An Analysis of Listener Evaluations of Stressed Been in

African American English

Donna Kiessling

Advisor: Professor Renee Blake
Linguistics Honors Thesis
New York University
Class of 2013

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I first started this project, I assumed that a thesis advisor was there to help me with the technical aspects of creating a survey, collecting data, and composing the results. Professor Renee Blake revealed to me that a truly great advisor is someone who can challenge, inspire, and motivate you to do your best work. I will be forever grateful for all of her time, energy, and support.

And finally, I must thank my parents. Not only for providing me with the resources necessary to obtain such a rewarding education, but for always encouraging me to continue this project.

ABSTRACT

Mood marking is the unique process of conveying a speaker's attitude through the use of sentence structure, that until recently has not been thoroughly researched. It has been suggested that the item stressed been, as in "He BEEN done that", conveys a mood of indignation in African American English (AAE). However, this claim has yet to be supported by the perceptual judgments of native speakers of AAE. This research utilized a linguistic survey completed by forty-seven participants to determine if listeners perceive utterances containing stressed been as an indicator that the speaker is annoyed. The results indicate that there is not a significant correlation between stressed been and the perception that a speaker is annoyed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

This research was conceived in 2011 during a sweltering summer in Amherst Massachusetts. I was given the opportunity to learn about African American English with eleven other undergraduate students from different universities under the direction of Dr. Lisa Green. During the program's first lesson, we were asked to explain what the phrase "He be running" means. I was the only student in the group who was not a native speaker of African American English, and I was called upon first to describe the meaning of this phrase. Fearing that this was a trick question, I hesitantly replied, "He is running."

It was clear from the reactions of my classmates that this was not the correct interpretation of the phrase, and someone quickly volunteered the explanation, "He usually runs, or he has a habit of running." On the very first day of the program, a light went off in my head. I realized I actually had no idea how African American English actually worked, and I had presumed to know what these phrases meant simply because they were using words that exist in my dialect. The next two weeks of the program revealed to me the complex systems that govern African American English, and the extent of my own misguided views about its presence as a dialect.

African American English is a language system that has its own unique phonology, syntax, morphology, and lexicon. However, the unique structures and functions of this dialect are often eclipsed by the similarities and overlap between African American English and Mainstream American English. Dr. Green states, "An interesting complication is that African Americans must also have access to a lexicon that includes words in general American English, many of which are homophonous with words in African American lexicon" (Green, 2002). Since words in African American English and Mainstream US

English (MUSE) are often homophones the true meaning of certain phrases are can be masked. When Mainstream US English speakers hear African American English, they often assume that it is Mainstream US English being used improperly, or ungrammatically, when in actuality speakers of African American English are using the words and phrases to express distinct meanings.

Unfortunately, the overlap in the lexicon of African American English and Mainstream US English means that unjustifiable conjectures are made about African American English speakers. Instead of recognizing the dialect as its own discrete entity, speakers of African American English are marginalized or labeled as uneducated. In reality, speakers of African American English operate on a continuum of language, parts of which speakers of only Mainstream US English are unable to understand.

An examination of verbal markers in African American English illustrates how the dialect is distinct from Mainstream US English, and rule governed. As Green asserts, "[O]ne of the most notable differences may be the inclusion of the verbal markers...that indicate the way an event is carried out" (2002, 32). African American English verbal markers add information to an utterance in way that is distinct from Mainstream US English because they specify the way eventuality is executed. During my misinterpretation of the phrase "He be running", I erroneously assumed that 'be' was simply the unconjugated form of the verb 'to be'. The 'be' used in the phrase "He be running" is actually being used as a verbal marker, and the 'be' is a special verbal marker called habitual 'be'. According to Green "[Habitual 'be'] marks the recurrence of an eventuality" (2002, 25). Although this habitual 'be' and the verb 'to be' are homophonous, they each carry distinct meanings. The description and characterization of verbal markers has been an important enterprise for

scholars of African American English, because verbal markers illustrate how the fundamental structure of African American English is different from Mainstream US English.

One class of verbal markers has another property that not only works to indicate the way eventuality is expressed, but also is claimed to carry information about the mood or attitude of the speaker. This group of verbal markers is referred to as mood markers. Since Mainstream US English does not have mood markers, the mood, attitude, or feeling of a speaker is often demonstrated using other linguistic tools such as intonation. While speakers of African American English also utilize intonational cues when they are speaking, it has been proposed that these individual grammatical markers can also carry this metalinguistic information. According to Moody (2011, 22), "Studying mood and modality provides us with direct insight into how speakers view situations and events both real and hypothetical". Studying mood markers in this context also provides more insight in to how the expression of mood is actually achieved in African American English. While many theories have been put forth on how a speaker conveys their mood, the complex interactions between intonation, the context of a sentence, and the grammatical item of mood markers has not been thoroughly described.

After an intensive yet brief look in to the elaborate structures and systems at play in African American English, I began to wonder if you isolated a mood marker to it's core grammatical structure, is it really the word itself that is conveying the feelings of a speaker? And if it is a unique mood marker to African American English, are people who do not speak African American English consistently misinterpreting mood markers?

The goal of this research is to determine if the mood marker stressed been conveys any feeling of annoyance or indignation. The subject of the research is the verbal marker stressed been, which scholars claim speaker's of AAE use to communicate a mood of indignation. However, the linguistic research on this marker has not included judgments of native speakers of African American English. The past two years have been spent composing, editing, testing, and revising a survey to discover if listeners perceive speakers of African American English using stressed been as annoyed. Moreover, another goal of this research is to provide a useful baseline for studies of other mood markers in African American English.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

There are several linguistic discussions on mood makers in African American English. These include studies by Lisa Green (2002), William Labov (1998), Arthur K. Spears (1982, 1990), Simanique Moody (2011), and Walt Wolfram (1998). These scholars argued that the mood that is conveyed through mood markers is the mood of indignation or annoyance.

2.1 Linguistic Description of Mood Markers

In Green's first book *African American English: A Linguistic Introduction,* she provides detailed explanations about the different verbal markers that appear in African American English, as well as examples of how each is used. According to Green mood markers are "lexical items in AAE...described as indicating or reflecting attitude, namely indignation, expressed on the part of the speaker" (2002, 26). While the definition may seem simple enough, identifying these makers is not as straightforward. According to Spears, a major issue is that they usually occur, "in utterances that can be taken as identical

to ones occurring in non-Black dialects; and it is apparently for this reason that it has remained undetected" (1982, 850). Not only must researchers tease apart the multiple distinct meanings of one particular item within AAE, they must also determine how those items are conveying mood. Spears refers to these as camouflaged forms, "which are phonologically similar or identical to forms in the base language (the source of most of the lexical items), but which are used with different semantic values" (1982, 850). The forms that are typically noted as possible mood markers already have distinct usages from the similar lexical items that appear in MUSE.

An example of this kind of phenomena is the semi-auxiliary 'come' in AAE. Spears (1982) examines the properties of semi-auxiliary 'come', and how it differs from the motion verb. The motion verb 'come', which is the form found in MAE, has a distinct preterit form and can be followed by any other motion verb besides 'go'. On the contrary, the semi-auxiliary 'come' does not have a distinct preterit form and can be followed by any motion verb, including 'go'. Spears provides a clear example of how these items are separate is the sentence "She come coming in here raising all kind of hell" which is a grammatical sentence in AAE that illustrates the distinctiveness of these two forms (1982, 862). So while it is obvious that the semi-auxiliary 'come' is a distinct form in AAE, it is unclear at this point whether or not it is also carrying a sense of the mood of indignation.

While many linguistic scholars have described the possible semantic-pragmatic characteristics of stressed been, very little sociolinguistic research conducted to support any of these claims. Moody (2011) addressed issues of mood and modality in her dissertation. She examined the behavior of the proposed mood marker [gɔ̃]. Using sociolinguistic interviews, she investigated both the statistical evidence and the qualitative

descriptions from the interviews to make claims about the mood and modality of [gɔ̃]. She states:

> While it is important to look at well-known linguistic variables to have a comprehensive description of AAE grammar, it is equally necessary to push the boundaries of what we know about AAE. Today, we still lack a full understanding of the AAE [tense, mood, aspect] system, particularly the expression of speaker mood. (21)

Following in these footsteps, I seek to provide data from native speakers of AAE to test the claims made about the existence and behavior of stressed been as a mood markers. The complete picture of this marker has yet to be revealed in current research.

