for one or more uses of a superfluous preposition.

Other. The distinct characteristic of Category VII was the use of like as a preposition. This usage was employed by every informant but Informant 3. Eleven instances of the usage were coded. This

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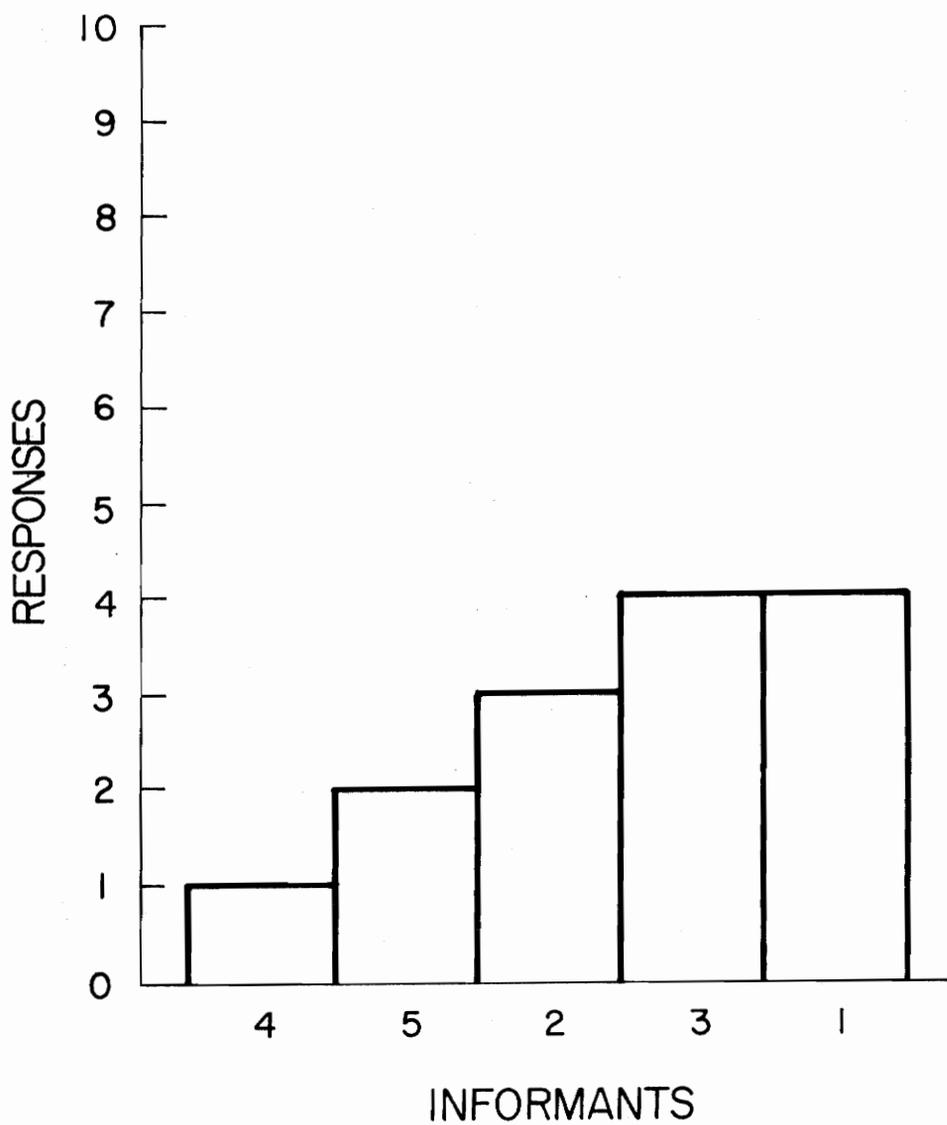
Figure 14

Frequency of Occurrence of Real as an Intensifier
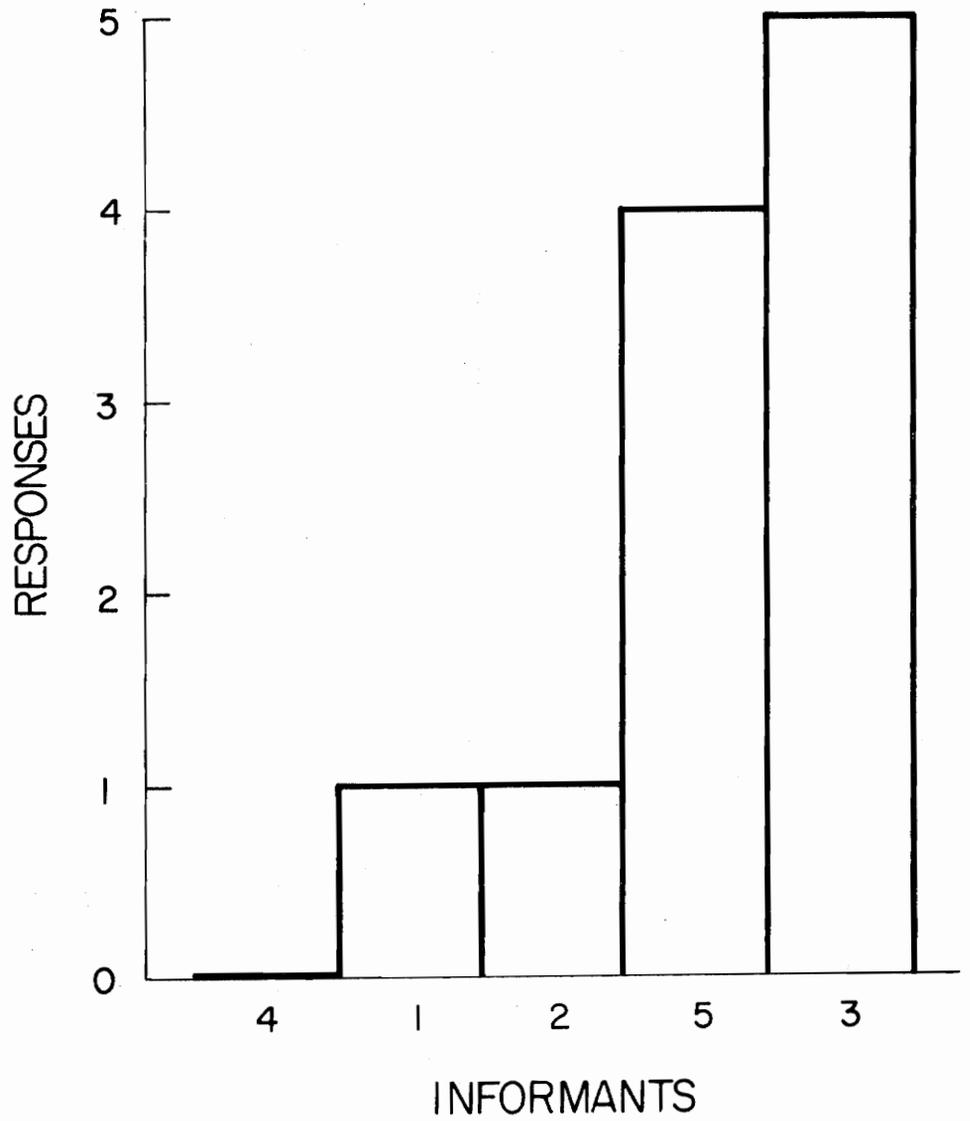
Figure 15

Frequency of Occurrence of the Pleonastic Subject

information is presented in Figure 16.

