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ABSTRACT

The product of a two-year study investigating the literacy behavior of nine kindergarten students and their classmates, this report first explains the impetus and the theoretical foundations for the investigation and describes its subjects and setting. It then presents the methodology and the data collected from several related studies: (1) observer-child interviews that elicited information on students' general knowledge about written language; (2) observations of and discussions with the nine case study children as they first told, then dictated, then wrote two versions of an event; (3) records of students' efforts to adapt their writing to adult and child readers; (4) observations of children's writing on a recently shared event; (5) end-of-the-year interviews investigating general writing knowledge; and (6) two follow up studies on the children's reading and writing progress in the first grade. After analyzing the data, the report produced a number of conclusions, including the following: literacy develops prior to conventional reading and writing, all children do not follow the same developmental sequence in learning to read and write, and the teacher's model of literacy has important implications for children's development. Extensive appendixes contain copies of testing instruments and transcripts of observer-child interviews. (MM)

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Beginning Readers' Developing Knowledges

About Written Language

BRDKAWL PROJECT 1980-82

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

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Susan Anderson

Beverly Cox

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For the Period

September 1980 - August 1982

National Institute of Education

Grant No. NIE-G-80-0176

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BEGINNING READERS' DEVELOPING KNOWLEDGES ABOUT WRITTEN LANGUAGE

FINAL REPORT

The BRDKAWL Project 1980-82

Principal Investigator

Elizabeth Sulzby

Research Assistants

Susan Anderson

Beverly Cox

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Elizabeth Sulzby

1982

To Mitchell, Kiran, and Mom

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During 1980-82, four researchers, a teacher, and 24 kindergarten children worked together to try to reveal a picture of the knowledges about written language that children in a modern literate community may bring to public school with them prior to formal instruction. I am particularly indebted to the other research team members, Susan Anderson, Beverly Cox, and Beverly Otto; to the teacher whom we call "Miriam Kendall"; and to the children. In addition to the children, we thank the parents, the first-grade teachers, staff, and principal at our host school. Unfortunately, these names are not available for publication but they are indelibly printed in my memory.

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Chapter One

Introduction to BRDKAWL

or

A Lesson in Perception

In 1980 Glenda L. Bissex published a book titled GNYS AT WRK, taking her title from a sign her son Paul had posted above the workbench in his "office." Paul was a little over five and a half at the time and had started writing early in his fifth year using a system Charles Read (1970, 1975) and Carol Chomsky (1971) call "invented spelling." At five Paul's "writing" was advanced enough to be deciphered by an adult who knew that children write using such a system. Paul's entire message was DO NAT DSTRB GNYS AT WRK. Bissex describes Paul's writing at that time as having a theme of independence, and perhaps of territory:

DO.NAT KM.IN.ANE.MOR.JST.LETL.KES

(Do not come in anymore. Just little kids.) (p. 23)

In 1979 I began a research project called "Beginning Readers' Developing Knowledges About Written Language." This project became BRDKAWL, for short, on examiners' manuals, protocols, clipboards, tape recorders, file folders, and the like. I always had trouble remembering the initials but it was easier to run through the name to get the initials than to write out the whole title. Approximately a year later a friend asked me how I chose BRDKAWL as a title--what child had invented it? What was its significance?

That, dear reader, was the first time I had tried to pronounce BRDKAWL, which was, for me just a set of initials. For my friend to whom I had been explaining young children's writing attempts, it was a child's word and easily "decode-able." When I began to view the letters through my friend's perceptive eyes, I quit having to say the title, "Beginning Readers' Developing Knowledges About Written Language," whenever I forgot the order of the letters in the "abbreviation" BRDKAWL.

This is a lesson in perception. Had a five-year-old or six-year-old written BRDKAWL on a piece of paper, I'd have easily read it, judged it to be high level invented spelling, and probably asked the child about the rest of the story that went along with the first word, BRDKAWL. Maybe I'd have used the prompt of Miriam Kendall, the kindergarten teacher whom you will meet in Chapter Three of this report: "Corey, what an intriguing start! What about BRDKAWL? Don't leave me hanging! Let me know the rest!"

In contrast to my friend, I had made the perceptual decision that the "word" BRDKAWL wasn't a "word," because I hadn't intended it as one. In the hypothetical case of my thinking that it was written by a child, I would have made the decision that the letters were to be sounded out in order, maybe filled in with a few that children assimilate to surrounding letters, and then converted to alphabetic equivalents via the system which Read (1970; 1975) described in his research.

Of course, neither interpretation should stand without checking

to learn the intentions of the composer. The interpreter, or reader, needs a model that includes both himself or herself and the composer, or writer, in order to deal with the ambiguity of BRDKAWL (or of any piece of writing). BRDKAWL or GNYS AT WRK or CAT or DOG must be perceived, not just received.

This final report to the National Institute of Education is about perceptions, those of adults looking at and listening to children, and of the children themselves; it is about the theories that guide those perceptions. In particular, it is about the early development of literacy.

Curiosity

The report is about curiosity--my own curiosity to investigate for myself how children become able to read and write. I was curious about the big picture, not just about spelling or handwriting or reading words or learning letter names. I wanted to study the child as reader and writer simultaneously so that I could explore the child's model of the reader/writer relationship. Within this undertaking I wanted to see if--or how--the oral language/written language distinctions we think exist are perceived by the child as s/he advances in literacy knowledge. Finally, I was curious about learning by human beings in general, and literacy development is an important and broad area of human learning.

The Basis of the Curiosity

When Charles Read and Carol Chomsky began to study children's early writing, before instruction, using invented spellings, they were

uncovering phenomena that were not perceptible to most of us; we didn't know that the phenomena of different kinds of rule-based spellings or phonetical categories existed in young children's behaviors. Years earlier, Gertrude Hildreth (1936) had discovered that young children who were brought to her office for mental examinations could scribble forms that looked like their names and that as the children increased in age, without instruction, the children's "signatures" became more and more like the printed or adult-written name. When Hildreth noted that these attempts showed abstraction of principles of writing rather than imitation, she was uncovering a phenomenon that most of us wouldn't have perceived. Similarly, when Marie Clay (1967; 1972) began studying how children match finger, voice, and print in attempting to read she was opening new areas to our perception of children's literacy development. This report is based upon research motivated by curiosity about an area that is just now beginning to be perceived. Thus the curiosity is based upon a changing, or emerging, data base about literacy in young children.

Though it is true that there is a surge of research in early literacy development currently, due in part to advances in linguistics and psychology, Hildreth's 1936 statement about early writing continues to describe the current state of knowledge about early literacy in all its forms:

The concept of writing as a developmental process in preschool age children is comparatively new. (p. 291)

The Cause of the Curiosity

There seems to be a point, at least for some children, at which the child has an "a-ha" or a discovery about reading or writing. I wanted to investigate the point at which a child discovers that s/he can read. (I'll explain later why "the point at which a child discovers that she can write" seemed to pose a different question.)

In describing the BRDKAWL project in research proposals like the one funded by NIE, I edited "the point at which a child discovers that s/he can read" to a more prosaically-worded description: "the transition from pre-reading to reading." In spite of the wording, my curiosity was still about how it is that a child changes from not thinking that s/he is a reader to thinking that s/he is a reader, and in particular that point at which I as an adult would agree that the child is reading from print. Involved in the question was the child's growing awareness of himself/herself as a writer.

When is a Child Reading?

It's probably true that people are "reading" whenever they put an interpretation on something. We say that we read peoples' facial expressions or body language. We say that a parent reads the meaning of a baby's cry. We may even say that a 12 to 18 month old child is reading when s/he babbles to a book, using a stream of sounds with an intonation curve that sounds like reading. We say that a three year old is reading when s/he sits down and recites a story to the book held upside down and/or backward. All of these behaviors are legitimately "reading" and may have important relationships to

learning to read in the more conventional sense.

Rather than explore these relationships, we tend to ignore many of these kinds of behaviors when we do research or plan instruction in reading. We have a more specialized definition, perhaps tagged "really reading," that means that the child is reading "from print." That definition is also probably guided by adult perceptions, without comparison with information from the child's perceptions.

When we switch into our formal "real reading" definitional format, we tend to label a child using terms like "pre-reading," or "not reading yet," or "in readiness," or a "beginning reader," or "reading." Teachers have such categories and so do parents, particularly when they think of their child in relation to school. Researchers, too, have such categories and sometimes reserve certain kinds of research until children are reading at a certain level of proficiency. Some kinds of knowledge, particularly "comprehension," aren't investigated until they can be measured by existing instruments based upon the assumption that there is a sharp dichotomy between "reading" and "not reading."

I will reserve discussion of the consequences of these definitions for instruction and research until later but, for now, it is sufficient to know that these differences exist and that a newer point of view in research is represented in this project, a viewpoint that takes the early reading-like and writing-like behaviors of young children to be part of the reading and writing process, able to be described and measured and related to later developments in literacy.

The Boundary: Important but Misinterpreted

When I switched to the wording "the transition from pre-reading to reading," I did it partly to communicate with people who did not yet perceive the early reading-like and writing-like behaviors to exist nor to be an important part of literacy. I also did it because it is necessary to accept that a significant change takes place when a child recognizes the functions and understands the forms of written language. As researchers note children's abilities rather than their deficiencies, it is easy to lose touch with the importance of the change that takes place when children begin to read from print. I have begun to call "the transition into reading," or "real reading," or "beginning reading" by the term "independent reading," to signal that an important change has taken place. Alternate terms might be self-regulated reading from print (à la Clay, 1972, 1979, or Holdaway, 1979) or simply reading from print. For now, I will stick with "independent reading," by which I mean that a child is able to call upon various aspects of knowledges about written language flexibly and with self-regulation in order to interpret intended meanings from orthography with satisfaction. I call the earlier reading and writing behaviors "emergent reading" and "emergent writing."

When Does the Child Think s/he is Reading?

During the BRDKAWL research we learned that children will say they are reading at many different times when an adult might disagree; that a child will deny that s/he can read for reasons that are surprising; that children will tell or show what they mean by reading;

and that there are ways in which the adult and child perceptions can be reconciled. These statements and performances by children are important clues to broaden and sharpen our perceptions of early literacy. Here are some examples of children's claims about their own reading:

Boy (from Sulzby 1981c, page 80)

If I were in first grade it would be a little cincher, like a friend of mine is. You already--I know how I learned to read. First I just have to listen to people read. Then [I] can remember it and then [I] can read it.

Girl (Study I)

Well (pause) I was (pause) all we did was sound out the letters and make them sound (pause) all together, read it faster and faster until I could read.

Girl (Study I)

Umm, because--when my mother reads me stories I learn how to read. I can even, like, I remember one of the books--I have--one of--one of the books at home I know how to read and I can read it. I can read most

the pages without even having the book with me.

When is a Child Writing?

In the examples from research that have been alluded to above, there seems to be evidence that young children write as well as read before school instruction begins. Bissex's son Paul "discovered" how to write and did it various hypothesis-guided ways before he settled into conventional orthography; so did the children in Read's research. In studies that have included less advantaged children at various points of proficiency, researchers (Clay, 1975; Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1979 and in press; Henderson & Beers, 1980) have begun to open the world of early writing to us. Clay's (1975) book was titled, "What did I write?" a statement that indicates part of a child's conception of how writing works that is different from that of literate adults, but understandable to us if we are willing to explore the child's point-of-view.

Is There a Boundary between "Pre-writing and Writing"?

Thanks to neglect, the boundary between pre-writing and writing does not seem to be as clear nor as severe as the boundary between pre-reading and reading. Both children and adults can make a boundary between different points in writing development, just as they can with reading. It seems to me that the boundary is more dichotomized in reading than it is in writing; this may be partly because reading has been given more attention both in instruction and in research.

Children start first grade and the expectation is that they will learn to read and that they will have careful instruction in reading, usually involving special books and special groups. Children have fewer expectations put upon them about writing and writing is defined various ways. For example, young children are often taught as if "writing" means handwriting or letter formation. Another part of writing, usually not "introduced" until late in first grade or maybe even second grade is "spelling." Composition or writing meaningful discourse is delayed even later, and, in general, stunted in most school programs (Graves,).

We are fortunate enough to see a blossoming of attention to writing research. Previously, however, research in writing by young children tended to focus upon the mechanical aspects of letter formation and spelling, just as instruction did. When researchers like Hildreth (1936) described these very early behaviors, their writings had limited audiences, perhaps because the time was not ripe for understanding the phenomena.

Is There a Better Chance for Changed Perceptions Now?

Perception, according to Gibson & Levin (1975, page 13), is the "process of extracting information from stimulation emanating from the objects, places, and events in the world around us." As extraction, they suggest, perception is dependent upon the prior knowledge and the needs of the individual perceiver, but it is also dependent upon the presence of a sufficient data base from which to select and differentiate features or patterns.

In order for people to recognize that GNYS might be genius, there needs to be enough other examples of children spelling words with certain salient letters for the hypothesis to get some testing. Most of us with one or two young children (at a given age) tend not to have a "critical mass" for pattern recognition of early literacy phenomena.

Researchers in early literacy are currently amassing such a data base. Once one becomes attentive to some of a group of related phenomena s/he is more likely to notice others. Once the pattern is recognized, ignoring the pattern seems almost impossible until new perceptions lead to new perceptions. This project is aimed at increasing our data base in literacy behaviors of young children.

The Writer/Reader Relationship

With the growth of world-wide interest and research in early literacy, involving people with backgrounds in education, linguistics, psychology, anthropology, sociology, and on and on, a data base is emerging that will enable more people to pay attention to the significance of early literacy behaviors. This research reported in this document was intended to add to that data base by following a group of children closely through their kindergarten year without formal instruction and into their first grade year with formal instruction. This part of the data base emphasizes the reader/writer relationship, looking at how these children began to read from their own compositions. The children are examined as readers and as writers, but primarily as human learners. In the chapters that follow, I will provide details from a rich data base about individual

children, gathered from within a framework intended to display the child's developing model of the author/reader relationship. Chapter Two explores the theoretical base and related research.

Methodological Stance

The 1980-82 BRDKAWL project is a hybrid between what Guba (1978) calls naturalistic inquiry and conventional inquiry. The techniques used are case study and ethnographic; however, many of the case study data were gathered using a structure taken from a previous year's large sample interview and experiment. The structure of the entire project is based upon theoretical concerns outlined in Chapter Two--in some cases, hypotheses can be tested; in some cases, the data will generate hypotheses. In a naturalistic vein, the various methodologies were designed to overlap and converge on the same question in many ways. The stance taken by the researchers is personal and the relationship between the researcher and the child is taken as data along with such traditional items as writing samples or responses to interviews. Each study is described separately, along with specific details about methodology and analysis.

The project is also developmental. The age range of the children is appropriate to literacy development. Within the age range, however, target children who differ in emergent literacy were selected for case study, then tasks were structured to vary in their demands upon the child's developing knowledges and abilities in reading and writing. The project is also developmental in that we explore the child's model of literacy rather than simply inventorying the amount

or kinds of knowledge the child gains.

The project focuses upon children's reading from their own compositions. We looked for a literacy behavior that we could examine at its primary onset. For five-year-olds in mainstream western literate societies, writing and reading one's own composition is a task that challenges most of the children but is within reach. For a few children it seems so difficult that they can only perform it through interaction with a supportive adult; for a few, it is pretty easy. Other tasks, like storybook reading attempts, have been going on with some of these children since infancy and many can maintain an independent re-enactment at two or three years (Doake, 1982; Sulzby & Otto, in press).

Reading from one's own composition is appropriate to the age range and it allows the writer/reader relationship to be explored. Five-year-olds have an increased awareness of their own thought processes and are able to discuss them fairly well. Thus five-to-six years was our age range and reading stories that one wrote oneself was the primary task.

Organization of This Report

Chapter Three gives the details of the design based upon the theoretical framework developed in Chapter Two. Since the research is naturalistic, the style is descriptive. The range of the project prohibits easy reduction; furthermore, reduction is not appropriate for display of a data base for relatively new phenomena. Therefore, I have elected to begin the report in great detail, then to summarize.

the studies as the reader begins to understand the comparisons that are being made. The report concludes with a report on dissemination, in which papers coming from the project are described. Those papers give more traditional kinds of information in more condensed fashion.

This report can be considered to be the story of a year that four researchers spent in a kindergarten classroom with 24 young children and their teacher, Miriam Kendall (a fictitious name). Case study information from nine of those children is woven into the description of the individual studies that together made up the project. Those nine children were followed into first grade for two studies that evaluate their progress in reading.

Chapter Two

The Emergence of Independent Reading:

A Theoretical Perspective on the Transition

Introduction

This chapter explains the theoretical foundation for the 1980-82 version of BRDKAWL, "Beginning Readers' Developing Knowledges About Written Language." The discussion is broken into five topics. The first topic, "Why Knowledges About Written Language?" argues that children in literate societies have the opportunity for learning about written language in child-appropriate ways as early as infancy but that it is ill-advised to assume in advance that children's knowledge about written language is organized like that of a hypothetical literate adult. Developmentally children organize the written language input differently than adults do, just as they organize oral language input differently; and, across families and broader social groups, children's actual opportunities with written language vary.

The next two topics, "Oral Language/Written Language Differences" and "The Author/Reader Relationship," concern what needs to be learned about written language that seems to be crucial in order for a reader to understand an author's intended meanings to the reader's satisfaction or for a writer to encode intended meanings so that a reader may have a reasonable chance of satisfactory understanding. In

other words, these sections address how people learn to read and write. In contrast with how they operate in oral language contexts, like those in conversations.

The final two sections are addressed more specifically to the issue of how children become independent readers. Part four, "Emergent Reading and Writing," presents a detailed discussion of the definition of reading and beginning reading used in this project, the relationship of writing to reading, and how knowledges about written language become organized into more recognizable aspects of reading as reading nears independence. Finally, it concludes by contrasting three models of reading, bottom-up models, top-down models, and interactive models, suggesting that interactive models best account for not just proficient reading but also early reading. The final section, "Supports and Constraints of Text/Types for the Emergent Reader," considers the opportunities that four different text-types (basal reader stories; storybooks; children's dictations; and children's handwritten compositions) afford the young child in the construction of a model of the reading process. The section concludes with a preview of the topical design of BRDKAWL 1980-82.

Why Knowledges About Written Language

When babies are first born we assume that they use neither oral nor written language. Yet they have the capacity to communicate and to interpret communication from others. This capability is

capitalized upon and shaped through interaction with other people, particularly with responsive parents.

We have become well aware that oral language surrounds even tiny babies. Along with cooing and clucking and the other weird vocalizations that many parents produce in the presence of tiny infants, parents talk to their babies. They also act as if the child is talking back. Long before the child utters the first recognizable "word," parents act as if children are conversational partners. Both partners, adult and child, are responsible for maintaining communication. The child goes to sleep and the parent quits vocalizing. The parent quits vocalizing to the child and turns to another adult and the child may lustily call attention back to herself. This form of mutual speech-making and speech-attending, pacing of interchanges, and interpersonal bonding seems to be essential to oral language and is perhaps the form of non-linguistic communication as well.

We treat the child more fully as a language user, however, when "words" appear. Then parents chart the child's first words in the "baby book" and linguists (Bloom, 1970; Brown, 1973) attempt to write grammars of child language. From diary descriptions through formal syntactic analysis back to semantic and pragmatic analyses, the study of infant language has had to consider the context of language (even if deciding to exclude it as "faulty and degraded") that surrounds the child as well as what the child produces in that context.

That is, up to a point. A large category of language has been

largely overlooked in the study of child language. We tend to be far less aware of the written language that surrounds even tiny infants and of the early impact of written language and written language-like forms and functions upon the child's developing language abilities. A recent paper by Snow (1982) considers this context as extremely important but uses the terms "language" and "literacy" as contrastive.

Printed forms of language are fairly easily recognizable as written language. Storybooks are used for interaction between parents and children. Embroidered ABC samplers may hang on the wall above a child's crib and as he is tucked in, mama may touch "A" and say, "What's that, Ryan? A. Can you say A? Good boy!" all to the accompaniment of a drool and squeal from the tiny baby. A teeshirt or jumper may have the child's name, RYAN, printed on it and again mama or daddy may point and say the isolated name, deliberately, first looking at the end of the indicating finger, then at the child. Cereal dishes say "Snoopy" or "Big Bird." Babies soon develop enough motor skill to knock mama's arm while she is writing the grocery list and make her cry out as pen marks scrawl across the organized page. Soon the little one is grabbing pencils, crayons, jelly, and making marks of his or her own and, by two or three, may ask or be asked to "write a note" to grandma on a birthday card.

Parents seem to try to do two things: to show the child (1) the significance of the print and (2) how to act in the presence of print. The print on the teeshirt says, "Ryan," and you look at it and say it.

Oral forms that convey notions about written language are a bit

more elusive to perceive and also to interpret. I speculate that many more written language forms and functions will be found in oral forms between parents and children as we begin to study early literacy in more detail. Here are some instances I think are significant.

We recite nursery rhymes, do patty cake, and use other forms of repetitive, ritualistic, predictable, deliberate speech, often accompanied by physical gestures which may themselves contain repetitive, predictable rhythms. While these forms may come from oral traditions that depend upon the face-to-face interaction of two persons, they are designed to be passed down across time in memorable ways just as, centuries ago, formulaic passages were passed in formal or even priestly oral traditions that preceded and led to written texts. Are analogies like this from historical/cultural backgrounds of language forms useful in looking at children and current forms of literacy? Perhaps they are; perhaps they are not. They do seem to touch upon some language processes that are similar to those used in literacy (deliberate spacing/pacing of wording which will enable wording to match with spaced, printed forms; treatment of speech entities as enduring, retrievable, and memorable). One area of fruitful research in emergent literacy is the role of memory for privileged pieces of speech that function as texts.

Another kind of oral language that may contain written language forms and functions is the oral monologue, such as the evening newscast or the narrator's description of what's going on in an episode of "The Rocky and Bullwinkle Show" on Saturday TV. These

"speeches" are non-interactive and convey lots of information. The information is given in a highly specified form, "decontextualized," to use Olson's (1977) term, so that the listener does not have to ask questions (often) nor call upon previous acquaintance with the speaker and the incident being discussed. Dan Rather, the newscaster, could deliver these words orally just as appropriately as they may appear in the morning newspaper:

Two powerful bombs exploded minutes apart at the Air France and Lufthansa German Airlines offices Sunday night, shattering windows and damaging furniture, police officials said. There were no injuries.

In fact, much speech that children hear on television or in film originates from written scripts. These scripts, like other written stories or accounts, have been translated from contextualized inner speech of the composer into a decontextualized written form that enables the listener/reader to recontextualize the information in a new, mental world (cf. Flower, 1979; Tierney, LaZansky, Raphael, & Cohen, in press). That seems like a complex description for what goes on when children hear the cartoons or a newscast, yet the ability to attend to (and create oral monologues) and, particularly, decontextualized oral monologues seems to be related to reading and writing acquisition. Children who develop this ability through oral input are developing knowledges about written language just as importantly as when they learn to recite "A" to the written graph A or to the picture of an apple on a drugstore workbook page.

We need better descriptions of the forms of written language learning that children contact in their homes and with their families. Two promising branches of related research are underway. One branch is attempting to inventory events of literacy that occur in the homes of young children. What chances do children have to interact with written language? Taylor (1981) and Anderson, Teale, and Estrada (1980; in progress) have conducted extensive ethnographic and naturalistic observations in the homes of American children to see how literacy occurs. Taylor spent three years doing ethnographic description of six middle class families and the Anderson et al project was conducted in the homes of lower income Anglo, Chicano, and Black children over a similar period of time. Heath (1982b, 1982c) spent five years studying two communities of working class people in the Piedmont area of the United States. While her research was not limited to literacy in the families, she studied it extensively both within the family and the broader community cultures. These studies together address the issues of (1) what literacy looks like in the home and (2) what messages about literacy are conveyed within the family culture.

The second branch of family literacy research focuses more upon discrete literacy "teaching events" that occur in the home and what these events teach about the forms and functions of literacy. Heath addressed this topic in her research, suggesting that the relationship between oral and written language is not the same across cultures but that the relationship differs according to the culture of which a

child's home is a part. She also found divergent conceptions of literacy in the homes of children from two some cultural groups and in the schools which they later attended which could be described as having mainstream expectations. These differences she found in the homes extended to the kinds of questions that can legitimately be asked by a teacher and answered by a child, both about general topics and about literacy in particular. The differences also included how the child was allowed to interact with books and other written documents.

Bruner and Ninio (Ninio & Bruner, 1978; Ninio, 1980a, 1980b) have studied storybook reading between infants and their mothers. They argue that the mother scaffolds or structures "how reading goes" by acting as if the child is a full participant in the "reading," long before the child is actually capable of participating alone; then she gradually shifts over more and more of the burden to the child as the child become more capable of performing independently. While the storybook reading activity they describe is not as clearly distinct from oral language as we expect "real reading" to be, it contains some differences that are important to written language. The adult and child turn from face-to-face interaction to interaction with shared regard directed toward an external object. Furthermore, that object contains a picture of yet another reality. The mother acts as if the reality must be talked about in special ways. This talk includes the comments that can be made, who makes them, and what questions can be asked about what topics.

Ninio (1980a, 1980b), like Heath, found social class differences in how literacy is presented between Israeli mothers and their babies. She observed that mothers scaffold the storybook reading differently, depending upon their social class. Scaffolding that clearly directed the children's attention to the intended referent of the mother's speech included forms of questions that are more congruent with mainstream schooling and with written forms of discourse. This was the language form used by the middle class mothers.

Catherine Snow (1982) has studied events of scaffolding of smaller "pieces" of literacy in everyday events around the home, like how a mother takes time out to show how plastic letters on a refrigerator can be arranged to spell the child's name. She describes a major part of the child's literacy learning during the early years of life in a literate home as involving learning that printed language can be and increasingly will be decontextualized. She claims, "Clearly, the young child would prefer a world in which print (and language) was contextualized, predictable, and nonarbitrary," in which print was part of an object in the "proper name" sense.

(Papandropoulou and Sinclair, 1975, argue that conceptually children go through quite a bit of difficulty sorting out the arbitrary relationship of word labels and referents.) Snow argues that the distinction between contextualization and decontextualization is one of the important features that creates difficulties for some children beginning to read and to write. It is decontextualization, rather than whether or not the message is conveyed through an oral or written

delivery form, that she thinks is a crucial insight about literacy.

The research done in home literacy reveals how little we know about the nature of the child's very earliest contacts with written language; about whether or not incidents that would seem to involve written language actually do from the child's vantage point; about how incidents with written language forms get treated; and about how these incidents build into a body of useable knowledge in more conventional literacy tasks like reading a Dr. Seuss book, writing a warning note to keep your workbench private, or writing a request to Dad to pick up some Reese's Pieces at the grocery store. Does the mother who points to a picture book and says, "What does the cow say?" imply anything about written language to the child? Does the question, "What does this say?" when the mother points to the child's name in the book mean anything different than "What does the cow say?" When do these two oral speech events by the mother begin to signify something different about the source of the answer and about the nature of the object (the book) being held and commented upon?

In the section on "Emergent Reading and Writing" I suggest that children's knowledges are variable and that the models they are constructing vary as well. They take the variable input that they receive about literacy, along with the variable frameworks that they are incorporating the new knowledge into, and continually reconstruct their models. The goal of instruction is to help these models become supportive of the literacy needs of the individual. (We usually interpret this to mean able to do school tasks and, ideally, try to

make school tasks relevant to broader human needs, but that is a topic outside the confines of this project, which only looks at the interface with kindergarten and first grade.)

In the BRDKAWL project for 1980-82 we attempted to short-cut the challenge of our lack of knowledge about how literacy develops in the home by describing what knowledges children brought to school with them from home. In the project title, "Beginning Readers' Developing Knowledges About Written Language," I use the plural term, knowledges, rather than knowledge. Rather than discuss written language as if I understand its organization or as if it has only one organization, I have chosen to use the term knowledges about written language. The use of the term knowledges rather than knowledge signifies three things (1) our lack of understanding of the organization of the child's knowledge of written language; (2) the variety of initial opportunities children have to learn about written language, and (2) our lack of understanding of the organization of written language alone and in relation to oral language.

In the section that follows, I will discuss some hypothesized differences between oral and written language that guided the design of the BRDKAWL project, with the caution to the reader that these are hypothetical differences based upon partial knowledge. They are idealized for discovery purposes but seem to fit the development of children who are successful in mainstream school tasks. In the project itself, we test the model against the literacy development of children who differ widely in the knowledges about written language

that they bring to kindergarten. By using a model that assumes a set of distinctions between oral and written language we can examine the performances of children against our model.

Oral Language/Written Language Differences

I have argued in this chapter and elsewhere (Sulzby, 1981c) that oral language and written language develop in different relations to one another depending upon the child's literacy background. For the children in the current study and in the 1979-80 study, written language knowledges develop alongside oral language knowledges, but the two differ in some predictable ways. These differences are related to conventional ways that we use written prose in school-like tasks and within Western mainstream literacy. These differences can be described as a movement toward understanding the nature of written texts and how they differ from face-to-face oral dialogue.

Here I make use of an idealized form of essayist prose as described by Olson (1976, 1977) and of an idealized adult writer/reader against which I will compare the young child who is just learning to read and write independently.

The BRDKAWL project for 1980-82 makes use of a sequence of tasks conceptualized to move from conversation to written composition. I propose that children who understand, at some level of awareness, how these forms differ will be enabled to deal with print more easily and move toward independence with fewer false steps. S/he will have the

basis for a more conscious awareness of how different aspects of reading and writing relate and in attempting to read may make more flexible and accurate predictions of what is written. S/he will monitor the message being constructed in line with those expectations and will have a standard of what constitutes an understandable message. In writing s/he will be able to create more decontextualized, predictable prose for a reader's ease and pleasure.

Before moving to the task structure let's consider some of the things about oral and written language that children may need to learn. These involve the mode of delivery, the structure of the message, the means of reviewing information, and the specificity of the message, including what gets encoded. Each of these is intertwined with the other and I attempt to show some of that intertwining below.

First, we assume that the modes of delivery differ. Oral language is given through the voice and that seems self-evident to a child as well as to an adult. However, we have just discussed that written language forms are also delivered through the voice in forms adults use and that children are exposed to, like newscasts, films, or plays. For children, even storybooks are delivered through voice.

However, when written language is delivered through the mode of the voice, within literate cultures, there are some conventions that go along with the oral delivery. Two that are particularly important include the decontextualization of the message and the second involves a particular prosody or combinations of pace and stress in delivery.

These two elements are tied to the more typical mode of delivery of written language: print.

In printed form, language becomes linear and segmented. Its form of retrieval by the reader is different than the typical form of retrieval by a listener. The conventional or allowed ways of interacting with printed language are different than those with oral language and we often transfer those interactional patterns to written language delivered orally. For example, when a speech is being given, there are conventions against interrupting. There often are specially allotted times for questioning; there are also expected forms for dealing with memory connected with such questioning that reflect written forms of discourse, in that a questioner may re-state a speaker's three points, then pose his/her question in its relation to the speaker's points. Speakers/listeners often act as if they are reading from a written text.

Thus delivery forms differ conventionally, for oral and written language, and, when conventions are broken, we tend to have other conventions connected with those deviations. Young children have opportunities to note both the standard and the most common deviations quite early and to show their awareness of some of them fairly early. For example, when young children are asked to "pretend-read" a favorite storybook, they often use a reading intonation or reading prosody; in reciting a possible text to go with the pictures, they also learn to alter the wording of their speech to produce fairly decontextualized forms (see Sulzby & Otto, in press).

