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2009

11 From Outside Agitators to Inside Implementers

Improving the Literacy Education of Vernacular and Creole Speakers[1]

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Introduction

Forty years ago, linguists working in the United States and the Anglophone Caribbean (e.g., Labov, 1968, p. 1; Le Page, 1968) observed that students who spoke African American Vernacular English (AAVE) or Caribbean Creole English performed poorly on achievement tests of reading and the language arts relative to their peers who spoke varieties closer to the standard English that was expected and rewarded in schools. For almost as long, linguists and tertiary level educators have also served as critics of existing approaches to literacy education for vernacular and Creole speakers in schools, from the elementary to the university level. But vernacular and Creole speakers continue to underperform academically,[2] and there are increasing opportunities now for us to propose and implement changes from the inside.[3] So what do we need to know and do to move our contributions to a higher and more successful level—from that of outside agitators to inside implementers?

In addressing this question, we will draw on four recent experiences of ours (and the work of others) in which the role of the linguist/educator has been more like that of an inside resource person or implementer than an outside critic or agitator:

- Participating in research on the University of California Subject A *writing* placement exams of African American students in 2000–2001;
- Lecturing on AAVE and Education to California teachers, instructional supervisors and administrators between 2001 and 2009;
- Observing the implementation of the University of the West Indies' experimental Creole education project in a Jamaican classroom, in 2006;
- Observing and supervising the teaching of reading and language arts (phonemic awareness, phonics, comprehension, vocabulary development, and spelling) in Northern California schools from 1994 to 2007, and serving as consultants to an elementary textbook publisher seeking to meet the new California language arts requirement to provide additional support to AAVE speakers in mastering reading and academic English.

We will discuss these experiences in turn, focusing on at least one "lesson" we learned from each of them.

Research on African American Student Performance on the Analytical Writing Placement (Subject A) Examination at the University of California (2000–1)

The University of California has a long-standing, university-wide writing requirement for its freshmen that reads as follows:[4]

> ALL STUDENTS who will enter the University of California as freshmen must demonstrate their command of the English language by fulfilling the Entry Level Writing Requirement (formerly known as Subject A requirement).
>
> [. . .]
>
> THE FACULTY of the University of California intends this . . . University-wide . . . Examination . . . to publicize the standard and kind of writing competence necessary for success in the University's introductory courses.

But, as indicated by Figure 11.1, which summarizes data from 1995 to 1999, the number of African American students passing this exam is usually lower than that of White students by about twenty percentage points each year.

In 2000 and 2001, we were both part of a small "Action Research" group of tertiary level educators that met regularly at the University of California (U.C.) Office of the President in Oakland to consider the "Writing Development Needs of African American College-Bound High School Students." The specific focus of this group was to attempt to discover why African American students were underperforming on this gate-keeping "Subject A" exam and develop recommendations for improvement. Among other things, we examined several U.C. "Subject A" practice essays submitted to the U.C.'s Diagnostic Writing Service (DWS) by African American high school (11th grade) students.[5] In this section of

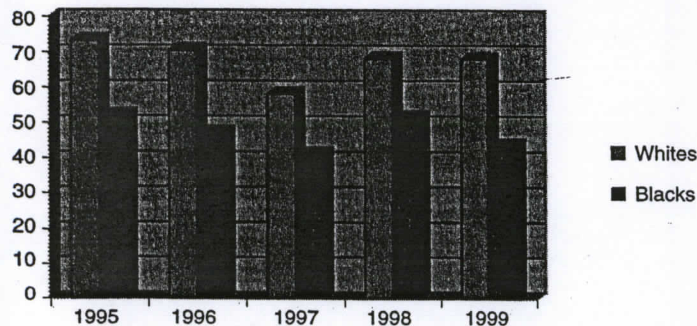

Figure 11.1 Percentages of Blacks and Whites Passing U.C. Subject A Writing Exam, 1995–99.

our chapter, we will discuss one such essay, but we need first to explain the essay question on "The Appeal of the Democracy of Goods" to which the student was responding.