The five nonstandard usages that appeared to be linguistic charac-
teristics of the careful speech of the five informants involved
ninety-one responses. These five characteristics were the <u>introductory
word-singular verb-plural subject</u> pattern, thirty-three responses;
nonstandard verb forms, twenty-two responses; use of <u>real</u> as an ad-
verb, fourteen responses; the pleonastic subject, eleven responses;
and use of <u>like</u> as a preposition, eleven responses. There were no
predominant characteristics in pronoun usage or in lexical usage.
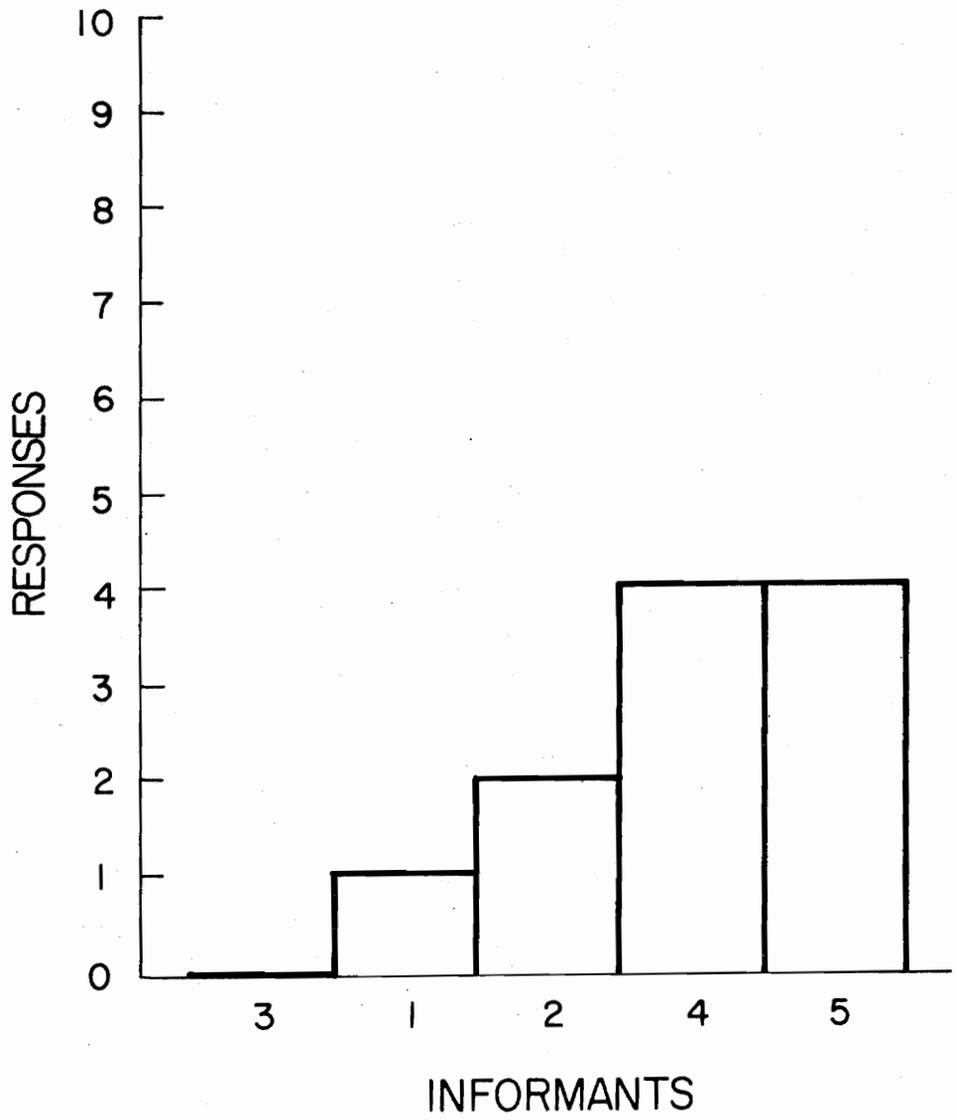
Figure 16

Frequency of Occurrence of <u>Like</u> as a Preposition

Chapter V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter presents a summary of the research design and the research findings. Conclusions are drawn from the data and the possible implications for classroom teaching are explored. As in any study, numerous possibilities for further research present themselves.

Summary

The primary purpose of the study was to describe the characteristics of the careful speech of high-school graduates in entry-level positions in job categories of high employment in selected counties of Southwest Virginia.

Procedures

The research procedure consisted of five major steps: (1) the analysis of language textbooks on the current state-adopted list, (2) a survey of teacher attitudes toward items of usage garnered from the textbook analysis, (3) interviews with five selected informants, (4) coding of the transcripts of the interviews in relation to the items on the postal survey and (5) analysis of the findings.

The analysis of the textbook yielded a list of sixty-four usage items, and a postal questionnaire was developed around these sixty-four items. Between the analysis of the textbook and the postal

survey, the setting was chosen and the job categories were randomly selected.

To support the assumption that high-school graduates from the chosen setting had been exposed to the textbook treatment of usage items, a postal questionnaire was sent to high-school teachers of English in the setting, i.e., ten contiguous counties of Southwest Virginia. One hundred thirty-two teachers, or 89 percent, responded to the survey. The postal survey respondent was asked to indicate both the degree of acceptability he assigned each item and the degree of importance he placed on each item in his teaching. The data from the postal survey were analyzed; and a rank order of acceptability, a rank order of importance, and a rank order of spread were established for the sixty-four items. The sixty-four items were classified in seven broad categories of usage. The pronunciation category was not considered.

Ten job categories of large employment in Virginia were identified. From these ten, five were randomly selected, one for each of five counties selected for the primary research of the study. These five counties were included in the ten counties of the postal survey. An informant employed in the job category selected for the county was identified in each county. The five informants met the following specified criteria:

1. Native of the county represented;

2. Product of the local school system;

3. A 1975 high-school graduate with no formal training or education beyond high school; and

4. An entry-level employee who procured his job by means of an oral interview.

The five informants were interviewed according to procedures established in a pilot interview. The pretext of the interview was the relevance of high school education to career preparation. The interviews were taped on two magnetic tape recorders. The tapes of the interviews were transcribed, and the transcripts were analyzed and coded according to the seven broad usage categories.

The sixty-four items of the usage survey were discussed in relation to

1. Leonard's study,

2. McDavid's and Pooley's lists of linguistic features of social stratification,

3. Dictionary treatment,

4. Findings of the Linguistic Atlas project,

5. Findings of the postal survey, and

6. The coded transcripts.

In addition, a detailed description of the linguistic characteristics of each of the five informants served as the basis for a general description of a limited number of linguistic features of the careful speech of high-school graduates at entry-level positions in job categories of large employment in the setting selected for this study.

