

The teacher as language expert

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Judith Buendgens-Kosten

Brueggemannstrasse 4

52072 Aachen

Germany

Table of Contents

International Symposium on African & Diasporic Languages and Education.....	1
1. Introduction.....	2
2. Methods.....	2
The questionnaire.....	2
Version I (teachers).....	2
Version II (linguists).....	3
Collecting data.....	3
The sample.....	4
‘Google fight’.....	4
Laypersons.....	5
Linguists.....	5
MLA International Bibliography.....	5
3. Knowledge.....	6
Teachers.....	6
Concerning the ‘understand-question’.....	6
Concerning the linguistic-terminology questions.....	6
Concerning the linguists-questions.....	6
Summary.....	6
Linguists.....	7
Comparison.....	7
4. Labels.....	9
Teachers.....	9
Laypersons.....	10
Linguists.....	10
Results Google fight.....	10
Results MLA.....	10
Comparison and Summary.....	11
5. Conclusion.....	12
6. References.....	12
7. Tables.....	12

1. Introduction

The academic discipline of linguistics offers insights that might be useful in educational contexts: information on first and second language acquisition, on bi-/multilingual and -dialectal settings, and on literacy, to name only a few. Some researchers also assume that language attitudes of the teacher, which might influence the learning success of students (“Rosenthal effect” or “Pygmalion effect”), might be influenced by linguistic knowledge. In order to understand better how teachers acquire new linguistic knowledge, it can be helpful to analyze the quality, the width and depth, of teachers’ linguistic background knowledge.

Teachers are, insofar as they teach reading, writing and foreign languages, but also as they criticize and evaluate students’ written and oral communications, language experts. On the other hand, they are (generally) not linguists. While a teacher can be expected to have (on average) a higher theoretical knowledge concerning language than members of most other professional groups, he/she will often use different resources than linguists (e.g. journals aimed specifically at teachers). I suggest a continuum of ‘language expertise’ stretching from one extreme, the linguist, to the other extreme, the 100% layperson, and analyze the position of teachers on this continuum. I do this concentrating on sociolinguistics as one of the branches of linguistics which is of high relevance to all professions having to do with diverse speaker populations. Some very specific terms and names were used from the discussion surrounding African American Vernacular English (AAVE), a topic that, as can be assumed, has reached a significant portion of teachers.

I approach the question of linguistic expertise from two perspectives. The first is a more traditional approach: I asked teachers to self-assess their knowledge (and usage) of linguistic terms, and their acquaintance with the names of certain linguists. The second perspective I took looks at teachers from the perspective of choice of terminology: Do teachers prefer labels that are used by the linguistic community, or such that are more common among non-linguists?

2. Methods

I combined several methods of data gathering. I used:

- an online **questionnaire** for assessing the linguistic knowledge of teachers and the labels preferred by them,
- a variant of this **questionnaire** to assess the linguistic knowledge of teachers,
- the ‘**Google fight**’ method to assess the labels used by laypersons,
- a variant of the ‘**Google fight**’ method directed at analyzing the labels used by linguists,
- a search of the **MLA** as a second means for analyzing the label choices of linguists.

The questionnaire

Version I (teachers):

For the purpose of this side study, an online questionnaire was created. This questionnaire consisted of:

- a) **The ‘understand-question’**: Subjects were presented a simple definition of AAVE (the term was not mentioned) and asked whether they understood what was meant by that definition. If an individual indicated that he/she did not understand that definition, he/she did not receive the terminology section of the questionnaire (see below).

This question served as an **indicator for linguistic knowledge**: Do teachers recognize the description of a well-known variety of English?

- b) **Demographic questions**. The replies given to these questions also influenced which further questions a person received. Individuals indicating that they were not currently living in the US or that they had no affiliation with the educational system were directed to the end of the questionnaire.
- c) **The terminology questions**: The major part of this section is a list of terms used to refer to AAVE. Subjects indicated which terms they knew, and which ones they used. This section was designed in order to shed light on the question of labeling **behavior**. The original list comprised *African American English, African American Language, African American Vernacular English/AAVE, Afro-American English, Afro-American Speech, Black English, Black English Vernacular, Black Idiom, Black Language, Black Speech, Broken English, Ebonics, Non-Standard English, Slang, Spoken Soul, Street Language, Street Speech, U.S. Ebonics, Vernacular Black English, Slang, Non-Standard English, Broken English, Street Language, Street Speech* might (and have been in the past) used to refer to AAVE, but might also be used to refer to other varieties or to sub-varieties of AAVE. They were included in the questionnaire, but are not taken into account in this paper.
- d) **The knowledge questions**: Here, knowledge of linguistic terminology and the names of authors of linguistics books that teachers might encounter were checked. Both subsections serve as **indicators of linguistic knowledge**.
The first part (**the linguistic-terminology questions**): Do teachers have an active and/or passive command of basic and intermediate-level linguistic terms?
Terms used: Allophone, Basilect, Creole, Elaborated Code, Gullah, Morpheme.
The second part (**the linguists-questions**): Which linguists and language experts do teachers know?
Names used: Basil Bernstein, Noam Chomsky, William Labov, Gary Simpkins¹, Geneva Smitherman.
- e) **The end**: Individuals were thanked and offered to send in their e-mail address if they were willing to assist with further questionnaires.