Another way in which oral and written language differ was alluded to in the oral speechmaking example above. Oral speech is considered to be a transient form and printed speech is considered permanent in that it can be reviewed, visually, from beginning to end. Oral forms of language are face-to-face and listeners can interrupt the speaker and ask for a repetition or clarification. In conversation, the most interactive form of oral language, there are conventions that govern whether a conversation is maintained, ceases, or disintegrates. A child must learn to maintain conversation, where the speech burden is shared, and to maintain autonomous language forms, like those in written language. The child also needs to learn that forms appropriate to one will not be appropriate to the other unless reframed. In storybook reading attempts, very young children will often create "voices" for two characters as if two people were carrying on a conversation. As they become more mature they insert dialogue carriers and narrative exposition to help the listener follow the story. They give more "words" to explain the shift of speakers, no longer expecting the listener to follow the oral flow through the pretend "voices" alone. Thus features of written language gets inserted, become redundant with, and eventually replace the direct vocal imitation of two-voice conversation.

Oral and written language differ in terms of what gets encoded and how it gets encoded. Some things that are said either do not get written or, if they get written, they must be changed. When a speaker is talking it is perfectly all right to insert um's and uh's as

"filled pauses." Speakers also include noises associated with the physical mechanism of talking (swallows, squeaks of braces or dentures, polite or not-so-polite belches). These sounds are not phonemic and are not attended to as "speech." These items do not get encoded in written language unless they are given some special status like being included in a description of one of the characters in a novel. Stress is an important marker of the importance or meaningfulness attached to a statement or a part of a statement in oral form; in writing, we typically re-write a sentence to highlight the stressed portion or we use some graphic convention like underlining that can carry only part of the "message" of auditorily received stress. Some young children express confusion about whether or not a scribe will (or should) encode "um" when they dictate stories. Similarly, Graves (1980) has found that children use the graphic display of writing to try to indicate intended stress, just as some writers of children's books do.

Each of these variations upon the idealized form may present a beginner with additional puzzles about how written language works. The child who is used to reading books with conventions like,

OH, NO, OH, NO!

in an illustration may treat text differently than a child who only reads text with one size of print in which the wording alone must convey focus or meaningful stress. We have observed that, while pretend-reading a favorite storybook, some children demonstrate first

that they are cognizant of the print and their need to use it by asking about words in bold or unusual print or print in signs or on objects within the illustrations. Thus, early on, some kind of focusing or meaningful highlighting of parts of a message can be attended to that later will be expanded through other alternatives, typically through within-text structure.

Other differences relate to the relationship between the participants. The author/reader relationship has similarities and differences from the "conversational partners" relationship. The child can observe from whom a message is coming in face-to-face interaction. As Olson (1977) puts it, the authority of the speaker is immediately perceivable and testable. In the written form, a young child may not know who is sending the message or even have any notion that people write messages. For children in the mainstream literacy culture, however, intermediate forms like dictation and invented writing systems may have helped them realize that people write messages. As they learn to control the process and separate more from their message, they learn that messages can be re-worded or re-worked for better communication. These understandings can come from conversations as well. Graves (1980, in press) has studied the composing process of young children and noted the importance of the composing conference in which teachers and/or other children ask the writer questions about what s/he needs to put into the printed message in order for a reader (a non-present audience) to understand.

Naive conceptualizations of beginning reading treat reading as if

it is a decoding (through letter-sound relationships) from print into oral form. For children with vast amounts of sophisticated knowledge about written language the "decoding" description might seem reasonable; these children's "oral language" has become hybridized with written language. Heath's description of middle class children seems to imply that for them the process is closer to one of word-by-word translation from one form to another; for her working class children, however, the written form and oral form of language differed widely. The expectations of what is said in written form and of who is allowed to say it and of what one is expected to do in response to it were different for these children.

While the decoding description might seem to work given the closeness in oral language/written language forms of a child's language, we also know the child will not share the same knowledge base as an author, unless that author is the child. One form of introducing children to written language involves the use of children's own language, through dictated accounts (Stauffer, 1970). Let us consider how the oral language/written language distinctions that the child makes might work with such a technique.

It is assumed that a child who realizes that a dictation contains his/her own words will be more likely to call upon memory for text as an aid to retrieve words or to support predictions involving letter-sound relationships. However, not all children who are asked to dictate treat the scribe's activities as at all related to their own speech. Some children treat the dictation request as an interrogation or

conversation. The child who treats the dictating as an oral conversation may not attend to the words s/he utters as a memorable entity. S/he also may not be aware that s/he is supposed to be creating an autonomous text and may make his/her statements contingent upon information given in a teacher's statements or directions. The child may then expect to find words in the written text that are not there because the child never uttered them. Similarly, a child may insist that speech that seems to be an aside like, "That's all I can think of," should be written by the scribe. Then, when attempting to re-read the dictation, the child may omit these words. The child whose oral language has incorporated features of written language and whose expectations are governed by knowledges of written language is more likely to remember the composed text and use it in reading attempts; this memory combined with other knowledges about how print works can be used to solve the puzzle of how reading works. Clay (1972; 1979) describes the ways young children use the ability to match a remembered or expected text with print while learning to read.

In the final part of this chapter, I will discuss other text types. In this section, I will move into the primary mode distinctions conceptualized to accompany learning to read from one's own compositions and how they differ in the movement from face-to-face interactive dialogue to an autonomous written monologue that will enable the re-created dialogue between author and reader that goes on in independent reading from print.

In BRDKAWL a six-task paradigm was designed to tap language mode

distinctions by five-year-old children when attempting to read from their own compositions. The paradigm includes conversation; storytelling; dictated composition; handwritten composition; re-reading; and editing. In application the re-reading and editing tasks were used with both the dictating and handwritten modes.

The modes move from tasks which children can do easily to those which are difficult. The notion of independent versus dependent functioning is involved in a paradoxical format: most five-year-olds can take part in conversation independently even though conversation requires a dependent relationship in that a partner is required. When conversation goes well there is a mutual dependency between the partners. Few five-year-olds read or write entirely independently and when asked to tackle the task require adult assistance. Yet the modes of reading and writing require a removal from face-to-face interaction. They require independent functioning, in their mature form. A writer writes for a non-present audience; and a reader reads the work of a non-present author.

In the BRDKAWL task paradigm, the examiner was available to furnish a child assistance for dependent functioning but the child provided the signals for what kind of assistance was needed. Children's moves to elicit assistance were examined to see in what ways they modified the language modes. For instance, a child may treat the examiner's directions calling for telling a story "from beginning to end," as a conversational bid or the child may require questions from the examiner to comply with the request. The child has

adapted the mode from storytelling to conversation or interrogation. Thus, the paradigm includes both the six modes as they were conceived and the child's modifications of those modes. The next sections give summaries of the modes as they were conceived, idealized from mainstream Western literate culture.

Conversation. In conversation, information is exchanged between two speakers. The speakers are also listeners and monitor the communications of both participants. Garvey (1977) has shown that very young children can take account of a message from another child and make comments and ask questions that are contingent upon the speech of the other in order to maintain the information exchange and conversational contingency. In conversation, neither speaker has to carry the entire burden; instead, the burden is shared. The speech event consists of two-person dialogue.

Storytelling. In storytelling, one speaker is expected to maintain an oral monologue and another person or persons is/are expected to listen. The speaker must keep the attention of the listeners but s/he is responsible for informational contingency and completeness. In effect, the dialogue becomes internalized. The information is given in a transient manner and cannot be reviewed by the listener. Thus the speaker needs to give the information in an interesting and expected fashion. When a listener needs to stop the storyteller for clarification, the storytelling mode expectations have been violated, in the direction of conversational expectations. The mode has been adapted toward conversation.

Dictation. In dictation, one person is the speaker who must maintain an oral monologue. In face-to-face dictation a second person serves as a scribe and writes down what the speaker says. The speaker must compose a message which should be appropriate for written language, for reading by a non-present audience. The speaker must make use of the same kind of internalized model of dialogue that s/he needed for storytelling.

The speaker is freed from the burden of writing through the scribe but the scribe presents the speaker with other burdens. The speaker must adapt the speech to the needs of the scribe. For example, the scribe needs the speech of the speaker to be clear, to be guided by the scribe's writing speed, and for intonation and segmentation to be coordinated to the conventions of the writing system. The scribe may or may not feel that s/he has to leave the role of the scribe to serve as a reader monitoring the message, depending upon the skill of the dictating person. When the dictators are children with varying knowledges about written language, dictating as a mode can be adapted numerous ways.

Handwritten composition. In handwritten composition, the person conveying the message stops speaking and uses a graphic mode of communicating a message. For literate English-speaking adults, the mode is an alphabetic writing system. For writers of other languages, the writing system may differ. There is increasing evidence that children re-invent writing systems, thus the relation between the composed message and the written form of that message may vary from

the adult expectation.

The writer must deal with or get assistance with all of the constraints of written language that s/he is aware of: message composition and structure, spelling, punctuation, etc. The audience is no longer present, even in the intermediate form of the scribe, and must be imagined for effective communication. The writer must be the sole monitor of message effectiveness; hence, the importance of the writer as reader (or re-reader).

Reading. The reader of someone else's composition may have a relatively easy task if the writer has done his or her job well. However, the reader, to be efficient, needs to have a similar internalized model of the reader/writer relationship and of the possibilities for a text about a given topic. The reader needs to think that a text was written by an author who had certain expectations (that can be inferred by the reader) about the needs and capacities of the reader and that s/he, the reader, can use this internalized model to know what strategies will be effective to obtain and react to the author's intended meaning. These expectations probably remain tacit for most readers most of the time but even young children start to build "images" of what an Eric Carle book will be like or why a Richard Scarry book is easy to "read."

When the mode of reading (or re-reading) is used by an author of a written text, the reader-author must keep in mind the needs of an absent audience-reader for at least two reasons. First, the author needs to check to see that s/he has actually written all part of the,

message so far and to see what comes next; many five-year-olds spontaneously re-read their own composition over and over during composing. Second, the author needs to evaluate the written text in terms of its decontextualized content and its effectiveness in achieving its intended purpose. Graves (1980; in press) reports conferences with children from first to fourth grade who take this part of the re-reading with extreme seriousness and use it as part of a revision process.

Editing. Editing is a mode distinction closely tied to manipulating written text to make it more effective. It is sometimes called revision but we typically think of revision as being tied to the written mode and, often as involving extreme reworking of large segments of text. Editing goes on with all production, however. Self-corrections and clarifications in conversation and in storytelling are forms of editing just as much as are adding topic sentences or specifying a protagonist's relationship to another character. Editing is dependent upon monitoring producing in line with a mental expectation or goal (cf. Miller, Galanter, & Pribram, 1960).

Editing of written texts depends upon the mode of reading; thus it involves the internalized model of the author-reader relationship of the author. It tends to be more deliberate and more separated in time from the initial production than is the editing that goes on in the oral modes. We think of adults as far more likely than children to say something like, "Hey, remember last night when I told you

Cathy was coming back on the plane--well, I should have said she was coming on the plane to New York and taking the bus to Philadelphia."

For a young child, editing of written material may provide the most concrete evidence that one's composition is an entity that can be reflected upon and manipulated. Editing in written forms has a superiority over editing in oral forms; it has the written record which can be examined over and over; it permits the kind of critical reading of the text that mature editing requires.

Mode summary. I have discussed the six modes of language used in the BRDKAWL 1980-82 design: conversation, storytelling, dictated compositions, handwritten compositions, reading, and editing. These modes have the potential for becoming distinct and flexible for the mature language user. For the literate adult, the modes comprise a transition from interactive face-to-face oral language to written language. For the child, the modes are still developing within the oral language/written language of his or her culture. Within a given culture, particularly one consistent with mainstream literacy, the child's development should have a predictable course which should also include the child's internalized model of the relationship between communicators.

The Author/Reader Relationship

Recent research in the writing process has made us increasingly aware of how complex an act of written composition is. Linda Flower and John R. Hayes (Flower, 1979; Flower & Hayes, 1977; Flower & Hayes, 1980; Hayes & Flower, 1980) asked adult subjects to write for a given audience about a given topic and to think aloud while they composed. By analyzing the protocols produced by these writers, they were able to develop a model of the complex decision-making that goes into an act of writing. Tierney, LaZansky, Raphael, and Cohen (in press) have elicited readers' conceptions of what they think a writer's process must have been. Tierney et al. studied how these conceptions were used in comprehension, including the readers' reactions to the author's status and intentions as well as knowledge about a given topic. According to this body of research done with adults, literate adults develop internalized models of reading and of writing that include interaction between the author and reader.

The model of Hayes and Flower (1980) can be used as an illustration of the levels on which decisions may be made. Scardamalia and Bereiter (in press) contend that, in mature, skillful composition, the goal is constantly emerging during the act of composition, so that the text is capable of being recycled at numerous levels. Tierney et al. posit a parallel model of the structure of the reading process. These are both models for literate adults, however, so in order for them to be useable as models for the emergent reader/writer, we have to conceive of the basic underpinnings of each

part of the model developing and being reorganized. For example, the whole box labelled "Translating" must include everything that the child comes to know about writing systems, including letter formation, spelling, punctuation, paragraphing, as well as higher level organizational features. Underlying each of these notions is a huge category of knowledges to be organized together, like, for example, everything that underlies knowing how letters are formed.

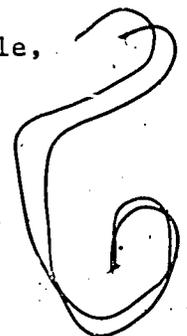
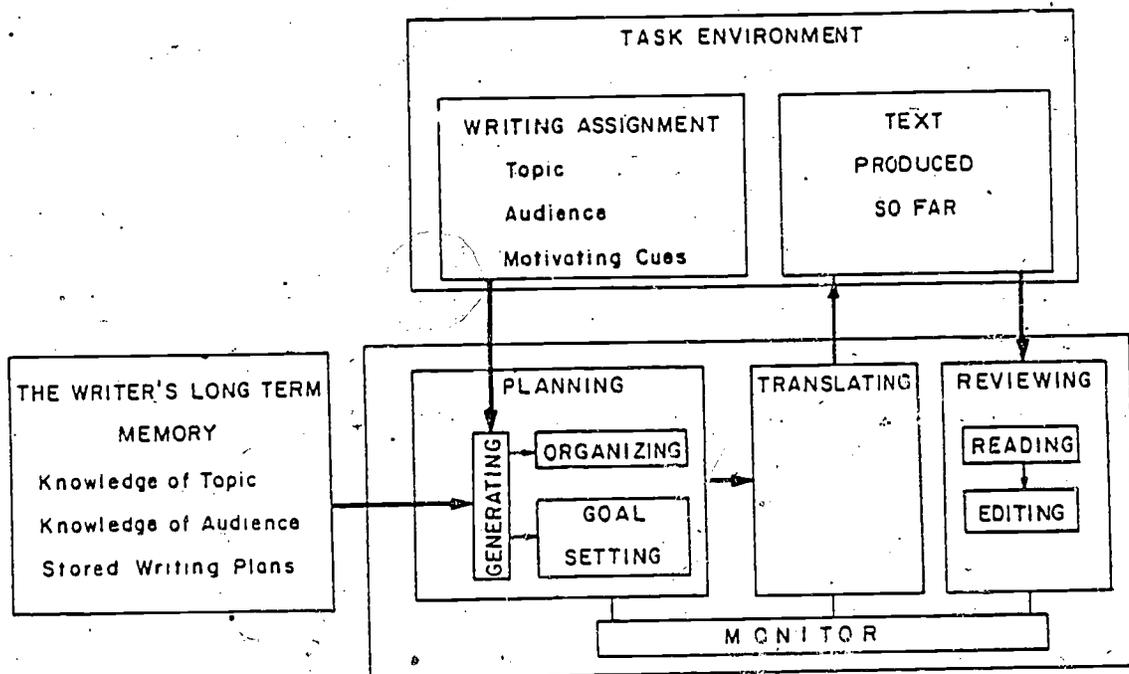


Figure 1. Hayes and Flower,
 "Structure of the Writing Model" of Literate Adult



In the BRDKAWL project it is assumed that young children also develop internalized models of the author/reader relationship. As a child makes a transition into independent reading from print, s/he also has developed a set of expectations and understandings about writing. As a child become independently able to write a text that another person can read, s/he also must have developed a set of expectations and understandings about how reading is done.

The child must develop a series of understandings about reading and about writing that lead to the more organized models used in initial independent reading and writing. Many of the parts that we would consider to be necessarily connected to each other may not be connected for the child; and the child may have connections that we find hard to imagine. Let us consider a little bit of what the child has to learn as a reader and as a writer. I deal with reading and writing separately because there is some evidence that the two processes do not develop as mirror images of one another and that children do not automatically transfer understandings across the two processes.

The reader's model. As a reader, the child has a lot to learn about writing and writers. The child who has interacted with his/her parents with lots of storybooks will eventually come to know something about the nature and origin of those books. Involved in that knowledge is the notion that people can write, that the book had a writer, that the words of the book are written, and that the written part is stable, or remains the same. Additionally, the child will

learn that there are many kinds of texts--the ABC book, the Richard Scarry dictionaries, the Dr. Seuss rhyming narrations, special stories like Are You My Mother? or The Three Little Pigs.

When a child attempts to re-create the text of one of these books, in what I call an emergent reading attempt, the child is dealing with his/her notions about writing; repeated re-enactments by the child over time show development of more mature models (Doake; 1982; Holdaway, 1979; Otto & Sulzby, in press). Children show the use of many options. Many of the earliest models do not seem to indicate that the child has an idea that it is the printed letters that are read. At 10 to 18 months, the child may simply vocalize to the book, without recognizable words: reading is making noises to these things you hold. At a later age, s/he may pick up the book and go through it as if s/he has a rule that says, "Tell what you see in the pictures," or "Make sounds for the things in the pictures." Later, the child may not be governed so much by the picture content as the notion that the book has a story. S/he may not treat the specific story as always existing in the same book, however, I have not observed this phenomenon. Children seem to learn very early that there is something consistent about the speech that goes with a given book although some very young children will pick up a book and seem to "chatter" to themselves almost randomly. This behavior is probably more one of "role-playing" the general act of reading rather than responding to that specific book. Some children do say different (but related) things each time they go through a book; others soon learn that you

say similar things each time. Still later they may learn to imitate patterns like other written texts when they meet a new text and they may work very hard to re-create a very familiar text. All this without responding to print as such!

All of these reading attempts imply something about the nature of what was written and what the relationship is between what was written and what gets read. Later, children create complex models of what writers are like, of what the writing process is like both at the lower levels of spelling and graphic form and at the higher levels of formulating a message. If the writing system involves slow, laborious spelling, a child may decide that reading is a slow, laborious sounding-out. Hopefully, that same child also knows that the spelling was of a meaningful message and may also realize that prediction of the meaning can speed up the sounding-out process. The child's model may also have come to include the notion that writers sometimes have trouble "saying what they mean," and then may approach reading as an interpretive process, using alternate interpretations when one proves puzzling or unsatisfactory. As the relationships between the notions becomes more integrated and conventional, and as the child's ability to use each part of the process becomes more proficient, the child's model looks more and more like the adult model.

Some readers seem to start reading fairly easily with a scanty model of writing. Others have very full models of writing. Still others develop along the route of writing first and seem to have a limited model of reading. Now we turn to the model of reading that a

writer may develop.

The writer's model. When the child was reading from the storybook at 18 months, s/he may not have paid attention to the marks at all. At the same age, the child may be beginning to write and to construct a model of writing. Some child's model of writing is "You mark." Children at three (according to Harste, Burke, & Woodward, 1982) and occasionally even younger distinguish between writing and drawing, when asked to draw first and then to write. Their products look like random marks or repetitive marks to the untutored eye, but Harste, Burke, & Woodward produced evidence of systematic differentiations across and within children involving the kinds of movements and lines used and the placement of the marks on pages. We have observed children to produce this kind of differentiation but to use the same kind of verbal labelling: "This is a person," "This is a person." Still other children will differentiate the verbal labelling producing descriptors for drawing and using verbal language that sounds like reading for the writing attempt: "This is a person." "Boy."

Children's marks soon take on more and more of the features of the conventional writing system, with linear format, repeated elements, and variation within the patterns. These features show up while the child's writing is still "scribbling." Sometimes when children are writing by scribbling, they may recite a text to go with the scribbling. This text may or may not be treated as stable. While it may be remembered from the context of the composing act if that act

was done with supportive adults who call it back to mind, more likely it will be abandoned for yet other pages of markings. (Five-year-olds who have abandoned this system may return to it at times when they do want to compose longer pieces of writing in a hurry; these older children often remember the "intention" for a while and tend to use reading-like speech when telling what it says.)

○ Marie Clay (1975, 1979) treats the child's model of writing as changing significantly when it also includes the notion that the marks signify or "say something." The child marks or writes letters, asks "What did I write?" and waits expectantly for Mom or Dad to answer. The child's model has been expanded to include not only speech in relation to the writing but also comprehensibility. Someone else can read what I wrote.

Some children seem to understand that the writing system has two-way comprehensibility: the writer can read it and so can another person. The writer is writer/reader and the other person is an audience/reader. Some children reach this realization after they have been using very sophisticated invented writing based upon alphabetic principles. When they reach this point, they often stop writing attempts because they have acquired a glimmering of the idea that there is a "correct" way to write and that other people can't read your writing unless you "do it right."

Here are some of the realization that a child may go through:

Someone (I) can write.

Something gets read.

One writes ideas.

One writes speech (not pictures).

One writes speech but not all speech.

Writing involves a system.

What one writes can be read.

People read and need to understand what was written.

You can read your own writing.

Other people can read your writing.

The writing system helps people read.

What one writes can be changed.

What one means and what one writes are different.

What one writes can be made more satisfactory to both
writer and reader.

Changes in what is written involves making the writing
more readable; this can happen at different levels
(letter formation; spelling; punctuation; wording,
etc.)

Within the BRDKAWL conceptualization it is assumed that children come to these realizations in different orders and re-organize their overall models of reading/writing in different ways. Various researchers, particularly Clay (1975, 1979) and Ferreiro (1977; Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1982) have posited orders for various sub-parts of the model. Ferreiro's work is particularly impressive because she suggests the cognitive structures underlying the writing system; she

also notes that in everyday activities and in compositions, children use many levels of their developing knowledges, including less mature, often previously abandoned ones.

In BRDKAWL children are asked to do complex tasks that are beyond their current competencies to perform easily. We have observed that, as a child's overall model of the reading/writing process becomes broader, he may revert to less mature forms to enable himself to do things with writing that he is aware of but cannot yet do conventionally or with his current more mature system. With five-year-olds in particular the idea of knowing about processes you cannot yet control seems to be extremely important as a "growing edge" for learning.

I have presented the reader's model and the writer's model separately for two purposes: first, so that the reasoning could be followed more easily and, second, because the child's model of literacy does not necessarily develop with the two "sides" as parallels to or mirrors of each other. Indeed, as adults we may have a more fully developed and more conscious model of either writing or reading. Even with the separate presentation of the reader's model or the writer's model, it can be seen that each model posits a reader/writer relationship. In the section that follows, I discuss briefly what the process of exploring writing adds to the child's model. In the final section, I discuss text-types more specifically, including reading one's own compositions, and show how the reader's model of the reader/writer relationship can be affected by attempts to

read each text-type.

Emergent Reading and Writing

The perspective taken in this project is that early reading-like behaviors and writing-like behaviors are important, relevant parts of literacy; however, they differ from independent reading and writing. In the more traditional views, the child was considered first to be a non-reader or pre-reader and then to become a reader. Children are less often characterized as "being" or not being writers, due in part to the way school curricula have been designed and in part to the lack of social visibility of writing, yet the emergent writing behaviors were also ignored. In the view of emergent literacy that I take, the child has been constructing a model of literacy long before the child is reading or writing conventionally. However, the child makes an important transition when the processes of reading and writing come under self-regulated control in relation to print (cf. Clay, 1979; Holdaway, 1979) as opposed to other-regulated control (Wertsch, 1979).

Other-regulation here means dependent upon an adult for interpretation, for rejection, or on-going processing; with self-regulated processing, the child knows whether or not written text exists, is being used, and is making sense. At the point when a child's reading and writing efforts are self-regulated, the child's knowledges about written language have become importantly reorganized to a model that is very similar to the idealized adult model. The model contains both the reader's expectations (or writer's

intentions), the printed forms, and an ability to use the two together for initial processing and evaluation of the processing. Terms like comprehension, word knowledge, or letter-sound relationships become sensible descriptors of aspects of the child's knowledge, not because they have been imposed from deduction from a rational model but have arisen from the child's reorganization (cf. Resnick, 1977, on rational versus empirical models) in interaction with print.

The BRDKAWL project was designed to describe the child's emergence as a reader; conceptually, as well as operationally, this involves the child's emergence as a writer, but writing is treated within the context of reading. This is in contrast to the research of Graves and his colleagues (1980, in press) who have studied reading within the context of the child's emergence as a writer.

Reading defined. Independent reading, as I view it, is the child's consistent, orchestrated, and self-regulated use of knowledge about written language in the service of interpreting a printed text to his/her own satisfaction. I suggest that, as the child's model converges upon the conventional model, the "knowledges" that have variable organization become organized more conventionally into what I call three "aspects of reading." Each of the three aspects of reading can and usually does develop somewhat separately before becoming integrated into an internalized model which guides independent reading. The three aspects of print knowledge are:

- (1) comprehension--which in the emergent reader can first develop as anticipated meaning for a not-yet-experienced

- text or as memory for an experienced text, or both;
- (2) word knowledge--which in the emergent reader involves treating the written word as a stable unit, both graphically and semantically; and
 - (3) knowledge of letter-sound relationships--which in the emergent reader can develop from oral segmenting during writing attempts as well as from use of sound/letter predictions during reading attempts.

Aspects of reading are distinguished from other contributors to literacy in that they are directly related to print, whereas other characteristics that contribute to literacy have less direct relationships. The aspects are organized within a model of the process, however, that operates as a feedback system to the child so s/he is directing the total, integrated process of reading. First, I will discuss the feedback system and other characteristics related to reading that contribute to the total model. Then, I will discuss the forerunners of the aspects of reading and why the forerunners of aspects that become separate afford the child connections between the aspects.

Internalization of a feedback system. When the child is reading independently, these aspects of reading are organized within a model which includes both strategies (procedures and hueristics) and knowledges (the aspects of reading and the child's knowledge of the world). It is the "aspects of print" which define this act as reading rather than painting, skating, whistling, or doing philosophy. The

child learns to read from interactions with the physical and social environment which organizes the input, yet the child's cognitive structure defines how the input will be internalized. It is the interaction with the environment, however, that helps the child to internalize a feedback system to know when s/he is doing an act of reading. In other words, the child's comprehension defines an act of reading; understanding what it is to comprehend to one's self-satisfaction from a given input (print) is what must be internalized.

Literacy is part of human learning in general and has many of the same characteristics, differing in that print is the defining feature of literacy. The view of human learning taken in BRDKAWL is developmental, following the views of Dewey (1938), Kohlberg and Mayer (1972), and Piaget (1970) that the human being is born with a predisposition to develop in given directions, and that the developing human, particularly the child, constructs an internal model from interactions with the environment. The child's model is used to interpret the environment, yet the environment presents input to help the child re-construct the model. Development is an interplay between the structure of the individual and the input of the environment. Literacy, however, involves language which is part of social interaction between human beings. At this point, the social interaction theory of Vygotsky (1962; 1978) and Wertsch (1979; 1980) provides an expansion of development to involve a description of the environment; in literacy, the environment is other people, whether in

the form of a parent structuring interactions with literacy or in the form of a not-present audience or author.

Let me give an analogy from general learning, taking the stimulus incident we used in Study II of this project, the child's learning to ride a "big wheel." First, I will describe the child's experience with the big wheel alone and then I will describe the child's mechanism of learning. In this example, I will illustrate the notion of the development of a self-regulated feedback system, such as I posit for independent reading.

Learning to ride a big wheel, or a tricycle, or a bike with trainer wheels is an important event in a child's life. It marks him or her as "a big boy," or "a big girl." It has social significance and involves independence, exploration, mobility. It is also difficult because the child must bring an immature physical system under control in order to manipulate a complex object. The child has observed other people, children, do this task but s/he must learn it for herself/himself.

The big wheel has an organization, however, that helps the child. If you don't "do it right," it won't go. When the child pushes the pedals in the appropriate up, out, and downward circular motion, the tiny vehicle moves forward propelling the child with it. It's almost fail-safe, in that if your feet stay on the pedals, you can only push them in two directions, backward or forward. So there is a limited range of trial and error in direction of pedal pushing. It's easy to "get the feel" of the directions and then to distinguish forward from

backward. The child has the memory of backward and forward from other situations to help monitor the physical movement and thus to try the other direction. Other details of the object could be given, but these are probably sufficient.

Second, children interact with the organization of the big wheel within a social framework. In any learning event with this object, due primarily to the frailness of the human toddler developmentally and to the social nature of humans, there is another more proficient human to help a novice learn. This other human is usually an adult, typically a parent, who acts as a guide and coach. The adult serves a number of functions. S/he may demonstrate or call to mind the child's viewing of a demonstration of someone riding. Certainly, s/he will put the child in the situation; s/he will put the child on the big wheel and support the child in the full activity, putting the child's feet of the pedals, pushing the child along, and helping the child "get the feel" of riding. Gradually, s/he will back away from physical support and urge the child to more and more independent functioning. S/he will "scaffold" the learning for the child, to use Bruner's (1976) term. Usually, this scaffolding involves a verbal commentary on what is being done, often in the form of a set of procedures: "Push down," "Out and down, out and down," "Turn the handlebars this way," "Keep it going!" "Whee, now you've got it, round and round."

This is analogous to learn to read and to write but in literacy activities the learning is far more complex and the physical part of

the feedback system is far less informative. For some children, however, the human guide is even more supportive and informative; for other children, human guides are less helpful. It is for this reason I suggest that human learning of literacy is more variable than human learning of something like learning to ride a big wheel. In the previous sections, we considered the variation within the literacy environment in terms of distinctions between oral and written language and conceptions of the author/reader relationship. Those are both organizations of the to-be-learned phenomena for children; the adult cultures have created and continue to perpetuate literacy within different frameworks; the human child learns literacy within those frameworks with the guidance of human adults.

Harste and Burke (1977) have suggested that there is a strong effect of the instructional model of a teacher upon the child's developing model of reading. They suggested that instructional models that focus upon letter-sound relationships or decoding strongly influence children to view reading as decoding; two other types of instructional models that they investigated are skills models and whole-language or comprehension-oriented models. (The model of parents are perhaps even stronger than those of teachers although we have almost no concrete evidence of types of parental models with the exception of Heath's (1982c) research and work in progress by Anderson, Teale, and Estrada.)

My own research suggests that while there is an influence of instructional models, there may also be an effect of what the child

needs to learn in order to develop a self-regulating model. Children seem to focus upon different aspects of reading or combinations of the aspects at different time within their development, as if they are working on a part of the total puzzle of how reading works. A child may hold a decoding model briefly while working on the aspect of letter-sound relationships; a child may hold a model that says "read only known words" because treating the graphic word unit as stable and memorable is a new and important realization. The BRDKAWL project for 1980-82 follows the development of children in the context of the school model of instruction and can provide some evidence concerning the relationship between the "natural" model and the "instructed" model of particular children.

Other characteristics related to reading. The aspects of reading are specific to learning to read from print. Other characteristics contribute to learning to read (and write) and are explored in the BRDKAWL project. These include general characteristics, such as intelligence, aptitude, personality development.

General characteristics can be considered to be enabling but independent of print (see Sulzby, 1981c). There is a body of research in early literacy that suggests that certain personality characteristics, like persistence and inquisitiveness, are strongly enabling of the development of reading. In a seminal study of children who learned to read before entering school, Durkin (1966) identified children who came to school already proficient at reading. She then followed their subsequent development, particularly focusing

upon the effect of early reading on later school achievement. She also interviewed the parents about the characteristics of their children at earlier points in their development.