Findings

An analysis of the postal survey revealed that the high-school
teachers of English in the setting selected for this study were in-
tolerant of nonstandard usages and of certain informal standard usages
on the postal survey. The analysis yielded no consensus among the
132 informants; on no item was the vote for acceptance or condemna-
tion unanimous. Even usages that have long been designated as
established by research, such as will in first person simple futurity,
did not muster the unanimous support of the teachers. The analysis
of the postal survey revealed that there is no full or current defi-
nition of standard English.

The analysis of the transcripts of the recorded interviews pro-
duced a total of 351 responses coded in seven broad usage categories.
One hundred forty-three responses, or 41 percent, were coded positive;
and 208, or 59 percent, were coded negative. The category containing
the highest number of coded responses was agreement usage. In order
of number of coded responses, the remaining categories were verb usage,
modifier usage, redundancy, pronoun usage, "other," and lexical usage.

The analysis of the transcripts identified one distinct agreement
usage that appeared to be a characteristic of the careful speech of
the five informants: lack of subject-verb concord after an expletive,
i.e., an introductory word. Nonstandard variants of common irregular
verbs were identified as a characteristic of verb usage among the five
informants. Two distinct characteristics of modifier usage emerged;
one was the use of real as an intensifier and the other was the use

of <u>sort of</u> as an adverb. No distinct characteristics of pronoun or

lexical usage were revealed in the analysis of the transcripts among

those usages classified as "other" in the present study, the use of

<u>like</u> as a conjunction emerged as a predominant characteristic of care-

ful speech of the five informants. In the redundancy category, the

pleonastic subject appeared to be a linguistic characteristic of the

careful speech of the five informants.

Conclusions

On the basis of such a small sample, it would be presumptuous

to draw definitive conclusions. Nevertheless, the data of the present

study and its relationship to previous studies of actual usage and

attitudes toward usage warrant four interesting tentative conclusions.

Conclusion 1

First, it appears that linguistic features that serve as social

markers occur much more frequently in the speech of lower social level

informants than in the speech of informants of higher social level.

Since a relatively large number of these diagnostic features occurred

in varying degrees in the speech of all informants, the difference

appears to be quantitative rather than qualitative. Although the dif-

ferences relative to frequency of occurrence may be small, research

indicates that attitudes toward these minute differences is strongly

condemning. The analysis of the five transcripts isolated five non-

standard usages that appeared to be linguistic characteristics of the

careful speech of the five informants. In order of frequencies of occurrence, these five usages were (1) the <u>introductory word-singular verb-plural subject</u> pattern, (2) nonstandard forms of common irregular verbs, (3) the use of <u>real</u> as an intensifier, (4) the pleonastic subject, and (5) the use of <u>like</u> as a conjunction. These five predominant usages were coded in a total of ninety-one negative responses for the five informants.

Informant 1, who ranked at the top of the social order and was classified as S, steady, in social mobility, gave ten of the ninety-one responses. She did not use a nonstandard verb form. Four of her ten responses involved the use of <u>real</u> as an adverb or intensifier, which <u>Warriner</u> labels informal standard English.

Informant 4, who was classified as U, upward, in social mobility, gave eleven of the ninety-one responses. She ranked in the middle of the social order. Informant 4 was the only informant not to employ a pleonastic subject. She gave only one response involving <u>real</u> as an adverb or intensifier, a self-correction in which she chose the less acceptable usage. Two instances of nonstandard verb usage were credited to Informant 4.

Informant 3, who was classified as U, upward, in social mobility, gave seventeen of the ninety-one responses. He ranked second in the social order. Informant 3 did not employ <u>like</u> as a preposition. One instance of nonstandard verb usage was given by Informant 3.

Informant 5, who ranked next to last in the social order, gave twenty-four of the ninety-one responses. Twelve of these responses

involved the <u>introductory word-singular verb-plural subject</u> pattern. The informant, who was classified as S, steady, in social mobility because both her occupation and that of her father were classified Level 5 (Roe, 1956), used two nonstandard verb forms.

Informant 2, who ranked at the bottom of the social order of the five informants, gave twenty-nine of the ninety-one responses. Informant 2 was classified as S, steady, in social mobility because both her occupation and that of her father were classified as Level 6 in Roe's (1956) scale of occupational prestige. Informant 2 used nonstandard verb forms in 17 instances.

Since the quantity of speech of Informant 2 was less than that of any other informant, it was difficult to compare the frequencies of occurrence of the five usages that appeared to be linguistic characteristics of the careful speech of the five informants. Nonstandard verb forms, however, emerged as the clearest index of social stratification. Informant 2, who ranked at the bottom of the social order, gave 77 percent of the nonstandard responses involving this usage; Informant 5, who ranked next to last in the social order, gave 9 percent of the nonstandard responses; Informant 4, who ranked in the middle of the social order, also gave 9 percent of the nonstandard responses; Informant 3, who ranked second in the social order, gave 5 percent of the nonstandard responses; and Informant 1, who ranked at the top of the social order, did not employ a nonstandard verb form.

The findings of the present study, however, suggest that linguistic features that serve as social markers occur in the speech

of speakers on all social levels, but more frequently in speakers

classified in the lower social strata. The difference appears to be

quantitative rather than qualitative. The occurrence of nonstandard

variants of common irregular verbs, however, appears to be a stronger

index of social stratification than any other linguistic feature.

The relative frequency of occurrence of nonstandard verb forms among

the five informants was presented in Figure 13 of Chapter 4.

Conclusion 2

Second, it appears that strong conscious control is exercised by

informants striving for upward social mobility. The analysis of the

coded transcripts revealed a continuum of informant awareness ranging

from a small degree of control that appeared almost unconscious to a

high degree of conscious control.

Informant 2, for whom only eleven responses were coded positive

but sixty were coded negative, controlled modifier usage in the re-

sponses "understand her real well" and "a very good place," yet

these responses appeared to be involuntary responses from a repertoire

of standard usages that were stored but infrequently used. The juxta-

position of the informal usage of real to modify the formal usage of

well as an adverb modifying the verb "understand" seems to support

the assumption of unconscious control. The informant's natural choice

of an intensifier appeared to be real, not very, because she employed

real in three responses. Again, the standard response "a very good

place" seems to support the assumption of unconscious control of a

usage learned in school but apparently not a natural part of the

informant's dialect.

Informant 4, for whom the least number of responses was coded, i.e., twenty-five, or 43 percent, positive and thirty-three, or 57 percent, negative, practiced obvious conscious control. The informant's occupation as salesclerk and part-time bookkeeper was classified Level 4 in Roe's (1956) scale of occupational prestige, two full levels above that of her father's occupation as a state convict guard.

Informant 4 made two self-corrections during the interview. No other informant made a self-correction. One self-correction involved subject-verb agreement, and in this instance the informant chose the standard usage over the nonstandard variant, "pep rallies has-have-changed." The second self-correction involved modifier usage; and, in this instance, the informant chose the less acceptable form, "really-real-concerned." The informant chose the formal really in three other responses. An interesting contrast of controlled and natural usage was provided in nine responses involving you and the past tense of be. In five instances, the controlled response was "you were"; in four responses, the natural response was "you was."