For reasons of scope, not all data gathered by this questionnaire has been included in this analysis.

Version II (linguists):

A second, shorter, questionnaire was designed for the use with linguists. The (d) section (the knowledge questions) was adopted from the original questionnaire, (a) (the ‘understand’ question) and (c) (The terminology question) were not. Naturally, the section with demographic questions was changed as appropriate for the new target group. It now contained two questions aimed at identifying linguists as I intended the term, as opposed to language aficionados or multilingual persons. The first question checked the degree of involvement in linguistics. Subjects indicating “professional level” were considered to qualify for linguists. The second question asked whether individuals self-identified as linguists. Only if this question was answered with “yes”, was the questionnaire retained.

Collecting data

Individuals were contacted via online teacher forums and blog communities. Individuals stayed anonymous, unless they volunteered to give their e-mail address.

¹ Unfortunately, a typo found its way into the first version of the questionnaire, and “Simpkins” was, in this part of the study, misspelled as “Simkins”. I do not assume, though, that this distorted the data to a high degree and therefore kept this data in the analysis.

For the **teacher version** of the questionnaire, a total of 117 individuals participated. Eight questionnaires were excluded from analysis, either because the subject did indicate that he/she was not affiliated with education (by being neither an (unemployed) (assistant) teacher nor undergoing teacher training), the subject did not live in the United States, or all questions were left blank.

A total of 87 individuals understood the ‘understood-question’, indicated affiliation with the school system and worked within the United States and did therefore receive the entire questionnaire. 22 indicated not understanding the ‘understood-question’ and did therefore receive the knowledge-questions, but not the terminology-questions.

The **linguist version** had an original N=55 of volunteers of which N'=12 fulfilled the definition of *linguist* as used in this study. In a third step, four individuals who were under the age of 22 were taken out of the sample, since it appeared to be very improbable that those subjects were actually engaged with linguistics on a “professional level”. This sample (N''=8) is, of course, extremely small and should be viewed with care.

The sample

Teachers:

From the 109 questionnaires analyzed, 95 were filled out by women, 12 by men. Two individuals did not indicate their sex.

The average age of subjects is 30 years, with two individuals under the age of twenty, 68 between 20 and 29, 18 between 30 and 39, 12 between 40 and 49, 6 between 50 and 59 and one subject over the age of 59. Two subjects did not indicate their age.

Subjects came from a total of 37 states, covering all twelve U.S. Census Bureau Regions² (cf. U.S. Census Bureau 2006): Alabama (2x), Arizona (3x), California (6x), Colorado (1x), Connecticut (1x), District of Columbia(1x), Florida (8x), Georgia (1x), Iowa (1x), Idaho (1x), Illinois (4x), Indiana (2x), Kansas (2x), Kentucky (2x), Louisiana (2x), Massachusetts (6x), Maryland (3x), Michigan (5x), Minnesota (1x), Mississippi (3x), North Carolina(3x), Nebraska (1x), New Hampshire (1x), New Jersey (4x), Nevada (1x), New York (14x), Ohio (2x), Oklahoma (1x), Oregon (1x), Pennsylvania (6x), South Dakota (2x), Tennessee (3x), Texas (6x), Utah (1x), Virginia (3x), Washington (4x), Wisconsin (1x).

All subjects were in some way affiliated with teaching. 72 individuals were teachers, 9 were retired or unemployed teachers, 6 were assistant teachers and 21 were undergoing teacher training. One person failed to state, but later acknowledged affiliation with a middle school, and is therefore contained in this sample.

The majority of subjects (45) were working at or undergoing training for elementary school, 35 at/for high school, 4 at/for college, 24 at/for other types of schools, and one person did not state.

Linguists:

Five individuals were female, three male.

All subjects were between 22 and 31 years of age, with an average age of 26 years.

They came from eight different states/regions: California, District of Columbia, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Texas and Washington.

All eight were of European American background.

‘Google fight’

As indicator for trends among laypersons, I used the ‘Google fight’³ method for a guesstimate of

² Strictly speaking, it could be possible that all four Californians are from the northern part of California, which belongs to the Seattle Region. In this case, the Los Angeles Region would not be represented in this sample.

³ “Google fight” (www.googlefight.com) is an online game in which two strings (combinations of letters, such as single words, names, etc.) combat each other – the winner is the string with the highest frequency in google.com.

usage trends.

For trends within the linguistic community, I used a combination of the ‘Google fight’ method using Google scholar and an analysis of frequencies in the titles of scientific publications as listed by the MLA International Bibliography.

Laypersons:

As a means of very roughly establishing the labeling behavior of laypersons I used the ‘Google fight’ method: I checked the frequency each term had according to the Google.com search engine.

This method is problematic for several reasons:

- The internet is never representative for all communication behavior of all laypersons.
- Not only laypersons use the internet to publish their opinions.
- Not all texts available on the internet are always found by Google.
- Some hits might originate from entirely different contexts, e.g. *Black Speech* in an article about Orc language in “Lord of the Rings”, the phrase “brought us Ebonics” recognized by Google as *U.S. Ebonics*, etc.
- Abbreviations might be ambiguous (e.g. AAVE).