2.2 Linguistic Description of Stressed Been

Stressed been is a grammatical entity that has its own unique behavior in the aspectual system of African American English. It is a verbal marker that, as discussed in the introduction, describes the process of eventuality. The behavior of stressed been as a verbal marker has been described in detail by many linguistic scholars. Green describes it as an aspectual marker in AAE that can occur in before a progressive verb, a past tense verb, an adjective, a preposition, a noun, and adverb, and another aspectual marker (2002). According to Green, when it occurs in these environments, it conveys to speakers of African American English "the eventuality or the initiation of the eventuality in the remote past" which contains a similar meaning to the phrases "a long time ago and for a long time" in MUSE (2002, 25). Moreover, non-native speakers of African American English and native African American English speakers do not get the same semantic and pragmatic meaning from a phrase containing stressed been. Wolfram states, "The case for a distinct, [AAE]-

particular stressed [bIn] is further supported by differing interpretations which [AAE] and

Anglo-American English speakers" (1998, 14). He offers the phrase "The man [bIn]

married" as an example, in which Mainstream US English speakers interpret this phrase as

the man was married but is no longer married, while African American English speakers

understand it to mean the man was married a long time and is still married. This difference

in the interpretation of the same phrase shows that stressed been is a categorical part of

the African American English dialect.

The consensus among African American English scholars like Wolfram, Green,

Labov, and Spears is that stressed been is a part of AAE's complex aspectual system. The

arguments become less unanimous when discussing the possibility that stressed been not

only acts as an aspectual marker, but also conveys the mood of a speaker. William Labov

argues in his 1998 paper "Coexistent Systems in African-American English" that stressed

been conveys a sense of speaker indignation. He uses an example from a previous corpus of

data to prove his point:

A:. . 'cause CW is our vice president [of the group.]

B: You mean y'all finally realize that?

C: They shoulda **been** realized that.

His reasoning is that there is:

further social connotation of **been**...to register moral indignation. When someone

has just made an observation that they think reports a recent state of affairs, which

is actually not recent, the denial can carry a criticism of that person's competence as

an observer of the social scene. In (74), C uses **been** to assert that this state of affairs

has been true for such a long time that if A was a competent member of the group

(1998, 26)

The conclusion that stressed been carries some type of mood based on the previous corpus of data makes sense, however this evidence alone cannot justify any concrete conclusions. The interpretation that speaker C's utterance is carrying a tone of indignation is solely based off of the researcher's feelings about the exchange, not the interpretation of speaker A. Furthermore, even if speaker A interpreted speaker C's response as an annoyed response, there is no way to tell if the marker itself is responsible for the indication that speaker C is criticizing speaker A, or if it was the tone of voice, or possibly even the sentential context provided by speaker B using the word 'finally'. In order to make a claim about stressed been behavior, more speakers and tokens would be necessary, since as Spears notes, "[t]he most interesting figures for the purpose of this discussion would be those telling what percentage of all the occurrences of this form express habitual aspect and what percentage express disapproval" (1990, 43). These markers are difficult to elicit in a research setting because the nature of the mood marker requires a speaker to have a strong negative emotion. The first step in determining if stressed been is a mood marker was to identify the most appropriate methodological approach.

3. PILOT STUDY

The goal of this research is to examine the interpretations of utterances containing stressed been, as opposed to the production of these utterances. A questionnaire is the ideal method to gather data on this mood marker because it allows for native speakers to make direct judgments about the markers, rather than relying on the judgments of researchers, hence the need for a linguistic survey rather than a sociolinguistic interview.

The pilot study was the first attempt at a questionnaire designed to examine the connection between stressed been and a listener's perception of a speaker's mood. There were several important factors taken in to consideration during the design of this survey based on the work of Labov, Spears, Green, and Moody. Mood can be conveyed through speech in many different ways, including the intonation of an utterance and the context of the speech. In order to isolate the influence of stressed been the pilot study was designed to control for intonational cues as well as the influence of context.

To control for the intonational influence, the pilot study contained a series of ten utterances recorded by a twenty one year old female, who is a native speaker of African American English from New York. She was instructed to keep the tone of each utterance as consistent in each recording as possible. Each sentence was recorded a total of three times, and the most consistent of the three recordings was selected.

The context of an utterance can also have an impact on whether a listener perceives a speaker to be annoyed. Therefore, in order to isolate the influence of stressed been, the recorded sentences were designed to provide as little context as possible. The ideal sentences for studying the stressed been as a mood marker in isolation are those that have a neutral context. An example of a sentence from the pilot study is "He [bIn] watching TV". For the purpose of the pilot study, it was necessary to keep the phrases short and in isolation to control for the influence of context.

The participants in the study listened to the recorded sentences one at a time and were asked to evaluate when they would expect to hear that particular utterance. They were given three answers to chose from (a. The speaker is casually talking about someone b. The speaker is annoyed c. Never, I have never heard a sentence like this). There was one

sentence mixed into the survey at random that was intentionally ungrammatical in African American English to control for any participants who may not be native speakers of African American English, "He [bIn] might using the computer". There was also a sentence using unstressed been to determine the influence of stress on a listener's judgment, "He been going to church". Finally, there was an intentionally negative context "He [bIn] cheating on his wife" and an intentionally positive context "She [bIn] cleaning her room", to examine the influence of sentential context. The effectiveness of these particular control sentences will be discussed further in the revised methodology section.

The participants in the survey were asked to complete a form before the survey was administered indicating their ethnicity, age, occupation, current place of residence (and how long they have lived there), residence from the age of 4-14, and any other languages they know. This information was used to delineate the participants in to three different age groups: young-19-29, middle-30-49, old-50-57. Labov (1998) suggested that over time stressed been was changing in to a mood marker, and these age groups provided a sample to test this claim. Fourteen participants completed the pilot study, and although the number of participants was relatively small, this group provided enough data to suggest if there were any trends in the responses according to different social categories. This group was also helpful in identifying the design issues of the questionnaire, which were later revised.

The participants were all current residents, or past residents, of Brooklyn, NY. They are all members of an active and close-knit congregation. The church members meet several times a week for various functions and church activities. The survey was administered on a Sunday, after a special mass that was held for the youth in the church

community, therefore church members of all ages were present to take the survey. There

were 4 young participants, 5 middle participants, and 5 old participants. Also, several

family units attend the church together every week providing an additional insights into

the perception of stressed been across generations. In this pilot study a group of non-

African American English speaking participants was not included during the pilot study. In

the follow-up study a control group was included, to get a better sense of how stressed

been may be interpreted differently by AAE speakers versus MUSE speakers.

The intentionally ungrammatical sentence "He been might using the computer" was

excluded from the final results of the pilot study because all of the participants correctly

identified it as ungrammatical. Table 1 shows the total number of sentences that were

marked as casual, annoyed, and ungrammatical according to age. The corresponding

percentages appear in parentheses.

Total Responses of Participants According to Age and Evaluation of Mood (Percentages appear in Parentheses)				
Table 1	Casual	Annoyed	Ungrammatical	Total Responses
Young	26 (72%)	6 (17%)	4 (11%)	36
Middle	26 (55%)	20 (43%)	1 (2%)	47
Old	20 (43%)	14 (30%)	12 (33%)	46

The middle age group (29-46 years) had the highest percentage of sentences in

which the speaker is interpreted as being annoyed compared to the other age groups,

whereas the youngest age group (19-23 years) had least amount of sentences interpreted

as annoyed. The older age group (50-57 years) had the highest percentage of sentences interpreted as ungrammatical compared to the other age groups. Figure 1 below compares the percentage of sentences interpreted as casual, annoyed, and ungrammatical according to the three different age groups. The older group is generally interprets the speaker's sentences as being ungrammatical.