Parents of Durkin's early proficient readers (also cf. Clark, 1976; Tobin, 1981) reported that the children had personality characteristics that seem to be quite similar to those reported in the early spelling research of Charles Read (1970; 1975). The children were curious about print and asked numerous questions about it. They were persistent in their own efforts, trying out reading and writing in various ways, and were persistent at getting parents' attention and aid. Additionally, Durkin and Clark report that the children were socially competent and even rewarding; they were children with whom a parent would readily spend time. The BRDKAWL project is designed to tap such personality/social characteristics through the use of intensive case studies in which the interaction between the tasks, the examiner, and the child are taken as relevant data.

I speculate that, through their early literacy inquisitiveness, the children also developed the language of literacy and of learning. They learned metalinguistic labels and were more conscious of their own thought processes. They were learning how to learn more efficiently, both through their own efforts and through eliciting aid of others, particularly adults. These characteristics seem to be strongly enabling of reading development, and the metalinguistic labels attained through these characteristics may become integrated into the aspects of reading.

While aspects of reading are specific to literacy and characteristics of general learning are not, there is a third category of characteristics that seem to have an ambiguous status. These characteristics seem to hold a culturally-defined relationship to literacy. Oral language acquisition is an example. As discussed earlier in this chapter, oral language may be tied more or less directly to print, depending upon the child's literacy culture and specific development. A three-year-old from within a mainstream culture with much input from written language may have well-developed oral language that includes patterns from written language yet have difficulty in learning to read because other aspects, such as letter-sound knowledge, for example, are not yet developed. A five-year-old from a culture with little written language input or input that differs greatly from that expected in schools may also have well-developed oral language but have difficulty in learning to read because the oral language patterns do not include patterns of written language. The characteristics that have a culturally-defined relationship to print present particularly important issues to research and to practice, because we may tend to overreact to correlations from one population and generalize to others, not realizing that the literacy culture and the fit of the literacy culture to literacy tasks may influence whether or not the characteristic contributes directly to reading development. Here the ethnographic study by Heath (1982a, 1982b) is perhaps the most enlightening evidence of different effects between literacy cultures

and literacy development.

Relationship of writing to reading. In the section on oral language/written language differences and the author/reader relationship, I discussed some of the relationships between writing and reading. With the young child in particular, however, acts of writing may furnish specific knowledges that become organized as the aspects of reading. Writing allows the child to experience the mechanics of reading, like sounding out words and segmenting utterances, in a far more detailed way than acts of reading permit. Furthermore, in some cases, these "mechanical" experiences are supported by a feedback system from the child's knowledge of intended message. In other cases, writing supports practice and/or drill related to reading, as the child simply works on figuring out the writing system, for the time being allowing the semantics of a message to be irrelevant to the activity of spelling or handwriting. Writing, with its visible record, provides visual feedback of how the process is going, at the lower level of forming letters or the higher level of composing a readable message. In all cases, the child's writing has a relation to the child's conceptual system that is closer than can be designed externally in a general curriculum. In some instances, this close relationship is positively supportive to development; in other cases, the child needs the push of more complex structures such as those found in conventional writing.

For young children, however, acts are not always what they appear to be to the adult eye. When the child is composing and writing what

s/he is composing, the child may not treat that intention as being what gets read back, or may not treat the "saying back" of what was written as an act of reading. We need to study children's reading of their own writing looking for how the child organizes the activities and relationships between them rather than presuming what the organization is. Let us consider some of the forerunners of the aspect of print knowledges and how they may differ from the adult concepts and from how the child finally organizes them in his/her model of independent reading.

Emergence of aspects of reading. At the point when a child begins to read independently, s/he has organized many knowledges about written language into more integrated, larger bodies of knowledge called the aspects of reading, comprehension, word knowledge, and knowledge of letter-sound relationships. The child's very early knowledges may have been categorized in quite unusual ways and may have been strangely cross-categorized or may have failed to be cross-categorized in ways that seem important to the adult model. The BRDKAWL project's goal is to discover the knowledges that young children bring to school. Some illustrations were provided in the earlier sections of this chapter. Here are others designed to show both how the aspects develop individually and the potential for interrelatedness between them.

Comprehension. Comprehension of print emerges from general comprehension, or making sense of the world. Comprehension for written texts emerges more specifically from interactions with print.

For the young child, learning that RYAN stands for "me," in which the child indicates that the referent is himself, pointing to his chest, requires an act of comprehension. Perhaps a different act of comprehension is learning that RYAN is "my name." When the descriptor "my name" is distinguished from the vocal pronunciation "RYAN" the child has comprehended more about the relationship between oral word, written word, and referent.

Similarly, when children are working on figuring out part of the letter-sound relationships that underlie the alphabetic system, each new realization is an act of comprehension, in the broad sense of the term. To draw the relationship closer to our adult mode, however, we need to consider that a child's naming of objects in a picturebook is part of the knowledges that feed into the more organized aspect of comprehension.

Many behaviors used in reaction to books can be considered to underlie our more typical definitions of comprehension: babbling to books with reading intonation curves; memorizing rhymes or other patterns; enjoyment of being read to; and memories for stories and other textual entities. The final item, memory for text, seems to emerge as an important organization strategy. It is clearly tied to written texts and to patterns of written language that appear in texts. Memory for text can support the child's use and discovery of letter-sound correspondences as well as the child's growing awareness of how word boundaries work, of stability of the word unit, and of other orthographic features. Different text-types seems to support

these explorations in different ways. Children's dealings with different text-types is described in the final section of this chapter.

Knowledge of letter-sound relationships. I use this term simply to indicate that children need some knowledge of the alphabetic nature of English in order to read independently. I am not suggesting a detailed processing model for decoding but I do suggest that the reader's knowledge of letter-sound relationships needs to be organized to be used flexibly. Metaphors like "top-down" and "bottom-up" are often used to suggest the order of processing. For example, children may use knowledge of letter-sound relationships "top-down," through predicting what a given word or phrase may be and then checking with the print for confirmation or they may use the knowledge "bottom-up," to actually "sound-out" or decode a word from scratch. Children need some proficiency with processing in both directions and at various levels.

It is not certain how much knowledge of letter-sound relationships are needed for independent reading to begin. Probably some children get by with less information from this aspect of reading by depending more upon comprehension or word knowledge aspects. Others seem to use, if not require, vast amounts of knowledge about the relationships between letter patterns and pronunciation segments. Gleitman and Rozin (1977; Rozin & Gleitman, 1977) argue that learning to read English is particularly difficult because the writing system is alphabetic and the level of analysis needed to decode alphabetic

systems is at the deepest, least accessible level of consciousness.

Fortunately, children seem to bring analysis at the phonetic and phonemic levels to consciousness fairly easily through speech play. Children who are immersed in a literate culture also seem to carry out this analysis fairly easily through exploring writing. Children will go through all of the steps of decoding that seem so difficult in reading in the encoding process of writing: they segment the word, produce the "sounds" for each segment as they perceive them to be, and blend them together various ways during writing, and then reconstruct the whole word orally when they finish. We do not know how parallel these two processes actually are; however, watching and recording children while they write can provide us with some evidence.

Children begin to gather knowledges that get organized as letter-sound relationships very early as they learn letters on blocks, on teeshirts, and the ABC song. We need more evidence of how this knowledge gets acquired, particularly in different literacy cultures. More and more children come to school knowing all of the names of the alphabet letters. Letter name knowledge has been one of the best predictors of later achievement test scores in reading, yet there is evidence (Nurss, 1979) that it has lost its predictive power for first graders because of ceiling effects.

Read (1970; 1978) reports that children use letter name knowledge to help construct invented spelling systems that show great awareness of the phonetic base of English spelling and that converge upon the conventional English phonemes and their spelling representations. We

have far less knowledge of how letter names are used in acts of reading or in the development of the ability to read (see Enri, in press, for a review of this inconclusive literature).

The great debate of the 1960's, marked by Jeanne Chall's (1967) book by that title, centered around the issue of decoding. I think we are beyond the debate to begin to pose somewhat different questions. First, how do children decode? Second, how do children use decoding in reading? The final question is probably how much is enough and I have already observed that children seem to have different requirements to begin independent reading. (We do not know, for example, how much ability or automaticity in decoding is needed at various levels of proficiency, but the BRDKAWL project does not address that issue.)

One way to begin tackling this question is to observe young emergent readers and writers over time doing both reading and writing. In the chapters that follow I will describe children who spent a great amount of time and effort working on letter-sound relationships in reading tasks and/or in writing tasks; I will describe others who did not.

Word knowledge. In letter-sound relationships, the child has to figure out the relationship between sound, meaning, and the English writing system. In word knowledge, the child has to understand that English is segmented into units, words, that can be moved about in acoustic space and in printed space, in order to represent meanings. The child must transfer the notion of object permanence to written

words so that the word is treated as a stable object. When the child learns that the oral word /was/ (and the conceptual word <was>) is written was, the child must also realize that came cannot also be /was/. When children come to this kind of awareness about the character of the unit word, they have coordinated a great number of knowledges about written language.

Another understanding that a child must develop about written words is that the word is a bounded entity. It has a beginning, an end, an internal pattern, and is bounded by unmarked space. Clay (1978) has studied oral reading by young children and has tracked the development of their ability to match voice to print units correctly, including their use of finger-pointing to guide the eye's tracking of print. Understanding where word boundaries occur in speech and in print is an important step toward independent reading.

Some knowledges about written words are closely related to knowledges about letter-sound relationships. The child begins to have visual expectancies for written words: they look like English orthography (Lavine, 1977; Pick, Unze, Brownell, Drozdal, & Hopman, 1978; Sulzby & Templeton, 1980). Children also begin to notice similarities of words parts and to decide that words with similar forms are likely related to one another, through those parts of the orthographic system that signal morphological and inflectional relationships.

Some English words seem to be more salient than others, as sources of knowledge about the form and function of words. Ferreiro &

Teberosky (in press) have confirmed the findings of other researchers that the child's name is usually the first conventionally spelled word to come into the child's repertoire. They suggest that the name is a source of knowledge about the writing system, in the cases they report, alphabetic systems. They and other Piagetian researchers (Berthoud-Papandropoulou, 1978; Sinclair & Papandropoulou, 1974) have investigated the child's developing notions of how meaning and form relate within the word unit.

It is often argued that children need to develop a sight vocabulary, or a stock of well-known words, in order for the reading process to move rapidly enough to support comprehension. Additionally, such well-learned units may provide better means of exploring letter-sound relationships. What has not been included in this earlier reasoning, however, has been the more recent ideas of the cognitive structures underlying children's exploration of the relationship between form and meaning in words (see Sulzby, 1979a, 1979b). Also lacking is the consideration that some children may use comprehension to support the acquisition of sight vocabulary.

I propose that the child does not have to have a tremendous amount of knowledges about written words to make the transition into independent reading but s/he must have some awareness that words mark meanings in print (comprehension guides and checks word recognition); that words are located in written space; and that words are stable entities with recognizable parts.

Fit between the emergent reading perspective and general models

of reading. Reading theories can be divided into three types, that have metaphorical labels referring to the direction that processing is presumed to take: "bottom-up" theories; "top-down" theories; and "interactive" theories. While the most current and satisfactory theories are interactive (Lesgold & Perfetti, 1981; Spiro, Bruce, & Brewer, 1980), they typically do not address the issue of initial acquisition.

Bottom-up theories of reading assert that the reader must first internally construct the text from the marks on the page. Decoding from print to speech is the first step, whether or not that speech is uttered or consists of some internal, shortened acoustic code. After pieces of the message are decoded, the decoded units can be joined into increasingly larger units. Such models (for example, Gough, 1972; LaBerge & Samuels, 1974) may also contain provisions for unitization of larger units as a reader becomes more experienced with print. Comprehension is considered to be attained as a result of first dealing with the data on the page. Teaching approaches based upon such models emphasize an early, systematic introduction to phonics and other skills with carefully sequenced teaching.

Top-down theories of reading assume that reading is an active, thinking process and that readers are only able to make sense out of the marks on the paper because they comprehend or construct possible meanings prior to processing the print. Frank Smith (1978) has popularized Paul Kolers (1969) statement: "Reading is only incidentally visual." Smith draws upon communication theory and

suggests that the reader uses print to reduce the uncertainty of the predictions that s/he raises about the author's intended message. . . . Because print contains so many redundancies in orthographic patterns, in morphemic markings, in semantics and syntax and because those print redundancies are made further redundant with the active predictions of the reader, the fluent reader is able to use strategies of only sampling the print rather than decoding it bit by bit. Teaching approaches based upon such models stress giving children opportunities for frequent and purposive reading ("you learn to read by reading") and helping children become aware of comprehension strategies to make the processing even more efficient. They tend to avoid focusing attention upon skills in isolation.

Danks and Hill (1981) argue that truly top down theories are hard to find. In my opinion, the main difference between interactive theorists and people who are tagged "topdowners" like Frank Smith or Kenneth Goodman are whether or not the viewpoints taken include developmental considerations. I shall return to this point after discussing the interactive theories.

Interactive theories combine the features of the other two kinds of theories and assume that the reader's knowledges that enable reading to take place are "multi-level, interactive, and hypothesis-based" (Spiro, Bruce, & Brewer, 1980). Readers need visual information from the page but their processing is aided by the support of hypotheses from higher levels like sentence syntax or world knowledge. Similarly, predictions from the previously read context

and/or world knowledge can be cued from visual information and confirmed, changed, or rejected from visual information. Rumelhart's (1977a) influential paper, "Toward an Interactive Model of Reading," illustrates how the processing of a reader would use information from all levels of organization of knowledge in order to read the two simple words, "THE CAR." In his diagram hypotheses are generated and tested at the level of the graphic input, including letter identification, letter patterns, word identification, phrase identification, contextual information from within the sentence and the person's world knowledge, including illustrations on the page.

Research testing these theories looks for added influence from one level of processing upon another, like the supportive effective of context upon word identification or of word identification upon letter perception. The research has been active and promising, but conducted with adult fluent readers primarily. Danks and Fears (1980) used second graders as their youngest sample of what they called children who were "learning to read" in contrast to skilled readers. I suggest that the descriptive information about how emergent readers and writers organize and acquire the knowledges about written language may provide developmental grounding for such a theory.

Smith (1979) rejects the linear translation of the interactionist position into research design, including the division of the process of comprehension into a component or set of components. He also rejects the top-down, bottom-up metaphor; he calls his own position "inside-out" because it stresses self-motivation and the person as

experiencer guiding the process. Both Smith and Goodman (1967) resist chopping the reading process into components, in theory or in research testing a theory. My position, however, is that we need to watch the way young children operate in developing as readers and writers. It is possible that young children do temporarily chop the process into components of emphasis. Such chopping does not necessarily mean that reading/writing have somehow become less human or less "inside-out"; it may mean that we need to examine more closely what humans do and to use that as a grounding for our theories.

Grounded theory. During recent years researchers whom I have mentioned earlier have begun to accumulate a data base from which a grounded theory of reading and writing emergence may be built. Yetta Goodman (1980) has written a theoretical paper called, "The Roots of Literacy," in which she uses the image of a tree rooted in a rich environment or soil of literacy. Goodman and her colleagues have collected masses of rich data from children of varying socio-economic and ethnic groups that show that children are acquiring literacy long before they come to school. The current project is intended to add to data like that of Goodman by actually following a group of individual children through the transition into literacy. The model I conceive, however, has more activity by other people than the less active image of soil might imply and more variability in the children than the notion of a pre-programmed seed of the tree might suggest.

The image that Goodman has used contains the essential notion of structure, of purposiveness within the child, that is found in the models of Kenneth Goodman, Frank Smith, Amelia Ferreiro, or Jean

Piaget. I suggest that we examine the various models that children construct, as indeed Goldman is doing. Then we will need an image showing the roots actively reorganizing toward, rather than away from the trunk, but I'm not sure that would make a tree, except for a linguist.

Seriously, however, I propose that we will find organization within the acquisitional patterns of children converging upon the adult models of literacy, and that interactive models that account for adult processing may not be contradictory with the final products. From my observations, young children react with print in an organized fashion that includes interaction between top-down and bottom-up processes from very early, if they are brought up in literate cultures. In particular, I suggest that dealing with decoding or word knowledge is not necessarily detrimental to reading for meaning so long as the person, or the comprehender, is in control of the process. In the next and final section of this section, I suggest the ways in which some of the various text-types that young children use may support and constrain the development of various literacy knowledges, or knowledges about written language.

Supports and Constraints of Text-types for the Emergent Reader

Earlier, I suggested that as children come closer to independence in reading, they organize knowledges about written language into three interconnected aspects of reading that we can call comprehension, word knowledge, and knowledge of letter-sound relationships. I further suggested that these knowledges may differ in specificity at the point

when the child begins to read independently.

The three aspects of reading are posited to be essential parts of the reading process. In this section, I will examine four of the many text-types that young children may experience. I treat these texts as being different in type because of the ways they support and constrain the child's experience of the aspects of reading in a given episode of attempting to read from the text.

It should be remembered that children read and experience different kinds of written material and texts in addition to the ones discussed here. Yetta Goodman has written extensively about the child's growing ability to deal with environmental print like product logos in meaningful, functional ways. Glenda Bissex (1980) and Robert Gundlach (1982) have carefully described more specific uses of other children-written forms such as letters and signs. Here I focus upon four types that will be used at various points in the BRDKAWL project: basal reader stories and materials contrived for systematic instruction by teachers; children's storybooks written by adult authors; children's dictated compositions; and children's handwritten compositions.

Basal readers. Basal readers are series of ordered or "graded" instructional materials. They typically are designed to control some part of the written input. In particular, they may control either letter-sound relationships (differing in what the unit of information is considered to be and/or the order of introduction). Chall's (1967) research organized basal materials primarily into "decoding" and

"whole-word" controlled approaches. Certainly, the two emphases present different demands upon the young child; few basal series can be considered "pure" examples but their emphases can be detected.

With texts organized around systematic introduction and reinforcement of whole words the child is given the opportunity to continue to develop the idea of the word as a stable unit. This organization can help him/her solve other parts of the word knowledge puzzle, like matching voice to print. However, the child may not have remembered meaning from a previously experienced text to enable the process to go fast enough to maintain comprehension, unless the child is a phenomenal word learner. Here the teacher is supposed to pace instruction so that comprehension can be maintained. If the child is learning words fast enough and automatically enough, s/he may be able to construct meaning, but often basal reader preprimers do not have much of a "meaning" to construct. Controlled texts tend to be weak in their ability to help the child anticipate meaning. Thus if the child has a problem in remembering words, the text won't be of much support until the child is pretty far along in the series.

In the whole-word oriented texts, often called "skills" or eclectic approaches, the introduction of letter-sound relationships is paced more slowly than in decoding approaches. With decoding approaches, while children are given instruction in letter-sound relationships, there is the added problem of the speed needed to sound-out words fast enough to avoid losing meaning. Basal readers that depend heavily upon letter-sound relationships tend to place much

emphasis upon developing these skills to a high degree and to pace the lessons as rapidly as possible. One program, DISTAR, includes lessons in both segmentation and in speeded recoding or blending, so that the child is aided to arrive back at the word unit. Chall's (1967) original plea at the end of her massive research summary was that decoding skills be taught systematically and intensively without neglecting comprehension. Unfortunately, the texts structured to provide such decoding practice tend not to be written so that the meaning is predictable or easily constructed, particularly when the process must be slowed enough to use decoding.

Reviews of basal reader programs by researchers of early reading development (Bartlett, 1979; Beck, McKeown, McCaslin, & Burkes, 1979) indicate that when some parts of the text are controlled, no matter by what means, other parts suffer in relation to what we are learning about young children's comprehension. However, I suggest that both whole-word and decoding kinds of control, along with systematic "lessons" in skills do enable the child to anticipate the words or word-types that will likely be used. The child can also anticipate that the words or word-types will be repeated. With such anticipation, the child may continue further development of word and letter-sound knowledges; however, the texts do not tend to be very supportive of comprehension, in and of themselves.

A critical difference in their support from comprehension can be found in how adults use them to interact with children. To anticipate my findings a bit, we also have found these books used by parents in

unusual ways. Some children have very positive attitudes toward lessons taught by parents with "Tip and Mitten"; others have been taught to read Houghton-Mifflin's tortured dialogue with great dramatic gusto; and others have developed extreme sounding-out approaches to reading.

Storybooks. Authors write books specifically designed for the understanding and pleasure of young children, some of which are storybooks. These books are written with language naturally fitting the topic and intended audience and not with "reading instruction" in mind. When a child attempts to read such a book, s/he may find it to be an old favorite or a new story to be experienced.

Some storybooks become "favorites," or books that a child asks to have read over and over. Such books are often learned almost "by heart." If the book has become such a well-learned favorite, it will provide support for the child in the form of memory for text or anticipation of text. It thus supports the aspect of reading that we call comprehension. It can aid the child's attempt to match voice with known words and to use letter-sound knowledge as checks upon anticipated words instead of for sounding-out. However, such texts do not tend to lead the child to analyze critical features of letter-sound relationships or of words to the degree that structured programs may.

If the child has not read the story, for the first reading, it will tend to be less supportive of comprehension. Nevertheless, if it has survived the marketplace test long, it will likely be a

predictable book in some sense. Again, however, the child may not come to analyze critical features of the writing system. S/he is even less likely to be supported in the word knowledge and letter-sound aspects of reading by unfamiliar storybooks, but the challenging content and flavorful, predictable language may nevertheless support the aspect of comprehension.

Both categories of storybooks, favorites and unfamiliar stories, tend to require construction and memory for large amounts of text. The materials to comprehend will be less intimately known than the material in the child's own compositions, even though it may be highly meaningful as common human experience. Further, the language phrasing and structure may be more memorable and enduring as "melodies on the tongue" than the language of the child's own compositions. Children only gradually become able to implant such memorable phrases and structures in their own compositions. Additionally, they only gradually come to treat their own compositions as objects for memory.

Children's dictations. In dictating a composition, the child creates a text by saying the words for a scribe to write down. The scribe writes those words in conventional orthography, so the child's re-reading attempts are from print spelled and punctuated like that in basal readers and storybooks. Dictated stories support the part of comprehension that is remembered, rather than constructed meaning, although as the child develops the ability to treat the dictation as an object, the editing process may be constructive in a broad sense of anticipating possible structures. In reading from a dictation, the

child may use memory for text to support the growth of word knowledge by matching voice to print. When the child watches the scribe write, the child may observe the conventional use of letter-sound relationships in encoding the child's speech to print but the child will be less likely to analyze letter-sound relationships in re-reading the dictation than either in writing or re-reading from writing.

Handwritten compositions. Handwritten compositions as text-types contribute to the child's knowledges both during writing and during re-reading. Indeed, the child can be considered to be reading while writing although I argue in Chapters Four and Six that this is an assumption which can be treated as a hypothesis and tested against children's behaviors.

The form of the child's writing system affects the supports and constraints of handwritten compositions for children's reading attempts. If the child is using invented spelling, then the writing act itself requires the child to deeply process letter-sound relationships. Writing is difficult, however, requiring great expenditures of effort. When attempting to write a long composition, like a story, a child may even use other writing systems to get the story recorded. If so, then the handwritten composition will be less supportive of letter-sound knowledge. The child may use a system consisting of writing known words that have no relation to the intended message except "being words." If so, the resulting text may even contradict the knowledge of word stability that the child may be

otherwise developing.

Whichever writing system is used, though, handwritten compositions tend to support memory for text, dependent upon how close the child is to independent reading. Certainly, requests to read what a child has written conveys the message that what is written can be read; however, a child who is quite far from independent reading will not treat either dictations or handwritten compositions as very memorable.

When a child has some proficiency with writing, particularly with invented spelling and/or conventional spelling, written compositions tend to be shorter than other kinds of texts, since they require so much effort to construct. They can thus be more memorable in terms of the amount to remember but they may be, like the dictations, less memorable in structure and in turn of phrase. They also tend not to extend the child's notion of comprehension outward toward reconstructing someone else's, an author's message.

Summary. The four kinds of texts described here differ in the demands and constraints they offer the beginning reader in a reading attempt. Prolonged experiences with these text-types, including human interactions involving them, also may differentially affect the child's developing model of the reader/writer relationship. Additionally, the text-types tend to differ in terms of their relationship to the child's distinctions between oral and written language.

Preview. In BRDKAWL, the child's ability to construct his or her

own texts through dictations and handwritten compositions and to re-read these texts is the primary means of looking at the child's transition into independent reading during the kindergarten year (Studies II, III, and IV) since this is a literacy behavior at its primary onset. Additionally, children's reading attempts with favorite storybooks is treated as a long-experienced behavior and is surveyed in two studies of children's "General Knowledge About Written Language" (Study I and V). During the first-grade year, the two kinds of self-composed texts and favorite storybooks will be compared with the children's reading attempts in the instructional materials, the Houghton-Mifflin basal reading series (Studies VI and VII). The design will be reviewed more completely at the end of Chapter Three, which presents the contexts in which the project took place.

Chapter Three

The Contexts of the Study

Introduction

Any study has many participants, some seen and some not seen but equally important; the study will have many related settings. We fool ourselves to assume that by not mentioning them they do not exist (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Yet every study stresses or makes use of participants and settings selectively, with prejudices and biases. What we can hope for in any study is sufficient detail to identify the strengths and deficiencies and to allow useful interpretations to be drawn.

This chapter will describe the context of the 1980-81 part of the BRDKAWL project. During this year our goal was to describe the knowledges about written language that a group of five-year-old children brought to kindergarten with them. These children studied were enrolled in a classroom in which there was no formal instruction in reading and writing. The children were studied both in individual, structured sessions with the researchers and in the everyday context of their classroom. An additional goal was added to the research after negotiation with the children's teacher; she would agree to let us observe her with the children if, in turn, we would help her put into words (or professional jargon) the goals and activities that she had discovered during her years of teaching.

The chapter begins with a brief overview of participants and settings; discusses the limitations set by a pledge of anonymity to

the participants; returns to introduce the participants and settings in more detail; and finally outlines the structure of the year's research.

Overview of the Participants and Settings

In BRDKAWL 1980-81 the most important participants were the children, the teacher, and the researchers. The study was about the children's literacy development, but the children were always seen in the presence of the researchers and, some of the time, the teacher. Even when information was gained from other people and settings, it was through documents we prepared. While the parents were crucial to the development of these children we studied, we had little direct contact with them, with the exception of a questionnaire which we asked them to complete at the end of kindergarten. Other family and community members were part of the children's lives but they were not directly involved in the study. Some other school personnel were around and helped us but their activities were not examined directly in the study.

The most important settings were the classroom in which we observed both children and teacher when they operated as a class and spots in the hallways, cafeteria, and empty classrooms in which we conducted individual interviews with the children. The classroom was situated within a school within a community composed of families. Each of these latter settings were also important to the children's development but were not directly part of the study.

We will describe both participants and settings in more detail after discussing the limits we set on the details we would report.

Guaranteeing Anonymity

We agreed to protect the anonymity of the children, parents, teacher, and school in this study. (The participants are free to identify themselves but we will not identify them.) Thus the names you read for the teacher, Miriam Kendall, and for the children, like Jodie, Douglas, and Michael, are fictitious.

For that reason, some highly relevant information will not be reported. For those readers who would love to know birth order of the children, marital status of parents, national origin, etc., we are sorry but that information would risk allowing participants to be identified. While I regret this agreement in many ways (particularly when it meant I had to take a child's name out of a writing sample or omit the details of a trauma in a child's family), the focus of the study is upon children's demonstrated literacy behaviors; capturing those behaviors is a large enough job for now.

While the personal information is limited, any changes in the data like removing the child's name from the body of a story will be mentioned. Children's ages are given, rounded to the month of the reported observation. The only data about social and emotional development that are included are those aspects personally witnessed in the research sessions. When a child told about personal information that seemed relevant it was re-cast in a non-identifiable form. The long-range significance of social and emotional development

is discussed only in terms of literacy acquisition because our expertise lies there and not in other areas such as clinical psychology or social work. Similarly, we describe the school and community only in general terms. More detailed information can be made available to individual researchers for research purposes so long as the original anonymity agreements are not violated.

Information about the teacher was partially furnished by "Miriam Kendall" herself. She kindly allowed us to interview her and has read our reports. Other information about the teacher and classroom came from observations during the study; copies of those observations, including audiotaped and videotaped sessions were also made available to the teacher.

The Teacher

Imagine allowing four other adults watch you perform your most prized work, writing who-knows-what on clipboards while you struggle with your duties. And imagine them taking the living, breathing "products" of your work and examining them out of your sight and hearing. If you are a psychologist with a private practice or a reading clinician, imagine having outside evaluators checking up on your clients--from the perspective of what the evaluators think is important rather than from your perspective. Yet that is what Miriam Kendall, our teacher, agreed to.

Her actual agreement was far more specific because we stressed working out or negotiating goals that would help both her and us. I suspect that if we had not done this openly that Miriam would have

made her wishes known. She is a warm and welcoming person but a person of great strength of conviction and character. She sets implicit boundaries to interpersonal contacts with great skill. The goals we negotiated will be presented later in this chapter.

The 1980-81 school year was Miriam's 23rd year of teaching. She has always taught kindergarten, usually two half-day sessions of approximate two and a quarter hours each with a lunch and planning break at mid-day. She has an undergraduate degree in Education and has taken few additional courses, mostly district-sponsored in-service workshops. Two have been influential: a workshop on learning disabilities and one on art techniques. Additionally, she remembers a period when she had close friends teaching children approximately the same age who were eager to share tips and anecdotes. She misses the stimulation of close colleagues who are excited about children.

I wanted to do the study of literacy acquisition in Miriam's classroom because she had a number of qualities that would be helpful in the research. Nevertheless, longitudinal studies of the sort we planned involve by definition intimate and intrusive relationships (cf. Slaughter, personal communication). The year's research hinged on Miriam, once we started: she could kick us out of her room; she could freeze us out; or she could change her way of operating so much that she changed the children's behaviors. The year also hinged on us. We could offend Miriam; one of us could have trouble with one of the children; we could begin treating our research as a belief instead of a question. All of these possibilities faced us in the fall of

1980 and we discussed them with the teacher, Miriam Kendall.

I told Miriam why I wanted her: (1) she is a good teacher who knows and cares about children and (2) she did not believe in a formal program of instruction in reading and writing for five-year-olds. At that time, she did not even believe in an informal program encouraging reading and writing.

For the past three years, my graduate students and I had begun to help fill the colleague void but we were "from the university" and not exactly "teachers" to her. She deals easily with the notion that people in different roles have different perspectives and weighs evidence for herself. She, like many teachers I know, would accept my experience, but would assure me that my perspective was not current, saying "if you were still in the classroom. . . ," "yes, but when you are in the classroom all day. . . ."

Miriam has a very warm manner that she uses dramatically with children. I had the feeling that she did something important with her dramatic way of acting but, at the beginning of the year, I did not know what. Her warmth did not involve touching the children physically; it was conveyed by her way of speaking. She also has a detailed curiosity about and understanding of children, particularly of their social and emotional growth. She conveys wonder and delight at each child's performance.

A Teacher Creates a Classroom

My first visit of this year after the children came was the third day of school. We met on the playground and Miriam Kendall

immediately began pointing out various children to me, commenting on what was going on with this one or that one, predicting how the year would go for them, or saying something like, "Now here's one I can't figure out. Look how she hangs back--like she's not at all interested. Usually you see just a glimmer by now. I'm waiting--"

By the third day of school, September 1980, it was clear that the children were a class and already knew how things went in Mrs. Kendall's classroom. They knew how to use the individual activity stations, how to get out the play equipment and play on the playground, and how to line up. When you see an active and orderly class it is easy to forget that it takes effort of some kind for these individual children to become a social organism. Miriam had already taken that effort. (Later in the year I read Shavelson and Stern's 1981 review article and realized that the planning and tryout period must have already been done by the third day; Miriam confirmed this in an interview with Susan Anderson, telling how she "created the class" starting on the first day. I observed this phenomenon by visiting Miriam's class on the first days of 1981.)