A ‘Google fight’ can, at best, give a guesstimate of usage trends.

Linguists:

To analyze the labeling-behavior of linguists, I use a combination of two indicators. None of them, on their own, would survive scientific scrutiny, but in their combination they suffice to give a first, albeit preliminary, impression.

The first one is a variant of the ‘Google fight’ method, utilizing Google Scholar. Google Scholar is a search engine searching not the internet as a whole, but merely scientific publications.

This method carries most problems of the standard ‘Google fight’, and additionally these:

- ‘Classics’ listed in it might reflect *past*, not present, usage.
- Other disciplines (besides linguistics) might use some of these terms in other contexts.
- Some publications might appear several times in a search, distorting the real frequencies.
- Authors publishing in magazines not listed in Google Scholar (e.g. those published by Elsevier (cf. Wikipedia 25/09/2006) might show different labeling behavior.

Nonetheless, a search on Google Scholar is helpful as a ‘quick and dirty’ method of gaining a first impression. Again, I have set the frequency of Ebonics to 100 to enable easier comparison.

The second method, a search in the MLA International Bibliography, is discussed in the next section.

MLA International Bibliography

The second method used to analyze the choice of labels among linguists consisted of searches through the title of publications in recent years, using the MLA data bank. Some problems are similar to that of the Google fight method, others are peculiar to this method:

- It cannot always be guaranteed that a publication belongs to the discipline of linguistics (but to e.g. literary history). Since the scope of the MLA International Bibliography is limited to philology, the amount of ‘non-linguistic’ publications that may find their way into the search results is lower than with the Google fight method.
- Since I did not check the results ‘manually’, I cannot exclude results being counted twice, etc.
- Older text being reprinted might be included in the search results.

The biggest advantage is that this method allows for defining time spans (Google Scholar theoretically offers this option, but is reportedly very unreliable (cf. Wikipedia 25/09/2006).

3. Knowledge

Teachers

Concerning the ‘understand-question’:

87 subjects indicated that they understood the definition, 22 indicated that they did not. Even if you keep in mind that a few of these subjects might have misunderstood the definition, the result is, nonetheless, quite positive. A general awareness of the ‘phenomenon’ of a sociolect/ethnolect seems to be widespread among teachers. Since it was not possible for me to gather comparison data either for linguists nor for laypersons, I cannot further analyze these results. They do, though, hint at a certain degree of linguistic awareness among teachers.

Concerning the linguistic-terminology questions:

The results differ very much between the different terms tested.

The highest results were found for *creole*, *morpheme* and *Gullah* (44.3%-96.1% overall recognition). Lower results were found for *allophone*, *basilect* and *elaborated code* (24.0% or less overall recognition).

The extremely high results for *creole* might be due to the fact that *creole* is polysemous. It is plausible that many subjects know this term as referring to a person or to a type of cooking, but not as a descriptive term for languages. If that is the case, the results for *creole* should not be over-interpreted.

Morpheme and *Gullah*, on the other hand, do not suffer from ambiguities or similar problems. They seem to be indeed relatively well known among teachers, *morpheme* even in some detail.

No clear trend concerning specific and non-specific items could be found. While *morpheme* is a relatively well known term (more than half of the subjects recognized this term), *allophone* is not (See table 1 for details).

Generally, the usage rates were much lower than the knowledge rates. The term *basilect* is never used, *allophone* and *elaborated code* hardly ever. On the other hand, *Gullah* and *morpheme* seem to be part of the active vocabulary - and also of the communication needs - of a noticeable number of teachers. The term *creole*, again, receives untypically high results (see table 2 for details).

In the important points, the usage-questions back up the knowledge-questions. In itself they would have, due to the high number of subjects who refused to answer this second set of questions, little persuasiveness.

Concerning the linguists-questions:

Noam Chomsky was added to this list as ‘the’ famous contemporary linguist, William Labov and Basil Bernstein as famous names in sociolinguistics/related fields, and Gary Simpkins and Geneva Smitherman as linguists who have not only done research on AAVE, but published books (among others) aimed specifically at teachers.

Not surprisingly, Noam Chomsky is the best known name in this list. Only 30.5 % of subjects did not recognize his name. All other linguists and Basil Bernstein follow with a distinct margin. I take the knowledge of ‘the names behind the slogans’ to be an indicator of profound knowledge. E.g. knowing Basil Bernstein (or even having read a text by him) to indicate deeper expertise than recognizing the term *elaborated code*. While b) ‘measured’ breadth of linguistic knowledge, c) ‘measures’ depth. This depth is, obviously, not very profound (see table 3 for details).

Summary

From all these measures, it can be concluded that a typical teacher definitely has a certain stock of

linguistic knowledge. In order to be better able to estimate its true scope, I will now present the comparison data for linguists. For this group I have data only for b) and c).

Linguists

Not surprisingly, the general linguistic knowledge of linguists seems to be higher than that of teachers. As was to be expected, all linguists seem to possess expertise concerning the general terms in this list, especially *allophone* and *morpheme*. More specific terms, on the other hand, are not always known (though linguists still have better overall results than teachers for these terms). This is in contrast to the results with the teacher sample, where no such trend could be observed – teachers knew some general terms well, but others not.