Figure 1:
Breakdown of Sentence Interpretation
Percentages According to Age Group
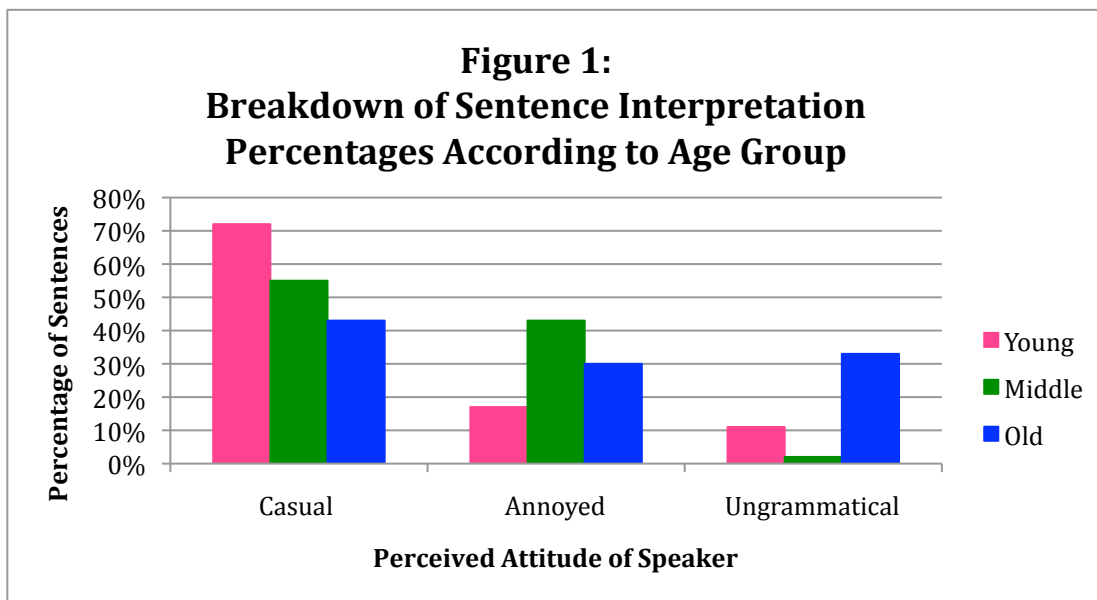
The judgments of the participants are fairly cohesive, however, as individuals there was some variation. Figure 2 demonstrates a slight difference in the cohesiveness of the various groups. The young group is close together on the low end of graph that indicated the total sentences they felt the speaker was annoyed, while the middle group is more spread out, but most of the middle group is above 40%. The younger group generally interprets the speaker's sentences as being less annoyed. The 29 year old is the son of the 50 year old (father), and the 52 year old (mother). The results of this family unit illustrate how the difference of interpretation is occurring across generations, even within the same family. The son's interpretations of the speaker's sentences are much closer to his mother's

interpretations than his father's interpretations, but he still remains within the range of his

age group.

Figure 2: Each Individual's Percentage of Sentences Interpreted as Annoyed According to Age
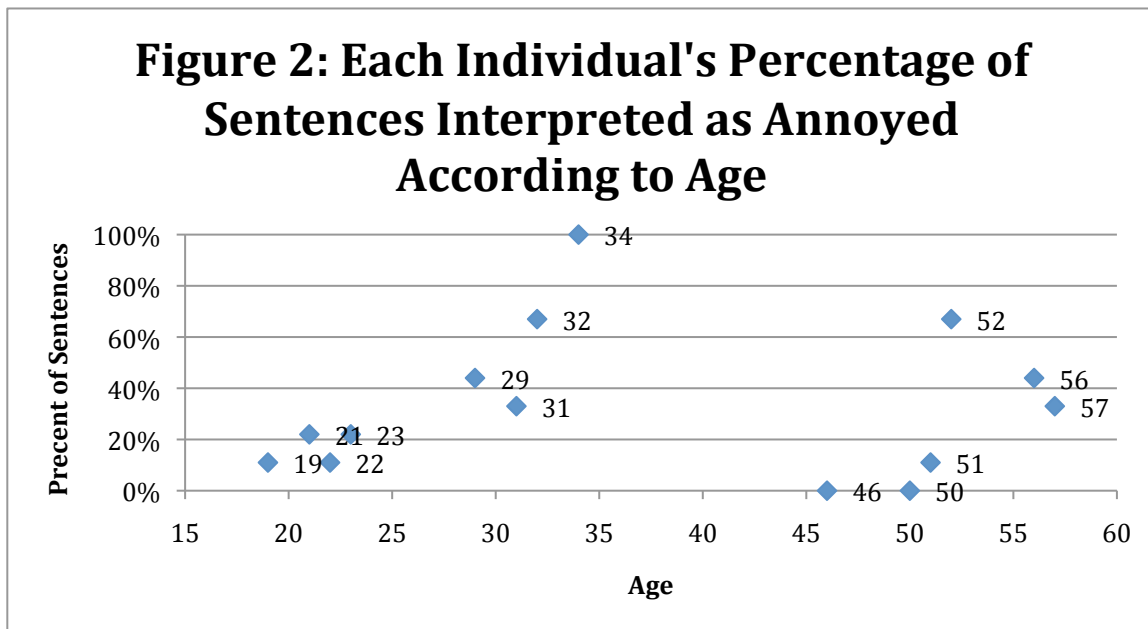
Figure 3 also illustrates the similarities between the mother and son of this family

unit. While most of these responses are clustered according to age, the one person from the

middle age group who judged more sentences to be ungrammatical is the 29 year old son of

the 50 year old father and 52 year old mother. Here there definitely seems to be an

influence from his parents' judgments on the grammaticality of the sentences, but he still

stays relatively close to his age group. The outlier in the young group wasn't related to

anyone else who participated in the survey, but her high rate of ungrammatical judgments

could be connected to the language use of her family members. This could be confirmed by

having her family members participate in the survey to compare the results.

Figure 3: Each Individual's Percentage of Sentences Interpreted as Ungrammatical According to Age
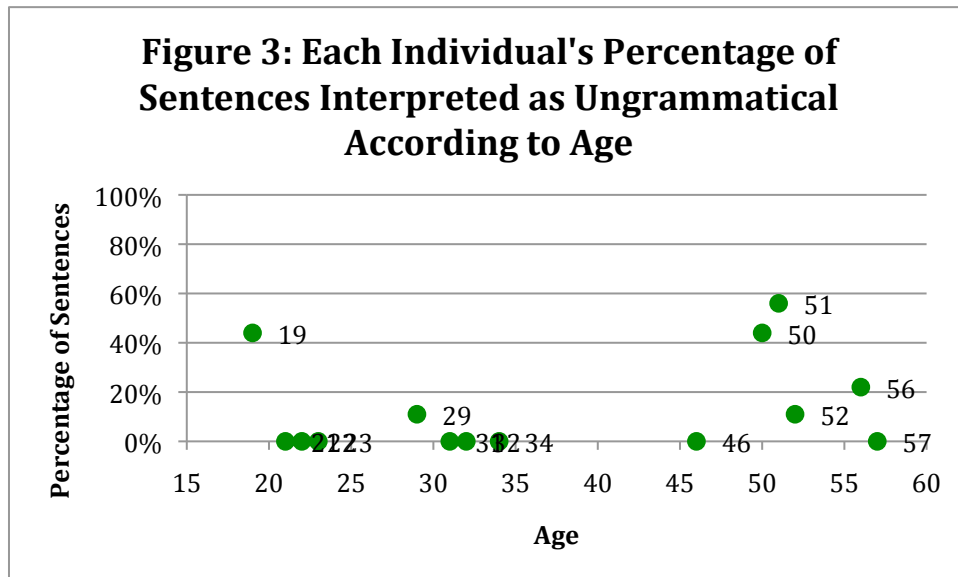
The sentences that the older age group found overwhelmingly ungrammatical were the sentences "She [bIn] watching TV" and "He [bIn] sitting there". These sentences were both marked by 60% of the older age group as ungrammatical, while no one in the young or the middle groups found these to be ungrammatical.