The "Classroom"

Mrs. Kendall's room has maintained both a constant appearance and a constant atmosphere during the years we have been acquainted. The classroom map (Figure 2, page 88) reveals the appearance, with the well-defined work and play areas with many things for children to do. It is a welcoming room for five-year-olds. When four-year-olds come with their parents for get-acquainted visits in the late spring they

"check out" this big room. In the fall, when they come to enroll and begin school, they soon start venturing out to explore some of the intriguing puzzles, toys, and tools. Later they learn that the "room" also includes an enclosed play-yard, just outside the door behind the lesson and art area, with lots of mounted bars and slides, a sandbox, and a storage room with moveable wooden toys, including wheelbarrows for pushing one another precariously about.

Appearance must be distinguished from atmosphere, however. The appearance of the room is a common one for a kindergarten class in the suburbs in which the school is located; the appearance is based upon the use and contents of the available space. Atmosphere connotes the way in which the participants occupy the space and use its contents as individuals and as a group.

In appearance the room has four quadrants: the entry and coat area; the rug area; the lesson and art area; and the playhouse and individual activity area. A closer look at the map reveals that the "individual activity" area actually covers the entire room, but our observations indicated that the teacher helps the children develop tacit social "rules" for when these room-wide individual activity stations are used and for when the group gathers in the various areas of the room for other purposes. While the room appearance indicates space for each child to be occupied individually, the actual flow of activities regulates times when the class gathers as one total group, as a few smaller groups, or as pairs or individuals.

In atmosphere the classroom can be described as active but calm.

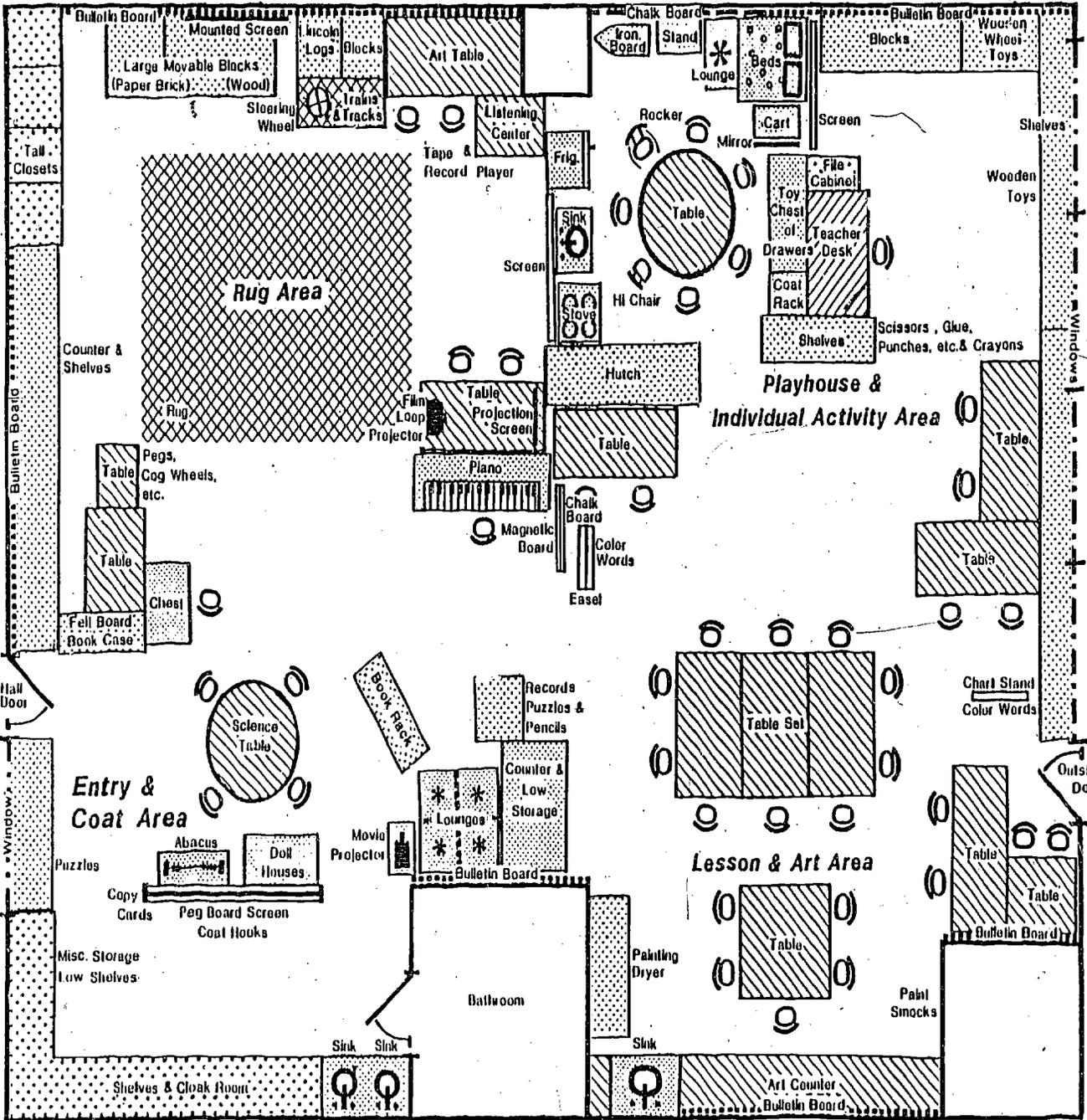


Figure 2. Classroom map

At the beginning of the study we were impressed with the ease with which the teacher controlled the overall flow of activities. We could readily spot some of her cues: body posture, voice tone, tunes played or the piano or sung, by the teacher first with children gradually chiming in. During the progress of the research, we have developed means to describe and explicate the atmosphere, including the socialization techniques the teacher uses, the activities she plans, and her conception of the daily and year-long schedule. In September, however, we were aware of how well Miriam and the children functioned as a classroom group, independent of the type of activities.

Classrooms differ widely, even when initial appearances are the same. Wearing my other hat as a teacher-educator or an even earlier hat as a reading specialist, I have seen a room arranged just as neatly become a place where children fight and race about, where children cry and rip up papers, where teachers yell and make demands. I have seen similar rooms house quite different teaching styles, including extremely formal instruction in reading, writing, and mathematics. Other classrooms are organized around units of exploration in which a topic like "community helpers" or "animals" serves to focus children's and teacher's activities for long periods of time. But now we were going to learn about this space.

From my previous experience, I felt confident that the children would have a pleasant and non-threatening day in Miriam's class and that if a child had a problem such as being ill or unhappy for some reason Miriam would let us know. She also would not allow us to take

advantage of the children, even unwittingly.

We planned to learn more about this classroom, so that we could check to see if the information we were getting from the children seemed consistent with the classroom behavior and also so we could see what informal instruction they were getting about the variables we were interested in.

The Kindergarten Curriculum

Kindergartens tend to have much more varied curricula than we find in "the grades." For instance, it would be highly unusual for a first grade teacher to decide not to teach reading or writing, even though some experts suggest that a delay might be helpful. Yet many kindergartens do not include reading and writing in their instructional offerings and when they are taught, the form of that teaching also varies widely.

In spite of the variation in curricula there are a number of identifiable models that prevail. These are general models, not restricted to reading or writing. Lay-Dopyera & Dopyera (1982) break these models into (1) environmentalist, (2) maturationist, and (3) interactionist with the warning that most programs are "eclectic" rather than pure examples of a given model. This breakdown is similar to the models that we described in Chapter One proposing how children "learn," "acquire," or "develop" language. In these models, as in the language models, the major differences can be found in the view of teaching and of the nature of the learner.

In the environmentalist model, instruction or teaching is viewed

as highly important; the learner is viewed as the relatively passive recipient of carefully structured, highly sequenced, carefully assessed instruction. Usually specific areas of the curriculum are identified and each has its own task analysis and planned instruction. The model assumes that teacher's responsibility is to teach what gets learned; this does not mean that children only learn what gets taught but that the responsibility of the teacher is the efficient delivery of instruction. Of the three models, this is the one that tends to interface most easily with instruction in the higher grades, partially because it does not assume a strong difference between the needs of five-year-olds and older children.

In the maturationist models the needs of the given child within a given age-stage are primary. These models assume that the teacher's role is to support what the child is internally programmed to do; the child has an internal clock of development. Another way of putting that is that intrinsic motivation is far more important than any extrinsic goals that could be devised. The teacher needs to set up nurturing situations in the classroom that honor the child's needs, such as a balance between kind of activities and of group settings. Interactions with other children, with materials, and with significant adults should be provided primarily to allow the child to select developmentally appropriate ways of spending time. Thus the teacher does not set goals but helps the child to have the opportunity to meet his or her own goals. This model can result in a dichotomy between what happens in kindergarten and in first grade. Occasionally, the

maturationalist viewpoint is used in urging that a child be given a second year in kindergarten, "to mature," before being exposed to formal instruction in first grade.

The third model, interactionist, puts strong emphasis upon the input from the environment and upon the child's intrinsic motivation. The learner is viewed as active and not passive, but able to be guided and even accelerated by teaching. The role of the teacher is to decide what the student needs to learn and to provide developmentally appropriate ways to help the student learn. Those ways can include formal instruction more like that used in "the grades" but for more kindergarteners there is a strong stress on hands-on activities as the basis for all learning. Interaction with both children and adults is viewed as part of the curriculum but there is, simultaneously, a strong emphasis upon the academic areas. Kohlberg and Mayer (1972) proposed that academic goals such as high-level reasoning are found within such an interactionist view because development is directional, not laissez-faire, while being internally-guided, rather than externally-imposed. Thus in classrooms governed by such a model, children will often be found working hard at tasks designed for exploring developmentally challenging ideas, such as volume, velocity, trajectory, or prediction of story events, yet the tasks will be suited to young children. Children and teachers will be working together with the teacher acting as a supportive prodder.

But where should we place Miriam Kendall in these models? She certainly didn't fit as an environmentalist, not just because she

didn't teach reading and writing. Her day was not structured in bits and pieces with carefully stated objectives, carefully and directly taught, and just as carefully tallied up for each child.

At the beginning of the 1980-81 school year we thought we saw aspects of both maturationist and interactionist models. Miriam might be called a maturationist in that she certainly had ideas about what was appropriate for five year olds, including a strong desire not to "push" them. Some of her language sounded "maturationist." She had mentioned that she wanted the day to have a variety of active and quiet times. She did a lot of observing of children at times when she could have been interacting. Her interactions did not seem to pinpoint and push individual children particularly. Her curriculum did not seem to have a strongly academic thrust. Nevertheless, there were individual work stations the purpose of which we did not understand and hadn't seen in action. Her language with children seemed to have a purpose that eluded us yet captured the children's attention and imagination.

In short, we did not understand either the model nor the curriculum it led to at the outset of the kindergarten year we wanted to study. Miriam was not able at that time to explain it to us in our terms; she said, "You can watch and maybe you can tell me what I do," but she was firmly convinced that "it works." While she did not say it, I also was convinced that she thought her way of teaching was good for children.

Thus we developed a goal. We wanted to watch the children in

their classroom to see if our observations in the one-to-one sessions of our study were consistent with the child's classroom behavior and, second, we wanted to explore the curriculum of the classroom to see what the children were being taught about the literacy-related variables such as conversation, storytelling, dictation, written composition, reading, "editing;" topic, audience, at whatever level and in whatever ways they were explored. This second goal was later adapted by our discussions with Miriam to include an study of her model, trying to put into words the intuitive model of teaching and learning that she held, as well as trying to understand what it taught children about literacy.

The Children

Miriam has two classes a day to occupy her classroom space. This is a common practice in many school districts in the United States. Some years Miriam has the only two classes for her school and other years there is a second teacher who has either one or two classes. During 1980-81 Miriam was the only kindergarten teacher, with one "morning group" and a second "afternoon group." The morning group stayed from 9:00 till 11:15 and the afternoon group from 12:45 until 3:00. With both groups a few children often came early, gathered on the rug with puzzles, books, or toys, and played until the "day" officially began.

Children in the school attain mean scores well above the national norms on intelligence and achievement tests, as well as on the school-administered "readiness tests." There was also, however, a

range of scores so that children differed widely. In our own assessments of what children could do in reading and writing in each of Miriam's classes, we found quite a range.

A second important academic feature of these children was that they expressed themselves relatively well to adults. They were good "guinea pigs" for adults interested in what children can do and can say about literacy.

If these children were so advantaged, even with a range of abilities, why do we need to study them? Personally, I needed some simplification since I wanted to investigate reading and writing complexly otherwise. However, two other reasons are important: first, these children may not be so different from less advantaged children. Harste, Burke, and Woodward (1981) argue that the characteristics of developing literacy and of being able to show off and talk about literacy are not limited to upper-middle-class children prior to formal instruction. I have also found this to be the case in pilot studies in the inner-city of Chicago; however, for this study, we elected optimum conditions in a culture which we knew had a strong impact of written language appearing in the ways in which people expressed themselves orally.

The second reason concerns the instruction for children of this kind. Even with children who bring such a wealth of information about written language to school with them, we often offer only very traditional instruction, beginning all or large groups of children in the same materials at the same time, restricting children from writing

"until they learn to make their letters," and then only offering the most mechanical tasks, like copying or sentence completion.

Our 1980-81 research was conducted with the Miriam Kendall's morning group and we used the afternoon group for pilot-testing and researcher-training. Twenty-four children were in the morning group. Only one child enrolled after the year began; that child left again before the year was over. No other child left during the school year. Typically, class membership in the school is relatively stable. This stability in membership was an assurance that a longitudinal study using case study methodology would be feasible in Miriam's classroom. More information about the children will be given in Chapter Four and particularly in Chapter Five, in the discussion of how nine of the children were chosen for intensive case study.

The Researchers

Four researchers committed themselves for the 1980-81 school year. Three of these (Sulzby, Cox, and Otto) would work with individual children and a fourth (Anderson) would make classroom observations. The three researchers who worked with the children had extensive classroom teaching experience and two had research experience with young children. Sulzby was the principal investigator. Cox and Otto were both graduate students in reading and language. Anderson was a senior undergraduate student majoring in elementary education. She had taken a number of courses in reading and had worked on a research project during her junior year. Her interest in teaching and young children were important factors leading

me to accept her offer to work on the project; she operated as a full-fledged member throughout the study. The researchers were committed not only to the conduct of the study itself, but also to making the experience worthwhile for the teacher and children.

The School

The school building is a mixture of architecture, fully workable for children in the elementary years. It houses kindergarten through sixth grade with several sections of each grade. The grades are laid out in classrooms adjacent to one another. The school includes a library and gym and a number of rooms for other specialists, including speech and learning disabilities. Health specialists, psychologists, and social workers are available when needed. The school is open to research by the University provided there is appropriate space; during 1980-81 all the extra rooms were taken by classes, administration, or specialists.

The principal takes an active role in all aspects of the school. He is usually physically present, walking up and down the halls, speaking to students and teachers, knowing all by name. The office and support staff also know the children by name and when parents pick children up at school the secretaries often make pleasant, even personal comments about the children. The office telephones are busy with home-school, school-home calls. Some children will be found sitting outside the office door on couches or chairs at tables; it is more common for them to be there by choice, using the area as a comfortable workplace, than for them to be there awaiting discipline.

Major problems with children are dealt with through conferences and, when extreme measures such as special placement are being considered principal, teachers, parents, specialists, and often the child meet together. Often a number of such meetings are held before a final decision is reached and then the child's progress is monitored in the new placement or new program. Follow-up conferences may be held as well.

During 1980-81 the principal and teachers were choosing a new basal reading series. The school had gone through a period of emphasis on individualized instruction, trying to tailor the curriculum to the pace of each child. As often happens with such a plan, teachers, administrators, and parents began to worry about communication and continuity of instruction and to suggest a move toward a more uniform approach to teaching and monitoring progress in reading. The plan was to choose one reading series to become the standard for diagnosis, placement, and the bulk of instruction. The series being considered had a strand for kindergarten and Miriam Kendall and other district kindergarten teachers were involved in evaluating those series. The series would not be used until 1981-82.

The Community

The school is in an upper-middle-class suburb north of Chicago, Illinois, with a population of between 25,000-35,000. The community is not one of the wealthiest in the area where the cost and standard of living tends to be high but it is economically very comfortable and the population is quite stable. Most people within the area of the

school own their own home and most homes are single-family dwellings. There is a moderately-sized central business district and smaller commercial areas spread throughout the community. Businesses include bookstores, toy stores, and other stores devoted in part to children and family life. Public transportation makes working in Chicago relatively easy. There is a major University close-by, as well as other teacher-training institutions. Public libraries and parks are within easy reach of all residents. The community would be classified as highly literate, including the contexts that surround members and in ways in which families socialize their children.

The Families

As mentioned earlier, the school population is relatively stable. People do move into and out of the community and there are divorces and other family disruptions of modern times but not to the degree found in many areas. A recent reliable community survey classified the community as having stable family configurations.

Parents participate in school activities, including volunteering in classrooms, giving special workshops and "mini-courses," accompanying field trips, and keeping touch with the teachers. Part of this is done through the parent-teacher organization and part of it is independent. Parents attend conferences with teachers about their children and often children attend as well. The parents of the children in Miriam Kendall's room seemed to be interested in the study we were planning and all gave their permission for the children to take part. Later, they were responsive to the questionnaires we sent

home. Some of the parents expressed desire for a formal reading program in kindergarten; others were just as firmly in favor of a more informal program, but almost every parent seemed concerned with his or her child's schooling.

Overview of The Research Design

To review, the over-riding goal of this research project was to describe the knowledges about written language that a group of five-year-olds brought to school with them and to explore how those knowledges grew and changed, particularly during the kindergarten year. The specific purposes of the 1980-81 year were to chart the development of a select group of children making the transition into independent reading and to describe their development against the backdrop of other children in their kindergarten classroom who were not given intensive research attention and against the backdrop of the kind of instruction provided in this classroom. An ancillary purpose was to describe the teacher's model of teaching and learning. To fulfill those purposes within a naturalistic framework, we had a research design partially specified and partially emerging. The next step was to work out or "negotiate" how we would actually carry out the research, given that we wanted it to benefit the participants as directly as possible as well as furnish new knowledge to outsiders.

The design for first grade, 1981-82, was not so complicated as the kindergarten design. First grade involved only two sessions, fall and spring, in which we assessed the children's abilities after they

began formal instruction. The procedures for those two studies will be described in Chapter Ten. The remainder of this chapter applies primarily to the 1980-81 school year, or "kindergarten in Miriam Kendall's room." First I will discuss the general agreements we reached to begin the project and then I will trace the research design and schedule in brief detail.

Negotiation of Mutual Goals

With the teacher. At our meeting in September 1980, Miriam Kendall and I agreed to a number of points and agreed to continue working together for our mutual benefit during the year. The points which Miriam made didn't seem like many at the time but they were important. First of all, she welcomed us and welcomed the information we could give her. Second, and importantly tied to the first point, she had ways of teaching that she believed in and would continue. She wanted our information and also her autonomy; she would evaluate what we made available to her and would not feel pressured to change because of what we were doing. Third, she would appreciate our giving her labels for her educational practices. She had developed ways of working with children intuitively that she often had difficulty discussing with other people. She wanted to know in what ways her practices were like and unlike those of other teachers and wanted vocabulary to use in talking with parents and teachers. Finally, we were to be ready to leave her classroom at a moment's notice, without saying a word, if she signalled to us to leave. Miriam did not put the stipulation this bluntly; I rephrased it in this way in promising

to honor the sanctity of her classroom. She was concerned that there might be a time when a child was upset or when she herself needed "some breathing room" and wanted us not to be hurt but to honor her needs and those of the children. (We never had to leave for those reasons, but that is partly because, as we learned, Miriam was able to handle all kinds of crises so calmly and reasonably.)

Running through Miriam's comments in September was an ambivalent note of welcome and of protection of autonomy. I found that I was having similar ambivalent feelings. I didn't know how comfortable I would be spending an entire year, intimately observing another teacher whose children we were working with so closely. I was afraid that I might lose my research perspective and take on an interventionist perspective if I found myself disagreeing with things Miriam did. I was also afraid that I might become too protective of her point of view.

In considering the history of the relationship between research and practice for a compendium on early reading, Sheldon White (1979) suggested that, instead of trying either to be a pure scientist studying a complex set of phenomena in a laboratory or taking time from science to act in some marketing role, the scientist might step into the classroom or other educational setting and try out his/her ideas there, in the complexity of the setting where reading and other forms of literacy are actually used. We were taking this step, and in so doing had complicated our design further.

The fears that I had about my relationship to the teacher were

thus significant and helpful. They helped me to separate my researcher goals and my teacher-educator goals. I explained that to Miriam in September; I told her that I wore two hats, one as a teacher-educator and the second as a researcher. I told her frankly that, in my teacher-educator role, I would rather that she used an informal, developmental program like language-experience or whole-language, that gave children more opportunities to explore reading and writing. In my researcher role, I preferred that she not offer such instruction but that she stick with the kind of program she typically offered. I also told her that if she changed her mind during the year and began any new kind of program, like the new reading series, for example, that I would just take it in stride and try to describe what happened. I warned her that she would be receiving all kinds of proof of what the children could already do in reading and in writing and that she might end up wanting to use some of the techniques we were using in our research in her own classroom. I also warned her to watch for encroachment and over-enthusiasm from us and to tell us to "back off" when and if we left our research mode and tried crusading.

I asked Miriam for her feedback on what we were doing and she promised to give it. We gave her copies of all our protocols and observations as we prepared them. We agreed to a kind of informal collaboration with Miriam to have as involved a role as she wanted. At that time, we discussed a possibility which Miriam laughed off--perhaps we would write a paper together or give a talk together. (Our eventual collaboration had a slow start; during 1980-81 we just

talked but during 1981-82, Miriam began to use some of our techniques with a different group of children and gave her first presentation on the project at the 1982 meeting of the International Reading Association.)

The issue of instructional change was important to me. The previous year (1979-80), I had conducted a complicated experimental study with Miriam's children (Sulzby 1981c); just as the study ended one of the other teachers began to take some of the children out of Miriam's room for reading instruction. At that time, I panicked to think that the change could have taken place in the middle of the study. In planning for this year, with its more naturalistic design, the research team had discussed the possibility of instructional change and had decided to take Vygotsky's (1978) posthumous words seriously:

Any psychological process, whether the development of thought or voluntary behavior, is a process undergoing changes right before one's eyes. (p. 61)

Rather than assume that we could control the events in our study we would try to describe the situation at each point in time so that change could be detected, charted, and, hopefully, understood (cf. Campbell & Stanley, 1963; Guba, 1978, 1982).

With the research team. Negotiation of goals within the research team seemed a bit more ticklish to me. Graduate students depend upon their professors for a number of things that they aren't always aware of at the outset. Likewise research projects can be made or broken by

graduate students' ability to commit themselves. I knew that the commitment to BRDKAWL was a huge one and tried to warn Beverly Cox and Beverly Otto. We agreed upon some time limitations of what I would ask of them and pay them for; needless to say, we far overran the time limitations in what they did and far underran it in pay. Briefly, besides hours and pay, I promised them training, the chance to understand a complex, relatively unexplored set of phenomena and, in return, they promised to work long, hard hours and to submit themselves to difficult work involving creativity, drudgery, and monitoring by themselves and others.

Since we were doing highly descriptive work, depending first of all on careful data collection and second upon extremely painstaking transcription, monitoring was essential. We agreed to double-check all transcription and protocol preparation, as well as any subsequent scoring. We also agreed to double-check each other in all kinds of data analysis, including that done in choosing examples from raw data in our writing.

Our final negotiated goal was that, while we would be hyper-critical of each other, we would also be nurturant of each other. We would accept the stance of the research design as being "emergent," or growing as we went along but we would also treat ourselves as emergent researchers. Not long ago one of the other researchers wrote a paper and said that we had used "reading readiness" as a criterion in selecting the case study children. I scrawled a note saying that we had not, that we had used "emergent

reading" as the criterion. Then, to my embarrassment, I reviewed my records and found that, while the construct we had used had been what we now call "emergent reading," that my heading in December 1980 had been "reading readiness." We have grown and changed as we agreed we would. I apologized and she forgave me.

With the children. Negotiation of goals with the children is somewhat subtle. The status of the partners is not equal and in a way the children aren't able to say "no" so readily as another adult would be. We asked the children to help us and tried not to pressure them. All the children agreed, even Richard whom you will meet in Chapter Five. A great deal of this agreement was due to the parents and to Miriam Kendall. We took responsibility to be honest with the children. We explained the purpose of all the things we were doing, in simple words like, "I'm Mrs. Sulzby and I am interested in what boys and girls know about reading and writing when they start to school. I know you don't read or write yet like a grown-up but I know you know a lot about reading and writing. Will you help me?"

Additionally, when we asked them to write for us we made xerox copies of their writing for them to keep. When, in Study III, we told them that visitors wanted them to write stories for them, we gave the originals to the visitors as we had promised (even though we would have loved to have the brightly colored originals instead of our xeroxes). At the end of first grade, when we asked them to write a story to give to us "for us to remember you by," we kept the original; however, we gave them a storybook to remember us by.

In capsule, our stance was a humanistic one, treating the teacher, the children, and ourselves as human beings with feelings as well as thoughts. It was developmental, in that we expected all members of the project to change and to grow. It was interactive in that all of us individually and in interaction were the "subjects" of the research. Now I will outline the design for kindergarten very briefly. The chapters that follow will describe each study and cross-study comparison in detail.

The Research Design and Schedule

Figure 3 gives a schematic look at the research design. The chart includes 1977-79 in which pilot studies were conducted with children from Miriam Kendall's room. It also includes 1979-80 in which two large-scale studies were conducted that give comparison data for Study I and Study II of the 1980-81 year.

1980-81, kindergarten. BRDKAWL 1980-81 consisted of five separate studies and corresponding observational data. The year's work was planned to include two levels of data from children collected in individual sessions: "large group," or data from the entire class, and "mini-studies," or data from the case study children alone.

Large group data. Figure 3 shows three large diagonally striped boxes, marked I, III, and V. Initially, we planned to collect large group data only at the beginning and end of the year, Studies I and V. We added a large scale comparison in Study III for reasons that will

be explained in Chapter Seven.

Study I and Study V are beginning and end of the year interviews called, "General Knowledges About Written Language." They were designed to inventory the knowledges that children have about reading and writing, including the language that they use to express this knowledge. Additionally, Study I was used to assess the children's prior knowledges about some of the stimuli we would use in the mini-studies, like real and make-believe, topics for child and adult audiences, and about learning to ride a child vehicle like a "big wheel," a tricycle, a "green machine," or a "two-wheeler" bike. Chapter Four presents a detailed look at the children during Study I; Chapter Nine will make cross-kindergarten comparisons, including Study V, so that we can make some judgments about how the children changed during this kindergarten year with the kind of instruction we described through our observations. Additionally, we will compare the results for the case study children and the other children.

Small group data. Cross-hatched boxes indicate five mini-studies in 1980-81. The ones marked I and V actually indicate the sub-set of data that came from the nine children selected for case study. The other mini-studies were discrete studies: Study II, Real and Make-Believe Topic; Study III, Delayed Audience Interview (based upon the Child-Adult Audience large-group study); and Study IV, "New Event" Stimulus in which children wrote about an event they had just taken part in. These five mini-studies make up most of the individual data for the case studies, along with class observations, parent

questionnaires, and the data from 1981-82.

Classroom observations. Extending across the entire school year on the chart in Figure 3 is a narrow dotted box. This box represents Susan Anderson's weekly observations of the children and teacher which is described Sulzby and Anderson (1982). Anderson observed during the entire school day, 9:00 to 11:15, one day a week for the year. The diagonally-stripped box beneath that indicates that whenever we took the case study children out for individual sessions, we returned to the classroom and continued observing them in their classroom activities, to see if the one-to-one data we collected seemed consistent with their classroom behavior.

The children's parents responded to a questionnaire at the end of kindergarten. The purpose was to collect their memories of the children's early interests in reading and writing and to compare their memories with our observations during the study.

1981-82, First Grade Follow-up. In the children's first grade year, they were given formal instruction in three different classrooms. The goal of the project was to describe the knowledges about written language that children brought to school with them and to describe the transition into independent reading. As we watched the children through kindergarten only some of them made the transition; we were loath to leave them just because formal instruction had begun. Additionally, as discussed in Chapter Two, we had begun to make predictions about how the children would read from basal readers as a different type of text from the ones the children

had read from in kindergarten (i.e., their own dictated and handwritten stories and their favorite storybooks). Thus the two studies, VI and VII, focus upon how children read from different text-types. The materials chosen for Study VI differed for each child, with the child choosing a storybook and the first grade teacher suggesting basal reader stories. Study VII served an evaluative purpose and used the same storybook and basal reader story with each child. For the first time, comprehension was measured by use of a recall technique.

Running through the two years was a thread of change. Our initial objective was to describe literacy knowledges. Our understanding of the ways in which such knowledges show themselves grew during the two years. Rather than give the reader too great a preview now, however, I invite you to meet the children of Miriam Kendall's room and see how they displayed their "General Knowledges About Written Language," during the first months of school.

Chapter Four

Study I

General Knowledges About Written Language

Introduction

What do kindergarteners already know about written language when they start to school in the fall? Children seem to be learning more and more but we have little evidence from procedures that simply ask or allow children to show off what they can do. So, in October, 1980, we began our survey of a group of 24 kindergarten children, with Miriam Kendall's, the principal's, and their parents' permission. And, as we took each child out for an individual interview, we asked them for their permission.

This chapter presents the rationale, method, and results of Study I, General Knowledges About Written Language. The "General Knowledges" interview is divided into five parts: (1) Conversation sample; (2) Writing Interview; (3) Transition from Writing to Reading; (4) Reading Interview; and (5) Prior Knowledges About Topic (Real and Make-Believe) and Audience (Child and Adult). Each of the five parts has a number of subparts that are addressed to issues raised in Chapter Two. The data are presented around these issues, with some data presented as frequencies and ranges of behaviors found in the 24 children and other data presented as examples to illustrate a point or identify a characteristic. Children are identified by code name and age at the time of their individual interview. The chapter concludes with an overview of the group data. Chapter Five presents these data

again, in the context of introducing the nine children chosen for case studies.

Setting the Stage With the Children

By October, the four researchers were familiar classroom visitors. We seemed to be accepted as grown-ups whom the children could approach but people with our own work to do, signalled by our clipboards and notetaking. Mrs. Kendall always welcomed us with a cheery, "Good morning, ladies," and then she went about her own routines with the children.

On Tuesday, October 14, she announced to the boys and girls:

"You know, our visitors are very special people and they have some special things that they would like to find out about us. Will you help them?"

That was my cue to tell the children that we would take them one at a time to a special place outside the room and that everyone would have a turn, "If not today, then on another day. You'll all have a turn."

Purposes of the Study

One purpose of the General Knowledges study was to inventory the knowledges about written language of the children in this classroom at the beginning of the kindergarten year. The interview schedule was a revision of one used during 1979-80 with Miriam's class of the previous year (Sulzby, 1981c). By inventorying the knowledges of the 1980-81 class we could make comparisons with the children of the previous year in order to get some estimate of the reliability of the

interview itself. More importantly for this study, we could make comparisons to end-of-the-year data as a way of describing how these children change during the year.

A second purpose of the interview was to gather data to be used in preparing the middle-of-the-year studies with the case study children. In particular, we wanted to measure their background knowledges about topic and audience and we wanted estimates of their ability to carry on conversations with adults about general topics and about literacy.

Third, we needed to select our nine case study children, those children whose transition into independent reading we wanted to describe. To make this selection, we would use our construct of emergent reading abilities. In retrospect, I realized that the selection process would become a test of the construct itself. Could we use it to select children who would differ significantly from each other? What would be the items that we took into account in making these decisions? How would they hold up during the study? And, our most stringent test, although I didn't realize it at the time, how well would they hold up when Miriam Kendall, and later the children's first grade teachers, began to reveal to us their judgments about the children?