For this essay question, students were given a 1985 excerpt from a book by Roland Marchand analyzing the advertising strategies used to sell products in the U.S. from the 1920s to the 1940s. The chief advertising strategy was to show wealthy people using products like Cream of Wheat or Ivory Soap to which ordinary people had equal access through the concept of "The Democracy of Goods." Students were asked to identify what American ideals and desires underlay the appeal of the 1920s–40s concept of the "Democracy of Goods," and to say whether they thought today's advertising was based on the same ideals and desires, or other ones. The question prompt included the note: "To develop your essay, be sure to discuss the appeals of specific advertisements."

Here is one Subject A practice essay written by an African American student about to go into the 11th grade:

> In this world, money is the ideal and desires that appeal [?] the concept of the democracy of goods. To me, without money you have very little power and that's kind of unfair. The people that start off wealthy just get more wealthier and the people that's lower class struggle to pay the bills. Money play[s] a big role in society, but it's not everything. If you have God by your side, you can't complain. For example, Michael Jordan wants to advertise some shoes and so do[es] a college ball player. Michael Jordan would sale more shoes because he had more money to put out advertisements everywhere, commercial[s], magazines, billboards and of course the shoe books and like I was saying Jordan [would] get richer while the college player spent a grip to just make such a litle profit. Back in the 1920's it seems like 100% money was the key, now days who you know have to do with a little bit of your success. You can barely be able to pay your rent, but if you have a cousin that's rich he or she could probably blow you up. For instance, [if] you happen to be able to rap really good and you hook up with the biggest record lable in the rap industry you would become successful because you would have some of the best rappers featuring on your CD. Sometimes you will run into a lot of things that's unfair, but if you want to use advertisements to make it big like the next company and it's not working it may [END OF ESSAY]

Several of the mechanical "errors" in this essay may be interpreted as transfers from AAVE, including third person present tense singular *-s* absence (*money play, so do a college ball player*), plural *-s* absence (*commercial*), and subject–verb agreement (*people that's* instead of *people that are*). One could recommend that teachers use Contrastive Analysis and related strategies (e.g., Wheeler and Swords, 2006) to minimize transfers from AAVE at school when academic or standard English is required. However, previous studies (e.g., Godley, 2004; Smitherman, 2000; Sweetland, 2006; Whiteman, 1981) have suggested that the rate of such incursions from AAVE in the academic English *writing* (vs. speech) of African American students is relatively low,[6] and this was pretty much what

we found to be true of this essay and others submitted to the Diagnostic Writing Service.

The larger and more important conclusion we reached, however, is that, even if its AAVE features and punctuation and other mechanical infelicities were to be edited out, this essay would still be a relatively weak piece of writing, in terms of its *ideas* and *structure* or *organization*. For instance, it does not address, in its opening sentences, the *first* requirement of the essay prompt, that students identify the American ideals and desires (for instance, the ideal of equality, or the desire for everyone to have access to some of the same opportunities, goods and services, regardless of wealth and power) that underlay the appeal of the 1920s–40s concept of the "Democracy of Goods." Instead, it begins with the essay-writer's own opinion that "without money you have very little power." This is in fact the exact opposite of what advertisers of the 1920s–1940s tended to suggest, according to Marchand. Such advertisers asserted, instead, that Chase and Sanborn coffee, or Ivory soap, were the best products of their kind available anywhere, and that since they were reasonably priced, they were equally available to bourgeoisie and proletariat alike.

The essay goes on to develop the essay-writer's idea that "without money you have very little power," but not without mis-steps. For instance, two sentences later, we encounter the claim that while money is important, "it's not everything." The only support for this qualification is the undeveloped argument that "If you have God by your side, you can't complain." Indeed, the entire point of the longish example that follows next, the contrast between Michael Jordan and a college basketball player trying to sell shoes, is that Jordan would do better "because he had more money." So money IS everything.

The essay-writer does try to address the essay prompt (especially the part that requires you to compare advertising strategies from the early twentieth century with those of today) by going on to argue that while money might have been "100%" in the 1920s, now "who you know" might also be important. The first example is not too felicitous, since it is the rich cousin's wealth (money once again) that would help to make up for your own financial deficiencies. The second example is somewhat more promising, suggesting that skill in rapping could lead you to success if it leads you to a recording contract and endorsements by other rappers. (This presumably picks up on the belief among some of today's youth that rapping is a viable means of moving from rags-to-riches.) But the focus on *advertising strategy* (as against individual upward mobility) is not central in this argumentation, and time runs out before the essay-writer can develop his or her conclusion.