One of the older male participants wrote under the first sentence "I hear this way of speaking from movies or TV. This is not what I normally hear when speaking with others". Despite this he didn't go on to mark every sentence as ungrammatical, so it is possible that he simply acknowledges it as a way younger people speak, or perhaps even a way African Americans are represented by the media. An older female participant indicated in the margins of the survey that she felt these sentences contained bad grammar, however, similarly to the other participant she did not identify every sentence as ungrammatical. So while these speakers may not approve of this way of talking, it is obvious that they do recognize it and understand it when they hear it.

The judgments of the sentence containing passive been "She been cleaning her room", was overwhelming marked as casual. This was expected because "She been cleaning

her room" was intentionally included because of its positive sentential context. The age groups broke down as such: young-3 out of 4, middle-4 out of 5, and old-3 out of 5. Another sentence that it compared to was the sentence, "He [bIn] going to church" (young-4 out of 4, middle-4 out of 5, old-3 out of 5). This makes sense if you consider the community that was used in this survey. Since they are all very active members of a church (and the survey was actually given out after a service) it would be very unusual for a member of this community to construe this as something negative. Another sentence with a high percentage of causal interpretations was "He [bIn] working there", (young-4 out of 4, middle-4 out of 5, old-3 out of 5). This seems to fit in with the general idea that having a job for a long period of time is a good thing, although the interpretations of this sentence as casual did go down with age.

The sentence that provided the most negative judgments across all of the age groups was actually not the intentionally negative sentence created for that purpose. The intentionally negative sentence was "He [bIn] cheating on his wife". None of the young participants gave this sentence a negative judgment, while 4 of the 5 middle participants and 3 out of 5 of the old participants found the speaker to be annoyed. This could be a case where the age of the participant may be influencing the judgments. If the younger participants have never been married or have never been in a committed relationship it might not contain the same negative context for them. As it turned out, "He [bIn] talking on the phone" was the sentence that all the age groups found the speaker was most annoyed. It was marked annoyed by 2 out of 4 of the young participants, 4 out of 5 of the middle participants, and 4 out of 5 of the old participants. This could be because it is more relatable to all of the speakers, but the sentences with that were most often interpreted as

'annoyed' usually pertained to technology or a particular object. It is quite possible that when stressed been is used in reference to an item another person may want to use, or something that someone has to pay for based on the amount of time you use it (like a phone bill), the reference to an extended period of time and that item could carry a negative judgment.

Looking at the individual sentences used in the survey provides valuable insight into the various effects that the sentential environment has on stressed been. Even the slightest context of a sentence can influence whether or not it is marked as a negative sentence. This doesn't necessarily disclaim the idea that stressed plays a role in those negative judgments, but sentential context definitely seems to take precedence in terms of eliciting a negative judgment.

The next level of analysis for the pilot study is in regards to whether or not the interpretations of stressed been are changing over time. Scholars have predicted that the interpretations of stressed been are becoming more annoyed. According to Spears, "[s]ome of what I call disapproval forms...should be taken as an approximation of the system toward which [AAE] is currently moving" (1990). Figure 4 illustrates the trend over time using the data collected during this pilot study:

Figure 4: Change in Interpretations Over Time According to Age
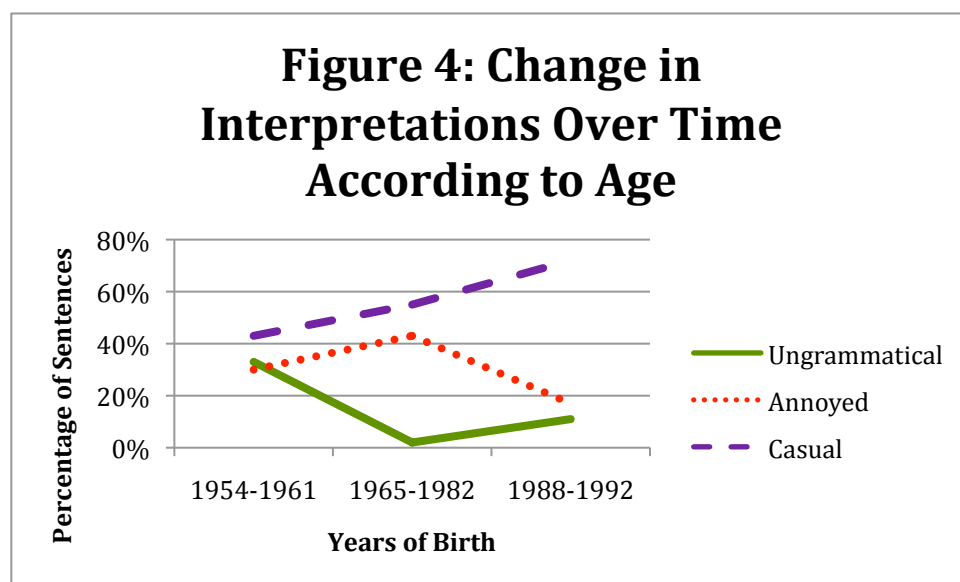
This graph shows that there has been a steady increase in the perception of stressed

been as a casual form versus the perception that the use of stressed been is ungrammatical.

One aspect of this graph worth noting is the sharp spike in annoyed interpretations by

those born between 1965-1982, and the rapid decline since then. Both Labov and Spears'

papers were published between 1982-1998, which means that they were only able to see

the steady increase of the annoyed interpretations.

The revised survey for this research was expanded to take in to account the issues

that were brought to light during this process. The participants in the pilot study provided

ample feedback to improve the survey and the overall structure of the data collection

4. The Study

Based on the results of the pilot study, there were some changes that needed to be

made to the questionnaire before more data could be collected (see appendix for complete

revised survey). In Fall 2012, I revamped the pilot study, which had several flaws.

Firstly, as Labov illustrated in "Coexistent Systems in African-American English",

stressed is used when someone is reacting to a previous statement or observation (1998).

In the pilot study only one utterance was played in isolation that the participants were

asked to make judgments on. This was problematic in that many participants noted that

their judgment of the sentence could possibly vary depending on the context. While this

issue was mitigated slightly by the fact that participants were forced to chose between two

options, it does not provide an adequate picture of how the marker appears in natural

speech. To remedy this issue, the revised questionnaire contains two speakers having an

exchange for each item to be tested. In the revised questionnaire the first recorded speaker

asks a question, and the second speaker responds to that question with or without

stressed. The purpose of this change is not only to control more for context, but also to provide the participants with a more natural listening experience so that they can then make the most accurate judgment possible.

Secondly, the sentential context of the exchanges is another important issue that was reevaluated for the revised survey. The pilot study attempted to create certain contexts for the participants, for example the intentionally negative sentence "He [bIn] cheating on his wife". As is evident from the results of the pilot study it is difficult to predict what people will consider negative or not. According to Kathryn Campbell-Kibler's research on sociolinguistic perception, "A better approach is to either provide a scenario for context or...collect information from listeners that will illuminate the contextual factors providing for themselves" (2009, 380). For this reason, the revised survey does not contain any 'intentionally negative' or 'intentionally positive' sentences, because it is difficult to control exactly what an individual will perceive as positive or negative based on his or her personal life experiences. Instead, the survey sentences occur in a scenario between two people in order to provide the listeners with context. The finalized revised questionnaire contains 8 sentences with stressed been and 4 sentences with unstressed been.

To address the concerns about sentential context affecting the questionnaire results there was a page requesting demographic information for each of the participants. One main area of concern from a preliminary test of the revised survey is that a parent may evaluate a sentence like "They [bIn] at school" differently than a participant who does not have any children. Therefore on the demographic information form there are questions that ask specifically about the participants marital status and also if they have any children.

Thirdly, besides the construction of the sentences that were used in each question, there is another issue to address in the new study. The recordings that were played for the pilot study did not have consistence intonation for each stressed been. The intonational context can have a major impact on how someone judges an utterance, and there was far too much stress variation in the recordings that were used for the pilot study. This is partly due to the fact that the native speaker who recorded the sentences was not coached directly for the pilot study. Since the speaker who did the recordings for the pilot study is a linguist, she provided the sentences on her own. She recorded each sentence a total of three times, and the researcher extracted the most similar utterances but this is not adequate enough to control for all the possible influences of intonational context. This was not the ideal way to control for the quality of the stress on the word been, and this issue was corrected for the revised questionnaire. New recordings were made with the researcher present and immediate feedback was provided so that the items were as consistent as possible for each speaker. Also, all of the speech was recorded in Praat. The speakers for the revised questionnaire recordings all met together in a quite room and were given scripts to read for each of the exchanges. They were all native speakers of AAE who volunteered to be recorded and were compensated $15 for their participation. During the preliminary test of the revised questionnaire, the recordings were played for a small group of linguists who correctly identified the proper sentences as stressed of unstressed and these sentences were used as the final recordings.