All terms were recognized by at least 50% of the sample, *basilect* and *elaborated code* being the only terms not known by part of the sample, whereas among the teacher population, each term had a (albeit sometimes very small) number of individuals not recognizing the term at all. For details, see table 4.

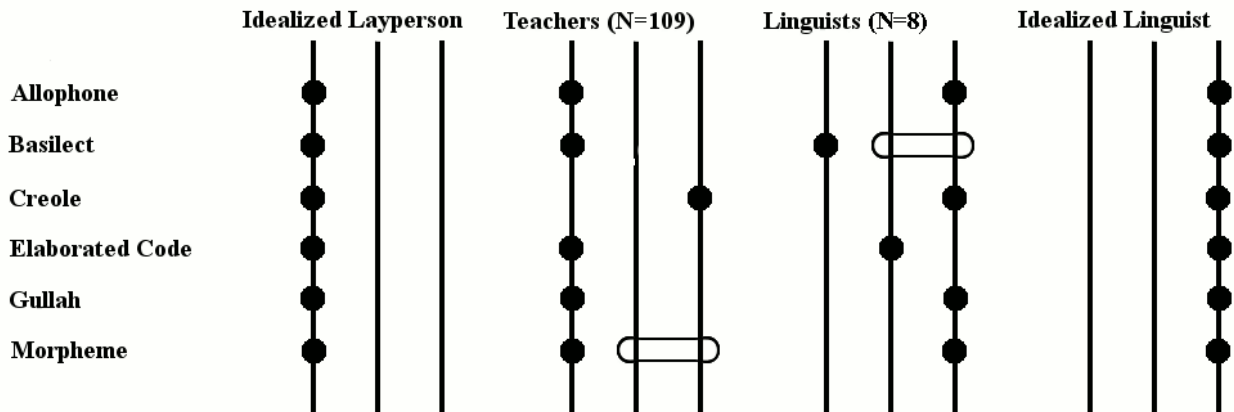
Concerning usage, the number of individuals who never use these terms tends to be higher among teachers than among linguists, with the exception of *Gullah* (50.8% non-usage among teachers, 83.3% among linguists). The results for *basilect* are nearly identical, but the number of non-usage is slightly (although not significantly) higher for linguists. Again, the number of subjects non answering in this section is extremely high, and results should therefore not over-interpreted.

While the linguistic-terms-questions demonstrated a wide breadth of linguistic knowledge among linguist, the linguists'-names-question showed comparable results concerning depth of knowledge. Every subject in this sample is acquainted with the names *Chomsky* and *Labov*. Basil Bernstein is known by only 37.5% of the sample, which still constituted a nearly three times higher rate than among teachers. Even those linguists whose work (also) aimed specifically at teachers (Gary Simpkins and Geneva Smitherman), were better known by linguists without educational background than by teachers. For details, see table 6.

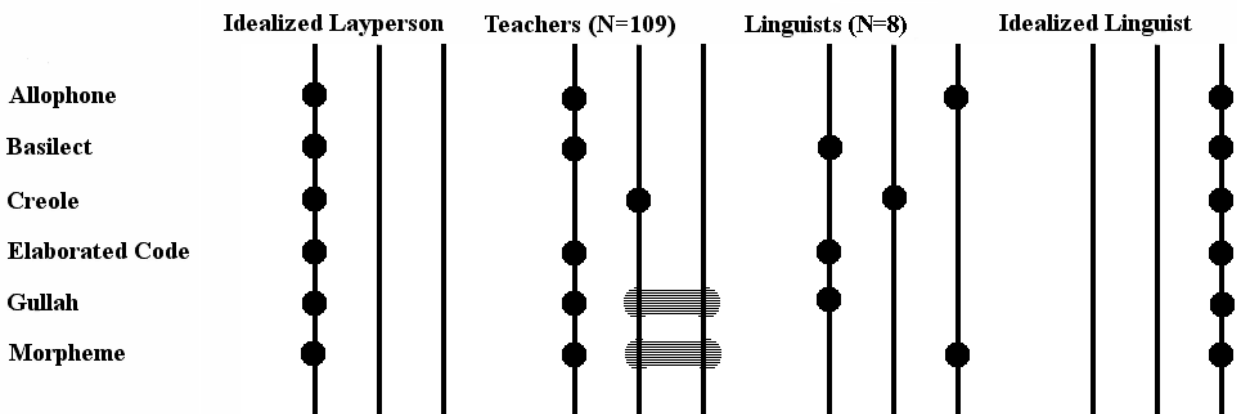
Comparison

For comparison, I have produced the following diagrams. The black circles indicated the mode of replies. The first line indicated “no knowledge/usage”, the second line “some knowledge/usage”, the third line “much knowledge/usage”. The unfilled ellipses indicated that were the results for “some knowledge” and “much knowledge” added, they would constitute the mode. The line-filled ellipsis indicates that, in the very same case, they would not reach the mode, but would approach it closely.