Moreover, the essay as a whole follows an elementary *list* structure in the text structure model of Calfee and Chambliss (1987), simply enumerating the benefits that money or contacts make possible. The use of more complex alternatives such as the Hierarchy, in which sets of attributes are linked by superordination and subordination, might help to shape the student's logical argumentation more successfully and reveal his or her expository writing skills more effectively. See Figure 11.2 for other alternatives in the text structure model of Calfee and Chambliss (1987), as modified by Ball (1992).

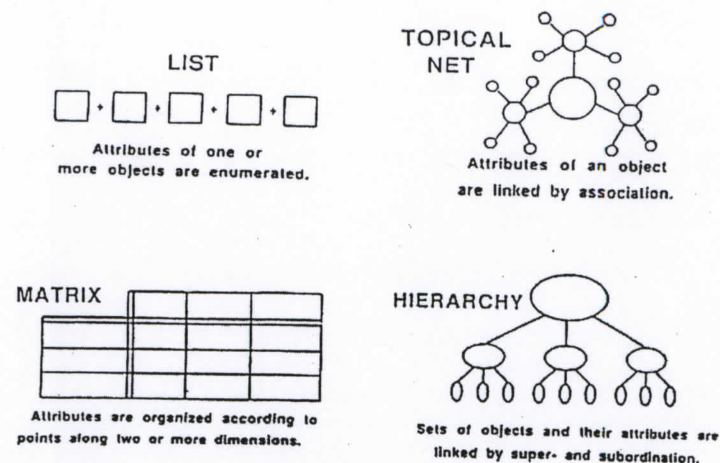

Figure 11.2 Diagrams of Descriptive Expository Text Structures.
Source: Ball (1992), adapted from Calfee and Chambliss (1987, p. 364).

Talking to Oakland, California Teachers about AAVE and Education (2001–9)

A second project on which we've collaborated is lecturing to teachers, literacy coaches and instructional supervisors in the Oakland Unified School District about AAVE and Education, and strategies for teaching narrative, exposition, and comprehension. We did this over several months in 2001, and at an all-day session in 2009.

Here, in the district where the Ebonics controversy erupted in 1996, we found the audience receptive to and interested in what we had to say about the systematic phonological and grammatical structures of AAVE, and about ways in which this could be taken into account in teaching reading and writing. But as interested as they were, the educators we talked to wanted two things: (a) evidence of the *effectiveness* of the linguistically informed methods we were describing; and (b) *specific, detailed lesson plans and examples* to use in their reading/language arts classrooms.

In relation to (a), we would point, among other things, to the increased gain in mean reading scores achieved by fifth and sixth grade students in Kelli Harris-Wright's Bidialectal Communication program in DeKalb county, outside Atlanta, between 1994 and 1997. As shown in Table 11.1, students in this program, which involves Contrastive Analysis and other innovative techniques, showed relatively large increases in their reading scores every year, *more so* than students in a Control Group who were taught by traditional techniques that did not involve explicit comparisons between vernacular and standard English. (Note, indeed,

Table 11.1 Reading Composite Scores for Bidialectal and Control Groups, DeKalb County, Georgia, on Iowa Test of Basic Skills

Group	*1994–95*	*1995–96*	*1996–97*
Bidialectal Post-test	42.39	41.16	34.26
Bidialectal Pre-test	39.71	38.48	30.37
GAIN by Bidialectal Students	**+2.68**	**+2.68**	**+3.89**
Control Post-test	40.65	43.15	49.00
Control Pre-test	41.02	41.15	49.05
GAIN by Control Students	–0.37	**+2.0**	–0.05

Source: Kelli Harris-Wright, personal communication.