A concern that was unexplored by the pilot study is the issue of gender. Although the possible differences in gender perception is absent from any of the previous literature about mood markers, personal communication with Renee Blake about the structure of the

survey revealed that there is possibly a perceptual difference among male and female listeners of the mood indignation present in mood markers. Some participants in the pilot study claimed that they would be more likely to rate the mood of the speaker as negative if the speaker is female rather than male. This suggestion could have to do with certain stereotypes or perceptions of African American females rather than the mood marker itself. For this reason it was necessary to have both male and a female speakers make the recordings for the revised survey. The recordings were structured so that the exchanges occurred between a male and a male, a female and a female, as well as a male and a female, and a female and a male. The second speaker in each of the exchanges was the one using either stressed or unstressed been, so including all four of these gender variations was necessary. Restructuring the survey in this way provided a more accurate picture as to whether or not participants evaluate female speakers or male speakers differently when using this mood marker. Another change that was made to survey to account for gender influences is that any of the utterances that make reference to people use neutral 'they' instead of 'he' or 'she'. This is to control for any influence of gender on the context of the sentence.

Finally, in regards to gender differences during the pilot study, there were not an equal number of male and female participants. This made it virtually impossible to make any solid observations about gender differences. Having a more balanced number of male and female participants take the survey, along with the new recordings of both male and female speakers will provide a clearer picture of how stressed been and gender are interacting.

The new questionnaire structure controls for sentential context much better, so there is no longer a need to force participants of the survey to choose between two discreet evaluations. Forcing participants to choose between two options was necessary during the preliminary study to discover if there was any correlation between the marker and mood that was worth examining further. Since the pilot study provided an indication that there is a relationship between stressed been and the perception of speaker indignation, a more sophisticated response tool is needed to adequately capture the behavioral intricacy of a mood marker. The pilot study forced participants to choose between discreet categories, but emotion and feelings are difficult to describe in a discreet way, and are more accurately described as a point on a continuum. Having participants rate the mood of the speaker on a scale is the best way to accurately express the intricacy of emotion. Rating a speaker's mood is more appropriately done on a continuum, so the revised survey contains a five-point scale. On this scale 1 is not annoyed at all, 3 is annoyed and 5 is very annoyed. This provides us with a more complete picture of the mood that stressed been is conveying to listeners because it utilizes a wider range of emotion and feeling.

In the pilot study there was a comment section provided for participants to make any observations or remarks regarding the survey. This comment section elicited illuminating responses about the types of people that the participants' thought would use this marker. Some noted that only people who used bad grammar speak this way, while others made note that they feel as though they would only hear this in movies or on TV. The responses in the comment section illustrated the need for more specific questions about the types of people who use mood markers and the situations in which mood markers would appear. If African American English speakers perceive the marker stressed

been as something that is only used in portrayals of African Americans in popular culture versus something that the participants hear during everyday life from friends and family that could mean it is not a prominent feature of African American English, but it is a feature that is used to stereotype the community. Although asking someone directly about their use of a possibly stigmatized language element is very subjective and may not accurately reflect how the person actually speaks, it can still provide very valuable insight in to the person's perceptions and opinions about mood markers. Since this survey is trying to capture how mood markers are actually perceived by native speakers of African American English, this kind of question should still be able to provide relevant observations even if they are highly subjective.

A set of follow up questions for 4 of the recordings address some of the ideas that were brought up in the comment portion of the pilot study. The first is a yes or no question that asks if the participant would ever use the marker. The second question is a multiple choice question that asks in what kind of situation the participant would expect to hear a sentence like the one in the recording. This question is a way of addressing how this marker is perceived in the community. The options for the multiple-choice questions are: at home with family, with friends, uttered by a character in a movie, none of the above. Multiple-choice questions were a necessary revision, because open-ended questions did not elicit cohesive responses from the participants.

The target population for this study is native speakers of African American English because it has been claimed that African American English speakers perceive stressed been as a mood marker. Identifying native speakers can be a complex issue. The pilot study did not adequately address how to identify native speakers of African American English. The

question in the pilot study that attempted to identify whether or not someone was a native

speaker of African American English was intentionally ungrammatical in AAE, but was also

ungrammatical in Mainstream English. This issue in the pilot study was lessened since all of

the participants for the pilot study came from a homogenous speech community, and they

all interacted with each other on a regular basis. However, the revised survey participants

were from a heterogeneous speech community, therefore a more comprehensive test of

African American English competency was a necessity. The revised questionnaire has three

questions that were used to identify a participant's command of African American English.

The questions covered a phonological, a syntactic, and a lexical feature that are identifying

features of African American English. These language questions, observation of the

participants, and communication with African American community contacts, were all

factors in determining whether or not the participants are native speakers of African

American English. Non-AAE speaking participants also participated in the survey; this was

not the case with the pilot study. Non-AAE speaking participants composed the control

group, and they served as a point of comparison for the judgments of African American

English speakers.

   A new aspect of data collection was added to the administration of the revised

survey. The pilot study was conducted in person, with a researcher present to play the

recordings and provide all of the necessary instructions. This dimension of data collection

was maintained in the revised survey, alongside an online survey component. The online

survey component was added so as to reach a larger audience pool when people are able to

take a survey at their own pace, and in the comfort of their home. Another reason to

include an online version of the questionnaire was to establish the presence of a researcher

made any difference on the ratings of the participants. The questionnaire, including the recordings, was entered in to the Qualtrics online survey software, and a link was generated to distribute the survey to more people. While technology can make a researcher's life much easier, it is still important to investigate how it could be affecting the data.

5. RESULTS

The data collection process took three months, after which time there were forty-seven completed surveys. Of these participants, twenty-three identified themselves as Black. The other twenty-four participants identified themselves as a variety of other races and ethnicities, including white, Asian, Middle Eastern, and Latina. In order to determine if stressed been is an actual mood marker in African American English the group was split in to a target group of Black participants, and a control group of non-Black participants.

5.1 Identifying African-American English Speakers

African American English is a dialect and the use of this dialect is not inherently based on phenotype. Not all Black people speak African American English, and everyone who speaks African American English is not necessarily Black. The ability to speak African American English depends on a person's access or exposure to an African American English speech community, not the color of his or her skin. As previously mentioned, the survey contained specific filler questions that targeted a participant's competency in African American English. These filler questions allowed for the proper identification of the target group, which are speakers of African American English.

The competency questions included a speech sound, a syntactic feature, and a lexical item that are prevalent in African American English. The speech sound (see appendix 13)

was the sound that a speaker can make by placing their tongue against his or her teeth to sharply suck in air. In African American English speech communities this sound is called 'suck teeth' and it expresses annoyance or irritation. Seventeen of the twenty-three African American participants identified the speech sound and the mood it expresses. Interestingly, the control group most often referred to this sound as 'tsk', and most of them also defined it as a sound that expresses annoyance or irritation.

The second competency question (see appendix 14) referred to a syntactic feature of African American English known as habitual 'be'. This feature is the same one that I was unable to properly define during my first day at the Summer Dialect Research Program. Only one participant out of the twenty-three participants in the target group did not identify the sentence with the meaning associated with habitual 'be'. Unexpectedly, sixteen of the twenty-four participants in the control group did correctly identify the meaning of the sentence associated with habitual 'be'. Based on these results, it seems as though habitual 'be' has disseminated in to non-African American speaking communities. After one of the group sessions when the survey was administered, a white participant proudly announced to the room that he knew what that phrase meant.

The final African American English competency question referred to a lexical item (see appendix 15). The word kitchen in African American English has two meanings, the first is the traditional meaning of a place where one cooks and eats. The second meaning refers to the unruly hair on the nape of the neck. Seventeen of the twenty-three target group participants identified this second meaning correctly, while only two of the twenty-four control group were able to identify the second meaning.