Knowledge of Linguistic Terms



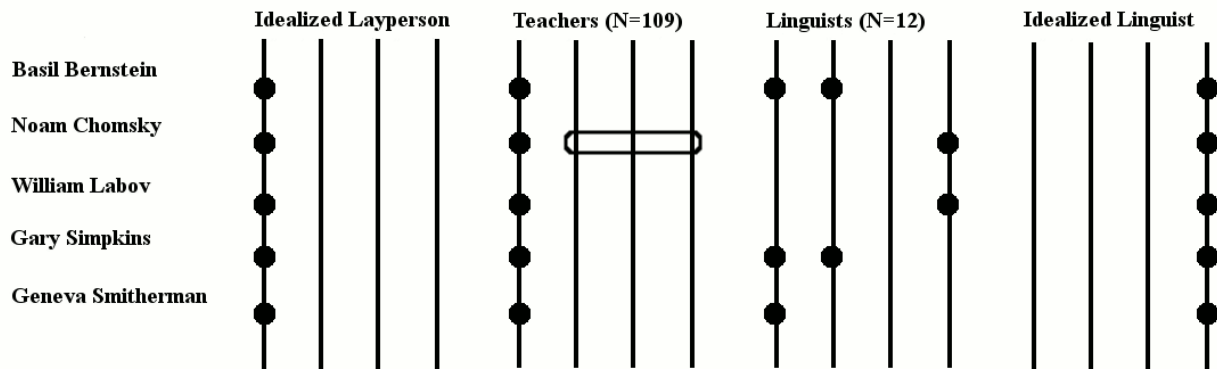
Usage of Linguistic Terms



As can be seen from these diagrams, especially clearly in that concentrating on knowledge, teachers are closer to the (idealized) laypersons in their knowledge pattern than they are to linguists, though some parallels to linguists' knowledge patterns can not entirely be denied.

The next graphic was created analogous. The first line stands for "No, not at all" (no knowledge), the second line for "I have heard the name, but do not remember details", the third line for "I know some details, but have never read a text by him/her", the fourth and last line for "I have read a text by this person". The black circle indicates the mode, two circles in one line indicate the existence of two modes (both options chosen by an equal number of subjects), the unfilled ellipsis indicates that the options encircled by it would constitute a mode if viewed together.

Knowledge of Linguists' Names



This graphic is even more illustrative of the differences between teachers and linguists. With the exception of Chomsky, no linguist's name is recognized by a larger number of teachers. Since Noam Chomsky is well known not only within linguistics, but also in politics and computer science, an acquaintance with the works of Chomsky does not necessarily indicate familiarity with linguistics.

4. Labels

The use of terminology is in itself no indicator for linguistic knowledge. It is, rather, an indicator of belonging to one or the other academic or non-academic (discourse) community.

In the same questionnaire used for the self-assessment of linguistic knowledge, I also asked teachers which terms from a list of potential labels for AAVE they knew, and which of them they used themselves (whether they were known and used in the *context* of AAVE was not assessed). In this section I will compare the trends the teacher sample showed with what I consider to be trends of usage within the linguistic community and among laypersons.

As indicator for trends within the linguistic community I used a combination of the 'Google fight' method using Google scholar and an analysis of frequencies in the titles of scientific publications as listed by the MLA.

For laypersons, I used google.com for a guesstimate of usage trends.

Teachers

Teachers were asked which terms they (a) knew and which ones they (b) used. (b) was differentiated into usage with (b1) teachers and (b2) non-teachers. To make comparison of data easier, I have, for each of the relevant categories, set *Ebonics* to 100 and calculated the ratios. *Ebonics* was chosen as a 'norm term' since it is a term that is used reasonably often by each of the populations under scrutiny here. The results are displayed in detail in table 7.

The rank order of terms recognized by teachers is as follows:

For knowledge: 1. *Ebonics* and *Slang*, 2. *Black English*, 3. *African American English*, 4. *African American Vernacular English*, 5. *Black English Vernacular*, 6. *Black Speech*, 7. *Vernacular Black English*. The other terms were known by less than half the sub-sample: 8. *African American Language*, 9. *U.S. Ebonics*, 10. *Black Language*, 11. *Afro-American English*, 12. *Afro-American Speech*, 13. *Black Idiom* and 14. *Spoken Soul*.

For usage: Only one term is used by the majority of subjects: *Ebonics*. All other terms are used by less than one fifth of the sub-sample: 2. *Black English Vernacular*, 3. *African American Vernacular English*, 4. *Vernacular Black English*, 5. *U.S. Ebonics*, 6. *Black English*. The last eight terms were used by less than ten percent of the sub-sample: 7. *African American English*, 8. *Black Idiom* and *Black Language*, 9. *Black Speech*, 10. *African American Language*, 11. *Afro-American Speech*, 12. *Afro-American English*, 13. *Spoken Soul* (0% usage).

The most obvious conclusion from this data is, that *Ebonics* is by far the most popular term, with 92.3% in the knowledge, and 72.2 % in the usage question. While other other terms also cross the 50% barrier in knowledge (*African American English*, *African American Vernacular English*, *Black English*, *Black English Vernacular*, *Black Speech*, *Vernacular Black English*), none does in usage. The dominance of *Ebonics* is not very surprising. Though the term is not uncontested within linguistics, its having been used in the “Oakland resolution”⁴ practically guarantees it a special place in the public awareness.

Laypersons

Ebonics clearly carries the ‘pole position’, followed with a wide margin by *African American Vernacular English/AAVE* and *Black English*, all other terms being of very little significance. For a detailed list of all results, see table 8.