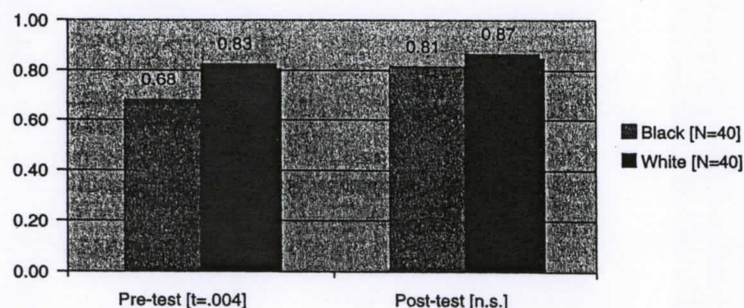

Figure 11.3 Progress in Reducing the Minority Differential: The Effect of 40 Hours of Instruction with the Individualized Reading Program.

Source: Reprinted, with permission, from http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~wlabov/

Note: Proportion read correctly of 25 words with final -CCC spelling (eg., *thought, catch, hands, branch, works, didn't, might*. . .), before and after instruction in California schools, grades 2–4, 2001–4.

that Control Group students actually did more poorly on their post-tests in two years of the program than they had on their pre-tests, while students in the bidialectal program showed positive gains, and greater ones, every year.)

Another example of effectiveness that we have used recently comes from a presentation in which we participated with William Labov, at a session for administrators and textbook publishers sponsored by Voices for African American Students (VAAS) in Los Angeles in September 2006. In his talk, entitled "Spotlight on Reading," Labov presented the dramatic result shown in Figure 11.3, in which African American students taught by the Invidualized Reading Method (now "Reading Road") developed by Bettina Baker and himself improved substantially, so much so that the differences between their scores and those of White students, significant on the pre-test, were no longer so on the post-test.[7]

In relation to (b), it is important to remember that, as practitioners, teachers tend to be less interested in theoretical constructs and more excited by hands-on strategies and techniques that can be implemented immediately.

There are not many materials of this kind that one could recommend. Older materials like California's (1970s) *Proficiency in Standard English for Speakers of Black Language* [*SEP*] or the "Talk Across" program of Crowell et al. (1974) use outdated terminology (like "Nonstandard" English), and depend too heavily on tedious drills, Moreover, since they were never published in the conventional sense, they are difficult if not impossible to obtain. Sweetland (2006) developed twelve excellent dialect awareness lesson plans for teachers in Cincinnati who participated in her dissertation research, but they are not yet published. One of her lessons, dealing with the use of Sandra Cisneros' story, *Hairs*, to teach standard English possessive -s, is included as an appendix, with her permission.[8] Note the level of detail at which the lesson has been developed—including time estimates, materials needed for each activity, and the specification of objectives—and the fact that the lesson specifies the NCTE/IRA standards for English Language Arts it satisfies.

The only publicly available, linguistically informed lesson plans that take AAVE into account are ones that have emerged very recently, including the *Reading Road* program of Labov and Baker (2009, available on Labov's website (http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~wlabov/PRI/index.html), Seymour, Roeper & de Villiers (2005), Wheeler and Swords (2006 and forthcoming), and Brown (2009). Meier (2007) also contains a number of specifics—particularly helpful since they build on AAVE conversational and discourse patterns rather than just its phonological or grammatical features—that could be used in lesson plans for teachers. We need more publications like these,[9] and they should be more integrated with the basal reader textbooks and language arts standards that schools use.

Observing One Implementation of the University of the West Indies' Experimental Creole Education Project in a Jamaican Classroom (2006)

A third experience that we shared was observing a 2006 class session in a Jamaican elementary school that was participating in the highly innovative Creole/English bilingual program developed by the Linguistics Department at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica (see Devonish & Carpenter, 2007). The particular lesson we observed involved translating an expository text about the Ostrich, and the specific excerpt we will focus on is the translation of the first sentence in the class text ("The ostrich is a strange animal") from English to Jamaican Creole (JC).