Based on the results of these competency tests, four participants results were excluded from the final analysis of this research. Three of these participants were from the target group, who failed to correctly answer two of the three competency questions. One of these participants was excluded from the control group, because she was able to correctly answer two of the three competency questions. Their results were analyzed separately and compared to the results of the other participants.

5.2 Total Numbers Included in Analysis

After taking in to consideration the African American English competency test, the final numbers for the target and control groups were solidified for the analysis of the data. There were a total of twenty participants in the target group (Black African American English speakers), twelve of these participants completed the survey in person and eight of them completed it online. The control group was comprised of twenty-three participants (non-Black non-African American English speakers), eight of these participants completed the survey in person, and twelve completed it online.

6. ANALYSIS

The results of both the in person and online survey's were first recorded in Excel, and later exported to IBM SPSS Statistics so the significance of the data could be calculated. After the data was coded for each variable, statistical tests were run to compare the significance of each variable.

6.1 Influence of Stress

In order to analyze if stressed been is an actual mood marker in African American English, it was crucial to know whether or not there was a perceived difference in the mood or attitude of a speaker using stressed been and a speaker using unstressed been. If the

average rating of annoyance for the sentences containing stressed been and the sentences containing unstressed been were the same, this would call into question that stressed been is a mood marker. Therefore, it was essential to see if the stress on this marker has any effect on the rating of annoyance for both the control and target group.

The mean ratings of annoyance of the sentences containing stressed been were compared to the mean ratings of the sentences containing unstressed been. Figure 8 demonstrates that the mean rating of annoyance for stressed been is higher than for unstressed been.

Figure 8: Mean Ratings of Sentences with Stress Vs Unstressed Sentences For All Participants
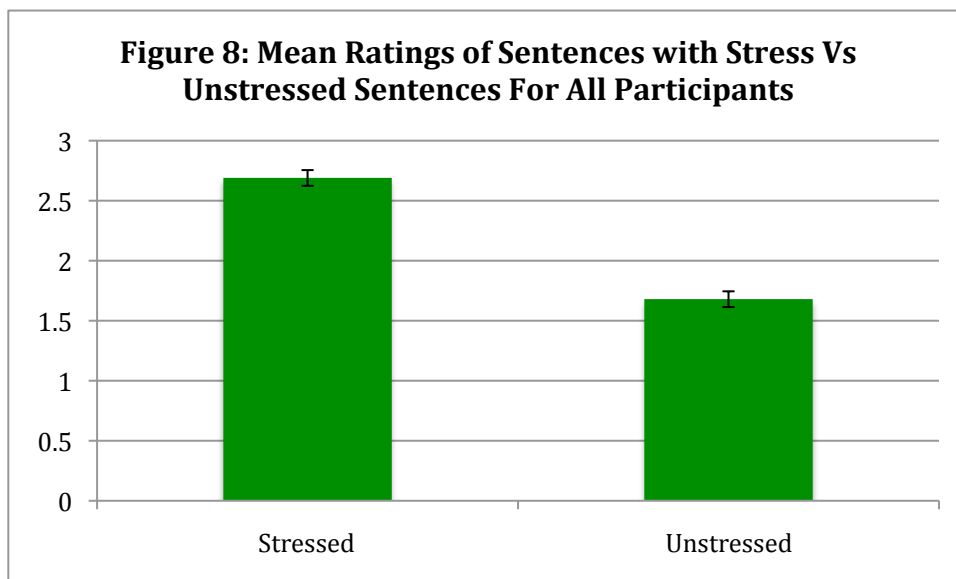
According to the 5 point rating system, a rating of 1 meant that the speaker was not annoyed, a rating of 3 meant the speaker was annoyed, and a rating of 5 meant the speaker was very annoyed. These results show that the sentences containing stressed been had a mean rating closer to 'annoyed', and the unstressed sentences had a mean rating closer to 'not annoyed'. While it is clear that there is a difference in these ratings, an Independent T-Test was run through SPSS to determine if the difference in these means was significant.

Table 3 below depicts the results of the Independent T-Test, which show that there is a significant difference in rating of annoyance between sentences containing stressed been and sentences containing unstressed. Since these results only take into account the variable of stress, these significance ratings indicate that everyone who completed the survey, from both the target group and the control group are able to identify a difference in mood or attitude according to the stress of the sentence.

Table 3: Significance Test for Ratings of Stressed Sentences Versus Unstressed Sentences									
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
	Rating	33.586	.000	9.769	513	.000	1.013	.104	.810	1.217

6.2 Impact of African American English

Based on the results above, the stress component of stressed been can indicate to listeners that a speaker is annoyed, regardless of the listeners' ethnicity of dialect. The main goal of this research is to determine if stressed been can be classified as a mood marker in African American English. This requires comparing the average rating of annoyance for the target group of African American English speakers to the average rating of annoyance of the control group. If stressed been is a mood marker in African American English, there would be a significant difference between the mean ratings of the target group and the control group.

Figure 9 illustrates that the target group of African American English speakers, on average, interprets sentences containing stressed been as slightly less annoyed than non-

African American English speakers. However, both groups have ratings that cluster slightly under a rating of 3, which was labeled as 'annoyed'.

Figure 9: Mean Sentence Ratings of Target Group Vs Control Group
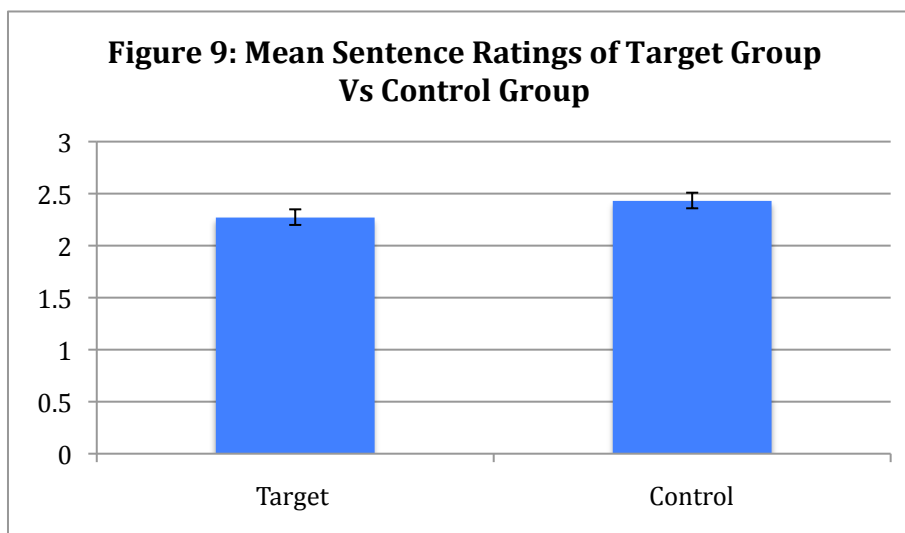
The results of the African American English competency questions in the survey provided an opportunity to compare the ratings of the target and control groups with the ratings of the participants that were excluded from the final analysis. The average of the three participants excluded from the target group was 2.36, which is slightly closer to the average rating of the control group. The average of the single participant excluded from the control group had an average rating of 2.27, which was slightly closer to the average rating of the control group.

An Independent T-Test was preformed comparing the ratings of the control group and the ratings of the target group for all of the sentences in the survey. Table 4 illustrates the results of this test, in which the difference between the average ratings of annoyance for the control group and the target group were found to be not significant. These results provide insight in to the issue of classifying stressed *been* as a mood marker in African American English. According to these results, African American English speakers and Mainstream English speakers perceive stressed *been* to carry the similar levels of mood.

Table 4: Significance Test for Ratings of Sentences between Target Group Versus Control Group									
	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
Rating	.321	.571	-1.535	513	.125	-.163	.106	-.373	.046

Since an Independent T Test can only take in to account one independent variable, the results above demonstrate that there is not a significant difference between the ratings of the control group and the target group for sentences containing both stressed and unstressed been. A Univariate test was run to compare the two independent categories: stressed versus unstressed, and target versus control. As Table 5 demonstrates, there is no significant interaction (.354) between these variables. This means that there is no significant difference in the way the target and control groups were rating the stressed and unstressed sentences.