Linguists

Results Google fight

Among the ‘unproblematic’ terms, *Black English* is by a wide margin the most frequently used one (This may be due to an overweight of older publications in the database used, but would still indicate that, even though usage rates might be lower nowadays, the term must still be considered very well known among linguists.), followed by *African American Vernacular English* and *AAVE* (which, seen separately, would occur only later in this list, but should be viewed as one label). *Ebonics*, the most popular term among teachers, comes only third.

These results concord with the observations I made researching this topic. *Ebonics* as a term had some prominence during the “Ebonics debate” of the late 90ties, but outside this time frame was used by relatively few linguists, the majority preferring *Black English* as long as this term was considered to be politically correct, and later changing to *African American Vernacular English/AAVE*.

For details, see table 9.

Results MLA

I have analyzed the timespans of 1995-1999, 2000-2004, and additionally the year 2005.

The great majority of terms is either not used at all, or used very rarely. The actively used (more than one hit) terms are:

- For the period 1995-99: *African American English*, *African American Language*, *African American Vernacular English/AAVE*, *Black English*, *Black English Vernacular*, *Black Speech* and *Ebonics*.
- For the period 2000-04: Additionally *Black Idiom*, but not *Black Speech*.

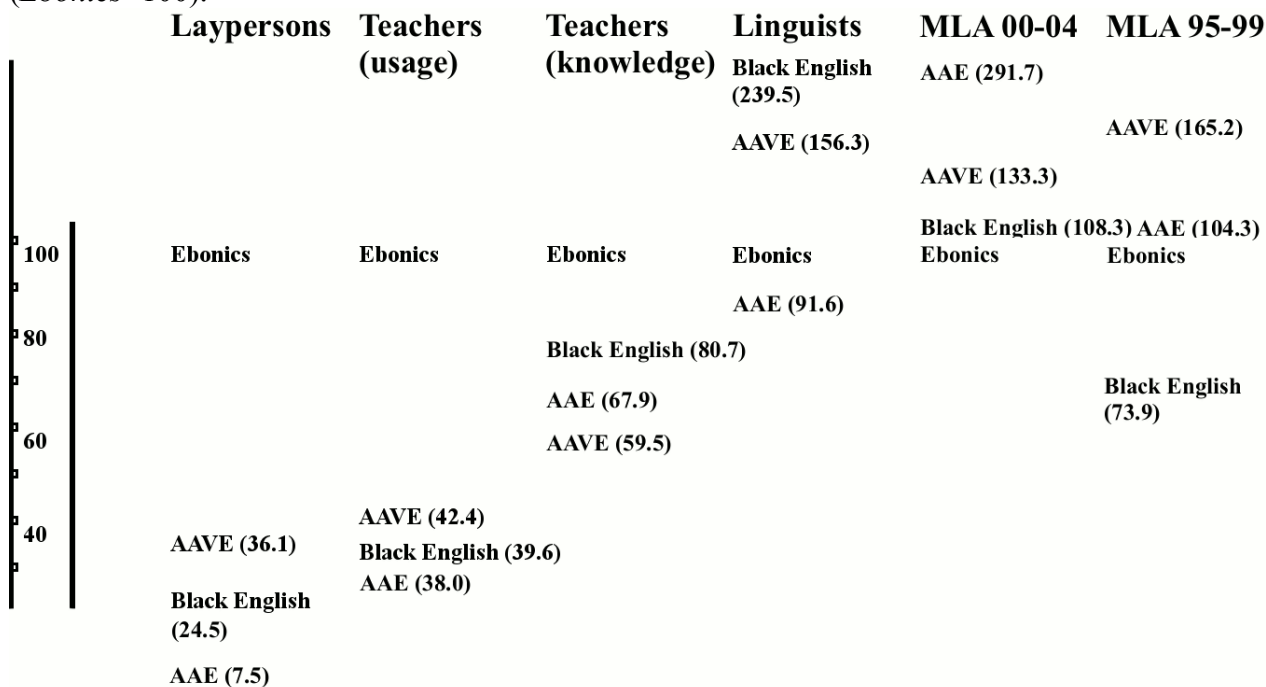
4 The “Oakland Resolution on Ebonics” (“Resolution of the Board of Education adopting the report and recommendations of the African-American task force; a policy statement and directing the superintendent of schools to devise a program to improve the English language acquisition and application skills of African-American students”) was issued in 1996 by the Oakland Board of Education with the purpose of improving the educational attainment of the African American students in that region; a nationwide media scandal followed.

- For the year 2005: *African American English* and *Ebonics* with more than one hit. Only one hit for the terms *Black Language* and *Black Speech*.
- For details, see table 10.