The General Knowledges interview is divided into five parts, each with subparts. The five parts are (1) Conversation sample; (2) Writing interview; (3) Transition from writing to reading; (4) Reading interview; and (5) Prior Knowledge About Topic and Audience. Here are

questions that the parts can be used to address; note that the parts are listed in parentheses after the question.

Specific Questions About Children's General Knowledges

- (1) How do these kindergarten children converse with a somewhat familiar adult? (Part 1)
- (2) How do these children converse about learning to ride a big wheel or other childhood vehicle? (Prior knowledge of stimulus for Study II) (Part 1)
- (3) What can these children write? How do they describe this writing and their knowledge about it? (Part 2)
- (4) What can these children read? How do they describe this reading and their knowledge about it? (Part 3,4)
- (5) What do these children say about literacy tasks that they cannot yet perform? (Part 2,3,4)
- (6) How do these children characterize knowing and learning? (Part 2,3,4)
- (7) How do these children attempt to read favorite storybooks? (Part 4)
- (8) What do these children know about book parts, labels, and purposes? (Part 4)
- (9) What do these children know about the variables of topic and audience? (Part 5)

Method of the Study

Subjects. For Study I all of the 24 children in Mrs. Kendall's

class were our subjects. Three of the 24 were slightly overage (6-1, 6-3, and 6-4), having been "held back" at home a year by their parents. The remaining 21 children ranged from 4-11 to 5-11 with a median age of 5-5 and a mean of 5-8. In the class as a whole there were 11 girls and 13 boys; the three overage children included one of the girls and two of the boys. Five of the children came from other language backgrounds: three from western and eastern Asiatic countries; and two from European countries.

Data collection. All sessions were held between October 24 and December 2, 1980. For the interviews, each child was taken from the classroom by one of the three examiners. The researcher re-introduced herself before leaving the room and asked the child to select a favorite storybook from the room. Then the adult led the child from the room to a child-sized table set up in the hallway leading to the room. The table and two chairs were carefully arranged prior to the child's arrival as shown in Figure 4.

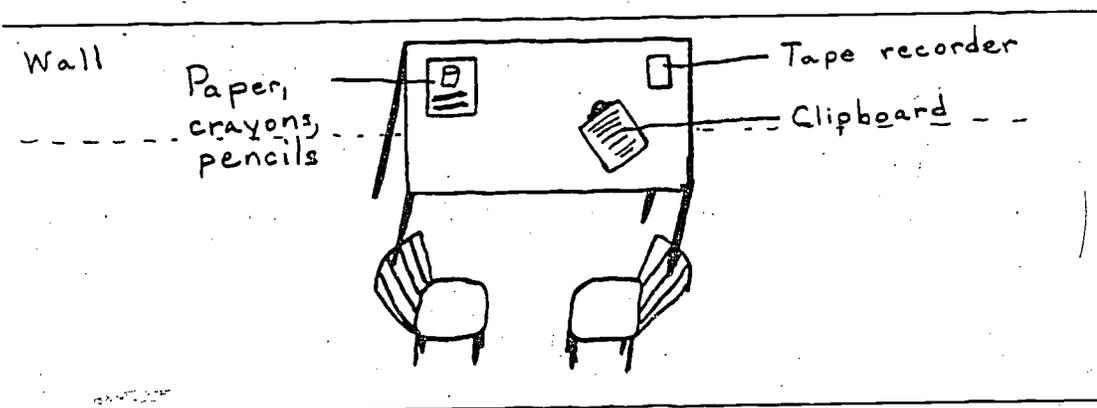


Figure 4. Conversation Interview Set-up

The two chairs faced one another. The examiner motioned for the child to sit in one chair, took the other for herself, at the same time

casually taking the storybook from the child and placing it face-down at an angle under the table, "till later." All parts of the interview except the conversation sample and storybook reading required the examiner to follow a set script.

On the table were unlined paper, crayons, and two sizes of pencils, primary and adult, both without erasers. After the first part of the interview, the conversation sample, was over, the examiner helped the child turn around to the table and pushed these utensils in front of the child to observe the child's choice and handling of writing materials. In the storybook reading session, similarly, the child was asked where the book was, then the examiner could observe how the child picked up and handled the book.

The final materials in view were the tape recorder and the examiner's clipboard, pen, and protocols. The child was introduced to the tape-recorder if s/he seemed to notice it; from previous studies in this school we had learned that children were accustomed to using tape recorders. Usually, we simply commented that we were using it so we wouldn't forget what we said and offered to let the child listen to it a bit after we were finished.

Each part of the interview will be presented separately. The rationale for each portion of the interview will be presented as we go along.

The Interview: General Knowledges About Written Language

Part 1, Conversation Sample

Rationale. For the BRDKAWL project, it has been posited that

children signal knowledges about written language by being able to differentiate between oral and written language. For these children who have been brought up in a highly literate culture, oral language can be divided into the most interactive mode, conversation, and the next most interactive mode, storytelling or oral monologues; written language can be divided into dictation, in which there is a scribe but no present audience, and into handwritten, typed, or printed stories, in which the writer takes on the whole burden of creating a text without a scribe's help.

In Studies II, IV, and the first grade studies we would ask these children to tell stories, to dictate stories, and to write their own stories. Children would also converse with us in those later studies, but for now we wanted a baseline sample of conversation, including conversation about the major stimulus for Study II, learning to ride a "big wheel."

Conversation implies that both partners present ideas and react to ideas, not that one partner acts as an interrogator or supporter of the other. However, in conversations between adults and children the burden is often unevenly distributed. This distribution can be due to the child's level of development in relation to the adult (Bruner, 1975; Cherry, 1979; Wertsch, 1978) or can be due to status and/or role considerations (Mehan, 1979).

In the 1979-80 study (Sulzby, 1981c), the conversation sample had been gathered near the end of an interview session. The interview itself had set up an interrogation pattern similar to Mehan's (1979)

IRE (Initiate, Reply, Evaluate). In such a pattern, typically found in instructional situations, one person initiates a topic, a second person responds, and the first person, the initiator, evaluates the response. We also found that it was typical behavior for each of us to take the adult, teacher-figure, status. We would initiate a topic, the child would respond, and we would say, "That's good," or give some other evaluative comment, then start another cycle.

In this study, we wanted conversation that would have the potential of being more interactive and more equal in status. In order to elicit such conversation, we analyzed actual conversations in the real world to have a somewhat different format (see Wells, 1981, for comparison). In real conversation, partners are more equal and negotiate for status (which is transient). Either partner may raise a topic that may be picked up and carried further by the other person or may be dropped by ignoring or countering with a different topic. Partners may evaluate each other's responses but the conversation does not depend upon evaluation to progress. Partners respond with sentences, partial sentences, tortured phrases, gestures, facial expressions, grunts, interruptions, and silences. They also interrupt one another and occasionally may talk simultaneously.

Procedures. The examiner was supposed to begin the entire Study I interview by simply conversing with the child, using the understanding of conversation that we had developed. A few topics were suggested as elicitations, like how the child liked school so far and what the child liked to do, at school and at home. The examiner

was supposed to allow the actual topics to flow from events within the conversation; however, at the end of the conversation, if the topic hadn't arisen already, the examiner was to lead into a discussion of what the child enjoyed playing "in the playyard, with the other boys and girls," and by himself or herself, at home. If the child then led into the topic of riding a big wheel, well and good; if not, the examiner led into it.

In the conversation, the examiner's speech usage was supposed to be casual: "Wha'd'you like to play by yourself--like to ride?" The examiner was supposed to pause at times, as if thinking over what had been said. Gestures were encouraged. Rather than asking questions, examiners were encouraged to tell anecdotes about themselves, with appropriate pauses for the child's evaluation:

"Wow, I remember when I learned to ride a big wheel. They called it a tricycle then. It didn't make a noise like a big wheel." (Pause)

"So I fixed it up so it'd sound like a big wheel." (Pause)

"I put a piece of cardboard on it with a clothespin so it would make a popper." (Gesture)

After the child and adult discussed the topic of learning to ride a big wheel, the examiner led into the writing interview. The conversation sample results will be summarized now.

Conversation results. Since the conversation sample was elicited primarily as baseline information, its greatest usefulness is in the case studies. In Chapter Five those results are presented by

individual child, and in subsequent chapters the child's ability to sustain monologues, both oral and written, will be compared with the child's conversational characteristics. Here we present an overview of the results of the group of children, to describe ways in which five-year-olds can sustain conversation, acting as responsive partners. The first analyses are addressed to that part of the conversation before the "big wheel" discussion; this section concludes with examples of children's conversations about learning to ride a big wheel.

First, we present some simple measures of conversational length and questions asked. Second, we examine the conversations qualitatively, to estimate how competent the children were as conversational partners.

First, all the protocols were examined to consider whether or not the samples could legitimately be called samples of conversation. In contrast to the 1979-80 (Sulzby, 1981c) study, all 24 children produced samples that could legitimately be analyzed as conversations.

Although the length of the conversation was not controlled, it was obvious that these children differed widely in how long they conversed. Since the structure of the interview led to the topic, "big wheel," one indirect measure of length can be taken from how long it took the adult-child pair to complete the target topic, even though many different kinds of reasons can affect the time spent. The time ranged from 1'35" to 7'47" with a median of 3'30".

Another difference could be found in who asks questions and how

many questions were asked. In the samples the children asked from zero to nine questions while the adults asked from 14 to 65 questions per sample. And this was with warnings not to interrogate the children! An examination of the function of these questions, however, shows that many of them are not "true queries." Notice the example with Ariadne, below, in which questions like "You don't have one?" serve to give the child's side of the conversation instead of being a true question from the adult.

In other words, the questioning data can be examined to see how the questions functioned. In these samples, most of the questions that the adult asked were for the purpose of maintaining conversation and not of quizzing the other person nor usually of satisfying real curiosity.

The child questions, on the other hand, were usually signs of interest or curiosity. Tizard (1979) has found that young children ask parents at home a much greater number of questions than they ask their teachers at school or other care centers. The early reading and writing literature (Clark, 1976; Durkin, 1966; Read, 1970) gives ample testimony that children who learn early and easily ask their parents a large number of questions which their parents answer simply and directly.

In this baseline sample, we wanted to see how readily the children would ask us questions. In the subsequent studies we were curious about whether or not we would see increases over time and/or situations in these children asking adults questions, particularly about literacy. We also expected to find differences in how easily the children would use adults as resources, in general, and question-asking seemed like a place to look for indicators.

In order to consider how well the children maintained their part of the conversation, the conversations samples were categorized in four ways that had to do with the appropriateness of the language used for conversation. First, the overall nature of the exchange was judged to be either "free exchange" or "labored," which can either include one partner's being too dependent upon another or not being cooperatively communicative. The second judgment was based upon the degree of contingency within the utterances: were the partners' utterances mutually contingent or did one partner adapt to a less responsive partner? The third question was related to the informational specification (an analysis which will be used in judging written language samples) of the child's utterances. This category includes questions like, did the child give specific information to orient his/her listener; did the child clarify statements voluntarily or did the adult have to ask questions for clarification; did the child ask for clarification when needed? Finally, the conversation of the child was judged to see whether it sounded like oral or written language.

Before presenting the results of those analyses, I will first display examples from the data, accompanied by interpretations about the adult/child interactions. Two examples have been taken from the same examiner on the same day, October 19, 1980, to illustrate differences in children as conversational partners. In these examples, only the first part of the conversations are included, both centering around the ages of the child and the adult. Typically, for all the samples,

the earlier part of the conversation was relatively strained as compared with the final part, particularly the "big wheel" conversation, samples of which will be presented later.

Of the two children represented in these samples, Daniel B. was judged to be an easy conversational partner and Ariadne was judged to be difficult. While Ariadne was untalkative in this sample, in later exchanges both in study sessions and in classroom observations, she was found to be very talkative but very unconcerned about her partners. (The numbers here and in other examples are from the tape recorder counter and can be used as an indicator of the relative rapidity of exchanges or length of pauses.)

Daniel B. (age 5-11):

- 005 Adult: Well, I'm sure glad that you could come and help me today, Daniel. Let's put this over here. (Note contextual quality of examiner's language.) OK. (Pause.)
How old are you?
- 006 Child: Five and a half.
- 006 Adult: Five and a half!
- 007 Child: Uh-huh, and my--
- 007 Adult: (Interrupting)--Wow, you're a big boy.
- 008 Child: And my birthday's in December.
(Voluntarily extending conversation)
- 008 Adult: In December! So wh--you're going to be how

old pretty soon?

008 Child: Six.

009 Adult: Six.

009 Child: Uh-huh.

009 Adult: Do you know how old I am?

009 Child: How old? (Looking curious.)

009 Adult: (Laughs) I'm pretty old, aren't I?

Ariadne (age 5-4):

002 Adult: Is that kind of an interesting machine?

003 Child: (Nods head.)

003 Adult: Is that an interesting machine? Do you know what that is? It's a tape recorder. Do you have a tape recorder at home?

004 Child: (Shakes head no.)

005 Adult: You don't have one? Well, it just--I'll let you listen to a little bit of it later, OK? It just puts down everything you say. It's kinda fun, like being on radio. Huh?

006-007 (Pause)

007 Adult: Do you like school? (Pause)

Are you having a good time here?

(Child has been nodding yes throughout.)

008 Adult: How old are you?

009 Child: (Holds up five fingers.)

009 Adult: Five years old, wow. You're getting to be a big girl, aren't you?

010 Adult: How old do you think I am?

010 Child: (Shrugs.)

011 Adult: Don't know? Am I pretty old? (Laughs.)
Just don't know, huh?

These samples were taken from the beginnings of the samples and, while the children differ in sharing easily in the conversation, in both samples the adult is carrying most of the weight of the conversation. In fact, the adult started the conversations with 22 out of the 24 children. Nevertheless, two of the five year olds started conversations. By the time the target topic, "big wheel," was reached, however, children were carrying more of the burden, overall. Children began the "big wheel" topic 13 out of the 23 times in which it was successfully discussed.

With some notion of the data and of our prior analysis of the exchanges, we can now return to the overall results of how well the children functioned as conversational partners. The judgments about the overall ease of the conversations indicated that, of the 24 samples, 15 can be called "free exchange," in which the child as well as adult initiated topics, partners laughed together, there were "snappy exchanges," in which people spoke quickly and eagerly, and each partner could speak extendedly without losing the other's

attention. Nine of the conversations were judged to be "labored," in some way, usually because the adult had to carry the conversational burden for both partners, as in Ariadne's sequence, above.

A related, both not totally redundant, judgment had to do with the degree of mutuality in the exchanges, or the degree to which the conversational partners made statements contingent upon statements by the other person. In a mutually contingent exchange, both partners "play off" of each other's speech; the dialogue transcript would require both person's speech to convey the message. In this sense, conversation is contextualized with the two-part conversational unit being the informational unit. Where there is lack of mutual contingency, one partner carries more of the burden, to the extreme that the transcript might be understandable with only the speech of one partner. Our samples varied in contingency, as described here, with 15 child/adult pairs being judged as primarily mutually contingent, and nine pairs being unequal, usually with the adult carrying most of the burden. Thirteen of these pairs were also judged to be "easy," in the first analysis and two were labored. Daniel R. (to distinguish him from Daniel B.) was judged to be too dependent upon the examiner, hence, "labored" until the end in which he and the examiner began to carry the burden equally, with speech units tied to each other's. Nicole, on the other hand, maintained a free-flowing conversation by carrying much of the burden herself but not mutually tying her speech to the adult's.

The third analysis addressed the degree to which the child gave

the adult orienting information. It is possible to introduce a topic, like an event that happened to you such as learning to work a piece of machinery, but not give the person you are talking with enough information for that person to understand you. In this analysis, the conversations were analyzed to see to what degree a child voluntarily gave information that the adult needed, both in initial statements and in clarifying statements. Occasionally, children were judged to make voluntary orientation statements that were not successful, but these children were included as being "voluntary orienters." Other children were able to clarify information in response to adult's questions while other children were not responsive to questions or were unsuccessful in clarifying.

Orientation

Category	Number of children
Voluntary orientation	9
Successful	(6)
Unsuccessful	(3)
Responsive to questions	6
Not responsive/ unsuccessful	9
Total	24

The final analysis of how well the children maintained their part in the conversation had to do with the nature of the samples as oral language. We have considered aspects of the conversation having to do

with who carries the burden; now we want to consider whether speech and behavior units are allowed that are appropriate to conversation. Were the partners free to use full sentences, partial sentences, gestures, facial expressions, grunts, silences, interruptions, simultaneous talking, and other activities that are usually identified with the oral mode and with the less formal, interactive character of conversation as opposed to written language modes and conventions? The answer to this question is: "yes." All 24 samples show characteristics of oral language. There are instances in which the adult or the child produce units of more decontextualized, highly specified speech that seems to reflect knowledge of written language usage, but those units are very rare.

This judgment seems almost unnecessary, but it was necessary to get some baseline information about conversation or interactive speech that showed an informal nature with characteristics of oral language so that we could more confidently analyze speech units for characteristics of written language in the remainder of this interview and in the studies that follow.

Each interview was supposed to include a discussion of the topic "big wheel." In the 1979-80 study, the children had been asked if learning to ride a big wheel could really happen. The topic was probed at the end of the original "General Knowledges" interview that year. All of those children said that a child could learn to ride a big wheel, or judged it to be a real topic; 23 out of 24 said that they themselves had learned and the remaining child said that he couldn't, "Not until I bought one--not till dad taught me how."

In this sample, the children were led into the topic of things they liked to play at home and into "big wheel" specifically only if the child did not mention it. As reported above, 13 of the children introduced the "big wheel" or child vehicle topic. The examiner terminated the conversation sample without reaching "big wheel" with one of the second-language children and another child, Ariadne, gave an ambiguous set of responses. Ariadne talked about liking to ride bicycles then said she didn't have one; the examiner's queries failed to get her to expand on the topic.

The "big wheel" samples are used for descriptive comparisons with stories elicited in Study II. Those comparisons are made in later chapters, but one of them should be presented now. Children were generally responsive to the topic, "big wheel," and a number got into a spirited conversation, far more elaborated than the compositions of Study II. Two examples are given here, one from Virginia, one of the more advanced children, and the second from Mike, one of the least advanced. Mike's example is particularly significant because he later was not able to produce monologic compositions without conversational adaptations from the examiner.

Virginia (age 5-6):

Adult: . . . Well, how did you ride, learn to ride a two-wheeler? (Topic had been introduced earlier.)

Child: Well, (indecipherable) a tricycle, when I started, I think. Yeah, I started when I was four in the

summer.

Adult: Uuuh, and then you learned how?

Child: Uh-huh,

Adult: Did somebody help you?

Child: Well, like, my, my dad brought it home--(pause)
and then I started to ride it cause my mom helped
me. But she holded the bike up, I was too little,
but my feet were about up to there (demonstrates
height with one hand).

Adult: Um-hmm.

Child: The bike was about down to here (demonstrates by
moving same hand used above in downward motion).

Adult: Um-hmm.

Child: And so I couldn't reach the pedals, so my mom
would push--

Adult: Yeah.

Child: Yeah.

Adult: If you can't reach the pedals, it's pretty hard to
ride it, isn't it? Have you ever had a big wheel?
(Child said, "uh-huh," twice during the adult's
statements.)

Child: Yeah, I have--yeah, four.

Adult: Four big wheels!

Child: (Nods yes.)

Child and adult: (Both laugh.)

Child: One for Larry, one for Sammy, and one for me.
(Her brothers.)

In M conversation sample, he has been very difficult to understand. Notice his ability to convey the action here and the way he tied the trip to France back into the vehicle theme. (See also Chapter Five, p. 223.)

Mike (age 5-6):

Adult: (Following discussion about other vehicle.)

(Pause) Well, how about a big wheels, (sic)
do you ever ride on a big wheel?

Child: Yeah.

Adult: Do you have one?

Child: Yeah.

Adult: Um-hmm. How do--

Child: (Interrupts)--But when--but when I go on the street,
I jump it up. I keep on pedaling, I jump it up.
(Excited sounding.)

Adult: Make it come up on its back wheels?

Child: No, on its front wheels.

Adult: Oh. (He might mean that the front wheel comes up.)

Child: This time, you know the street thing was this high,
as high as the table and I, "Pukuu!" (Blasting sound.)

Adult: Hmm. Just like Evil Kneivel, huh?

Child: Yeah, but (pause), see--I fall upside down on a big
wheel.

Adult: Well, that must have hurt.

Child: No, it didn't. Not on a big wheel, it was over and I was (indecipherable)--this, this first time cause when I got my big wheel I got it for my birthday. (Pause.) We wanted to play big wheels.

Adult: Um-hmm.

Child: On the big wheel.

Adult: Well, how did you ever learn to ride a big wheel?

Child: I always knew, I always ride a big wheel but not when I was a baby.

Adult: Um-hmm. Well, how did you learn though?

Child: (Pause) Well--(pause) to make jumps?

Adult: Yeah.

Child: Oh, oh, from my big brother. I mean from my big sister. She--

Adult: (Interrupts)--you must have a big family. You got a big sister, too?

Child: Um-hmm.

Adult: A big sister and a big brother and you.

Child: My sister's bigger than my brother and my brother is bigger than me.

Adult: Did you all have the same big wheel?

Child: Nope. My dad had a motorcycle, and, see, we get to ride on it. (Pause.) We went to France. We, we be playing in the swimming pool, and he'd pick me up with-

out anything on.

Adult: (Laughs.)

Child: In the swimming pool with my bathing suit on, I'm going
back to France.

Adult: (Laughs.)

Child: Now, I'm mo-ped all the way there.

After the conversation sample was over, the examiner made a transition into the remainder of the interview which was conducted with child and adult facing the table. The first task was the Writing Interview.

Part 2, Writing Interview

Rationale. The purpose of this part of the General Knowledge interview was to gather samples of anything the child already could write (or would produce in response to our asking for writing), of the child's verbal description of the writing, and of the child's explanations of how s/he learned to write it. Additionally, we asked the children to describe and to imitate grown-up writing. The purpose of this part of the interview was to obtain samples of a writing task that both child and adult would know was yet too difficult. From such a task, outside current competency, we would be able to infer features that the child had abstracted about writing.

These tasks are similar to tasks used by DeFord (1979), Goodman (1981), Harste, Burke, and Woodward (1982) and others. Some

differences should be noted. The directions for the current study are worded as if the child can perform the tasks instead of asking for the child's judgment in the "Can you write?" form. Also we asked specific questions about knowledge and learning, giving the child opportunity to distinguish between the two.

We know that children can write using various kinds of writing systems such as invented spelling, scribbling, drawings, letter strings, and so forth. In the 1979-80 studies (Sulzby, 1981c), children had produced different kinds of writing when asked the questions in the General Knowledge inventory than they did in a second study in which they were asked to write a story. In the General Knowledge format, children tended to favor conventional spelling and writing systems and only to use more inventive forms when asked to imitate grown-up writing. The resulting samples across the 1979-80 studies enabled comparisons between the child's knowledges of conventional writing, of clearly "pretend-writing" imitating grown-up writing, and of the child's inventions to deal with a personal composition.

Procedures. After the child and adult turned around to face the table, the adult pushed writing utensils before the child as described above and asked the child the interview questions. The examiner sat to the right of the child and observed how the child chose and handled writing utensils. These methods were the same as those used in the 1979-80 study, except that all children were asked to imitate grown-up writing in the current study and only some of the children were given

that chore in the earlier study. Examiners were encouraged to ask these questions in a lively and personal way but to stick to the wording of the script. These fourteen questions were expanded to include a complete inventory of all the items written if the child did not volunteer the information, which many did quite eagerly:

1. What can you write?
2. Show me. (Try. Pretend. Do it your way. These encouragements were used whenever needed.)
3. What's that?
4. How did you know what that was?
5. How did you learn that?
6. What else can you write?
7. Show me. Write everything you can write.
8. What's that? (and that, etc., trying to get child to inventory all items.)
9. How did you know what that was?
10. How did you learn that?
11. Wow, you're really good. You know lots about writing. Tell me, how do grown-ups write?
12. Show me. (Try. Pretend. Do it the way they do, as close as you can.)
13. How did grown-ups learn how to write?
14. What would it take for you to learn to write like a grown-up?

Analysis. A data reduction system was devised for the writing samples in BRDKAWL studies. It consists of twelve items. For each child in Study I a "Writing Analysis" sheet was prepared that summarized the child's writing attempt. The twelve items can be re-grouped various ways. Four items refer to the composition as an entity. In Study I as we shall see, children tended to treat that entity as a "list," but in later studies that entity tended to be a "story" or similar composition. The four items related to the composition as a whole are (1) "What child wrote," both reproduced and described in words; (2) "Intended message (stated/inferred)," which includes any indication of what the child seemed to be writing; (3) "Voicing during composition," which could be the same as number (2) or could be voicing of letter names, letter sounds, words, or talking to the examiner about the task or other things; and (4) "Re-reading," in which the child could give a description once again, could "pretend-read" or use reading-like behaviors like self-corrections or list-reading intonation. Parts of these four questions were also used as data for Part 3, Transition from Writing to Reading.

The remaining eight items (structure of composed unit; writing system; spelling; letter forms; directionality; spacing on page; spacing between words; and "other comments") tended to be concerned with parts of the writing rather than the whole. For Study I, "other" also included the child's attempt to "write like grown-ups" or to attempt a task out of current competency.

Results

What do the data look like? Here are four examples taken from the group of 24. Parts of other examples will be presented later in this chapter and in Chapter Five. These four will illustrate some of the variation within the children's writing. These samples are photocopy reductions of the originals; however some changes have been made to preserve anonymity and are noted. Tiny numbers in circles indicate the order in which the items were written.

Caroline (6-3) wrote a neatly ordered list of names, using paper space and her time in the same top-bottom, first-last order. Robert (5-9) started out writing words and names in top-bottom order, but then returned to the remaining available space to finish. Kimberly (4-11) began to write in conventional spelling but then added a batch of "invention" on the top of her page which she cordoned off with a semi-circle; then she underlined her original items as she re-read. Finally, Mickie (6-1) produced an example of drawing in response to a writing request, but he also included copies of some conventional writing in his reproduction of the crayon package. Each of these variations will be discussed further below.

Insert Figure 5 about here

What did the children write? As in the 1979-80 study, the most frequent kind of response to the question "What can you write?" is conventional writing, mostly of names, common words, and other isolated units. The children rarely use invented spelling or other

Figure 5. Writing Sample

Caroline example

CAROLINE^①
 MORRIS^②
 CONNIE^③
 CHR^④
 cat^⑤

Reconstructed from child's letters written in crayon to disguise names but preserve writing features.

Robert example

ROBERT^⑧
 MAY
 YES^①
 MOM^②
 DAD^③

Reduced from 2 pencil original.
 ⑧ "Robert" was not written by child. He wrote his real name in the same location.

Kimberly example

TAB
 OXB
 MATH
 KIMBERLY^①
 MEHAN^②
 CAT^③
 MAT^④

Reduced from original in 2 pencil, except ① and ②. Name was written by examiner.

Note: These letters did not appear in child's original sample (K, J, L, Y).

Mickey example

Reduced from original in 2 pencil.

①
 ②
 ③
 ④

writing systems and do not produce long compositions. These results contrast with the kinds of long compositions involving inventive writing systems that kindergarten children produce when given other directions, such as, "Write me a story." (Later in Study II, the case study children in this class used just as inventive techniques for composing as did the 1979-80 children so the different results do seem to be elicited by the different directions. Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1979 and in press, report similar variation by task and situation in clinical interviews and as does Hilliker, 1982, from comparisons of home and classroom writing.)

In 1979-80, children most often produced their names. In this study, slightly fewer children produced their names (18 of 24 as compared with 22 of 24) but it was still the most frequent response. Of these 18 children, only one was unsuccessful at writing her name; the remainder were able to write their names but did not do so for this task. The responses can be divided into seven categories: no response; isolated letters; names; other common words; inventions; phrases or sentences; and, finally, drawings. Frequencies of those responses are listed below.

Writing Responses

No response	3 (two were second language speakers)
Isolated letters	1
Names (own name,	

friends', relatives')	18
Other common words	6
Inventions	4
Phrases/sentences	3
Drawings	5

The categories above include multiple responses. Eleven children gave only one kind of response. Three of those were the no response children. Six children only wrote names and no other category of writing. Two only drew; one of those spoke a second language. All of the children who gave multiple responses wrote some combination of responses that included names, with the exception of one child, Richard, who wrote only isolated letters and drew. Of the 18 children who wrote names, these combinations were found:

Names alone	6
Names and common words	4
Names and phrases/ sentences	1
Names, common words, and inventions	2
Names, common words, and phrases/sentences	2
Names and inventions	1
Names and drawings	2
Total	18

These results are important because they indicate that, even though children may be working at inventing or re-inventing writing systems based upon their current model of the writing process, the conventional model co-exists with those inventions for them. Ferreiro & Teberosky (in press) discuss the importance of this alternate model as an impetus for children to re-organize their knowledge about how writing works. I suggest that the alternative models show themselves in many different ways; here, as a demonstration by the child of what s/he can do and, in other instances, as a refusal to try because "I can't do it right."

How did children use spacing on the page and within "word" units?

The following descriptions cover the child's use of the page and of other conventions of writing. Page use includes the writing that the child did in response to the request to write like grown-ups do but other conventions do not apply to those attempts, so I treat writing like grown-ups as a separate category.

Page use. Children need to learn the conventions of writing and in the Study I writing interview they tended to be quite conventional as compared with requests to compose stories. Each child was given unlined typing paper to write on so that we could observe how the child structured the page. All of the children turned the 8 1/2" by 11" page so that the narrow edge formed the top and bottom and the 11" edge ran top to bottom. Most of the children then wrote from the top of the page downward and most chose a columnar display. This is somewhat unexpected when we consider that children ordinarily run

"words" together when they begin to write using invented systems. However, since children tended only to present conventionally known units to this request, they tended to use columns which also function as word boundaries (see Sulzby, in press, for a discussion of children's representation of word boundaries). Twelve of the children used a primarily top-bottom display while for five others orientation could not be judged. Four children used a mixed or scattered display and two wrote their items bottom to top.

Within "word" units. Other aspects of directionality can be detected within word units. Children may compose left to right, or conventionally, or they may not yet understand that part of directionality. Of these children, 13 used an entirely left to right orientation and three others wrote only one item right to left and the rest conventionally. Robert (shown above) said, "G-O," in conventional oral order as he wrote in the same order, but spaced backward on the page, so that it appeared as "O-G." No child wrote right to left consistently although two used mixed orientation. The remainder of the children either did not write or drew so that the left to right judgment was not applicable.

What writing and spelling systems did children use? We have already noted that children did not tend to use invented systems like invented spelling or scribbling for their own writing in this task. They tended to write in conventional spelling and handwriting form. An aspect of conventional handwriting that is relevant developmentally, however, is the tendency for children to begin

writing entirely in upper-case and only gradually shift to a mix of cases. In American English samples, it seems that letters do not "come in" as lower case forms all at once, according to most observations including my own (Sulzby, 1981c). Instead, some letters are more likely to appear first and the lower case I is the most frequent and vivid. It usually appears as a tall letter, the same height as upper case I, but crowned by a large dot. Other frequent first arrivals are T and E. Thus we examined the children's writing sample for the form of the letters. Here is a display of what we found.

<u>Letter Forms</u>	<u>Number of children</u>
All upper-case	7
Upper-case except i	3
Upper-case except i plus others	4
Child 13 (t, h)	
Child 16 (t for j, e)	
Child 18 (t, e)	
Child 19 (e, a)	
Upper-case except own name	1
No letters to examine	7
Mixed case as needed	2

We can conclude, from these results, that writing is not entirely

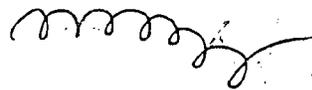
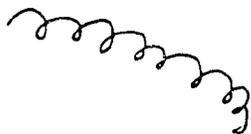
new for any of these children and that almost all of them have quite a bit of knowledge about conventional ways to write. They also seem at ease with writing utensils and with the use of paper to display writing in a reasonable fashion. Even the children who used drawing for writing showed some knowledge of conventional writing, as did Michael who didn't write anything recognizable for the sample but later wrote his name. Now, however, we need to consider how the children do when pressed to abandon the conventional system that they have quite a bit of knowledge about and to tackle a task we assumed they couldn't yet do with ease, "write like grown-ups."