Table 5: Significance for Rating Considering Stress Versus Unstressed and Target Group Versus Control Group

Dependent Variable: Rating

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	121.919[a]	3	40.640	33.171	.000
Intercept	2160.175	1	2160.175	1763.186	.000
Target_Control	2.033	1	2.033	1.660	.198
Stressed_Un	115.167	1	115.167	94.002	.000
Target_Control * Stressed_Un	1.055	1	1.055	.861	.354
Error	626.054	511	1.225		
Total	3605.000	515			
Corrected Total	747.973	514			

While the results above clearly indicate that stressed been is conveying the same mood or attitude to speakers of both African American English speakers and Mainstream

English speakers, it is also important to consider how often this feature might appear in African American English versus Mainstream English.

The participants were asked whether or not they would use a phrase like the recorded sentences they heard containing stressed been (see appendix 1). Seventy-three percent of the target group claimed that they would say a sentence similar to the sentence they heard containing stressed been. However, forty-eight percent of the control group indicated that they would use a sentence like the one they heard containing stressed been. It is important to consider that someone's direct judgments about their own speech is not always the most accurate representation of what they would or would not say. However, the drastic difference in these percentages indicate that the general use of stressed been is still more common among speakers of African American English, even though the control group and the target group interpret it as carrying a similar mood.

6.3 Significance of Gender

There has been a theory suggested by Renee Blake that there may be a link between the rating of annoyance and gender, and that there is a common stereotype in society of the 'angry Black female'. Although the pilot study for this research was not designed to adequately address how gender could be influencing the evaluations of sentences containing stressed been. The revised study was designed to provide more insight in to the influence of a listener's gender, and also the gender of the speaker.

The results of the Independent T-Tests in relation to a listener's gender indicated that there is not a difference between how men and women perceive these sentences. Figure 10 displays the average rating of annoyance for female participants was 2.36, and the average mean rating of annoyance for male participants was 2.33. Table 9 shows that

there was no significance in the difference between the ratings of male and female

participants.

Figure 10: Mean Sentence Rating of Female Participans Vs Male Participants
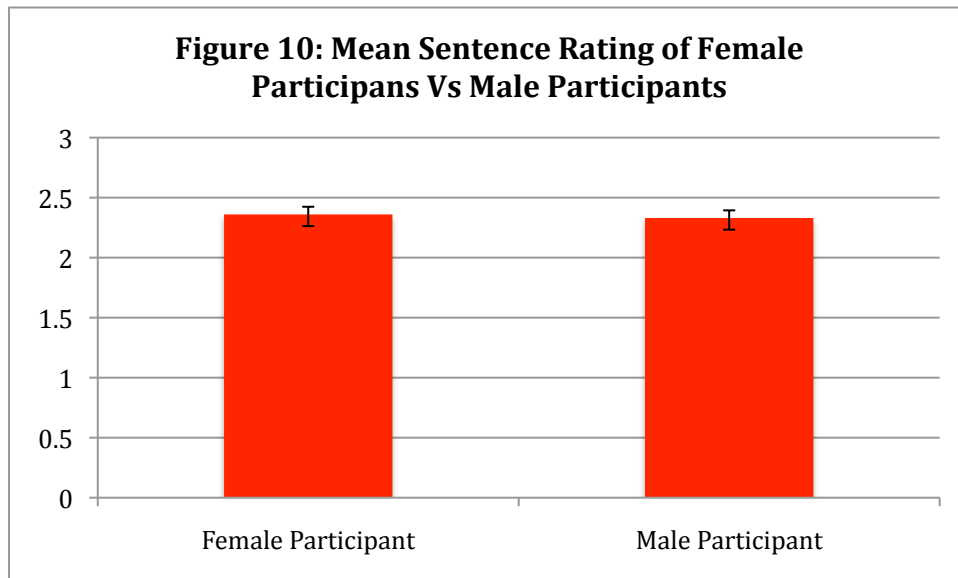
The gender of each speaker for the recorded sentences was deliberately varied in

order to determine if there were any possible relationship between a speaker's gender and

the rate of annoyance. Figure 11 illustrates that the difference between the ratings of

annoyance when the speaker was female, as opposed to when the speaker was male. Table

6 demonstrates that this difference is statistically significant. According to these results,

listeners were more likely to perceive an utterance as annoyed if the speaker is female.

Figure 11: Mean Sentence Rating of Recording Using Female Speaker Vs Male Speaker

Table 6: Significance Test For Ratings of Sentences Using Female Speaker Versus Male Speaker									
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
	Rating	17.552	.000	4.905	513	.000	.510	.104	.306	.714

7. DISCUSSION

Based on the statistical analysis of the data that was collected, several claims can be made about the perception of stressed been. The first of these claims is that stress has some effect on the perception of a speaker's mood or attitude. The results suggest that this is true whether the listener is a speaker of African American English or not.

The second claim that can be made based on the results of this study is that speakers of African American English and non-African American English speakers do not distinguish the tone of stressed been differently. Both groups interpret phrases containing stressed been to have a very similar mood, which is slightly below annoyed. However, the results demonstrate that although both groups perceive the conveyed mood to be similar, African American English speakers are more likely to identify that they would use it in their own speech.

The final claims about this data concern gender. While the gender of a listener has no influence over the perceived mood of stressed been, the speaker's gender does. If a female speaker is using stressed been, the average rate of annoyance increases a significant amount. Participants in this study on average perceived female speakers as more annoyed than male speakers using the same stressed been. This is despite the fact that each

utterance was carefully controlled for sentential context, and the ratio of utterances with male and female speakers was controlled.

8. FURTHER RESEARCH

The results of this research show that there is a relationship between stress, gender, and the African American English dialect. This research provides a solid background for the discussion of stressed been as a mood marker, but it can still be improved and expanded to provide a fuller picture of the behavior of stressed been and the role it plays in African American English.

The first element to expanding this research is to provide more advanced statistical analysis. Independent T-Tests and Univariate models worked well to describe the relationship between the most essential variables in this study, but more complex Multivariate analysis is necessary to see how all of these factors are interacting.

Multivariate statistical analysis would show how multiple variables interact within this analytical framework. More advanced statistical analysis would also reveal if there any of the participants were rating sentences in the beginning of the survey more annoyed than at the end of the survey, which would suggest that participants were learning the task as they took the survey. A cursory look at the results of the paper surveys suggest that participants rated the sentences they heard first at a higher level of annoyance than the sentence they heard last. The online version of the survey attempted to account for this possible influence by randomizing the order of the recordings, but in order to analyze these together more advance statistical analysis is required.

Future research is also necessary to determine the exact relationship between annoyance, stress, and the marker 'been'. While the evidence from this research suggests

that stress is the main influence on participants' perception of annoyance, in order to provide more concrete evidence, other words need to be tested. The current research shows that there is a noticeable difference between stressed been and unstressed been, testing other words with and without stress would illuminate whether stressed been has a unique behavior, or the ratings of annoyance are based solely on the stress.

Another area for future study that requires more advance statistical analysis is the effect of completing the survey in person, or completing the survey online. Online surveys and questionnaires are becoming increasingly popular as a data collection method in linguistics. Online survey building tools, such as Qualtrics, make composing a survey extremely easy with a variety of different formatting options. From a data collection perspective, online surveys have an advantage in that participants can take the survey in the comfort of their own home, and the researcher can access a variety of different communities. These methods also make data analysis simple, since the results of these surveys can be exported directly in to statistical analysis software.

However, after using both in person surveys and online surveys there are distinct benefits and disadvantages to each method. The in-person survey allows the researcher the opportunity to watch the reactions of the participants as they completed the survey and interact with each other. It also allows the research to monitor the number and kind of participants completing the survey. When using online surveys there is a lot of waiting and uncertainty in the number of people that will participate. There is no guarantee that if a survey is sent to a hundred people that any of them will feel inclined to fill it out. No matter which method is used, it is important to be mindful of how the difference between the

online and in person surveys can influence the results of a study. Further exploration of this research would require more analysis on this subject.