There are noticeable differences between these results and those of the Google fight method, but in essence they agree: The frequency of *Ebonics* in comparison with other terms differs quite remarkably, not only between the two methods, but also within the MLA results for different years. Yet, in no case does the term *Ebonics* even approach the dominance it has for teachers. In the Google fight method, *Ebonics* is outdone by *Black English* and *African American Vernacular English/AAVE*, and closely followed by *African American English*. In the MLA data of 2005, it actually is the most frequently used term, but is very closely followed by *African American English*: The absolute difference between these two is merely one single occurrence. For 2000-04 *Ebonics* is only the fourth most frequently used term: *African American English* has nearly three times as many occurrences as *Ebonics*, *African American English/AAVE* and *Black English* also occur more frequently. For 1995-1999, the results are similar, but *African American English* and *African American Vernacular English/AAVE* have changed places. *African American Vernacular English/AAVE* is now the most frequently used term, African American English appearing only slightly more often than *Ebonics*. *Black English* is, in these years, used less often than *Ebonics*, but still not rare. It can therefore be concluded, that, although *Ebonics* is a popular term, it does not carry the uncontested dominance among linguists that it has among teachers. *African American Vernacular English/AAVE*, *African American English* and *Black English* are of comparable, often of higher frequency.

Comparison and Summary

In the following diagram, I have plotted the most relevant labels with their frequencies (*Ebonics*=100).



As can easily be seen, teachers resemble laypersons more than they do linguists in their use of terminology. This might be seen as an indicator of teachers, at least in their choice of labels, being closer to the discourse community of laypersons than to that of linguists. On the other hand, they obviously *recognize* terms frequently employed by linguists, though they themselves prefer other terms.

5. Conclusion

Both in their self-assessments of linguistic knowledge and in their use of labels, teachers resemble laypersons more than they do linguists. Nonetheless, they cannot be considered laypersons in language matters. Teachers do possess linguistic knowledge, although it does not always correspond to what linguists would consider 'basic knowledge'. Some 'basic' terms are known, others are not. Some 'specific' terms are known, others not. It is highly relevant to keep this in mind when designing informational material or courses for teachers: Keeping the balance between underinforming and overinforming teachers can be problematic. Teachers form a specific audience in themselves and cannot be compared either with laypersons without linguistic knowledge, nor with 'linguistics beginners' who might have learned the 'basics' but need to be introduced into the 'specifics'.

A careful choice of labels might facilitate or hinder discussions with teachers. *Ebonics* with its high degree of recognition and its high usage rates among teachers might be the best choice in many situations.

6. References

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7. Tables

Knowledge

Table 1:
Knowledge - teachers (Questionnaire)

Knowledge	A) Never heard it	B) I have heard it before, but do not know much about it.	C) I know the term well.	B+C	NA
Allophone	60 (76.9%)	14 (18.0%)	4 (5.1%)	23.1%	31
Basilect	71 (87.7%)	8 (9.9%)	2 (2.5%)	12.4%	28
Creole	3 (4.0%)	32 (42.1%)	41 (54.0%)	96.1%	33
Elaborated Code	60 (76.0%)	14 (17.7%)	5 (6.3%)	24.0%	30
Gullah	44 (55.7%)	21 (26.6%)	14 (17.7%)	44.3%	30
Morpheme	35 (46.1%)	17 (22.4%)	24 (31.6%)	54.0%	33

Table 2:
Usage - teachers (Questionnaire)

Usage	A) I do not use the term.	B) I occasionally use the term.	C) I regularly use it.	B+C	NA
Allophone	35 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0.0%	74
Basilect	32 (97.0%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	3.0%	76
Creole	18 (34.6%)	28 (53.9%)	6 (11.5%)	65.4%	57
Elaborated Code	31 (91.2%)	3 (8.8%)	0 (0%)	8.8%	75
Gullah	31 (50.8%)	20 (32.8%)	10 (16.4%)	49.2%	48
Morpheme	23 (52.3%)	16 (36.4%)	5 (11.4%)	47.8%	65

Table 3:
Names - teachers (Questionnaire)

	No, not at all.	I have heard the name, but do not remember details.	I know some details, but have never read a text by him/her.	I have read a text by this person.	NA
Basil Bernstein	70 (86.4%)	9 (11.1%)	2 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	28
Noam Chomsky	25 (30.5%)	12 (14.6%)	24 (29.3%)	21 (25.6%)	27
William Labov	62 (75.6%)	11 (13.4%)	5 (6.1%)	4 (4.9%)	27
Gary Simpkins	66 (80.5%)	11 (13.4%)	2 (2.4%)	3 (3.7%)	27
Geneva Smitherman	75 (91.5%)	4 (4.9%)	3 (3.7%)	0 (0%)	27

Table 4:
Knowledge – linguists (Questionnaire)

Knowledge	A) Never heard it	B) I have heard it before, but do not know much about it.	C) I know the term well.	B+C	NA
Allophone	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (100%)	8 (100%)	0
Basilect	4 (50%)	2 (25%)	2 (25%)	4 (50%)	0
Creole	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (100%)	8 (100%)	0
Elaborated Code	3 (37.5%)	4 (50%)	1 (12.5%)	5 (62.5%)	0
Gullah	0	3 (37.5%)	5 (62.5%)	8 (100%)	0
Morpheme	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (100%)	8 (100%)	0

Table 5:
Usage – linguists (Questionnaire)

	A) I do not use the term.	B) I occasionally use the term.	C) I regularly use it.	B+C	NA
Allophone	1 (16.7%)	1 (16.7%)	4 (66.7%)	5 (83.3%)	2
Basilect	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5
Creole	1 (16.7%)	4 (66.7%)	1 (16.7%)	5 (83.3%)	2
Elaborated Code	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.7%)	2
Gullah	5 (83.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.7%)	1 (16.7%)	2
Morpheme	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)	6 (100%)	2