Informant 3 appeared to practice relatively strong conscious control. Seventy-three responses were coded for the informant; thirty, or 41 percent, coded positive and forty-three, or 59 percent, coded negative. Informant 3's occupation was ranked as Level 4 on Roe's scale as compared to Level 5 of his father's occupation as a kiln operator. Informant 3 was the only informant to control the

introductory word-plural verb-plural subject pattern. The informant

controlled pronoun usage in a compound subject, a compound direct

object, and a compound appositive--speech areas in which the informant

might certainly have employed nonstandard forms. The informant con-

trolled pronoun-antecedent agreement in four responses and violated

the concord in one. It should be pointed out, however, that Infor-

mant 3's parents had the highest educational attainment: both were

high school graduates.

Informant 1 and Informant 5 appeared to practice conscious con-

trol to a lesser degree than Informant 4 or Informant 3 but more than

Informant 2. Informant 1 had the highest percentage of positive re-

sponses, i.e., 53 percent; however, the informant's usage may have

reflected her economic and social background. On the basis of a

relatively small corpus of linguistic features, the researcher could

not be certain whether the features reflected careful speech, i.e., a

social dialect or reflected features of an idiolect. Informant 1's

occupation was classified as Level 4 the same as her father's occupa-

tion of an electrician. Informant 4's employer told the researcher

that the informant came from "an excellent old family in the county."

Informant 5, for whom the greatest number of responses were coded,

provided several interesting contrasts of controlled and natural usage,

sometimes in the same utterance. The informant had thirty-eight, or

44 percent, responses coded positive and forty-eight, or 56 percent,

coded negative. Informant 5's occupation was ranked Level 5, the same

level as her father's occupation as a farm tenant.

Conclusion 3

Third, it appears that the more conscious the effort to control usage the more confined and constrained the speech. It is interesting to note that the speech of Informant 4 and Informant 3 contained more repetitive phrases and words--employed to clarify statements or emphasize certain points--than that of the other three informants. Informant 4 employed phrases such as "something like that" to cover inadequacies in explanations. The frequent occurrence of "you know" often doubled to "you know, you know" was too numerous to count. The informant was so conscious of her usage that her speech appeared painfully confined and limited. Informant 3 repeated words for emphasis, as in "real dull, dull shine" and "real, real fine sanding." Informant 4 strung sentences of each utterance together with the conjunctions and and but. Using the prepositional phrase "Between Mrs. . . . and I" at the beginning of an utterance, she chose the nominative form of the pronoun in the objective slot; however, since English is a positional language rather than an inflectional language, the initial position was more natural for I than me. Labov (1966) found that hypercorrections are more frequent in the speech of a person striving for upward mobility than that of persons at a steady social level. Informant 3 consistently added redundant prepositions to verbs, such as "mix up," "file off," and "cover up." Ten of the twelve negative responses in Category III, pronoun usage, were given by these two upwardly mobile informants. Informant 3 employed the adverb just

thirty-five times in the course of the interview; Informant 4 employed it thirty-three times.

Conclusion 4

Fourth, the data from the analysis of the postal survey suggest that teachers either are unaware of current research on actual usage or choose to ignore it in their classroom teaching. If the data accurately reflects the status of classroom language instruction, the program is promoting linguistic insecurity. There appears to be no consensus among the teachers as to what constitutes standard English. This conclusion is expanded in the section on implications for teaching in this chapter.

Corollary Purposes of Study

There were five corollary purposes to the present study, and the conclusions by the research concerning these corollary purposes follow:

1. To analyze and categorize usage items afforded attention in usage glossaries and handbooks in the seven language series on the state-adopted list.

The analysis of the textbooks offered clear evidence that there is a corpus of usage items to which textbook editors afford attention. The textbook treatments assume that these usage items are valid for every grade in every high school throughout the nation regardless of social or regional dialects. In addition, the textbook authors appear to indulge in whims and personal prejudices as in Warriner's sanctioning of well as an adjective meaning "to appear well-dressed or

well-groomed" after the linking verb look. Although the authors concede that certain usages are acceptable in informal speech, the exercises and drills caution the student to follow the rules of formal usage thus perpetuating the charade of correctness.

2. To identify the degree of acceptability assigned the usage items by English teachers in selected counties of Southwest Virginia.

The items of the postal survey were ranked in order of acceptability, i.e., "always acceptable," "acceptable informal," "questionable," and "never acceptable." The range of disagreement on many items seems to render the judgment of the teachers invalid, although the teachers were more inclined to agree in condemning. The highest degree of acceptability for any item was 81 percent: this vote of acceptance was for the use of will in first person simple futurity. The highest degree of condemnation was 99 percent: censuring the use of them as a demonstrative pronoun.

3. To identify the degree of importance placed on the usage items by teachers in their classroom teaching.

The findings of the postal survey reveal that the common goal of classroom instruction appears to be the elimination of certain usages. By assigning the same numerical values to the four degrees of importance as to the degrees of acceptance, the items of usage were placed in a rank order of importance. In this area, the teachers were consistent, putting the items they judged least acceptable high in the priorities of classroom teaching.

The twenty items ranked highest in teaching priorities by the respondents to the postal survey were

> by <u>theirselves</u>,
> Helen and <u>me</u> went,
> Mrs. Haley <u>learned</u> me,
> has <u>drank</u>,
> to <u>them</u> people,
> <u>ain't</u> I?,
> choir <u>sung</u>,
> mentioned . . . you and <u>I</u>,
> between you and <u>I</u>,
> <u>setting</u> up with ,
> That <u>there</u> dog,
> had . . . <u>laid</u> down,
> <u>Sit</u> the baby,
> where . . . <u>at</u>,
> <u>Lay</u> down,
> That fellow <u>he</u>,
> <u>between</u> the four,
> could <u>of</u> gone,
> <u>accept</u> John, and
> Neither . . . <u>their</u> . . . them.

Both Pooley and McDavid listed <u>theirselves</u>, <u>ain't</u>, and <u>them</u> or <u>them</u> <u>there</u> as indices of social stratification. They also agreed that nonstandard verb forms were the strongest indices of substandard speech. Seven of the first twenty items in the order of importance were verb usages. <u>Warriner</u>, as well as <u>Webster's Third</u>, <u>Random House</u>, and <u>American Heritage</u>, listed <u>sung</u> as a standard acceptable past form of <u>sing</u>; and neither McDavid nor Pooley even considered this form as a nonstandard variant. The teachers, however, listed this usage seventh in the order of importance. <u>Warriner</u>, the three dictionaries examined for this study, and the findings of Leonard's 1932 survey supported the use of <u>between</u> in Item 57 as standard English, yet the respondents to the postal survey ranked this usage seventeenth in the priorities for classroom teaching. Of the other twenty items, three

dealt with nonstandard pronoun forms in compound construction; two, "where . . . at" and "That fellow he," dealt with redundant construc- tions; one, "could of gone," was considered by the researcher as an issue of pronunciation in oral speech; one "accept," dealt with lexical usage; one, "neither . . . their . . . them," dealt with pronoun- antecedent concord. The nonstandard usage coded most frequently in the transcripts of the interviews, i.e., the introductory word- singular verb-plural subject pattern (thirty-three times) was ranked twenty-fourth in teaching priorities by the postal informants.