Results of request to write like grown-ups. The request to tell the examiner how grown-ups write and then to demonstrate was designed to give children a chance to show us how they use resources about written language which are clearly outside their current competency. For the "what can you write?" task children tend to be conventional and to use conventional metalanguage. For this task, they need language which they do not yet have and need to use physical skills which they may not have used. From previous studies we have observed that children have reasonable but clearly child-like responses for these questions.

When the children described grown-up writing, eleven were able to use conventional language: grown-ups write "in script." Three other children had no descriptor but used a scribble-like gesture. Two others used the terms, "squiggly lines," or "the ziggelly way." The latter child made a little song as he demonstrated, "Zig-zag-lee."

Six of these children said that they did not know how grown-ups wrote. This was a larger number than we found in the 1979-80 study, partially due to the larger number of second-language speaking children. Of the remaining two children, one said that grown-ups "don't print," whereas he printed and Mickie who only used drawing for writing said that grown-ups drew the Sears Tower (which his father did in fact draw for him). Of the three children who gave gestures, one (Chad, whom you will meet in Chapter Five) included an intriguing difference. For his own writing, he had held his pencil between his middle and fourth fingers, standing awkwardly to write; when asked how grown-ups write he said, "Like this," and held the pencil canonically. He also said that some kids in his room held the pencil that way. This is a particularly interesting response because we tend to make diagnostic judgments from children's preferred behavior without checking to see if they know other ways of performing a task.

Children's productions of imitation cursive writing is informative because they display features of the adult writing system. Again a number of children said they didn't know how grown-ups write. Six gave this answer and three others only used gestures in the air. One, as described above, had drawn the Sears Tower. The remainder used some kind of feature-revealing writing. Six used undifferentiated scribbles:



Four used letter-like forms that were not clearly identifiable as

letters:

ew

ontr

Four joined actual or cursive-like letters:

Amnt (Army)

e

I

nn

In addition to being able to stretch beyond what they can currently do easily, however, children are also amazingly able to talk about their knowledges of and their learning about writing. Now we survey their responses to questions about knowing and learning.

Results of knowing and learning questions. Two questions were designed to tap what seemed to be two different kinds of metacognitive awareness about writing (cf. Sulzby, 1981c). As seen on page 25, these questions (4,5,9,10) were asked repeatedly. If the child stopped after writing one item, the adult asked the questions about knowing and learning, then asked the child what else s/he could write. In this case and most often, the questions were asked after the child finished writing all of the items produced.

The two questions may elicit the same answer or may elicit quite different responses. Most of the children in this sample gave different answers, some of which linked the efforts of other people and their own efforts. The two questions are

HOW DID YOU KNOW WHAT THAT WAS?

HOW DID YOU LEARN THAT?

In 1979-80 children asked these questions were found to attribute their learning to other people; to their own efforts and knowledge states; and to things in the environment, but primarily to humans, themselves included. Particularly noticeable was the overwhelming attribution of help to relatives, particularly mother. The children confirmed reports from Clark's (1976) and Durkin's (1966) research interviewing the parents of children who learned to read before school without formal instruction; in the current case, however, these reports came from all the children and not just precocious readers, to use Tobin's (1981) phrase.

Twenty-one of the 24 children answered these questions; two who did not were second language speakers but one was Mike whom we will meet in Chapter Five. Twenty of these children mentioned other people as teachers or providers of help. Mom, mommy, or mother was cited alone by 17 children; mom and dad by two; and dad alone by one. Mom and other relatives (all siblings) were mentioned by three. All in all, 20 out of 21 children mentioned some family member. The one child who didn't mention a family member attributed learning only to himself and things in the environment. These findings were similar to those in 1979-80, except even higher in attributing help to family members.

As in 1979-80, these children do not mention school or teachers much at the beginning of the school year. In the "other people"

category, two mentioned "school," which I interpret loosely to mean teachers; one mentioned "my old teacher, Mrs. ----"; and one mentioned "Sesame Street," which could be classified as a "thing in the environment" rather than a person. These findings become important when we examine the findings about attribution of learning to one's own efforts.

Children also gave credit to themselves, their own efforts, and own knowledge states for learning. Eighteen of the 21 who answered mentioned their own efforts as contributing to their knowledge and learning. They mentioned copying, learning the alphabet, "practice," wanting to, wanting to know and asking someone, spelling, and "learning myself." The vague mentions of "just did," "easy," and "just knew" were not included in this count; in this category children were clear about their efforts.

One finding seemed more evident in the current study and that is the tie between own effort and that of other people. Only one child, as mentioned earlier, attributed his learning only to himself. A second child attributed his learning only to other people. Fourteen children of the 18 made a clear connection between the efforts of other people and his/her own efforts. Many children seemed to hold an interactive model of teaching/learning!

Two examples may illustrate the seriousness with which these children treated the questions and also the wealth of the information they gave us. When we first started asking five-year-olds these kinds of answers we expected a lot of "no responses." The first example is

a thoughtful and perhaps reasonable substitute for the "no response."
The second is one of our fuller responses, but both are equally
informative.

Stephanie (5-9), after answering one set with information:

Adult: How did you know what that was?

Child: (Pause, laughs) I can't explain it.

(Expletive deleted)!

Adult: Okay. How did you learn that?

Child: I learned--I can't tell you, it's too hard.

Betsy (5-8) had mentioned writing and pronouncing letters in
her first set; now she discusses reading as a contributor to writing,
along with "mom."

Adult: How did you know what that was?

Child: Cause--my mother told me.

Adult: How did you learn that?

Child: Umm, because--when my mother reads me stories
I learn how to read. I can even, like, I
remember one of the books--I have--one of--
one of the books at home I know how to read
and I can read it. I can read most of the
pages without even having the book with me.

Things in the environment were typically mentioned within the context of people and their efforts. Appendix A presents the full interview with Chad (5-11) as he tells how he discovered that he could write by fooling around writing his name on someone's birthday card while his mother was raking leaves outside or just "writing some things" when "it was snow time" and his mother made over his writing in delight. (Part of this interview is also given in Chapter Five.)

In Chad's interview as well as those of other children we find vivid matches in detail between child memories and parent memories of children who learned to read early. For Chad, who was no early reader, this event seems to be a high-point for him, marking in memory a pleasure-filled discovery of his own initiative and of his parent's responsiveness to his efforts.

In the Writing Interview we asked children about writing while they were composing. In the Transition from Writing to Reading Interview questions we asked them to take a step back and to treat the writing as reading.

Part 3, Transition From Writing to Reading, or "You wrote it--now read it!"

Rationale. The items that I will present here were initially part of the writing interview. The writing interview tasks involved the children naming items and discussing those items while writing and later answering questions about writing. Since in effect the children were "reading" those items during composition, it would seem that we could assume that they "can read what they wrote." This is an assumption; it is not clear that children automatically make the connection between writing and reading and there is some evidence that the two modes do not develop as mirror images (Bissex, 1980; Sulzby, 1981c).

For that reason, a series of questions was designed to conclude the writing interview. These questions ask the children to re-read the entire writing interview and then to discuss how they and/or other people learn to read.

Re-reading request. Item 15 of the interview asks the child to read the interviewer what has been written:

You really have learned a lot. I like what you've done.

I know you told me what things were when you were writing,

but I need you to tell me again. Read me what you wrote.

Item 16 is a statement of praise at the end of 15, "You really are smart! You are getting so you can read what you write!" after which the examiner observed the child's reaction to the praise.

Metacognitive questions about reading. The interview ends with questions about how the child did or will learn to read and about how

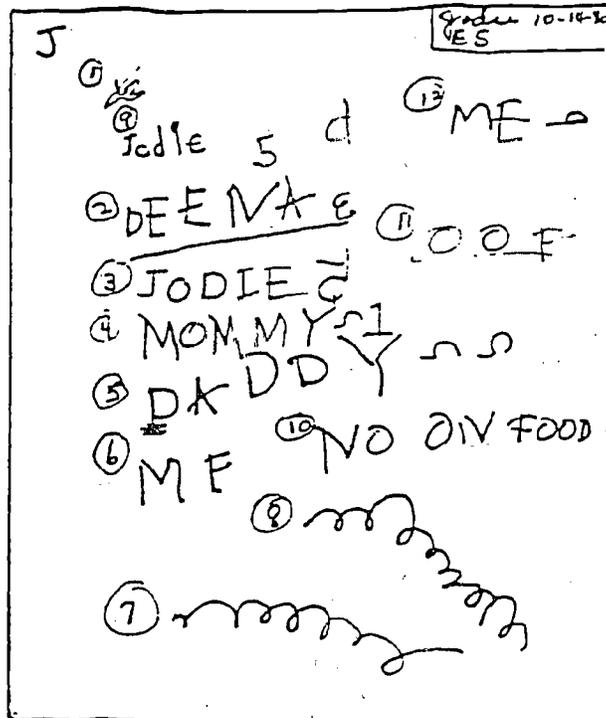
"people" learn to read and about what the child or "people" need so that they can read.

Results

Re-reading request. Since we are investigating emergent reading and writing abilities and behaviors, we are looking here for some difference between the child's behavior when composing and when asked to "read." When writing, a number of children used descriptive words rather than giving the word's "name." In other words, the child might say, "That's my sister," and actually write, "Debby." Or, "That's me and that's how old I am," while writing, "Maggie 5." When children are asked to read their writing to an examiner, however, their behavior often changes to show parts of their understanding of reading.

In response to the reading request, 15 of these 24 children looked at the print and showed reading-like behavior, such as speaking in a "reading-intonation" appropriate for list reading. They often oriented their eyes toward the print and said the words' "names" ("Randolph," "Kristin," "dog") rather than giving descriptions ("my brother," "my mommy's name," "my dog"). Of those 15 children, all but one used the reading-like behavior voluntarily. The child who did not is an interesting example to illustrate how the reading-like behavior differs from description. Here is Jodie's answer to Item 15, along with the examiner's probes (which were rather unusual because the examiner knew Jodie could read a bit already):

Figure 6. Jodie's "text": (Reconstructed to conceal her actual name)



Jodie's "reading" interview:

Adult: (Gave the "Read me what you wrote" directions.)

Jodie: That's Jodie. That's my name. (9)

That's my sister's. (2)

I'll make a 3. (She wrote a reversed 3 to the right of her sister's name.)

I'm gonna make a 5, uh, I'm gonna make another 5. (Her first 5 after name at top (9) was in correct direction but second 5, after (3) was reversed.)

I'm got to make--I don't know my mom's or my dad's.

Adult: OK. Are you reading to me?

Jodie: Uh-huh. Yeah. (She then went into "reading intonation.")

Jodie. Five.

Deena. Three.

And my momma--uh--five.

And my mom--I don't know.

And my dad, I don't know. (Changed intonation back into "talking.")

Well, OK, I'll just make a 22.

Adult: OK.

Jodie: Now what do I need? Oh, two--
two, two.

Adult: OK.

Jodie: Two. Twenty-two.

And my mom. (Pause) Here you go. Two (low voice).

My mom's twenty-one (loud voice)

and my dad's twenty-two (lower voice).

That's all. (Intonation had varied but was like reading.)

Adult: OK, did you read it all to me?

Jodie: (Began to recite list again, eyes on paper, with reading intonation clearly signalled.)

Jodie, five.

Deena, three.

Mom, twenty-one.

Dad, umm, twenty-two.

Adult: OK, anything else you wrote on that page?

Jodie: Me!

Adult: (Laughed) Oh, anything else?

Jodie: No. (Notice that she ignored all the other common words she had written as well as the pretend-cursive items.)

Jodie ended up reading her list, selectively, using intonation that is appropriate for reading a list. She could have read all of the items she actually wrote, but she seemed to treat some as her "text" and others as garbage or irrelevant. Two other children in the 15 who showed reading-like behavior used self-corrections while "reading" as if to signal a difference between their intent and the written items.

The number of children showing reading-like behavior is quite high, given the number of children of the 24 who were second-language speakers, five, and the three children who did not respond. Twenty-one children responded in some way. Only a few used descriptions, four in all, two of whom are more easily classified as showing mixed behaviors. The two clearcut cases are children who drew and then used descriptive phrases to name the items in the drawing. The other two also included some naming behavior. One had written letters which he described and named, using mixed directionality, from left to right, then right to left across the pages and bottom to top lengthwise. The other had written words which he described, making some errors between composition and reading tasks. In addition to the two who gave descriptions of drawings, two others showed interesting behavior about their drawings. One, Freddie, age 5-1, who had acted as if his drawings were writing now declared that drawings couldn't be

read; while Richard "read" both letters and drawings.

At first Freddie seemed to be "reading" his drawing but then he explained to the examiner that drawings couldn't be read. Notice his metalinguistic usage:

Adult: Read me what you wrote.

Child: Freddie.

Adult: What is this? (Pointing to drawing of a face; notice the adult's question is not a "read to me" request.)

Child: Face.

Adult: And read me this page. (Turning page over to other drawings.)

Child: (Pause.) There's no letters on it.

Adult: Oh, so, can you read the page for me?

Child: No, I can't read pictures.

Adult: Why not?

Child: No, no, words, no, no (indecipherable).

Freddie's protocol presents a reminder that we must examine children's behaviors and words over time and situations and not hastily assume that we have captured their understanding. Only one of the children in this sample did not seem to differentiate between pictures and writing if all of the protocol is examined and that child gave at least one indication of differentiating.

All of the children were praised for what they had learned about reading from writing and then the interview continued with questions

about how the child (or how "people") read and learn to read. Data from these "metacognitive" questions have been collapsed in the summary that follows.

Metacognitive questions about reading. "How do you read? How do people read? How did you/do people learn to read? What do you/people need so that they/you can read? Why is that?" These are quite a battery to spring on young children but five-year-olds seem to enjoy puzzling about such things.

The children answered these questions with a closed set of answers, referring either to processes or units of language; to people as helpers and teachers; or to specific literacy materials. Only three children gave no response to any of these questions and they were second-language speakers. Eighteen children mentioned units or processes of language. Their responses included references to reading and to writing, to words, to letters, to "signing out," or "sounding out." Ten mentioned help from parents or other people and ten mentioned specific literacy materials.

Many of the responses included multiple kinds of responses. In Jodie's answer she mentioned her mother as a helper, units and processes of language, and literacy materials, whereas Richard only mentioned the unexplained process, "reading" and the units, "letters."

Jodie (age 5-9):

Adult: How do you read?

Child: I learned my name by my mom and I learned my sister's name by mom and I just tried to write--you

know, my mom, like, I didn't--she told me the letters, and--

Adult: Yeah, but how do you read?

Child: It's easy, like that's mom (pointing to mommy). She told me what that said and that and that and that. (Indicating her whole list, page 154.)

Richard (age 5-1):

Adult: How do you read?

Child: I don't know.

Adult: How will you read?

Child: By reading the letters!

The answers of many children, in addition to Jodie (above), tended to stress the help or example of other people. Parents and other family members are mentioned the most frequently and the responses usually sound positive in tone. Chad's long anecdote (Chapter Five) is the most vivid example but here are others that give us insights into the children's views of learning within families.

Ariadne (age 5-6):

My momma teaches me.

Robert (age 5-11):

Mom and my dad. . . . They used to teach me by tell, telling me, telling me and telling me a lot.

Douglas (age 5-4):

Cause sometimes I just practice some of that with my mom.

Freddie (age 5-3):

Watching my big brother read.

Richard (age 5-1):

My dad readed The Cat Comes Back a lot of times, so that's how I learned.

Kimberly (5-1):

Well, my sister, um, my mom read me Sherman and Herman and then I started knowing it 'cause she--sh--she reads a good line (pause) a lots of times. And The Hungry Caterpillar, she read a lot of times, too.

In the last two responses the children mentioned multiple readings of favorite storybooks. Specific literacy materials were mentioned numerous times and children reminded us of the importance of reading to children. The next thing that we asked the children to do was to read from someone else's writing, in the Reading Interview, and for this task we asked them to retrieve the favorite storybook they had brought from the classroom.

Part 4, Reading Interview, or "My mom . . . she reads a good line a lots of times"

Overview . One of the most informative parts of the 1979-80 General Knowledges study had been children's attempts to read from favorite storybooks. In that study, we asked children to show us, to name, and to describe books parts, in an adaptation of Goodman's

(1979) Book Handling Task and Clay's (1972) Sand, or Concepts of Print task. We also asked them to share the book itself and many "read" the books they had brought. From those data, I developed a scale for analyzing children's emergent reading attempts with favorite storybooks.

The 1979-80 interview was unsatisfactory in two ways. First we quizzed children about parts of the books first, rather than putting our attention upon sharing the book as a literary event. Second, we did not urge the children to "read the book," but to do only as much as the child seemed eager to do; in some instances, we only asked the child to "show me the book." In the current study, we decided that storybook reading was a literary event, not a "test." We would emphasize the child's sharing the book with us and would ask the child to "read" us the book. In this case, the examiner would be the audience in a book reading event. A graduated set of encouragements that had been developed for the 1979-80 study was refined and made more standard for this study, with the goal being to have the child attempt to read independently.

Rationale, favorite storybooks. Young children are renowned for requesting to have a storybook read to them over and over and over again. They will correct a parent when the parent accidentally or deliberately changes the wording of such a book. Theoretically, those behaviors seem to be important to the aspect of reading that becomes reading comprehension. It is indeed story comprehension but it also involves the development of strategic behaviors that the child can use

in better understanding written texts after the child is reading from print. In these early storybook re-reading requests and reactions to change in the parent's reading, the child is treating the story text as a stable entity, an entity that endures and can be remembered.

The roots of the behavior seem to come not just from hearing stories read but also from interactions during these readings in which the parent scaffolds the child's treatment of the text as requiring certain responses (Bruner, 1978; Ninio, 1978; Ninio & Bruner, 1980). Storybook "reading" is one early instance of shared regard and shared reflection between parent and child. In these "readings" typically the parent "labels" or names pictures, then gradually shifts the responsibility until the child is the "labeller."

One trace of this behavior is found with older children, like our five-year-olds, who share a favorite storybook simply by labelling items in the pictures or only making brief comments about pictured objects. This "labelling and commenting" behavior is immature when seen in a five-year-old but it seems to have come from interactions with adults in which the child takes first the role of the audience or observer, then the performer or producer, having to gain some notion of the author/reader; speaker/hearer relationship.

Storybooks as texts are representations of another world or another reality. Besides the notion of the text as a stable object for reading-like behavior (Bruner, 1978) and the notion of the text as an object for memory (Sulzby, 1981c) text has an enduring quality as a recreation of external reality or action and children gradually come

to understand this aspect of text as well. Vygotsky (1978) observed that children move from action, to symbolic play with abstract objects, to gesture, to drawing, thence to written language. I had seen children treat their drawings as if they were a continuation of action or had a life of their own (although they clearly distinguished between the drawing and reality). In children's early storybook "readings" I also saw children treating the pictures as if the action were on-going before they gradually began to treat the pictures as a decontextualized entity which could be interpreted and "read" for themselves and for others.

Analysis of storybook reading. From these theoretical considerations and from observed behavior of the 1979-80 children, I constructed a scale. The scale is called the Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks (ERAJFS) and is designed to be used with reading attempts with those books which children have had read to them numerous times, read and re-read to themselves numerous times, and freely choose as a favorite. In the first part of its development, however, we simply asked the children to bring a "favorite book." (The scale itself is currently being refined and validated with longitudinal data combining verification of the child's familiarity with the storybook and collection of two books at a session, involving children from 2-5 to 4/5 who are not so dependable at choosing "favorites" as are five-year-olds.) Since the current study is still a refinement of the ERAJFS, the parts of the scale itself will be discussed as the results are presented.

Results, Storybook Reading Attempts

ERAJFS scale frequencies. The results are first reported in Table 1 as the number of children placed at each point on the ERAJFS scale, along short descriptors of each point. The following section gives descriptive results, along with explanations of each part of the scale. The table of scale frequencies resulted from a classification of the longest stretch of independent "reading" by each child. Independent readings are the child's responses to the adult's requests: "Read me your book," or "Well, pretend you can. Pretend-read it to me," which are treated as the levels of least encouragement. Other encouragements led to dependent readings, or re-enactments (to use Holdaway's, 1979, term). Also counted as independent readings are any time within a dependent or interactive reading when a child begins to "read" without engaging in echo-reading, choral-reading, completion tasks, or question/answer sequences with the adult. (A list of the books chosen by the children for Study I and Study V is given in Appendix B.)

Most storybook reading descriptions thus far are for storybook interactions (Cochran-Smith, 1981, 1982; Doake, 1981, 1982; Green, 1977; Green & Harker, 1982). One category system that looks at children's independent re-enactments is that of Haussler (1982). Her system has a number of similarities to the ERAJFS scale. A current goal of the BRDKAWL project, as a result of the current study, is to devise a system for describing both dependent and independent reading attempts since most children move easily from one to the other within

the same session. For now, however, the scale covers only the independent portions of the re-enactments.

Table 1
Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks
Frequencies, BRDKAWL Study I

Attempt Type*	Number of Children
Attempts Governed by Print	5
Holistic, independent	(1)
Holistic, strategic	(1)
Aspectual	(1)
Print-governed refusal	(2)
Attempts Governed by Pictures, Stories Formed	11
Written language-like	(6)
Verbatim-like	
Similar to written text	
Created story, written influence	
Oral language-like	(5)
Story told for audience	
Disconnected oral dialogue/comments	
Attempts Governed by Pictures, Stories Not Formed	4
Action-Governed	(2)
Labelling, Commenting	(2)
Refusals, Immature	4

*Short descriptors are used here; see full description in text and Appendix B. (Chad assigned at highest of three levels; see Chapter Five.)

Descriptive results and discussion. The parts of the scale, Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks (ERAJFS), will be described in this section, with examples from the data to illustrate each category within the scale. (A copy of the scale can be found in Appendix B.) The descriptions are presented in reverse order, beginning with the least mature behavior and moving toward independent reading. When appropriate the five-year-old behavior is also compared with that of younger children (Sulzby, 1981c; 1982b; Sulzby & Otto, in press).

Attempts governed by pictures, stories not formed. The least mature behaviors observed with the five-year-old children reflect two of behaviors discussed above: (1) labelling and/or commenting and (2) action-oriented behavior. If one listens to the speech of the child who reads the transcript, one would not be able to understand a "story" from either. The language is not tied together sufficiently for the audience.

When "reading" or "re-enacting" a book through labelling a child will turn pages, point to a pictured item, and give its name: "Doggie," "kittie," "sun," "choo-choo." Commenting is giving the information about the labelled or highlighted item: "Brush him teefs," "Go to bed," or even a fuller sentence, "He hates cats." With younger children in particular, these pronouncements are often accompanied by a resounding slap to the page but with five-year-olds the movement is more controlled. Here is an example from Noreen (5-1)

re-enacting Angus Lost (Marjorie Flack):

Child: This is the cat.

Adult: OK.

Child: Dog and the cat, (turns page)

dog, dog (points to picture and laughs).

With interactive questioning from the adult, her speech was more mature but her unaided reading attempt was classified as labelling and commenting. Younger children tend to stick with the behavior all through the book, but they often turn numerous pages at once, or recycle through the book in part or whole, sometimes with varying orders.

In action-governed "readings" often the child will move his or her head close to the book and pointing finger and will speak as if the pictured action is now occurring: "See, there he goes. He's gonna catch him. But he don't see 'em!" The verbs are distinctive because they tend to be present tense or present progressive. Mike's example in Chapter Five uses this kind of language. Younger children often stand up when reading in this manner and gesture from the picture off the book into some imaginary space, even making motions for the story characters. These re-enactments are also often accompanied by "sound effects" made by the child verbally, "Pow!" or "KRRR!" or physically, with banging and rubbing.

Both of these types of "reading" form the bottom levels of the ERAJFS scale and the data from Study I did not actually discriminate between which of the two was more mature. I have described them with

an order because of subsequent research (in progress) and from re-considering the theoretical base. In any case, the evidence thus far is tentative and the scale should be used cautiously. It was developed only with storybooks, with only one book deviating from that category, the "patterned rhyme book" which Daniel R. re-creates in an example given below.

These two least mature behaviors, labelling/commenting and actioned-governed, can be distinguished from other storybook emergent reading behaviors, both because they are governed by pictures rather than print and because they do not result in an entity that could be called a "story." As children become yet more sophisticated in emergent reading, they continue to treat pictures as if they are what gets read, but the children re-create a more or less coherent story. The stories that are picture-governed can be divided into two categories, those that are more like oral language and those that are more like written language.

Attempts governed by pictures, stories formed (oral language-like).
The current data indicate that there are two categories of oral language-like "readings" or "re-enactments." In the less mature re-enactment, the child creates dialogue to fit the pictures, often depending upon intonation to distinguish speakers. There may be some narration the child does not link the dialogue with narrative nor with dialogue carriers so the story does not form a coherent, independent whole. There is some indication of "past" and "future," often clued by verb usage. The language and intonation is clearly "oral" and occasionally relation between statements is just implied by sequence of

statements. Even if the child uses only dialogue there is a sense of audience within the language that the child uses. It is clear that the child is taking the listener's needs into consideration even if s/he does not do it skillfully. The dialogue sequence forms a story of sorts and is not just a series of disjointed utterances (as it is in the action-governed "reading").

The more mature version consists of the child telling a story which is a coherent whole. The intonation sounds like storytelling and not reading, but the dialogue will have narrative frames and dialogue carriers. The dialogue carriers will be stated in a manner appropriate for oral storytelling. An example of such oral usage is, "And he says to her, 'Go away!' and she runs off," as opposed to the more written language-like, "He said, 'Go away!' and she ran far, far away." Both the wording and the intonation are clues to whether or not the language can be called "oral" or "written."

Douglas (5-3) re-enacts Professor Wormbug in Search for the Zipperump-a-Zoo so that we hear a story being told. He starts in medias res:

Child: Made a trap--(adult laughed) cause he thought, like, he could eat one of those, like, walk inside it and, like, have some (Indecipherable) and then--he, he picked, then he brought down net and then he picked it up and, and he, like, saw one and then (pause) then he wanted him for (indecipherable word probably lunch; child chuckled

during word) and there he is right there.

Douglas goes on to create a story that the adult, looking at the book with him, can more-or-less follow. From his speech it is clear that something happens and even what some of the happenings are but not what the whole story is about. Douglas is very much aware of the adult as his audience and his intonation stresses things that he wants her to notice; the intonation must be heard and its function is an oral language function.

Attempts governed by pictures, stories formed (written language-like). As we move up the scale into the categories that are called written language-like, the data for five-year-olds fall into three categories. In the least mature, the child renders a story that departs from the actual storybook text in either the match of the content to the pages being "read" or in actual content. The child nevertheless is able to create a written language-sounding story that is decontextualized and has clear signals that the child has developed a "sense of audience," or is aware of audience needs and how to accommodate to those needs. The child has learned some of the more subtle conventions of written composition. Since this level is still relatively immature, the child's language may be a mix of oral language-like usage and written language-like usage but the predominant form is like written language.

In the next step up the scale, the child begins to sound more and more like s/he is actually reading the text. At this level, the child "reads" or "re-enacts" with reading intonation most of the time. The

child renders a story that is similar to the original story but is still not close to verbatim. The child may create patterns that are written language-like but are not in the original. For instance, one child created a set of three for the three little pigs that ended up with all the houses blown down, quickly recouped as if no problem existed, and told another set of three in which the wise little pig's house survived, keeping her voice going along as if that were the true and original version.

The most mature of the picture-governed, written language-like re-enactments is when the child recites a story that is almost verbatim to the original. When the child does depart from the original the phrases sound very appropriate and are given in reading intonation. Often, however, the child will make numerous self-corrections and re-phrasings to try to recapture his/her version of the text. This stage sounds very similar to a stage in which the child is governed by the print but is highly dependent upon memory for text (or comprehension) as an aspect of reading rather than attempting to integrate more aspects of reading.

It is important to understand how the almost-verbatim versions differ from a rote memory. Children give these recitations not as if a taperecorder were being played but as if it is their intention to recover a text, a unit of language that exists stably and can be retrieved. Their attempts to retrieve this memory is strategic, as is Daniel's attempt below, rather than rote.

Two illustrations of picture-governed, written language-like re-enactments may be helpful. Kimberly (4-11) exemplifies the lower level, in which there is still a mix of oral language forms but written language is predominant. The higher level example is from Daniel R. (5-7), the only child to have part of the story learned almost verbatim and still not be attending to the print.

Kimberly (age 5-1), reading from Green Eyes by Birnbaum:

Adult: Read me your book.

Child: I can't read it, too hard.

I can't read this book.

Adult: Pretend you can read.

Child: (Long pause) OK.

Child: OK. (Turns page and laughs) Here, look at this--

Adult: Look at that.

Child: (Begins to pretend-read, looking at pictures only.

Intonation is more like telling than reading but her language is booklike as she tells Green Eyes' story in first person; the book, however, differs quite a bit from this version.) [See Appendix J, example 5, for a clearer example in which the wording rather than intonation is dominant.]

This is green. My name is Green. (Pause) I have very long whiskers and green eyes, you see. I'll tell you about when I was a little kitty. I lived in a very large box, it was a very large box.

(Turns page) I had to work very hard if I wanted to go out and play.

Adult: Hmm.

Child: I had a real beautiful box and hold onto the side, but I got way up there and then I would jump out, with my (indecipherable) feet at the top. And then I would run about and play. But when I was running around and playing, when I was finished, I, I rested out of my box, like air/ rested, and then I ran around a tree and r . . . , rar, ran, ran, and I still wasn't tired anymore, then (indecipherable) go to see the chicken and eggs, I did. . . . (Formerly continued to the end of the book, creating a story to go with the pictures, following the general line of the story.)

Daniel R. (age 5-8) had had his book, Sutton's My Cat Likes to Hide In Boxes (also see Doake, 1982), read to him a number of times. He looked at the pictures rather than print while re-enacting (except briefly at the end when he shows the examiner the print, counter number 350, for her to read to him). Daniel showed the highest level of picture-governed behavior, trying to re-create the text verbatim, self-correcting and getting aid to retrieve the text which he treats as an object of memory not remembered but memorable. His ability to remember, to slow his recitation down and self-correct, and his

treatment of the text as stable and enduring are knowledges that I think lead into later matching voice, eyes, and print as Marie Clá (1978) has documented in her research in beginning reading. The process he uses in deciding when his version is "correct" is a part of meta-comprehension sometimes called comprehension-monitoring (cf. Brown, 1980; Flavell, 1981; Markman, 1981).

Since Daniel's re-enactment is so close to verbatim, the reader needs to know the words. The book has a format that goes like this (the rest can be inferred from Daniel's reading, only part of which is shown here; the remaining reading is shown in Appendix C):

Book:

The cat from France
liked to sing and dance
But MY cat likes to hide in boxes.

The cat from Spain
Flew an aeroplane.

The cat from France
liked to sing and dance.

But MY cat likes to hide in boxes.

(The numbers refer to the counter of the TCM-111 tape recorder used in all sessions; they may be used to locate utterances in the transcript.)

Daniel R. (age 5-8); re-enactment of My Cat Likes to Hide in Boxes:

254 Child: But my cat likes to hide boxes. (Said rapidly.)

254 Child: Is 'that--cat--cat'n--pain--cat in--(indecipherable
pain!

257 Child: Cat--in Norway got stuck in the doorway--(said rapidly).

258 Adult: (Chuckled.)

258 Child: --and--and, umm (pause), the cat from Spain liked
to drive an airplane (pause) and (pause)
the cat from (pause) Nor! (Nor said emphatically then
he seemed to decide to skip it and go on.)