Table 6:
Names – linguists (Questionnaire)

	No, not at all.	I have heard the name, but do not remember details.	I know some details, but have never read a text by him/her.	I have read a text by this person.	NA
Basil Bernstein	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0
Noam Chomsky	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (100%)	0
William Labov	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (12.5%)	7 (87.5%)	0
Gary Simpkins	2 (28.6%)	4 (57.1%)	1 (14.3%)	0 (0%)	1
Geneva Smitherman	6 (75%)	1 (12.5%)	0 (0%)	1 (12.5%)	0

Labels

Table 7:
Labels – teachers (Questionnaire)

	(a) Know (%)	Know Ebonics=100	(b1) Use teachers (%)	(b2) Use non-teachers (%)	(b) Use (b1+b2) (%)	Use Ebonics =100
African American English	62.7 %	67.9	7.8 %	19.6 %	27.4 %	38
African American Language	45.1 %	48.9	4.2 %	2.1 %	6.3 %	8.7
African American Vernacular English	54.9 %	59.5	16.3 %	14.3 %	30.6 %	42.4
Afro-American English	42.9 %	46.5	2.1 %	0 %	2.1 %	2.9
Afro-American Speech	40.8 %	44.2	4.1 %	2 %	6.1 %	8.5
Black English	74.5 %	80.7	12.3 %	16.3 %	28.6 %	39.6

	(a) Know (%)	Know Ebonics=100	(b1) Use teachers (%)	(b2) Use non-teachers (%)	(b) Use (b1+b2) (%)	Use Ebonics =100
Black English Vernacular	52.9 %	57.3	18.4 %	6.1 %	24.5 %	33.9
Black Idiom	29.4 %	31.9	6.5 %	2.2 %	8.7 %	12.1
Black Language	44 %	47.7	6.4 %	4.3 %	10.7 %	14.8
Black Speech	52 %	56.3	6.3 %	4.2 %	10.5 %	14.5
Ebonics	92.3 %	100	44.4 %	27.8 %	72.2 %	100
Spoken Soul	15.4 %	16.7	0 %	5.6 %	5.6 %	7.8
U.S. Ebonics	44.2 %	47.9	14 %	14 %	28 %	38.8
Vernacular Black English	50 %	54.2	15.9 %	9.1 %	25 %	34.6

Table 8:
Labels – laypersons (Google fight)

	Google http://www.google.com	Ebonics=100
African American English	87,200	7.5
African American Language	19,700	1.7
African American Vernacular English	19,000	1.6
AAVE	400,000	34.5
African American Vernacular English + AAVE	419,000	36.1
Afro-American English	2,950	0.3
Afro-American Speech	1,720	0.1
Black English	314,000	27.1
Black English (<i>without Black English Vernacular and Vernacular Black English</i>)	284,694	24.5
Black English Vernacular	28,500	2.5
Black Idiom	580	0.1
Black Language	76,100	6.6
Black Speech	83,800	7.2
Ebonics	1,160,000	100
Spoken Soul	21,800	1.9
U.S. Ebonics	858	0.1
Vernacular Black English	806	0.1

Table 9:
Labels – linguists (Google fight)

	Google http://scholar.google.com/scholar	Scholar	Ebonics=100
African American English	1,740		91.6
African American Language	465		24.5
African American Vernacular English	1,250		65.8
AAVE	1,720		90.5
African American Vernacular English + AAVE	2970		156.3
Afro-American English	121		6.4
Afro-American Speech	83		4.4
Black English	5,730		301.6
Black English (<i>without Black English Vernacular and Vernacular Black English</i>)	4,307		226.7
Black English Vernacular	1,180		62.1
Black Idiom	175		9.2
Black Language	1,100		57.9
Black Speech	795		41.8
Ebonics	1,900		100
U.S. Ebonics	14		0.7
Vernacular Black English	243		12.8

Table 10:
Labels – linguists (MLA)

	2005	Ebonics=100	2000-04	Ebonics=100	1995-1999	Ebonics=100
African American English	6	85.7	35	291.7	24	104.3
African American Language	0	0	4	33.3	5	21.7
African American Vernacular English	0	0	9	75	25	108.7
AAVE	0	0	7	58.3	13	56.5
African American Vernacular English + AAVE	0	0	16	133.3	38	165.2
Afro-American English	0	0	1	8.3	0	0
Afro-American Speech	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black English	0	0	16	133.3	19	82.6

	2005	Ebonics= 100	2000-04	Ebonics= 100	1995- 1999	Ebonics= 100
Black English (<i>without Black English Vernacular and Vernacular Black English</i>)	0	0	13	108.3	17	73.9
Black English Vernacular	0	0	3	25	2	8.7
Black Idiom	0	0	2	16.7	0	0
Black Language	1	14.3	1	8.3	0	0
Black Speech	1	14.3	1	8.3	3	13.0
Ebonics	7	100	12	100	23	100
Spoken Soul	0	0	1	8.3	0	0
U.S. Ebonics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vernacular Black English	0	0	0	0	0	0