4. To establish a methodology for studying speech in a career context.

The methodology followed in the present study appeared to be effective for the purpose of the study. The analyses of the tran- scripts support the assumption that there must be pre-established bases or criteria for studying speech; however, a more accurate basis might be a corpus of regional linguistic indices rather than a corpus of general linguistic indices. This basis of comparison should permit a more accurate picture of the standard dialect of the region. For example, real and sort of could conceivably be acceptable formal usage in the geographical area represented in the present study.

5. To draw attention to the need for extensive research in the area of oral usage practices as they relate to career goals.

This corollary purpose is discussed under Implications for Re- search in this chapter.

Implications for Teaching

The real worth of language research in terms of classroom teaching and curriculum development depends greatly on the teachers' concept of the problem. The findings of the postal survey seem to indicate that the textbook is, for the most part, the curriculum of language instruction in the schools of the ten counties participating in the study. The analysis of the textbooks revealed that language usage problems are overgeneralized and stereotyped. The problems, whatever the parameters, must be accurately identified. Fries (1940) suggested that language errors are sometimes augmented after the teacher directs attention to them. Teachers need to be aware of the exact differences between the nonstandard speech and the recognized standard speech of their specific geographic region.

To achieve this awareness, the teacher must make the living language the program of study. Primary research into regional and social dialects is a prerequisite of effective language teaching. The classroom teacher needs to identify the particular indices of social stratification that need attention in the English program. The fact that far too many teachers rely on the textbook as the curriculum is reflected in the rankings of Item 19, "She looks well in that dress." Seven percent of the teachers accepted the usage as acceptable in any speech situation; 64 percent accepted it in informal speech; only 3 percent professed confusion (could Warriner be mistaken?); and 27 percent condemned the usage. Yet Warriner was the only textbook sanctioning this particular adjectival meaning of

<u>well</u>. The American Book Series gave the following example for standard usage in the <u>good/well</u> confusion, "Peter looks <u>good</u> in his new suit."

The traditional question-answer technique of classroom instruction allows little opportunity for students to apply usage knowledge or for teachers to analyze actual usage problems. The teacher has a responsibility to make every student sensitive to the varieties and ramifications of language usage by providing practice in using the full range of language usage in both formal and informal contexts. The availability of mechanical recording devices makes oral composition on a variety of stylistic levels a manageable classroom activity for every student.

A valid program of language instruction must be based on

1. A current definition of standard English,

2. Careful evaluation of usage problems,

3. Instruction based on the actual facts of usage,

4. Practice in using the full range of language resources rather than canned completion exercises and drills of the textbooks, and

5. Elimination from the curriculum of pointless instruction in usages that are in frequent use by educated speakers.

The findings of the present study indicate that the following usages should not occupy teaching time:

a. The use of <u>will</u> in first person simple futurity,

b. The use of <u>data</u> with a singular verb,

c. The use of <u>me</u> after a form of the verb <u>be</u> (and perhaps other

objective form pronouns in this construction),

    d. The use of <u>slow</u> as an adverb,

    e. The use of <u>who</u> as an interrogative pronoun in all functions both as subject and as objects,

    f. The use of <u>none</u> with a plural verb,

    g. The use of <u>kind of</u> and <u>sort of</u> as adverbs,

    h. The use of <u>real</u> and <u>pretty</u> as intensifiers,

    i. The use of <u>like</u> as a conjunction, and

    j. The use of a plural referent with indefinite pronouns <u>everybody</u>, <u>somebody</u>, <u>anybody</u>, etc.

<div align="center">Implications for Research</div>

Suggestions for future research include

1. A follow-up study of the same five informants after several years on the job should provide insight into the correlation between social mobility and conscious control;

2. An interview survey of the features of the careful speech of a limited number of high-school teachers of English in the setting of the present study should provide more accurate information as to the actual usage of English educators;

3. A study of the same linguistic features in the careful speech of other members of the informants' families would enable the investigator to isolate those features which are part of a social dialect, i.e., careful speech, and those features which are part of individual idiolects.

4. A study of selected linguistic features involving selected informants at the elementary level and an equal number at the secondary level should provide insight into the effectiveness of classroom language instruction;

5. Studies of language in other career contexts would provide comparable data; and

6. An analysis of the transcripts of the present study for possible syntactic indices of social stratification focusing on the clause as the primary unit of analysis would provide insight into the more subtle language differences.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Letter from Dr. Lee Pederson,

Director of the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States

February 2, 1976

Ms. Mary Pat Neff
506 Lucas Drive
Blacksburg, Va. 24060

Dear Ms. Neff:

I regret this long delay in responding to your letter of 14 December. It was good to read of your proposed study, and I intended to write you sooner.

You certainly should be able to do something within the framework you have outlined, and your plan to use a judgment sample, to concentrate upon native speakers, and to limit the survey to a discrete subregion will strengthen your findings and provide you with a sensible basis for generalizations. If by your reference to Harris you mean his string constituent analysis, I believe you should give serious thought to enlarging the interview procedure to include a substantial section of free conversation.

Also, I suggest you write Professor Raymond O'Cain or Raven McDavid(O'Cain is in the English Department at the University of South Carolina, Columbia) and get permission to study the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States. Although the work was done 30 years ago, it provides the best available information on the social stratification of usage in that area. With such baseline information, you could frame your questions more effectively than would be possible otherwise--as, for example, the wasted efforts in Detroit by Wolfram and in Washington, D.C., by the Urban Language Series staff, as opposed to Labov's work on the Lower East Side of New York that made good use of the Atlas records.

You might also find that your "checklist of usage disputables" needs some revision as well. Textbooks lag a half-century, at least, behind the facts, so in that respect, the Atlas data will be much more reliable. Although usage really is not my field, you may find some useful items in the enclosed bibliographies of pronunciation and Southern speech. The former has not yet been published; the latter was published several years ago by the Southeast Educational Laboratory in Atlanta. Both are ridden with typographical errors, and I do not see my errata sheet about. If they do not help you in your present work, you might find them useful at another time.

Good luck with your work. It is good to know that work of the kind you describe will be undertaken by an experienced teacher.

Yours sincerely,
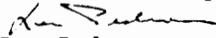
Lee Pederson

APPENDIX B

Postal Questionnaire and Cover Letter

February 2, 1976

Dear Colleague,

As part of my advanced study program, I am making a survey of teachers' opinions regarding certain items of usage. With your superintendent's permission, I am asking you to participate in the study. Completing the enclosed questionnaire will take only 15 to 20 minutes of your time. You do not need to sign the questionnaire; but I would appreciate your providing the information requested at the bottom of this cover letter, i.e., your teaching experience and the grade levels you teach this year.

To complete the forms, simply place a ( ) mark in the appropriate columns to indicate the degree of acceptability you assign each item and the degree of importance you place on each item in your teaching. On the second set of columns, you may wish to check both "written work" and "oral work" for some items.