264 Child: --but my cat likes to hide in boxes!

265 The cat from Greece joined the police. (This couplet
was said clearly and forcefully as compared with
the tentative tone used in section 217-163

267 And the cat in Norway--got stuck in the doorway.
And, um, uh, the cat, oh, and the cat in
(indecipherable but sounds as if he ran "Spain
liked to" together) drive an airplane.

272 But my cat likes to hide in boxes. (Rapidly,
words running together.)

275 Child: Forget this one! (Child's voice takes on a
whining tone but his affect did not seem to support
that interpretation,)

277 Adult: Can I help?

277 Child: Yeah.

277 Adult: Whataya want me to do?

278 Child: (Dropped book forward.) Help me with this one--
I forget this one.

279 Adult: What am I 'sposed to do?

279 Child: And read this page--cause I forget that.

280 Adult: Read the page--OK.

The cat from Brazil caught a very bad chill.

282 Child: (Began without hesitation.)

Oh--and the cat from Greece joined the police.

Umm, um, and the cat from Norway (said rapidly)
got stuck in the doorway

and, um, the cat, and the cat from Spain,

ummi, umm, drives a airplane.

287 Adult: (Low chuckle.)

288 Child: My cat likes to hide in boxes.

288 Adult: (Chuckle.)

290 Child: The cat from--(Pause) what's this word?

295 Adult: Want me to help?

295 Child: OK.

295 Adult: Show me. (Here child showed adult the print,
but child had not been looking at print. Now
he pointed in general direction of print,

indicating bottom half of page.)

296 Child: Umm, right--um, here--I forget.

298 Adult: The cat from Berlin played the violin.

299 Child: And the cat from--uh--cat from (pause) would,
you do that one again?

304 Adult: BERLIN--played the violin.

305 Child: Umm--(pause).

306 Adult: The cat from Berlin played the violin.

307 Child: And, and--

307 Adult: --the cat from Brazil--

308 Child: --caught a very bad chill.

309 And the cat from Greece joined the police.

310 And, umm, uh--

310 Adult: Cat from Norway--

310 Child: --Norway got stuck in the doorway--

313 and the cat from Spain drove an airplane--

315 My cat liked to hid'n boxes. (Last parts
said rapidly and sing-song.)

316 Adult: (Low chuckle.)

Daniel had taken great care to choose a book that he "knew" well. Later, in Study V, we will see more of the children seeming to choose a book within reach of their growing knowledges of print. In the next category, when print is attended to as the source of the story, children sometimes seem less capable than they do in the highest level picture-governed attempts. But a step "back" is a step forward.

Attempts governed by print. The highest level in the ERAJFS scale, attempts which are governed by print, is divided into what appear to be four categories: a high-level refusal to read; aspectual attempts; holistic, but strategy-dependent attempts; and independent reading.

Refusals. Often children begin to refuse to try to read as they learn more about reading, particularly as they learn that it is the print that gets read. Very immature children will refuse to try to read and may need support from echo or choral reading or other interactions; however, the refusal that is seen with the more mature children seems to be due to their growing knowledge about all that goes into acts of independent reading. Refusals are scored within the scale at both places and must be judged in the context of other behaviors by the child. (Haussler, personal communication, has also noted the two kinds of refusal with young children's emergent storybook readings.)

Children seem to make high-level refusals before they show the other print-governed behaviors, but this order has not been tested sufficiently (cf. Rossman, 1981, for some data). The remaining print-governed attempts can be divided into "holistic" and "aspectual" versions.

Aspectual attempts. Before the child becomes an independent reader, however, comes a very important period in which s/he realizes that it is print that gets read and that things s/he knows like a few words, or a few letters and associated sounds, or the remembered text can be aids and are clues to figuring out print. Here the child's

"reading" often seems to regress. (And, of course, the high level-refusal may be viewed as a regression in this sense.) The child who was reciting entire texts with reading intonation may stop attending to meaning and just recite the words s/he can recognize on the page. One of our children recited: "Grandma, the, and, the, a, and," for page after page while at this print-governed, "aspectual" level of emergent reading. Other children focus attention upon sounding-out words; others upon memory for the text; others upon combinations of these. The important factor in identifying this stage of emergent reading is that the child "doesn't have it all together," as s/he will later in the holistic stages.

Holistic attempts. Holistic attempts include independent reading in which the child has integrated all of the aspects of reading (comprehension, letter-sound knowledge, and known words) into the ability to read the print flexibly and with self-regulation. They also include the level I call "strategy-dependent" which seems to be more like independent reading than aspectual reading but is still not sufficiently integrated nor strategically flexible. The strategy-dependent reader may tend to omit unknown words excessively, to substitute other "known words" from his/her reading repertoire, or to sound-out words excessively, often leaving "nonsense" words not corrected, or may over-depend upon the predicted or remembered text rather than the written text. In all of these instances, the child will have some control over the neglected aspects.

These two holistic attempts are distinguishable by the amount of

self-regulation that the child can use and can be detected often by a little test. If the child is not yet reading independently but is at the stage just below independence, strategy-dependent reading, and you apply this little test, the child's reading will be disrupted. The child will sound less fluent and/or will become less accurate. The child seems to know about all of the parts of reading, can maintain them for a while, but does not seem to be confident of independent control of the process. In other words, the reading process does not seem to be fully "balanced," or integrated.

If the child is reading independently from print and isn't pointing to the words as she reads and you ask her to point to the words, her reading will become more accurate and often more fluent. The extra attentiveness to print does not seem to interfere with the process which seems to be an integrated one, with interaction between processing of various sorts. (I don't suggest this as a hard-and-fast "test" but we have found it helpful and worth more formal study.)

Summary. These results indicate quite a range of abilities within Miriam Kendall's kindergarten group for the task of attempting to read favorite storybooks. Thus far we have seen them write and do at least two kinds of reading--from their own writing and from a storybook. In the kindergarten studies that follow we will emphasize reading from their own writing and once again, in Study V, look at their storybook reading. In first grade, we will add basal readers to their repertoire of text-types. For now, we return to the inventory of their knowledges and examine what they can tell us about book

parts.

Rationale, book parts. How familiar are five-year-olds with the major tools of literacy? In Part 2, we learned that these children were quite familiar with paper, pencil, crayons, and what gets done with these writing implements. They could also talk in various ways about other literacy implements, linguistic entities, and reading and writing processes. From the storybook reading attempts, we could estimate the knowledges about book reading that they were developing. We could also observe, in these real tasks, their functional ability to handle the books (cf: Goodman's, 1979, and Clay's, 1972, tasks). Nevertheless, we also wanted to see how well the children could label and book parts and describe their functions so we asked them a series of questions after the book reading was completed. The book parts we quizzed them about were the cover, title page, page, picture, and print. The question series for each part was: (1) What's this? (2) What do you do with it? and (3) What's it for?

Results, book parts. We found only two children who had extreme difficulty with this task, both of whom were second-language speakers. Tanya (5-10) answered, "I don't know," to all these questions while Don (6-0) answered only one question, stating that print is for "reading." Don seemed to attempt to answer in his own language and both of these children showed a high degree of familiarity in their handling of books in the classroom. The following figures come from the remaining 22 children in Study I. (Note that appropriate synonyms were accepted for labels: words for print; the front for cover.)

Table 2

Book Parts Knowledge Inventory

	Cover	Title Page	Page	Picture	Print
Label or synonym	13*	11	17	11	18
Function	22	14	19	15	22

*Figures indicate number of children answering correctly.

The number of children who were able to tell the functions of the book parts is, not unexpectedly, higher than the number who could product the correct label, using an adult standard. These figures are also probably a low estimate of the children's abilities, because there were a few times when a question was skipped or when an examiner did not re-word the question or return to a question after the child had indicated that he or she knew more than had been volunteered. One reason for the examiners' difficulty was the caution not to introduce metalanguage which made it awkward to probe for answers.

Nevertheless, both tasks, the storybook reading attempt and the book parts inventory, indicate that these five-year-old children were quite well acquainted with books. Even within this group, however, there was a range of abilities.

Comparison with Study V. The tasks in Parts 2, 3, and 4 will be

compared with end-of-the-year results from Study V for all 24

children. The results of Part 1 and Part 5, yet to be described, will only be used as part of the case studies. For that reason, Part 5 will be discussed only briefly in this chapter.

Part 5, Prior Knowledges About Topic and Audience, or "What Goes Into a Good Story?"

In Chapter Two we considered the importance of understanding topic and audience considerations for a writer and how understanding the writer's process could help a reader become more strategically oriented. We also considered the complex transformation of topic and audience from the tacit level needed for face-to-face conversational interaction to the removed notions of topic and audience found in written communications. Some children seem to begin this transformation of topic and audience from the immediate face-to-face interaction to the more abstract level of print early in life through their literacy interactions.

In Studies II, III, and IV we manipulate topic and audience directly. Throughout the other studies and observations, we set up less formal ways of observing topic and audience effects as well. Thus we used the concluding part of Study I to interview the children about their prior knowledge for the way we would manipulate topic and audience.

Prior knowledge of topic. In Study II the children were asked to tell one story from a "real" standpoint and one story from a "make-believe" stance. The basic topic was "learning to ride a big

wheel." In Study I, Part 1, we had sampled both the child's knowledge of this basic topic and the child's ability to converse about this topic. Now, in Part 5, we checked to be certain that the child could distinguish real from make-believe in relation to what goes into stories.

Two techniques were used, a "comprehension" and a "production" task. That is, first we gave the children examples and waited to see if they would react to them; second, we asked them to give us examples of real and make-believe things that could go into stories.

The examples given to the children were two story stems. The examiner read each stem after first saying, dramatically, "Let me tell you something."

THIS MORNING I GOT UP AND LOOKED OUT MY BEDROOM WINDOW
(AND I SAW A BIG, GREEN DRAGON FLYING RIGHT AT ME.)
(AND I SAW A BIG, TALL TREE WITH PRETTY COLORED
LEAVES ON IT.) (Pause for reaction)

If the child did not respond voluntarily after each stem, which most did, the examiner asked, "How about that?" The final probe was, "Would that be real or make-believe, do you think? Sure, that (could) (couldn't) really happen."

The request for examples simply used the phrases real and make-believe, "Tell me some (real) (make-believe) things that could be in stories." The child was asked for three examples of each type.

All of the children reacted to the story stems as if they recognized the fantasy element in the make-believe stem. A few quibbled about the real stem but said it could have been true a few

weeks before while the leaves were still on the trees. This triggered a response added by one child about dragons having been real, but only a long long time ago.

Twenty-one of the children gave make-believe examples, some of which were gloriously fantastic. Two of the second language children and Ariadne did not. Three of the children patterned their examples after the story stem, "This morning I," or "I looked out my window and" Twenty children gave real examples with the same two second language children not responding (two others were omitted by examiner error.)

Prior knowledge about audience. The children were simply asked to "think of some things that little boys and girls (or grown-ups, would like to have in stories, some things that stories for little boys and girls (grown-ups) would be about."

The children made the distinction but they were less specific about things grown-ups would like. Only 22 gave answers about grown-ups and most were restricted to what their parents would like. Children seemed to call upon their knowledge of having seen parents read. Four, interestingly enough, just mentioned the printed nature of the material: Words, newspapers, "no pictures," etc.

All of the children, including the two second language children who had not answered in this section before, told things that little boys and girls would like in stories. The content was specific. Children would like things that are little, cuddly, animated (particularly animals but especially baby animals), or imaginative, including ghosts and other scary things.

In short, the idea of topic as things people would like in stories seemed like a reasonable question to these children. They were less specific about other people's preferences but they knew that they were different from those of people like themselves, "little boys and girls."

These knowledges were particularly needed for Studies II and III in response to specific directions for the situation. In Study IV (and in the first grade studies) the children would be asked to decide upon certain topic and audience characteristics of their stories. Topic and audience as notions affecting reading strategies would be observed during children's reading interviews as well.

At the conclusion of Study I the child was complimented for his/her many good ideas, told that the examiner enjoyed them, and escorted back to Miriam Kendall's classroom.

Summary, or "If I know so much, what can I do?"

Like the children from the 1979-80 study these five-year-old children have a tremendous number of knowledges about written language. Nevertheless, they also vary greatly in their knowledges, as separate "amounts" of things that they know about written language, and in the organization of those knowledges. In the following chapter, I discuss procedures used for analyzing the protocols of these children to derive a "holistic" estimate of their emergent reading abilities to be used as the first step in selecting children that seem to differ in their relative overall emergent reading ability. Each of the selection steps is presented and discussed, including the teacher's judgments. Finally, the nine children whom we

studied in depth during the 1980-81 school year are introduced, along with a summary of their performance in Study I.

The next step (reported in later chapters), now that we had a baseline of what the case study children could do and could conceive of doing, was to press them to try a task just out of their reach or certainly challenging. Storybook reading and writing of lists were certainly old-hat to most of these children. In the studies that form the heart of the case study procedure we asked the children to compose their own stories, to tell the stories (an easy task for most), to dictate the stories (a bit harder and for some just about the same task as storytelling), and to write their own stories (a big challenge that needed an adult to say, "Sure you can, just do it your way.") The written stories were tasks that were just on the edge of these children's competencies, but again the children varied in their abilities to perform the tasks. Our job was to make sense out of the variation.

Chapter Five: Selection of Children for Case Study, or

"The BRDKAWL Nine"

Introduction

Faced with page after page of evidence of the developing literacy knowledges of 24 children gathered from Study I, we had to choose the children upon whom to focus for the kindergarten year in a method consistent with a developmental, emergent reading perspective. This chapter describes the steps by which the children were selected. Children were chosen over the range of emergent reading ability using recursive selection methods. First, each examiner made two kinds of judgments, holistic and detailed. Second, the principal investigator took that evidence and re-ordered the entire list, classifying each child as "high," "moderate," or "low" in emergent reading ability. During the process eight children were eliminated from the eligible list (three were overage and five were "second language" speakers). Finally, a random list of prospective case study children was presented to the teacher for her independent judgments. The final part of this chapter is an introduction to the nine children whose literacy development we will be following in-depth through kindergarten and, in lesser detail, first grade.

Selection

Results of Study I. From the "General Knowledges About Written Language" interview of Study I, we had to pages of transcription for each child. Each transcript had been double-checked with the original tape-recording and critiqued by two examiners; the critique included impressions of the social-emotional climate between researcher and child. We also had impressions from each of our own sessions that were not transcribed and were perhaps so intuitive or tacit that we could not readily access them. Now we wanted to reduce all that information to one "score," or a placement leading either to a given child's being selected or not selected.

The BRDKAWL project is primarily exploratory in spite of its having a theoretical stance and design. The stance that we took was that we did not know exactly what went into emergent reading and writing abilities but that we had informed intuitive judgments that could be used. We would put the intuitive judgments of each examiner, with her own background and with our common background, to the test and try to make the bases for our judgments explicit so that we could check their validity.

Sulzby (1981c) had already devised some ways of judging emergent reading abilities as have other researchers (Clay, 1972, 1975, 1979; Goodman, 1979, 1980; Holdaway, 1979; Mason, 1980). We did not want those tools to be used in our initial selection and we wanted the benefits of the different perspectives of each of the examiners. (It must be remembered that Sulzby's judgments are influential in the case

study selections, but we tried to counteract this inherent redundancy, through the use of multiple judgments.

We developed a series of techniques to move from raw data to holistic judgments to selection. These techniques are somewhat like White's (1959) procedures for isolating criteria used in judging young children to be "competent," another complex construct.

Individual examiner's judgments. First, each examiner took the list of children whom she had seen in Study I, reviewed the protocols, and made "holistic" judgments about each child's level of literacy development. With those judgments in mind, the examiner ranked the children in her list. Second, the examiner identified criteria which she had used or thought she had used to make those holistic judgments. She then went through the protocols in detail, looking for specific verification that those criteria had been used and checking for criteria that had been overlooked, particularly those used with one child but not with another. As a result of this verification step, she then re-ranked the children, noting changes and reasons for making those changes. In no case was a child moved more than one position in the re-ranking. (Appendix D gives the notes of one examiner for this step of the process.)

Combined judgments. The principal investigator took each examiner's set of judgments, along with the original protocols, and looked for consistencies and inconsistencies, including the range of abilities within each examiner's group of children. (An example of an inconsistency was the range of Otto's children as compared with the

other two examiners; she had no truly "high" child in her initial group.) From the three lists, Sulzby judged each child to be "high," "moderate," or "low" compared with the other children in the list, after removing ineligible children from the list. (Children were ineligible if they were overage or spoke English either bilingually or as a second language. Three children were two to five months overage and five did not speak English as their primary language.)

Rationale for "high," "moderate," and "low" groups. While the primary methodology was case study, we wanted to be able to apply some statistical tests and also to be able to have enough differences between individuals and groups of individuals not to be drowned in individual differences. We all know that each person is an individual. One goal of research, however, is to find likenesses and differences by re-grouping data in various ways. The BRDKAWL project for 1980-81 was designed to look for developmental differences. We chose a five-year-old age group in a kindergarten setting. We could simply track all or any subset of the children chosen at random. Since we wanted to chart the transition into independent reading, we could have chosen only those children who were not yet reading independently. However, we would have lacked a reference point coming from children who had already made the transition, thus we included "high" children some of whom were already reading independently.

Thus we rejected a random group or a group chosen on the basis of not being able to read independently. A second choice could have been two groups, one reading and the other not. In order to find

differences, we simply had to look for five-year-olds a considerable "distance" from the children who were already reading; however, their development might be so different that we would not see the likenesses. While finding children who are significantly different seems to be nifty at first glance, the research must also explain that difference. Our primary target was to spot the transition into independent reading and the "low" children probably would not make that transition during the kindergarten year before formal instruction began in first-grade.

Our solution was to choose a smaller group of children at the three levels of "high," "moderate," and "low," so that we might chart the developmental range more completely, even if it meant that some differences might not be detectable by statistical tools. The three levels of emergent reading ability (which my notes ironically show that I was then labelling "reading readiness") were defined as follows:

High. These children showed some clear evidence that they were already reading or had at least two aspects of reading (as defined by Sulzby, 1980) under control in either the storybook reading attempt or in re-reading from their own writing. The aspects need not be used simultaneously. These children treated print as what gets read and had pretty definite ideas about the process of learning to read and write. Their language about language and language

about learning was quite explicit and used easily.

They conversed easily with the examiner.

Moderate. These children did not show clear evidence that they were reading independently. Their model of reading was not always include print as the source of what gets read. They had one aspect of reading under control in some situations and occasionally used another; but the aspects were far from integrated. They did some writing which could involve some invention. The relationship between reading and writing was not very clear to them but was growing. Their language about language was adequate. Their language about learning was adequate to good. They showed few confusions about language terminology and function, but were generally lower in these areas than the "high" children.

Low. These children did little writing and said either that they could not read or their reading attempts were very immature. Reading attempts showed few signs of being textually controlled, either by the graphics or by memory for text. Reading attempts were done in an intonation appropriate to oral language. Their language about language and about learning was vague and often confusing. Interaction

with the examiner was also occasionally "not easy" or was strained. Oral language was often not self-monitored and the child did not make clarifications easily.

Rationale for selection. Nine children were to be chosen, three each from the "high," "moderate," and "low" categories. Additional criteria were to divide the case study children as evenly as possible according to sex and age and to have one from each ability category for each examiner so that each examiner would have a subset of children ranging from low to high literacy development. As mentioned earlier, however, Beverly Otto's original list did not have any "high" children. Another unusual distribution problem arose in that there were no boys in the "high" group. While sex differences in beginning reading have been reported numerous times, we had not seen this distribution difference using emergent reading ability criteria with any other kindergarten classes in this school over four years. After conferring with an advisor in research design, we decided that it was better to drop the sex criteria and to treat the male and female groups as two distributions within the same class. Thus we chose all girls from the "high" group and one girl in each of the two lower groups; the remaining four students were boys, two in each of the lower groups. The one girl in the low group was the only eligible girl from that ability category.

Initial selection. The original list of eligible children with age as of December 31, 1980, is shown in Appendix E. From that list,

the following subgroups of children were selected. Given all the problems of the distributions, we were pleased and submitted those names in random order to Miriam Kendall, the children's teacher and asked her to classify the children as high, moderate, or low, so that we could check our judgments against hers. The list consisted of children with a narrow age range overall and within each group.

Initial selection

High	Betsy	5-9	Female
	Nicple	5-9	Female.
	Jodie	5-9	Female
Moderate	Richard	5-1	Male
	Daniel R.	5-9	Male
	Virginia	5-8	Female
Low	Michael	5-8	Male
	Douglas	5-8	Male
	Noreen	5-3	Female

Teacher judgment. The teacher not only rated the children into high, moderate, and low categories, she also made predictions about how we would have placed them. She disagreed with us about Richard and Douglas and she told us she predicted we would have called Richard moderate and Douglas low. She thought that, while Richard seemed to have a lot of knowledge in some ways, he would have difficulty

learning in a group setting. We had been uncertain about him because he had refused to pretend-read his chosen storybook, claiming that he could read one of his books at home but only that book. He had certainly shown behaviors that were consistent with her warnings, including alternating between being very agreeable and very abusive toward his Study I examiner. On the other hand, the teacher predicted that Douglas would do well because he tried hard and had the social ability to learn well in a group and from a teacher. Those comments were consistent with our Study I observations. Other than that we agreed, although she called Jodie moderate and predicted we would have placed her high because she could read some words. We had placed her as our lowest high child and had selected both Jodie and Nicole in preference to Ariadne because we preferred to have two children who were just beginning to read independently rather than two who were already reading with ease.

In analyzing the teacher's ratings as compared with ours, we saw that we tended to overstress knowledge at the expense of social characteristics and the teacher placed more stress upon how a child would get along in a group setting and learning from instruction. In discussing instruction, she primarily indicated first grade and its formal instruction in reading. We looked back over our records and decided to use the ratings with Miriam's revised ordering of Richard and Douglas. But that was too orderly for fate.

Final selection. After the first session of Study II we discovered that two taperecorders had malfunctioned, losing all of the

Study II data from Daniel R. and Virginia. Since we were just beginning and had other children from the "moderate" category, we replaced them with Andrea (5-7) and Chad (6-1). This increased the age range from 5-1 to 5-9 to the new range of 5-1 to 6-1.

One child in each category was assigned to each of the three examiners for the remainder of the two-year study. The combinations on the final list were as follows:

Final List, Case Study Children

<u>Ability category</u>	<u>Child</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Examiner</u>
High	Betsy	5-9	Beverly Cox
	Nicole	5-9	Beverly Otto
	Jodie	5-9	Elizabeth Sulzby
Moderate	Andrea	5-7	Beverly Cox
	Chad	6-1	Beverly Otto
	Douglas	5-4	Elizabeth Sulzby
Low	Michael	5-8	Beverly Cox
	Noreen	5-3	Beverly Otto
	Richard	5-1	Elizabeth Sulzby

Our initial plan had been to keep children with their examiner from Study I but distribution, equipment, and personality problems led

to a number of changes. Four of the children changed examiners from Study I to the remainder of the project, but the examiners took extra care to get acquainted with these new children. From this point forward, the relationship between examiner and child would become part of the data of the case study.

In the section that follows, we introduce you to the case study children, as personalities and as possessors of knowledges about written language. In Chapter Four, we reviewed the knowledges that the group of children in Miriam Kendall's classroom showed to us in an interview called "General Knowledges About Written Language." In that chapter, we began our practice of giving a number of examples from the children and identifying children by their code name. In the chapters that follow, we will give more examples from these nine case study children drawn in part from the written case studies. More information about individual children will appear in Sulzby (in preparation) and in other BRDKAWL publications (e.g., Sulzby & Cox, in press).

The Case Study Children

Overview

This project is focused upon individual children, primarily. At times group and sub-group data are presented but the goal is to describe the transition into independent reading for individual children. This presents a problem since children were pre-selected as being in a category of high, moderate, or low.

I consider the categories to be heuristic in nature. By blocking our groups, we stand a better chance of isolating differences; given

our still limited understanding of emergent reading. But our initial judgments may have been faulty and children can change. I do not intend to treat these children as "fixed" or permanently in any category. However, for ease of description for the writer and for clues to memory for the reader, the children will be described within the sub-groups of high, moderate, and low. Their names will be used as the primary means of identification.

In the chapters that follow, we will use a cyclical approach of discussing the children as individuals, of discussing groups, and individuals within those groups. Furthermore, we will discuss the classroom in which they spent their kindergarten year and, finally, how they performed when they were exposed to the formal instruction of their first grades. Through the cyclical approach we hope to understand the transition into independent reading better for these individual children and, through understanding the transition for these children, be better able to understand the transition for other children.

Betsy

Betsy's Study I interview was held on November 18 when she was 5-8. She had a warm and friendly manner. She described her family voluntarily, implying lively and supportive relationships at home. She freely mentioned literacy activities, particularly reading which she treated as a pleasant pastime. Her parents read frequently for themselves and to the children and Betsy reads to her younger sibling. Her speech was fluent and its content was interesting to the adult. She monitored her communication and clarified both voluntarily and in response to questions. She showed a positive and adventuresome attitude toward learning and about reading and writing in particular. One of the first conversational topics she introduced was a tale involving learning to spell someone's name, making a mistake, then sounding out her spelling to the silly name it produced rather than the correct name. Real and make-believe ("pretend") was a distinction she introduced before she was asked the interview questions. She used metalinguistic and metacognitive terms appropriately and often voluntarily. She told the examiner that she was learning to read and to write. Her interest in the topic can be seen in that she took over the interview and began to ask questions appropriate to the interview for the examiner!

Child: As soon as I learn how to--um--write,
I--I learn how to read. You know why?.

Adult: Why is that?

Child: Cause I pr--I kind of--try to say wh--what
the letter sounds like and I learn what it
says.

Betsy had a memory for her own learning process and attempted to describe it. She said that she read when she was two and talked about instances when she first learned things and how she refined her learning. Even if her memories are not fully accurate they provide us with interesting clues. Her writing sample was the longest one in the 24-child sample. She re-read voluntarily while writing in contrast with other children who say letter names or sounds while writing. Here's her memory of learning to read as elicited after her writing sample.

Adult: How did you learn to read?

Child: Well (pause) I was (pause) all we did was sound
out the letters and make them sound (pause)
all together, read it faster and faster until I
could read.

Adult: Um-hum. Well, how did you know what the letters
sounded like?

Child: At first I thought T-H made the sound /tɑ/. Then
when I was three I thought that would make /tɑ/
/iy/, /tɑ/ /iy/. That's what I was--that--that
was what I thought it sounded like. /to--/to--
/oks/. That's how I thought these words sounded--
and this, that was really hard. That would be

hard for me. (She was referring to the writing she had done on the back of her writing sample

She had written:

TOTLS.
THE TEXSK

Tootles the Taxi, the name of a favorite book.)

Adult: Um-hum. But you've done a very good job--

Child: (Interrupting)--But now, I can read it easily.

Betsy read from the print of the storybook she brought, "easily," making only a few miscues. Some of those miscues showed high level attention to meaning. Others resulted in the insertion of one word that might be semantically inappropriate; however, these sentences did not seem to interfere with her understanding. She seemed to have a "say something and go on" rule but she only used it occasionally along with other strategies. She stopped occasionally and discussed the book with the examiner. She sounded out some words and elicited the examiner's feedback easily. Her reading could be considered an interpretation in that she discussed things in the pictures and ideas in the story along with her reading. The book, Beady Bear, by Don Freeman is a long book with a great deal of text.

Betsy was judged to be reading independently and to be writing with ease. Her progress during the kindergarten year was predicted to be rapid. We considered her the most accomplished young reader and writer in our group of nine case study children.

Nicole

Nicole took part in Study I on October 21 when she was 5-7. She

conversed easily with the examiner, introducing one topic change and expanding others. She seemed at ease throughout the interview. She wrote in skinny pencil, with her left hand. She wrote three girl's names, including her own, spelled conventionally, all in capital printed letters, except for r and i. Both lower case letters were made as tall as the capitals and the i had a large circle. These three names were written, one per line in the left-hand bottom corner of 8.5 x 11 inch unruled typing paper turned so the 11 inch edge ran top to bottom. On the bottom line, she added I love you adjacent to the final name, Nicole. (This sample has a replacement for her real name, with features preserved as closely as possible, hence the large dotted i.)

NICOLE I LOVE YOU

While writing Nicole used descriptors for the names, "My name," "my mother's names." When asked to re-read her writing she read the actual names, correctly, her eyes on print. Her language about language and about learning was quite abundant and communicated to the adult easily, except for one instance in which she tried to explain that people read by "signing out" "letters" and that you use your lips and a "cork" or "cort" in your mouth, perhaps meaning the vocal cord. She also used the phrase "to sign out" about spelling.

Nicole handled her storybook easily and told about other books. In attempting to read she used two different strategies, one after the other. First she began to try to sound out words in the dedication.

She gave possible sounds in sequence. Then, after spending some time trying to use this strategy she asked, "Can I skip it?" She tried this sounding out strategy again in the text then finally began the second strategy: going through the pages of the book and simply saying the words that she knew. Thus her reading became a series of word lists rather than a story. The book, A Secret for Grandmother's Birthday, by Franz Brandenburg, was a familiar one from her classroom that she said she liked; however, she did not use the story as a source of checking out her reading attempts and focused on the aspects of known words and letter-sound relationships in isolation from each other and from comprehension.

Book parts and handling were easy for Nicole. She identified page, picture, and print (which she called words) by label and distinguished the book cover and title page functionally. Her functional descriptions of book parts were also quite precise. She was also able to distinguish between real and make-believe easily and to give individual topics suited to child and to adult audiences.

It was clear that Nicole was attending to print and seemed to have a variety of strategies for dealing with print. Since all of her writing was conventional, it was difficult to assess her model for writing and its relationship to reading with any precision. She seemed confident of her abilities and she volunteered that, "I can read a little bit." She was judged to be close to making the transition to independent reading and we expected to see that happen during the kindergarten year.

Jodie

On October 14, at age 5-7, Jodie was one of our first interviewees for Study I. She quickly displayed a great deal of knowledge about reading and writing and a facility with oral language. She was able to sustain a conversation easily, although some of her speech was so rapid that it was difficult to understand. She initiated topics and could tell long event sequences or describe lengthy procedures, like how you build Lego people or play with "Bozo Buckets." She was responsive to the examiner's questions. She could be labelled as "talkative" and did not always monitor to see if her audience was following or interested, but that is a bit much to expect of a five-year-old. Later in the interview she easily distinguished between real and make-believe and topics appropriate to a child or adult audience. In those discussions she often mentioned books she had read at home and at school.

Jodie was confident that she could write and that she could read what she wrote. In the storybook interview, by contrast, she stated that she could not read her book but could read some words. For the writing sample, Jodie wrote a lot of names, words, and numerals, saying letter and numeral names and letter sounds as she wrote. She talked constantly about her writing as she wrote, including a discussion of how certain letters were formed, thus showing that the activity of writing these items was fairly easy for her. Her writing sample is discussed in Chapter Four, (pp. 34-36) to illustrate the variety of understandings that can be seen during children's

composition and re-reading attempts.

When she re-read her writing sample, she used reading intonation, first embellishing the text into more complete sentences (like, "My mom's 21 and my dad's 22") but then she re-read exactly what she had written ("Mom, 21, Dad, umm, 22.").

Jodie was enthusiastic about the book she had brought with her, Eric Carle's The Seed. She first told about the book, voluntarily. She then went into a slightly tangential discussion about how books were selected for the classroom library from the school library. This tangent gave more information about her literacy knowledges.

She then refused to read or pretend read because, "I cannot read too good." Jodie then went into a way of talking that later seemed to be typical for her; it sounded indecisive and not venturesome. First she claimed that she couldn't read, then she said she could, "this whole book," then that she could not. Finally, she began to read in the middle of the book parts interview. In this attempt, she simply went through the book looking for words she knew. She recited these words in an intonation typical of list reading.