The teacher had prepared the students for the sentence translation exercise by bringing to class a number of flashcards, each of which had one word from the text in its original English orthography, e.g., *story*. He also had a second set of cards, each of which had a Jamaican equivalent in the phonemic orthography developed by Cassidy (1961) and Cassidy and Le Page (1967), e.g., *tuorii*. He had given students on one side of the class one "English" card each, and students on the other side of the class—facing the first set across a narrow gap—one "Jamaican" card each. At a given signal, students had to get up and find the student who had the translation equivalent of the word on their card, and when they were successful, they took the pair of cards to the teacher, who then taped them to the board so that everyone could see and learn the appropriate "translations," e.g.:

because / bikaaz
people / piipl
ostrich / aschriij
parts / paats

We should note here that the immediate buzz of activity this exercise generated was one of the plusses of this teacher's pedagogical technique. The atmosphere was one of a treasure hunt, and the students were active, engaged, and clearly enjoying themselves as they tracked down their translation equivalents, and took them with pride to the teacher.

Moving then from the lexical translation to the sentence translation task, the teacher read the first sentence of the story "The ostrich is a strange animal," and asked for volunteers to translate it into JC. A male student offered the following translation, converting the pronunciation into JC (e.g., the interdental fricative /ð/ to the dental/alveolar stop /d/) but not the grammar (e.g., English copula "is" to its Creole equivalent, /a/):

De ostrij is a strange animal
/di aastrij iz a streenj aniimal/

The teacher's negative reaction indicated that he was not satisfied with this, and a female student, one of several eager volunteers who vigorously stuck their hands in the air, competing for selection, offered this alternative:

De ostrij a one 'trange animal
/di aastrij a wan (s)treenj aniimal/

This translation, which met with the teacher's warm approval, included not only the phonetic features changed by the male student, but another phonetic feature (/st/ > /t/ in the onset of "strange") and the following grammatical conversions as well:

- Replacement of the English copula *iz* by the JC prenominal copula *a*
- Replacement of the English indefinite article *a* by the JC indefinite article *wan*

The lesson, overall, was commendable in several respects. The teacher was fluent in both languages, he was well prepared, he was active and enthusiastic, and he kept the students engaged throughout the class by his animated instructions and performance and by the small-group activities in which he asked them to engage. His lesson also required translating from standard English to the vernacular as well as translating from the vernacular to the standard; most U.S. contrastive lessons, to their detriment, only involve translation to the standard, which conveys to students the not-so-subtle message that their home variety is not of equal value (see J. Rickford 2002, p. 39). Moreover, the teacher had prepared the students well for the phrasal/sentence translation

task by having them first engage in the animated lexical flashcard exercise. In these and other respects, the teacher's bilingual lesson was very, very good.

On the crucial point of the grammatical differences between English and Creole, however, the teacher repeated the girl's correct translation, but did not write it on the board nor explain in detail the specific differences between it and the male student's mesolectal or phonetics-only translation, as the "Repetition and Reinforcement" pedagogical principle (see A. Rickford, 2005) would require. As a result, the male student (and others in the class) may NOT have understood exactly WHY his response was wrong, and he/they might not be able to produce the "correct" answers in the future. In addition, the lesson had no writing component. One of the basics of language arts instructional pedagogy is to try to include all four elements—Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing [LSRW]—in each lesson where possible. This approach helps teachers check for understanding and helps students remember what they've learned. It would have been good practice to have at least involved the students in a writing exercise in which they copied in their books a short table listing the Creole words, structures and pronunciations side by side with their standard English counterparts. Furthermore, the teacher could have asked content-based questions of them in standard English, and had them reply in Creole, and vice versa, again, to reinforce their knowledge of the differences being taught.

What is at stake here is not only the success of one lesson, but the success of the bilingual experiment overall. In a possible comparison of controlled (traditional) and experimental (bilingual) methods involving these students, the bilingual method might well fail to show the full extent of its potential benefits, not because it is linguistically unsound or intrinsically lacking, but because in small but crucial respects its pedagogical implementation was less than ideal.

Specific Lessons Involving Training Teachers to Teach Reading (e.g., Phonemic Awareness, Phonics Decoding, Vocabulary, Spelling and Comprehension) in California Schools, 1996–2006, and Helping to Develop AAVE Teacher Tips for a New Series of Elementary Readers (2007/2008)

The final category of experiences we wish to draw on derive from two sources: (a) Angela's experiences as a professor of Education at San Jose State University, in which she trained teachers to teach the elements of reading, including phonemic awareness and phonics (for decoding purposes), and vocabulary development and narrative/expository structure (for comprehension purposes) at the elementary and secondary levels, and observed their classroom lessons over the course of a decade (1996–2006); and (b) joint work we began to do in late 2007 to help a national elementary textbook publisher revise its kindergarten to sixth grade readers to meet the new California requirements that they provide "additional support to AAVE speakers in mastering phonological awareness and academic English."