I am requesting that you give your completed questionnaire to _____, who will return the forms to me. Your cooperation in promptly replying will greatly facilitate the completion of the study.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Pat Hall

Years of teaching experience_____.

Grade Levels taught this year_____.

In your opinion, how acceptable is this usage?

always acceptable / acceptable informal / questionable / not acceptable

Do you deal with this usage in class?

written work / oral work / neither

1. There was a man, a woman, and two children in the car.

2. Neither of his arguments were really valid.

3. None of our students were involved.

4. Let's you and I try to help her.

5. Bankruptcy is when one's debits exceed one's credits.

6. Don't be frightened. It's just me.

7. If anyone calls, tell them I'll be back later.

8. Helen and me went to the store for Mother.

9. This matter is strictly between Jamie and myself.

10. Just between you and I, she is not a good teacher.

11. Who are you working for?

12. The next chairman will be whoever the delegates elect.

13. I know she is older than me.

14. I do not approve of them habitually talking in class.

15. Neither of the girls brought their skis with them.

16. The paper mentioned both you and I.

17. Tom has drank too much.

	In your opinion, how acceptable is this usage?	Do you deal with this usage in class?

Column headers (left group): always acceptable / acceptable / acceptable informal / questionable / not acceptable

Column headers (right group): written work / oral work / neither

18. The choir <u>sung</u> four Christmas carols.

19. She looks <u>well</u> in that dress.

20. She had just <u>laid</u> down when the telephone rang.

21. Drive <u>slow</u> through the school grounds.

22. It <u>sure</u> is good to see you again.

23. <u>Leave</u> me alone or else get out.

24. The kind of peanuts she wants <u>are</u> dry-roasted and unsalted.

25. Jack's sister could <u>of</u> gone too.

26. The teacher let everyone go <u>accept</u> Johnny.

27. The audience was deeply <u>effected</u> by his speech.

28. I am the one to tell him, <u>ain't</u> I?

29. There was a lovely grove of elms <u>besides</u> the stream.

30. <u>Irregardless</u> of how you feel, I intend to date Jerry again.

31. I <u>will</u> be there on Friday.

32. Neither the principal nor the teacher <u>deserve</u> ridicule.

33. I thought it was <u>him</u>.

34. Mrs. Jones said I didn't do too <u>bad</u> on this test.

In your opinion, how acceptable is this usage?

always acceptable | acceptable | acceptable informal | questionable | not acceptable

Do you deal with this usage in class?

written work | oral work | neither

35. He won't <u>leave</u> me help him.

36. His friends took turns <u>setting</u> up with him.

37. By the time John reached Ruth's house, he <u>forgot</u> his problem.

38. I felt <u>badly</u> about his accident.

39. <u>That there</u> dog is really mean.

40. I like spaghetti better <u>then</u> stew.

41. That fellow <u>he</u> has a great sense of humor.

42. The coach with his seven exhausted players <u>were</u> cheered.

43. <u>Most</u> anyone can tell you how to get there.

44. They can't do it by <u>theirselves</u>.

45. I <u>can't</u> help <u>but</u> pity him.

46. It's <u>real</u> warm today.

47. I wish I <u>was</u> rich.

48. The cat jumped off <u>of</u> the roof.

49. Now where were we <u>at</u> before he interrupted us?

50. He is <u>kind of</u> shy, isn't he?

51. The data he quotes <u>is</u> often inaccurate.

52. Anyone can go to the game if <u>they</u> buy their ticket early.

In your opinion, how acceptable is this usage?

Do you deal with this usage in class?

always acceptable
acceptable
acceptable informal
questionable
not acceptable

oral work
written work
neither

53. The scrub team has eleven sophomores, only three of which are expected to make varsity.   53.

54. The girls are pretty cute.   54.

55. I use to see him every Wednesday.   55.

56. On the football field, he moves slower than Joe.   56.

57. The agreement between the four schools was cancelled.   57.

58. Act like you don't see her.   58.

59. Your face is flushed; don't you feel good?   59.

60. Mrs. Haley learned me all I know.   60.

61. We will have to talk to them people about   61.

62. Lay down, Spot!   62.

63. Sit the baby in his highchair.   63.

64. Is it best to go by the main highway or through the town?   64.

APPENDIX C

Interview Questionnaire

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Part 1   Classes   15 minutes

A. What time did your school day begin?

End?

How long was a class period?

Will you describe a typical school day from beginning to end?

B. What was your favorite part of the day?

Why?

C. What was your favorite subject?

Why?

D. Which subject did you dislike most?

Why?

E. Did you take any courses designed specifically to prepare you for a job or an occupation?

What were they?

In what ways have they helped you?

F. Which subject or subjects do you believe helped you most in finding a job?

In what way?

G. Do you remember a textbook you thought particularly good or interesting?

Did you have a text that contained activities or excerises dealing with the job world?

H. Do you remember a text that was particularly difficult or uninteresting?

Can you describe it?

I. Are there any courses not offered in the present
    school curriculum you feel would help you in your
    present job?

Part II Teachers and Guidance Counselors   15 minutes

A. Did you have a favorite teacher in high school?

    Why did you like him (her)?

B. Did you have a teacher you were afraid of or
    disliked?

    Why?

C. As far as knowing the subject matter and getting
    it across to the students, who was the best
    teacher you ever had?

    (You don't have to call teacher by name, simply
    identify as "sophomore physical education teacher"
    or "junior history teacher.")

    What did he (she) do that was different from what
    the other teachers did?

D. Did you ever have a teacher you considered unfair?

    Why?

E. Did the teachers relate what you were learning in
    the classroom to what you were going to do after
    high school?

    In what ways?

F. Did any subject area teacher help you or advise you
    in finding a job?

    How?

G. What qualities do you think make a good teacher?

H. Did a teacher ever embarrass you in front of the class?

Tell me about it.

I. Did you ever have a teacher who disciplined the class verbally?

What about?

J. Was there a very popular teacher whom all the students admired?

Why?

K. How did the counselor(s) help or advise you in preparing for or finding a job?

L. Did any teacher or counselor encourage you to pursue this particular occupation?

In whay ways?

Part III Classmates   10 minutes

A. Was there a group of students with whom you always associated?

What kinds of things did you do together?

B. Have your friends found jobs?

Where are they (is he/she) working?

How did they (he/she) get their (his/her) job(s)?

C. While in school, did you and your friends talk about the future and what you wanted to do after school?

D. Has (have) your friend(s) ever mentioned what he(they) got out of high school that helped him (them) in his (their) present job?

Part IV   Extra Curricular Activities   10 minutes

     A. Did any assembly program or extra-curricular activity deal specifically with career development or job preparation?

        Tell me about them.

     B. Were any school clubs concerned with job preparation or opportunities?

        In what ways?

     C. How did the extra curricular programs--athletic or social--prepare you for the adult world after high school?

        Can you suggest ways in which the activities program might help students prepare for the job world?

     D. What was the most exciting thing that happened to you in high school?

     E. Looking back over your high school career, can you summarize what effect it had on your life, i.e., how important was it?

     F. Are there things you would do differently--take different classes, make different friends?

Part V   Employment   10 minutes

     A. How did you find this job?

     B. Describe what you do in a day's work.

     C. What part of your work do you enjoy most?

        Least?