9. CONCLUSION

I was drawn to this marker because of its novelty. The notion that a speaker's mood could be indexed by a grammatical function fascinated the linguist in me. I wasn't convinced by the arguments in the limited literature on mood markers in African American English that stressed been was following that model. And so, this research grew out of my curiosity, and my naivety.

The day I completed my first rudimentary questionnaire at the Summer Dialect Research Program, my friends in the program insisted on helping administer the test to a group of African American students who were participating in a men's basketball program. They also happened to live on the floor above us in the residence hall, and the girls wanted to use the questionnaire as a way to strike up a conversation, with the hope that some of the boys would be interested in hanging out. So, a pack of us went upstairs and the boldest girls in the group knocked on their door. Two African American boys who lived in the room opened the door and after introducing themselves, the girls politely asked if they would like to help us out by answering a few questions about African American English.

"What is *that* supposed to mean? African American English?" one of the guys replied. The atmosphere, which had at first been one of mild curiosity quickly became defensive tension, and as the startled girls began to explain some of the features of African American English we had learned about during the program one of the guys cut her off to say, "People talking like that are *ignorant*!"

To this day I still regret standing in the background during this conversation, turning as red as a tomato afraid that one of them would call me out as the author of the questionnaire and the only white person in the group. I am still ashamed that I did nothing to defend my own project. Luckily one of the graduate students of the program was there to mitigate the situation, but since then I learned not to refer to the dialect as African American English to potential survey participants.

But I learned something else through that experience. In linguistics, researchers often create surveys, find participants, and share the results with the linguistic community. But often times, we are unable or unwilling to share our findings with the rest of the world. The communities that provide the rich data we need to make defend our theories deserve to benefit from our research. The boys reacted so negatively because they have only seen the way language and linguistic knowledge can be used to marginalize an entire population.

This research has been fueled for the past two years by my desire to use this linguistic information to help eliminate the stigma around African American English and the discriminatory policies that marginalize the populations that speak this dialect. There are unfair testing policies in schools that incorrectly label students that speak African American English as being learning disabled. There are teachers who are ignorant to the differences between Standard English and other dialects, like I was, and are unable to provide the learning environment that the students need and deserve.

The first step in eliminating these discriminatory policies and destructive stereotypes is providing a comprehensive linguistic description of how this dialect behaves. All of the research done on African American English provides evidence to bolster the argument that this dialect is systematic, rule based, and linguistically creative. It is a robust

dialect and speakers of African American English are not just speaking 'improper English' because they 'don't know any better'.

The next necessary step is to share this knowledge with those outside of the linguistic community. The information available on African American English needs to be shared with educators, testing agencies, and policymakers. My hope is that as the results of this study contribute to the growing body of research on African American English, they will also be used to demonstrate that because a dialect is different from the standard variety, it is not inherently defective or substandard.

Appendix

Below is a copy of the questions used in the survey. The sentences that were recorded appear before each question. An 'F' before the sentence means it was read by a female, an 'M' means it was read by a male. Stressed been can be identified in each sentence because they appear in bold. Any 'been' not in bold is an unstressed.

F: Is the cake done?
F: The cake **been** done.
1. *Listen to Recording 1, and answer the 3 questions below*

    Rate the mood of second speaker on the scale below:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all annoyed		Annoyed		Very Annoyed

    Would you ever say a sentence like the one said by second speaker? (circle one)

                Yes   No

    In which situation would you expect to hear this type of sentence?
    a. At home with family
    b. With friends
    c. Uttered by a character in a movie
    d. None of the above

M: Is the game on?
M: The game **been** on.
2. *Listen to Recording 2, and answer the 3 questions below*

    Rate the mood of second speaker on the scale below:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all annoyed		Annoyed		Very Annoyed

    Would you ever say a sentence like the one said by second speaker? (circle one)

                Yes   No

    In which situation would you expect to hear this type of sentence?
    a. At home with family
    b. With friends
    c. Uttered by a character in a movie
    d. None of the above

M: Did they go to bed?
F: They **been** in bed.
3. *Listen to Recording 3, and answer the question below*

Rate the mood of second speaker on the scale below:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all annoyed		Annoyed		Very Annoyed

M: Are the pizzas here?
F: The pizzas **been** here.
4. *Listen to Recording 4, and answer the question below*

Rate the mood of second speaker on the scale below:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all annoyed		Annoyed		Very Annoyed

F: Did they just go outside?
M: They **been** outside.
5. *Listen to Recording 5, and answer the question below*

Rate the mood of second speaker on the scale below:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all annoyed		Annoyed		Very Annoyed

F: Are the gifts wrapped?
F: The been wrapped.
6. *Listen to Recording 6, and answer the question below*

Rate the mood of second speaker on the scale below:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all annoyed		Annoyed		Very Annoyed

M: Did you just get home?
M: I **been** home.
7. *Listen to Recording 7, and answer the question below*

Rate the mood of second speaker on the scale below:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all annoyed		Annoyed		Very Annoyed

F: Are the clothes dry?
F: They **been** dry.
8. *Listen to Recording 8, and answer the 3 questions below*

Rate the mood of second speaker on the scale below:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all annoyed		Annoyed		Very Annoyed

Would you ever say a sentence like the one said by second speaker? (circle one)
      Yes   No

In which situation would you expect to hear this type of sentence?
a. At home with family
b. With friends
c. Uttered by a character in a movie
d. None of the above

F: Did someone wash the dishes?
M: The dishes been washed.
9. *Listen to Recording 9, and answer the 3 questions below*

Rate the mood of second speaker on the scale below:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all annoyed		Annoyed		Very Annoyed

Would you ever say a sentence like the one said by second speaker? (circle one)
      Yes   No

In which situation would you expect to hear this type of sentence?
a. At home with family
b. With friends
c. Uttered by a character in a movie
d. None of the above

M: Is my mail here?
M: Your mail been here.
10. *Listen to Recording 10, and answer the question below*

Rate the mood of second speaker on the scale below:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all annoyed		Annoyed		Very Annoyed

F: Are they at school?
M: They **been** at school.
11. *Listen to Recording 11, and answer the 4 questions below*

Rate the mood of second speaker on the scale below:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all annoyed		Annoyed		Very Annoyed

M: Are the neighbors here?
F: The neighbors been here.
12. *Listen to Recording 12, and answer the question below*

Rate the mood of second speaker on the scale below:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all annoyed		Annoyed		Very Annoyed

F: Recording of 'suck teeth' sound

13. *Listen to the speech sound and answer the question below*

      a. Does this sound have a name, if so what is it?

      b. If yes, what does it express?

M: She be cooking the best lasagna

14. *Listen to the sentence and answer the following question.*

      Which of these best expresses what the speaker is saying?
      a. She cooked the best lasagna.
      b. She is cooking the best lasagna.
      c. She cooks the best lasagna all the time.
      d. I don't know

15. Does the word kitchen have more than one meaning?
   List all that you know and could ever use.

Bibliography

African-American English : Structure, History, and use. London ; New York : Routledge, 1998.

Print.

Campbell-Kibler, Kathryn. "The Sociolinguistic Variant as a Carrier of Social Meaning."

Language Variation and Change 22.3 (2010): 423-41.

Green, Lisa J. *African American English: a Linguistic Introduction*. Cambridge [etc.:

Cambridge UP, 2002. Print.

Labov, William. 1998. *Co-existent systems in African American vernacular English*. In S.

Mufwene, J. Rickford, G. Bailey and J. Baugh (eds), The Structure of African-American

English: Structure, History and Use. London and New York: Routledge. Pp. 110 – 53

Moody, Simanique Davette. "Language Contact and Regional Variation in African American

English : A Study of Southeast Georgia." (2011)Print.

Sociocultural and Historical Contexts of African American English. Amsterdam ; Philadelphia:

John Benjamins Pub. Co, 2001. Print.

Spears, Arthur K. 1990. *The grammaticalization of disapproval in Black American English*. In

R.Rieber (ed) CUNYForum: Papers in Linguistics 15 (1 & 2), 30-44. New York:

Linguistics Department, The Graduate School, CUNY.

Spears, Arthur K. 1982. The Black English Semi-Auxiliary *Come. Language 58.4:850-72.*