- Demonstrate understanding of sensory images by identifying examples from the text and including at least one sensory image in their own writing.
- Demonstrate understanding of the writing process by drafting, revising, and sharing an original descriptive narrative patterned after the literature modeled during prewriting.
- Identify possessive constructions, and apply the Standard English rule in their own writing.

Teaching the Lesson

Day One

Resources

- A copy of the picture book *Hairs/Pelitos* by Sandra Cisneros (also available as the chapter "Hairs" in *The House on Mango Street*)
- Overhead projector and supplies
- A copy of the text of *Hairs/Pelitos* on an overhead transparency to aid discussion
- Student handout with model texts and room for first draft

Preparation

- This lesson assumes that students have been previously introduced to the terms metaphor, simile, and sensory image. If not, you may wish to assign a brief exercise of some sort (a worksheet or two should be more than sufficient) prior to this lesson.
- Optional: Write a first draft of a short descriptive narrative that introduces each member of your family by means of a physical trait or habit and draws on figurative language. Copy the draft on to an overhead transparency to share with students as a model for their own writing.

Instruction and Activities

1. (3 minutes) Briefly preview the book by asking students to use the title to predict the content or theme of the book. You may wish to introduce the author—Sandra Cisneros is a poet and novelist who was born in Chicago to Mexican parents. Lots of her writing focuses on the experience of growing up in a bicultural setting. *Hairs/Pelitos* is "semiautobiographical fiction," which means that the story is based on the author's life, but she has changed some things for effect.
2. (1 minute) Before beginning to read, set a purpose for students' listening by asking them to listen for what they learn about each family member as their hair is described. Do we get hints about their personalities or family roles? Then, read the book aloud.
3. (5–7 minutes) Read book aloud.

4. (5 minutes) Ask the students to list all the facts they learned about the family. Lead students to realize that the form and style of the book packed a lot of information into a short, sweet story. You may wish to introduce the terms *vignette*, snapshot, or descriptive narrative.
5. (3–5 minutes) Discuss reasons Cisneros might have chosen to write about her family's hair (as opposed to something else). Accept and discuss all reasonable answers, but also guide students to realize that the author chose a theme that offered a great deal of contrast (everyone's hair was different) and also had some emotional or personal meaning (the smell of the mother's hair had lots of associations for her).
6. (5–7 minutes) Ask students to think about how they might approach writing a short book about their own families. If they were to introduce their parents and siblings, what would they say about their hair? Or—is there some other characteristic that would work better as a vehicle of introduction? Possibilities include other physical features (eyes, hands, laughs, voices); habits (such as different styles of eating, arguing, or using the remote control); or likes/dislikes (music preferences, vacation activities). You may wish to list these on the board or on chart paper. Allow several minutes for students to brainstorm possibilities aloud and to share impromptu descriptions of their family members with the class.
7. (3–5 minutes) Distribute handouts for students to use for their first drafts. Ask a volunteer to read the examples of previous students' personal versions of *Hairs*. Briefly discuss what makes the student versions both "good writing" and "like the author's." Students may point out that the versions are funny, realistic, and include interesting similes and vivid images. Encourage students to make their own versions just as good! (If you decided to write your own piece, now is a good time to share it as a model.)
8. (20 minutes/remaining time) Allow the rest of the class period for drafting. Tell students to finish their drafts for homework, and that there will be time to share at the beginning of tomorrow's class.
9. (1 minute) Ask for several volunteers to turn theirs in first thing in the morning, so that you may photocopy them on to overheads for the class to help revise.

Relevant English Language Arts Content Standards

[In Sweetland 2004, this follows the lesson plan for day two, which is not included here—JRR/AER]

This lesson addresses the following NCTE/IRA standards for the English Language Arts:

- Students read a wide range of print and non-print texts to build an understanding of texts, of themselves, and of the cultures of the United States and the world; to acquire new information; to respond to the needs and demands of society and the workplace; and for personal fulfillment. Among these texts are fiction and nonfiction, classic and contemporary works.