     D. What do you plan for your future in the way of employment?

APPENDIX D

Personal Data Information Sheet

GENERAL INFORMATION

NAME: _____

SEX: _____   AGE: _____

PLACE OF BIRTH: _____

SCHOOLS ATTENDED:_____

_____

FATHER'S OCCUPATION: _____

    HIGHEST GRADE ATTENDED: _____

    BIRTHPLACE: _____

    GRANDFATHER'S BIRTHPLACE: _____

    GRANDMOTHER'S BIRTHPLACE: _____

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION: _____

    HIGHEST GRADE ATTENDED: _____

    BIRTHPLACE: _____

    GRANDFATHER'S BIRTHPLACE: _____

    GRANDMOTHER'S BIRTHPLACE: _____

APPENDIX E

Sample Transcript of Interview

INTERVIEW WITH INFORMANT 2

Question: What time did your school day begin?

Informant: At nine o'clock

Question: What time did it end?

Informant: 3:10

Question: How long was a class period?

Informant: Forty-five minutes

Question: Will you describe a typical school day from beginning
            to end?

Informant: My shorthand class day--at first I really liked it and
            then I got so that those little scribbling marks at
            first I didn't know what they meant but in the long run
            they really meant long words and I still know a little
            bit of it

Question: What was your favorite subject--in all your years of
            high school?

Informant: I like biology best

Question: Why?

Informant: Well it's about human-uh-it's about modern stuff that's
            going on--like your body and things that interested me

Question: Which subject did you dislike most?

Informant: History

Question: Why?

Informant: I just didn't think it was necessary to learn about all
            of the things that was we had to learn about long ago

Question:

Informant: I didn't know at the time but I guess home economics
            I did

Question:

Informant: Well I got a plain sewing machine that I worked on and
here in this factory I use a plain sewing machine
accept it back tacks and cuts my thread and all that

Question:

Informant: I can't think of any pacific one right now

Question:

Informant: In my shorthand class we used to talk about jobs and stuff

Question:

Informant: Well that was in the text book and I guess it helped
me by taking that

Question:

Informant: I should have took an extra course on maybe cooking or
something that I needed a little bit more of now since
I'm out

Question:

Informant: Un-huh I am

Question:

Informant: Yes I had several but one that I liked was my biology
teacher

Question:

Informant: She just explained things so that I could just I don't
know see and understand her much better

Question:

Informant: I had one that I dislike because I reckon I didn't like
the subject he was all right but I didn't like the subject
I guess was the reason

Question:

Informant: Huh-un

Question:

Informant: My biology teacher

Question:

Informant: Well she just explained stuff that I just could see and understand her real well she explained it in a way that you could just understand good or I could

Question:

Informant: The majority of them did

Question:

Informant: No really sometimes I would say they were unfair but not always

Question:

Informant: Well some of the gradin'

Question:

Informant: Some of them did

Question:

Informant: Well like government class explained about things that was happening in the world and then now I watch the news and stuff more after I had it

Question:

Informant: My home economic teacher did I mean we come and seen-I seen this factory but I never did think I would work in it but I really liked it when I come in here I don't know I just always liked to watch people do stuff like out there and I always thought I'd probably like it but I didn't know at that time I would be here

Question:

Informant: See there's about fifteen or so in a class and we just
             come in here to observe to see what it was like in a
             factory it was just about forty-five minutes but it
             was worthwhile

Question:

Informant: Patience self-understanding--how many do I have to name

Question:

Informant: Un-huh

Question:

Informant: Yes

Question:

Informant: Well I never did like to get up in front of a class and
             read a report or something of that sort I never did
             care much about that

Question:

Informant: Un-huh our English teacher we had to

Question:

Informant: Well I felt like it was at that time

Question:

Informant: The band teacher--I reckon everybody admired him cause
             he's real good

Question:

Informant: Un-huh

Question:

Informant: This particular teacher she was sort of nervous and I
             believe that they just sort of got on her nerves and she
             would slam things down and all and I don't know she was
             sort of nervous I believe

Question:

Informant: I had two

Question:

Informant: A little bit

Question:

Informant: They kept asking me what I was going to do when I got
            out of school I didn't know until my senior year--I
            thought I'd probably work somewheres in a factory and
            I thinks they did some

Question:

Informant: My husband's cousin kept telling me this was a very good
            place to work and all and I knowed about some sewing and
            I thought I'd just come and apply so I applied like on
            a Saturday and I was called on the Thursday of the
            following week

Question:

Informant: First thing when I get here I clean my machine off and
            I get my tools--my scissors to work with-out ready and
            then whenever he rings the buzzer I get my--it's what
            I do--I sew pockets on the garment and then at nine
            o'clock we have twelve minutes at break and at lunch time
            we have forty minutes and then we get off at twenty 'til
            four--earlier than the other factories on account of so
            it won't be such a traffic jam

Question:

Informant: You back up--you sew down the pocket and then you back
            up a little at the end so it will stay on

Question:

Informant: Un-huh it goes backwards

Question:

Informant: Huh-un

Question:

Informant: What do you mean--what I do

Question:

Informant: I like sewing the pockets on and the best part is when
I get all my tickets and see how much money I made that
day--the best part of it is I guess

Question:

Informant: Not that I can think of

Question:

Informant: Un-huh

Question:

Informant: It come let's see about five 'til eight

Question:

Informant: Yes with two or three--no--it's just two that writes
me now I see some others once in a while when I'm out
somewheres

Question:

Informant: One lives about four or five miles from me and the
other one is where I come from--she lives over in there

Question:

Informant: Two of them has now--one of them's going to college and
the other one--I don't know--she ain't found one yet

Question:

Informant: She's working at _____--it's a factory if I ain't mis-
taken it's _____ Elastic Plant--if I ain't mistaken that's
what she said

Question:

Informant: No it's in _____

Question:

Informant: She had a aunt that worked there you know and she helped
            her get on

Question:

Informant: Yes some

Question:

Informant: I just wanted to work somewheres was my opinion and they
            hadn't decided too much yet I guess cause I was married

Question:

Informant: Un-huh in the eleventh and twelth grade

Question:

Informant: As of now I reckon I'll stay here

Question:

Informant: Probably the same thing

Question:

Informant: Un-huh

Question:

Informant: She liked secretary work and she wanted that job but
            they wasn't no job open at that time so she had to get
            what she could get

Question:

Informant: Once in a while we did but not regular

Question:

Informant: Some of them did but some of them didn't

Question:

Informant: Well it wasn't a sembly but-I almost started to say
             about home ec we did but that's not a sembly

Question:

Informant: We would see this student teacher--she would talk
             about things about a factory and all and seemed like
             she mentioned stuff about that and that was a film
             you know

Question:

Informant: The NYC did

Question:

Informant: That's Neighborhool Youth Corp--that's job for people
             that's low income you know I worked--I was eligible
             for that--and I was in that and that did

Question:

Informant: We always called her Miss _____--she was the head of it
             you know

Question:

Informant: I can't think of any I don't think

Question:

Informant: Yes but that's not in school--I didn't meet him in
             school well I enjoyed going to see how they go about
             fixing a program for us to see a program on television

Question:

Informant: At _____ at Channel 10

Question:

Informant: It was a class

Question:

Informant: English

Question:

Informant: Uh-huh and how the commercials were made and how they
            could make little funny things on television like they
            make them little things run across them on television--we
            seen how that was done

Question:

Informant: I was the only one that graduated in my family and I
            wanted to do it and I kept on--sometimes it was awful
            hard but I finally made it so I guess cause nobody in
            my family graduated and I was the only one that did
            I guess

Question:

Informant: Yea I always wanted to finish--I never did want to quit
            and I almost had a perfect attendance for five years but
            you know my father he died and I had to miss two days--
            that's how close I come

Question:

Informant: I would took more economic classes I guess but that's all

Question:

Informant: Well you should look at your machine take a look at it
            first and then turn it--they's a little thing on the
            side that you--it's on and off you turn that on and you
            get a box of work from the conveyer and set it on the
            little box--we've got a wooden box to set it on and you
            should fold them with a shoulder seam a shoulder seam
            is folded together down in your lap and when you get
            them up you should put them on your machine and they's
            a little notch that you should fold them down to and then
            you should sew them across the top and then on the other
            side down at the bottom they's a little place at the
            bottom that you have to turn it over and sew it and you
            have to back-tack at the end of each of these and then you
            turn it over and do the same for the other side

Question:

Informant: You have at the top like this is my garment--and the
            pocket they's a notch--this is a notch like here and
            you fold it down and sew across here and you back-tack
            here

Question:

Informant: Uh-huh

Question:

Informant: No you've sewed it already on to the garment

Question:

Informant: It's on the side--your hand is like this

Question:

Informant: Yes and the zippers will close this side up

Question:

Informant: They's men and they's boys but they all done the same way

Question:

Informant: Anyway you back-tack here and then at the side down
            here and you do this side and they's twelve in a box
            and you have to finish that box you get the number you
            supposed to get off is 112 you get that off and put it
            on your production sheet and you have to put your number
            down on the ticket so if they's something wrong with it
            it will come back to you so you can correct it

Question:

Informant: They's some inspectors over there that will inspect
            them and bring them back if they's something wrong but
            they can get inspected as they go along because the bottom
            sewers will sew the stretchy part on the bottom and when
            the zipper's put in--like if you left a place here they
            can also bring them back to you and then if they's some-
            thing wrong then yet when they get to the inspectors they
            will bring them back so it's inspected all along

Question:

Informant: You've finished that box and--now it takes me about ten
            minutes to do a box but it took me a good while to git
            up to that

Question:

Informant: No the job I do--we git--for the men we git 53.5 for a
            entire box and you have to git 35 out to make production
            then all over production is yours

Question:

Informant: Un-huh

Question:

Informant: I've been gitting it over for a good while now but it
            took me a good while to--it took me seven weeks to make
            production and then after that it just come easier

Question:

Informant: If I'm in the middle of a box I lay the ones that hasn't
            been done on the side of the box and the one that I'm
            working on on my machine table and that next morning
            then I'm ready and know where I'm at

Question:

Informant: Un-huh

Question:

Informant: I got a box setting beside of my machine and I got my
            lunch and my sweater in it

Question:

Informant: He meets me and he waits on me out here and we ride
            together

Question:

Informant: Right now he's aheping a man work on a trailer that a
            man run into and he's aheping him build it back

VITA

Mary Pat Farber Hall was born in Altoona, Pennsylvania, on September 13, 1928. She graduated from Altoona Catholic High School in Altoona, Pennsylvania, and Our Lady of the Star Academy of Fine Arts for Young Ladies in Saratoga Springs, New York. In 1947, she received an Associate of Arts degree in music from Virginia Intermont College in Bristol, Virginia. In the fall of 1947, she began her teaching career as a public school music teacher in Wythe County, Virginia. She wrote a weekly column for the Southwest Virginia Enterprise, "Wythe Wives' Wiles." In nineteen years as a classroom teacher, she has taught music, art, drama, French, Spanish, and English in high schools in Wythe County and Montgomery County. In July, 1967, Mrs. Hall was appointed Assistant Supervisor of English for the Virginia State Department of Education, stationed in the Radford Regional Office. She is now in her tenth year of supervision with the State Department of Education.

Mrs. Hall received her B.A. in music and Spanish from Radford College and her M.S. in English Education from Radford College. She enrolled in the doctoral program at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in September, 1974.

Mrs. Hall has two children: Rebecca Neff Tarrant, a graduate of the College of William and Mary, and Greek Cassell Neff III, a graduate of Emory and Henry College. Mrs. Hall is the wife of William Wayne Hall, an alumnus of Virginia Polytechnic Institute

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Mary Pat Farber Hall holds membership in Phi Beta Honorary Music Fraternity, Delta Psi Omega Honorary Fraternity in Drama, Sigma Tau Delta Honorary English Fraternity, Kappa Delta Pi Honor Fraternity in Education, Phi Delta Kappa Professional Education Fraternity, and Phi Kappa Phi Honorary Fraternity.

Mary Pat Farber Hall

A DESCRIPTION OF THE LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF THE CAREFUL

SPEECH OF RECENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES IN ENTRY-LEVEL

POSITIONS OF JOB CATEGORIES OF LARGE EMPLOYMENT

IN SELECTED COUNTIES OF SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA

by

Mary Pat Farber Hall

(ABSTRACT)

Following the methodology of dialectology, this study was de-
signed to investigate certain linguistic features of careful speech
in a limited number of relatively homogeneous counties, each repre-
sented by an informant belonging to a certain age and social class,
i.e., a 1975 high school graduate entering the job world immediately
after graduation.

The research procedure consisted of five major steps: (1) the
analysis of language textbooks on the current state-adopted list,
(2) a survey of teacher attitudes toward items of usage garnered
from the textbook analysis, (3) interviews with five selected infor-
mants, (4) coding of the transcripts of the interviews in relation
to the items on the postal survey and (5) analysis of the findings.

The pretext of the interview with the five informants was the
relevance of high school education to career preparation. The inter-
view was conducted in a setting simulating a formal job interview
so that the informant would employ careful or controlled usage
suitable to the interview situation. The tapes of the interviews

were transcribed, and the transcripts were analyzed and coded in relation to items of usage garnered from the textbook analysis.

A detailed description of the linguistic characteristics of each of the five informants served as the basis for a general description of the predominant linguistic characteristics of the careful speech of the five informants. In this study, the predominant non-standard usages of careful speech were the introductory word-singular verb-plural subject pattern as in "There is too many facts"; nonstandard variants of common irregular verbs such as "I seen"; and the use of the pleonastic subject such as "My father he died."

The findings appeared to indicate that the informants classified as U, upward, in social mobility exercised strong conscious control of their linguistic behavior and that the speech of the upwardly mobile informants was more stilted and confined than that of the other informants. The researcher concluded that many linguistic features that serve as social markers are, in varying degrees, part of the linguistic behavior of speakers on all social levels; however, the difference appears to be quantitative rather than qualitative.