- Students apply a wide range of strategies to comprehend, interpret, evaluate, and appreciate texts. They draw on their prior experience, their interactions with other readers and writers, their knowledge of word meaning and of other texts, their word identification strategies, and their understanding of textual features (e.g., sound–letter correspondence, sentence structure, context, graphics).
- Students apply knowledge of language structure, language conventions (e.g., spelling and punctuation), media techniques, figurative language, and genre to create, critique, and discuss print and non-print texts.
- Students develop an understanding of and respect for diversity in language use, patterns, and dialects across cultures, ethnic groups, geographic regions, and social roles.
- Students use spoken, written, and visual language to accomplish their own purposes (e.g., for learning, enjoyment, persuasion, and the exchange of information).

Notes

1 We would like to express our gratitude to the following persons who helped us with this chapter, while absolving them of any responsibility for any weaknesses it may contain: Claude Reichard, Stanford Senior Lecturer in Writing, for helpful discussion of the UC Subject A materials; Hubert Devonish, Karen Carpenter and the staff of the Jamaican Language Unit at UWI, Mona, and the principal, teacher and students at the elementary school we visited in Jamaica; Patrick Callier, Stanford Linguistics undergraduate at the time, for technical assistance; William Labov and Tina Baker for permission to use Figure 3 from their work on the Individualized Reading Manual; and Julie Sweetland for permission to reproduce part of one of her lesson plans as an appendix. We also wish to thank the editors of this volume for helpful suggestions for improving this chapter.

2 For instance, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) data for 2007 show that the average score for White Americans in grade 4 was 231, and for African Americans 203 (28 points less); and the corresponding score for White Americans in grade 8 was 272, and for African Americans 245 (27 points less). Not all African American students are speakers of AAVE, but the Oakland Task Force's (1996) assertion that it was "the primary language of many African American students" (see Rickford and Rickford, 2000, p. 165) remains as true now as it was then. With respect to Creole speakers, Siegel (2005, p. 292) reported that according to NAEP results for 1999, "only 15 percent of eighth graders from the [primarily Creole-speaking] state [of Hawaii] scored at or above proficient compared with 24 percent nationally" [Bracketed comments are ours]. Siegel went on to note (p. 293) that "in the Commonwealth Caribbean, only a very small percentage of students reach the level needed to attend secondary school and even a smaller percentage of those pass the Caribbean Examinations Council examinations in English (Craig, 2001, p. 72)."

3 For instance, the California Department of Education recently developed new Reading/Language Arts criteria that reading texts should provide for the instructional needs of "English learners . . . and students who use African American English," and a number of linguists and educators (including William Labov and the co-authors of this chapter) were invited to address meetings at which the rationale for this policy change were explained to publishers. In the West Indies, experiments with bilingual education in Creole and English are taking place for the first time in Jamaica, under the direction of Professor Hubert Devonish and the Jamaican Language Unit at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica.

4 From the U.C. Office of the President, Student Affairs: http://www.ucop.edu/sas/awpe/index.html.

5 For information about the DWS, see http://www.ucop.edu/dws/dwshome.htm.

6 Even a few such incursions of AAVE features into an Academic English essay can, however, significantly affect teachers' holistic ratings of students' work (Smitherman, 2000, p. 174).

7 Here the measure is the proportion of words with orthographic triple consonant clusters read correctly. Labov also presented evidence of similar effectiveness as measured by national percentile scores of California students on the Woodcock-Johnson III Word-ID test, grades 2–4. See http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~wlabov/PowerPoints/Summit.ppt.

8 Julie Sweetland, whose 2006 dissertation was supervised by John R. Rickford, was an elementary school teacher before beginning graduate work at Stanford. She is currently Director of Research at the Center for Inspired Teaching in Washington, DC.

9 See also the work of Baugh (1999), Smitherman (2000) and Rickford & Rickford (2007) for helpful specific suggestions and examples, even though they don't constitute a comprehensive series of lesson plans. And see Rickford, Sweetland, & Rickford (2004) and Sweetland, Rickford, Rickford, & Grano (in preparation) for useful bibliographies on AAVE and Education.

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