Jodie's knowledge of book parts was excellent, including being able to explain the purpose of the title page. After she had told the examiner that "the front," or the cover, "tells where, what story is called," she said that the title page is like the front, too, but the cover is the real front. She had "read" the title and author from the title page in a tone as if to say, "I just told you." Then she gave this lengthy explanation.

Adult: What's it (title page) for?

Child: It's, like, it tells where it starts

but this (gesture) is the front.

Only has marks--what's this one got

a flower and inside the flower it's called

"The-tiny-seed."

Adult: Ahh.

Child: And Eric Carle made it.

Jodie was judged to be a child high in emergent reading and writing abilities. She had shown some knowledge of all the aspects of reading if we consider both her writing and her reading sample. She seemed more confident in her writing abilities but her reading refusal was clearly based upon the understanding that print is read and her attempt was "aspectual." She also had showed that stories have content and that she understood the book she chose; however, at this point in her development she was not using comprehension to support her word recognition when reading a book written by someone else. Nevertheless, she had used her composition intent to refine her reading from the writing sample. We expected to see her make the transition into independent reading during the 1980-81 school year.

Andrea

On November 12, 1980, Andrea settled uneasily in the chair facing the examiner at the beginning of the Study I interview. She was then 5-6, an attractive, shy-acting girl, sniffing with a cold. She showed a number of behaviors that seemed to be typical for her. Her comments were low. She was responsive to the examiner's questions but she didn't initiate or expand on any topics. Andrea smiled at praise but did not seem to get much more at ease during the interview. She fidgetted a lot in her chair, at times twisting her hands or her dress.

Andrea was able to maintain a fairly monologic discourse, however, as shown at the end of the conversation sample. She told a delightful episode about learning to ride a big wheel with her daddy and her uncle pushing her with a broom. Both child and adult laughed at this episode and Andrea seemed quite sophisticated at being able to interact with the adult briefly. The rest of her exchanges tended to put most of the burden on the adult to initiate and maintain the flow of conversation.

Andrea wrote a list of family names, all conventionally, aligning her paper so the 11 inch side ran top to bottom. She wrote in skinny pencil, at the bottom left-hand side of the page, one item per line. She wrote in all capital manuscript letters except for i which had a circle for the dot. When asked to write like grown-ups, she said that they write in script and then re-wrote her sister's name joining the manuscript letters. The result could be partially read but the final

letter was not recognizable. She re-read her list easily, eyes on print, top to bottom.

The Sweet Patootie Doll, by Mary Calhoun, was the book Andrea brought as a favorite. It had been read in the classroom by the teacher and Andrea said she liked it. In the storybook reading interview, the examiner initiated dependent reading after Andrea had insisted to other encouragements to read that, "I don't know how." The form of her dependent reading was interactive with the adult reading part then pausing for the child to complete the passage. She didn't respond until the ninth page of text, then she gave some fairly long completions, up to a clause, that were semantically appropriate. These were usually initiated by the adult's pause but one time she interrupted and completed a page alone.

Andrea showed a variety of concepts about books during the interactive reading attempt. For example, she indicated that the pictures could be read or that the print could be read. She pointed to the top line of each page when the examiner asked her where she should read; however, she often turned past pages with text and didn't protest either from the fact that the written parts were skipped or that the oral story was incomplete. She seemed to enjoy the story. At the end of the story, she completed the final sentence, "for making a little girl glad," as "just for the girl," said with great emphasis. This was her closest textual match. She recited this line to the blank endpage. When asked where that part was, she turned back to the last page and pointed to the middle of the top of the page's

four lines.

Andrea showed a fair amount of knowledge of book parts, except that pictures are "for reading," according to her. She used only one appropriate label, page, but gave functionally appropriate explanations of other book parts. Print was words and, like the pictures, is "for reading."

Andrea's language about language and about learning was adequate but not extensive. She gave very little detail from her memories of learning to read and write. She said that she learned to write from her sister and Sesame Street. She learned to read, on the other hand, from mom and, again, Sesame Street. Then she added that she can only read "my books." People need a teacher to learn to read and the teacher's way of teaching is to "read you books." She made a strong distinction between real and make-believe and a less vivid distinction between child and adult audiences.

Andrea's examiner thought that she had basic knowledges needed to succeed in reading and in writing but was concerned about whether she held a view of the learner's role as active or passive. Certainly, in the Study I interview, she had shown both knowledge and dependence. Our prediction was that she would make average progress during kindergarten. While it was possible that we had under-estimated her abilities because of her shy behavior, we thought we had sampled enough instances of reading behavior to be certain that she was not yet reading independently. We had not sampled enough writing behavior to feel confident in predicting her progress as a writer or a reader

of her own writing. We were curious about how long she would remain shy and dependent or whether the kindergarten year would be a year of change in her social characteristics.

Chad

Chad was one of the first children interviewed in Study I, seen on October 14, 1980. He was then 5-10, one of the oldest children in the classroom who had not been held back an extra year. Chad's interview was filled with affective responses, both happy and sad. He was sad about a bad accident that had happened to a close member of his family and had brought along I Wish I Was Sick, Too, by Franz Brandenburg, as his favorite storybook. The happy incident was one that he told a number of times in later sessions, about his discovery that he could write.

Child: Well, see, one time my mom was teaching me to write my name and when she wasn't there she was doing some housework outside--

Adult: Uhm.

Child: --and she was raking the leaves and I wrioted my name to a letter cause it somebody's birthday--

Adult: Uh-huh.

Child: --and I went outside and to my mother and I said, "Hey, Mom, I wrioted my name." (Child laughed and then adult laughed.)

Evidently exchanges between Chad and his mother were lively and filled with affect. He told about another incident of his showing off

writing while his mother was working. Evidently he had just written letters and she acted as if he were writing words.

Child: And, so, I started to write all of these letters and, um, I walked up to my mom and said, "Hey, Mom!" and then she said, "What, what, what!"

Adult: Hmm. (Laughed)

Child: And she--came and looked at my paper and she said, "How'd you do that?" (said with great affect) and I said, "I put it down myself!"

Adult: Oh, yeah. So how did you do it?

Child: Well, see, I was just writing some letters and I didn't know, know I was writing those different words.

Chad had quite extensive language about writing but more limited language about reading and book parts. He seemed to have an interest in learning and to have a positive attitude about his ability to learn but he asserted that he knew little about reading. His notions about writing seemed to be tied to producing letters that made up words but without any sign of attending to the letter-sound aspect of the writing system. He reiterated in numerous ways his idea that people learn to read and write from other people, particularly their moms and dads. He seemed to think that adults were responsive, supportive people, or at least that adults who are moms and dads are! He didn't mention teachers or schools but he did mention literacy materials such as books, newspapers, and "writing," as sources of learning to read.

This statement might be taken to sum up his notions in October.

Adult: What do people need so that they can read?

Child: Well, they get some kind of book, I don't know about reading, some reading, but I know about words.

Adult: (Repeated question)

Child: They just need newspapers and write those words.

Adult: Why is that?

Child: Cause if they write their name and see their name in the newspaper, they'll look at them, and they'll write it.

The storybook reading part of the interview did not seem to be comfortable for Chad yet he revealed a fair amount of knowledge in it. He said he did not want to read his storybook and that he also didn't want to pretend. However, he began to tell about the book in ways that seemed to be pretend-reading. If it was, then Chad's pretend-reading fit with his claim that he didn't know how to read in that it was fairly short, didn't form a complete story, and was at the lowest levels of emergent reading abilities as shown in storybook reading attempts. He started making dialogue for the characters by groaning and saying in a suffering voice, "I wish I could be sick, too," which is the theme of the book. Then, however, he simply made a few statements that were comments about characters in the picture and their situation. His reading could be characterized as "labelling and commenting," "action-governed," or "creating dialogue," at different

times but there was not enough sustained attempt to classify it clearly (see page 165). He turned past many pages without comment but seemed to study the pictures intensely. He identified pages, picture, and words by label and, while he said that pages were for looking at, he distinguished between pictures and words with pictures being to look at and words, "you kinda read it."

Chad distinguished easily between real and make-believe and even told a dream about making up a story about dinosaurs and tarantulas. His distinction between topics for adult and child audiences was not very clear; the adult thought he was distinguishing topics for children as being about "little" things but he also said that adults would like toy guns and toy boats in their stories.

Our assessment of Chad at the conclusion of Study I was that he would make average progress in learning to read and to write. It was suspected that he would make more progress in writing but we had seen no evidence that he conceived of the writing system as being more than a discovery of conventional spelling. His pretend-reading had shown little use of memory for the text of the book and no use of reading-intonation. Furthermore, he did not create a decontextualized story for the adult as listening audience. In all, he seemed to have some positive knowledges but to have a limited model of reading as a means of communication. He had strong affective responses to learning and to his family as a source of learning. Additionally, he seemed to have memory for and language for his own learning along with ability to monitor communications by himself and others in oral conversation.

Douglas

One of our youngest case study children was Douglas who was interviewed first on October 28 when he was 5-2. He is a charming young man with an easy manner. His conversation was responsive, however, it was not always easy to understand. Doug tried to tell two different events that seemed to be more complicated than he could easily put into language understandable to the adult. He monitored his communication and tried to explain when he noticed the adult's confusion. His conversation was not extensive but he expanded upon two topics without having questions from the adult as prompts.

Douglas' writing was all in upper case. He wrote in skinny pencil, aligning his paper so that the 11 inch edge ran top to bottom. He arranged the items he wrote on the page starting at the bottom middle portion but seeming to use a random order for the added items. Certainly, there was no indication that he was using a left-right, top-bottom order for the items, although he wrote the one complete word, his name, in a left-right order. He wrote his own name and "the letters of the first name" of his siblings, meaning the first letters in their names. He said he had learned to write his name when he was four. He attempted to imitate adult "script" which "looks squiggly." His imitation looked like a capital W. Later, when asked to read what he had written, he called it a W. He made a qualification in using this label that seems interesting; he did not identify the writing by his intention (imitating grown-up writing) but by what it looked like:

Adult: Can you read that? (Gesturing)

Child: I know what it is.

Adult: Can you read it?

Child: Read what?

Adult: (Pointing) That.

Child: It's a W.

Both writing and attempting to read seemed to require a great effort from Douglas. He refused to read the book he had brought as a favorite, Mercer Mayer's Professor Wormbug in Search For the Zipperump-a-Zoo, but agreed that he would "pretend-read." His reading attempt can be classified as being oral language-like. He created a story, told in past tense, but it was highly dependent upon context, both of the adult's knowing the story (which was not the case) and of attending to the pictures. Douglas looked at the pictures while reciting the story and his intonation pattern was more like storytelling than reading. He seemed to enjoy the story and at the end he turned back to re-examine a picture he'd skipped over briefly so that he could see the Zipperump-a-Zoo, "the person who was missing," as he put it. Only a few characters in the recitation were identified by a name or a decontextualized description; the few that were were placed almost at the end of the story and this placement seemed to have no structural or staging purpose suited to a written language form.

Douglas did not furnish any labels for book parts but he indicated functions for most parts. At one point he said that both pictures and print could be read but later he qualified the statement

by asserting that pictures are "like to show you like, what it's kinda like."

Douglas' language about language and about learning was not extensive. He answered a number of questions by saying, "I don't know." He said that he learned to write part of his sister's name by watching her write it and that he would learn to write when he got older, "when I'm eight, or seven, or something." Other things needed to learn to read are light and a book and practice. He said that he practiced some with his mom, but he didn't expand except to say that he could read it, fit, and mit, none of which he included in his writing sample.

In summary, Douglas' Study I performances had revealed some knowledge about reading and writing. In writing, he used conventional spelling for his name and indicated that he knew parts of his siblings' names, again with the implication being that he was referring to conventional spelling. There was no evidence that letter-sound relationships were part of his developing notions about literacy but there was also no direct evidence that they were not. In his reading attempt, he showed the concept that a book tells a story, although that story was not close to the written text and was neither decontextualized in wording nor reading-like in intonation.

By placing Douglas in our moderate category, we were predicting him to make average progress in learning to read and to write. We felt uneasy about this prediction, although it became more defensible as we saw his performance in subsequent studies. Now we knew that

there was much more about his literacy knowledges that we needed to learn. He was the student whom we had first placed as "low" and the classroom teacher had placed as "moderate" because of his ability to get along in a group setting and to learn from a teacher. At the end of Study I, no specific details in his reading and writing development were predicted but Douglas' classroom behavior had impressed us that he was a rather quiet person of determination and self-confidence. We would watch his development closely and see what he could do when we pressed him to write stories.

Noreen

Noreen (5-1) had just had her fifth birthday shortly before the Study I interview. She approached the chairs easily, placing her book, Angus Lost by Marjorie Flack, where the examiner directed her. The conversation sample that followed was filled with mis-communications in that she and the examiner had difficulty understanding each other. She seemed interested in what the examiner said and the implements on the table and asked questions about them.

Noreen's knowledges about reading and writing seemed to be very limited. Her meta-linguistic usage and definitions were often inaccurate. She seemed to have a model of learning that only included "practicing," growing older, and going to school. She did not explain what would happen in school even when the examiner probed.

Noreen was the only child in the 24-child sample who could not produce her first name without a pattern. She took the large primary pencil in her right hand and aligned the paper with the 11 inch side

running top to bottom and began to write, saying, "I can write my full name but I need my copy card," a reference to the model her kindergarten teacher provided (see Sulzby & Anderson, 1982). Her "name" included only a few letters from her actual name. Here's her writing sample, including (1) her "name," unchanged since it is not recognizable, (2) her "writing" of "persons," a drawing of a girl, and (3) her attempt to write like grown-ups which she labelled script. In re-reading these items, however, she only included "Noreen" and said about the script, "I don't know what this is." When asked if she wrote anything else, she said, "A person."



(Photo-copy reduction from 8.5x11" paper, done in No. 2 pencil; numbers in circles added by examiner.)

While Noreen seemed to confuse drawing and writing to some extent, she distinguished between print and pictures in her storybook reading attempt. Her labels for book parts were few and not used easily to communicate to the examiner. For example, she called pages paper and the picture, a fence (part of its content). In answer to the questions about print, however, she demonstrated quite a bit of

understanding, albeit in a confused manner:

Adult: What's this? (gesture to print)

Child: Writing.

Adult: What do you do with it?

Child: You write.

Adult: What?

Child: You write.

Adult: What's it for?

Child: Because you need to read a page, you read it.

Adult: (Turning back to picture of a dog) So what is this?

Child: A dog.

She went on then, with probing by the examiner, to state that the picture is to be seen, because "the people need to see the, um, dog," one pretty clear statement in a reading context that writing and illustration are not the same thing. Once again, we need to take care not to assume that the child sees the similarity between a printed picture and the child's own drawing, but Noreen seemed to have the understanding that reading is done from the print.

Such an understanding would not have been clear from her storybook reading attempt, however, which was governed by pictures rather than print. She refused to read at first saying, "I don't know how to read," but did respond to the prompt to pretend. Her reading attempt did not form a story but was characterized by labels and comments, a very immature level of emergent reading, and by

action-governed language. In action-governed language the child uses present or present progressive tense and speaks as if the action in the pictures is currently occurring. Her attempt was interrupted by the examiner who began to ask questions to clarify the meaning of some of her statements. These questions could have served as a cue to use decontextualized language but Noreen simply continued to use the contexts of the pictures and deictic language: "This guy is chasing this guy. He was, this guy was, this guy is tied on." (While the second sentence has a self-correction, it is still deictic in nature, dependent upon not only the picture but Noreen's perspective.)

Real and make-believe were distinguished although Noreen had difficulty giving an example of make-believe at first. She confused the purpose of the question, similarly to confusions she had made in the earlier conversation sample, responding to "make" rather than make-believe even though she had just identified the dragon story stem as not true. Finally, she gave the same example that the stem contained, "dragons," as content for make-believe stories. On the other hand, she had no difficulty offering appropriate topics for child and adult audiences.

Noreen was judged to be "low" in emergent knowledges about both reading and writing. She had only written four letters that could be identified in appearance and she had not named any of them nor mentioned any letter-sound relationships. Her storybook reading attempt was not cued by the print and had little dependence upon memory for the story. Reading and writing events were not mentioned

voluntarily by her. She was able to use language about language but it did not seem to be easy for her to access or to use accurately.

Her concepts about learning seemed to be quite inexact and she told no instances of learning anything--even her discussion of learning to ride a two-wheeler was about what she did after she learned to ride.

We predicted that Noreen needed many experiences exploring reading and writing before she would be able to do either with much confidence.

We did not expect her to make the transition into independent reading during the kindergarten year and were concerned about her reaction to instruction from the basal reader program in first grade.

Michael (Mike)

Mike (5-7) had been observed to avoid verbal exchanges with both teacher and children in his classroom before the Study I interview on November 18. He was a sturdily built, but not overweight, little boy with an engaging smile. During the interview he demonstrated not only difficulty with verbal communication but also few literacy knowledges.

Mike's conversation was particularly puzzling. His examiner acted as if she knew what he was talking about many times when, in fact, she had been bewildered. Looking over his typed transcript and knowing more about him later, we could understand quite a bit more about his topics but there are still portions that we do not comprehend. In the conversation, the examiner began to notice a theme that has recurred with Mike: a temporal delay between the initiation of a topic and Mike's final response, paired with a lack of clues to help the adult know that he was responding. She called this delay "temporal discontinuity."

In spite of the difficulty in communicating clearly, Mike's conversation was one of the longest and liveliest in our sample. He both initiated and expanded topics, even though he did not always do it so that the examiner understood him. Among the topics he discussed in his 7 minute 47 second conversation were playground bullies, or "hot-shots," tape recorders, wheelbarrow pushing, raking leaves, dead squirrels, falls from bunk beds, horrible accidents, burglars, birthdays, brothers, or "fuss butts," and, finally, a long story about a big wheel ride, "moped all the way." His topics seemed to be

beyond his ability to communicate clearly to another person and, later in the case study, he complained about having ideas in his head that he could not get out. With the other children in our case study

sample, oral language seemed to be fairly well developed for their age. With Mike, however, it was not and we became equally as interested in oral language development and how it would related to written language development.

Mike refused to try to write; he did not even say that he could write his name, although in fact he could. He conveyed the attitude that he did not think he could write or pretend to write and knew little about it. However, later, in an instance which the examiner called temporal discontinuity he made what seemed to be a random mark on the paper with the crayon he was toying with. At this time he muttered, "Don't even look like it," which was interpreted to mean that he might have been "writing" and disparaging his product.

In spite of his not having written, Mike was asked the interview questions about how people read from their own writing. He surprised his examiner by then saying that people need paper and pencil to read. This response may have shown some confusion about reading or have been a temporally displaced response to earlier questions about how people write.

Reading seemed to be more understandable to Mike, particularly as seen in the storybook reading attempt. When asked to read his book, Professor Wormbug in Search for the Zipperump-a-Zoo by Mercer Mayer, he did not hesitate or protest. He simply picked up the book and

began to giggle at the pictures, pointing to actions in the pictures, and making comments about them. Twice, however, he attended to print, by asking the examiner what was written on signs within the pictures.

His storybook reading attempt could be classified, first, as interaction with the examiner, and, second, as what Sulzby (1982 ; Sulzby & Otto, 1982) calls "action-governed" language, in which the child speaks as if the action in the pictures is on-going. Mike's language did not create a complete story and it was highly contextualized, with deictic terms and unspecified references. Yet it showed a high involvement with the story.

Child: (Mid way through the book) Watch. This thing
is still following him, watch.

Adult: The thing's still following him?

Child: See. There.

Adult: Oh, yeah. Look.

Child: -----(indecipherable phrase
or clause)

Adult: Hiding right behind there.

Child: Woops!

Adult: Woops! (Laughing) Oh--what happened now!

Child: He fell asleep. Look at it, he's bigger than
----- (indecipherable syllable).

Mike's reactions to the examiner's questions typically did not result in less contextualized language although at one point, "he fell asleep," he moved into past tense, a more appropriate tense for

relating a decontextualized story told for an audience. Thus he has demonstrated some language adjustments appropriate to storybook reading and he responded to the task with enthusiasm and a positive attitude.

He also showed considerable functional knowledge about books and their components, although he used little metalanguage to label book parts: he identified page by name and print as words. When asked to label a picture as part of the book parts inventory, Mike only named the specific item within the picture nearest the examiner's gesturing finger. When the examiner made a gesture that outlined the picture border, Mike responded that it was a page. His discrimination between picture and print in the reading attempt had been to ask what print within a picture "said." In the book parts inventory, he said that both picture and page are "to look at," but print, which he called words, is "to look at and read 'em." In addition to looking at pages, according to Mike, you can turn them, just as you can turn the cover and title pages which he did not identify by label.

Mike said that he liked stories, particularly "like with book pictures in," and airplanes, and "ghost stories--with pictures." On the other hand he said that he didn't think he could make up a story. He distinguished between real and make-believe story stems (giant tree excepted) and furnished examples himself. He was one of the few children who patterned after the story stems to make up his own examples.

(List of make-believe things that could be in stories.)

Child: Like, like, this morning I looked out my window and saw a giant dragon. Like a monster stepping on houses. Like a giant turtle stepping on houses.

(List of real things that could be in stories.)

Child: Like this morning I looked out my window and saw a giant tree. Well, next morning I looked out my window and I saw a cloud. I looked out--I looked out my window and I saw one of my friends.

In attempting to distinguish topics suitable for children and adults, Mike claimed, "I don't know. I only know about kids," but he did finally offer some suggestions for adults, ghost stories which had also been proposed for children, and love stories which he said his mom likes.

Mike's language about language, particularly writing, and about learning was not very complete nor very precise but that was the case for much of his descriptive language. Yet there were instances, some of which are given as examples above, in which he could communicate adequately in verbal exchanges. He showed quite a bit of dissatisfaction with himself as a prospective writer and as a reader of his own writing but he seemed enthusiastic about books. His storybook reading behavior, however, was more like that of a three-year-old than of a five-year-old. At the conclusion of Study I, we judged Mike to be "low" in emergent literacy and predicted that he would make slow progress during kindergarten. We were particularly

interested in what he would show us about his notions about writing and we were determined to watch the development of his ability to carry on a coherent conversation.

Richard

On October 28, 1980, Richard (age 4-11) came to the Study I interview willingly enough, bringing along Eric Carle's The Mixed-Up Cameleon from the book rack in Mrs. Kendall's room. It soon became apparent that control was an issue for Richard. His behavior fluctuated between being very defiant or very agreeable. Many of Richard's defiant behaviors could be seen as avoidance of tasks that he may have felt he was unable to do or unable to do well. In spite of this uncertainty, Richard did seem to have quite a few knowledges about written language.

Richard's conversation with the examiner began with a complaint and an avoidance then settled down into interactive and pleasant exchanges. A few of his statements were difficult to understand, partially due to some immaturity and nasality in his speech and partially due to failure to clarify statements so that the examiner could understand him but, all in all, his conversation was one of the most satisfactory of the initial interviews. This behavior pattern came to be one we expected: initial resistance but, when held to the task and allowed to negotiate it a bit to his needs or desires, final cooperation.

Richard displayed many knowledges about writing. He said that he knew N-O, but didn't know how to make an N, evidently distinguishing

between being able to say the letter names and writing them. He did not identify N-O as the word no, nor did the examiner probe that statement. When asked to show the examiner what he could write, he restated his ability to "make an O," and also "my ABC's."

In writing, he chose the large primary pencil in his right hand. He aligned the paper with the 11 inch side running top to bottom and wrote six well-formed letters left-to-right across the page; he then wrote three other letters in a line beneath the first line but this time he wrote right-to-left. He faced one and perhaps two of these letters toward the left. He named the letters after writing at first and near the end he began to write and then name the letters. He omitted the name of Y, calling it "whatever that is." He also drew a sun and a boy, saying, "I could write people," but continued by telling the examiner, "I'm going to draw it on the other side." Richard boasted that he couldn't write everything he knew because the paper was too small, matching this boast with a complaint about the pencil. When quizzed about each thing he had written he correctly names A, B, H, O, E, L, F (written backwards), and Z. He again called Y "whatever," and explained that he knew that these things were because, "I learned my ABC's," and "Cause I sung the ABC's."

Richard refused to write like grown-ups, saying he didn't know how they write, then engaging in what seemed to be avoidance behavior. When drawn back to the task he told the examiner that he was writing by pretend and, "I'm writing in my head." At one point, when pressed to try, he hit the paper with his crayon, angrily, and said, "I'm not

going to really write on this paper," then, "Ouch, ouch."

He re-read his writing, naming the letters correctly, but following the left-to-right, right-to-left order in which he had written, still calling Y "whatever." He then turned the paper over and said, "And the other side, the boy, sun," pointing to the pictures he had drawn.

Here Richard shows the ambivalent attitude we often see in young children about the relationship between writing and drawing. He seemed to equate them on one level, yet he also distinguished them in his explanations about how he knew what each of the items were and how he learned them. He had described knowing what the letters were from the ABC's but his response about the drawing of the boy was, "Cause I saw people."

Richard had good use of language about language and about learning. He continued to describe how people learn to read as involving, "reading the letters," but he also included repeated readings of books by parents. He said he learned to read The Cat Comes Back (perhaps Dr. Seuss' The Cat in the Hat Comes Back) because his dad read it to him "a lot of times, so that's how I learned." He also said that people need "helping" so that they can read and that they need helping "so you can learn," a not-too-precise but provocative response.

Richard's reaction to the request to read his storybook was unexpected, given his enthusiastic description of reading his book at home. He groaned and complained even though he handled the book

easily. Then he refused to even try to read aloud. Richard's refusal could be interpreted as a high-level refusal to read based upon growing knowledges of how reading is done but he and the examiner got into a power struggle and that ended that. He again talked about reading, "inside me," when asked if he were reading. (Later, in first grade, Richard began to talk about reading inside and told the examiner that he first remembered being able to do that when he was five; however, at this point, he was probably not reading from print.)

The examiner made one overture to assist Richard in his reading attempt but he told her that he wanted her to do "nothing" to help him. In the book parts inventory that followed, the two voices showed exasperation and impatience, with the examiner failing to pursue responses that needed probing and the child seeming to give the least effortful answer. Richard identified the cover and pages by name. The title page was called the name of a character in a Dr. Seuss book, "The Sneezes." When asked, "What do you do with it?" he replied, "I don't care what I do with it," a pretty apt comment for the interview at this point. The function of the title page, pages, and pictures are, "To look at." People turn pages and look at pictures. Since Richard was in a pretty wretched mood during this point of the interview, his answer about print can be interpreted as significant. He departed from the formula he was following to say that print is, "The writers. How to read it."

Richard perked up a bit for the final part of the interview,

perhaps because the topic changed. His answers still varied between pleasant and unpleasant. For instance, Richard told the examiner that he didn't like stories, not any kind of story except The Cat Comes Back and doesn't like to make up stories. He distinguished easily between real and make-believe but when he started giving examples of his own he called the examiner "dumb" and told her to be quiet: "Well, would you be quiet so I would have some time to think." He tried to distract her by grabbing his writing paper back while telling her that although dinosaurs are make-believe, long, long ago they were real. His distinction between topics for child and adult audiences was partially indecipherable but seemed to have been understandable to the examiner.

Richard had shown a number of knowledges about written language, even though he refused to try to read from his storybook. His writing had shown no invention, but he seemed to know a number of letters and their names easily and to hold his composition sequence in mind in re-reading attempts. While he seemed to relate writing and drawing partially, he also made a distinction between the two. His primary characteristic that concerned us was the social behavior that seemed to block us from tapping his understandings. Richard, like all the children, was offered the chance not to take part in the study but he insisted that he wanted to "come and do my work." He was changed to an examiner whose assignment was to hold Richard to tasks firmly but without getting angry or argumentative whenever there was evidence that he could do a task. She was to allow him to negotiate the task

to what he could do when he seemed to be truly unable to do a task. Our classification of Richard had been "moderate" and his teacher's had been "low," with her disagreement based upon his ability to learn in a group setting and from a teacher. We had gone along with her judgment and placed him in the "low" category but it was evident that he knew a fair amount about reading and writing. Our expectations at the end of Study I were mixed; we certainly saw the social behaviors that concerned the teacher and also concerned us. We also knew that our estimate of his literacy knowledges was inflated since he had refused so many of our tasks and his performances had only provided samples of letter writing and reading, along with some apparent confusions about the relationship between drawing and writing and about directionality. Our goal was to be firm and see what he would show us.

Examiner/Child Pairs

Earlier I presented the adult-child pairs for the case studies. Now that the children have been introduced, I will review in more detail the reasons for keeping the child/adult pairs together during the study. As mentioned before, each researcher in BRDKAWL 1980-81 had special talents and outlooks. As part of a naturalistically-oriented study, we had to include those talents and outlooks as part of our data. Additionally, we had taken two other stances about this project. The first involved the relationship between oral and written language and person-to-person interaction.

Since the child who internalizes a model for reading and writing has to learn to deal with the notion of a non-present audience, how the child treated the adult within each task would be important data. Each child and each adult have different styles of interacting and would form different interactional pairs. The second stance involved how we viewed the research itself, as emerging rather than totally pre-planned. Each researcher would grow during the study and change in unpredictable ways and those changes were also important data. Each researcher would have a better chance of understanding the transition from prereading to reading if she dealt with children across the range of ability levels.

We had tried to keep the children with the same adult that they had for Study I but tape recorder malfunction interfered with that goal. Because of that, four children changed examiners. More of the children were seen initially by me than by any other examiner so that gave me an intimate way of viewing more of the children. The only child who was assigned because of personal characteristics was Richard. Because of that change, I then had the three children about whom the teacher had slightly different opinions than we did: Jodie, Douglas, and Richard.

Discussion

In the chapters that follow, we will see much more of these nine children. In Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight, many examples from the children will be displayed to illustrate the phenomena we are exploring, literacy acquisition. Chapters Nine and Ten will give

overviews, with Nine being a look at the classroom and Ten being a look at variables across the studies and across the children. The first three chapters will have looked at each child while the latter two will look at "children." During these chapters we will see the children move closer to being able to read and write independently, and, indeed, some, as we predicted will make the transition during the year. Before we move ahead, however, let's consider what we already know about the BRDKAWL nine.

First, these nine children vary greatly, even within the sub-groups that were chosen to be most similar. The children's literacy knowledges are different and their personal characteristics are different. The research is a search for both likenesses and differences so that we can better understand emerging literacy of children.

Second, these children, even Mike, Richard, and Noreen, know a tremendous amount about reading and writing. They can do some things they can't talk about very well and they can talk about some things they cannot yet do. Their knowledges are varied and organized quite differently but they are abundant. They have much to teach us about children and literacy.

Finally, they will puzzle us as much as they enlighten us. Fruitful studies should raise as many questions as they answer, I've been told and by that criterion this project has been fruitful for me. Now let's move along with the children and explore real and make-believe topics; child and adult audiences; and see how they respond to a new event as a composition stimulus.

Chapter Six

Study II: Real and Make-Believe Topic (Revised)

Introduction

This chapter presents our first look at the nine case study children as authors of stories and as readers of their own compositions. The study, "Real and Make-Believe Topic," was designed to see how well children who vary in emergent reading ability are able to take a given knowledge base, like how they learned to ride a "big wheel" or similar childhood vehicle, and turn that topic into written language forms. In particular, the children were asked to approach the topic in two different ways, from a real or a make-believe perspective, and to explore the topic in different language modes: storytelling, dictation, handwritten composition, re-reading, and editing. Additionally, the conversation sample about learning to ride a big wheel from Study I (Chapter Four) was compared with the Study II story versions. The number and kind of story versions produced by each child varied according to the child's abilities but an underlying task-paradigm consisting of nine story versions and a series of editing tasks was used to explore these responses. The responses of one student who fit the entire paradigm is presented and discussed as a reference point to compare the responses of the other children.

Real and Make-Believe Topic Distinction

If we are investigating young children as writers, we want to know if they can do some things that authors do. In Study I we learned that these children can write primarily in list form, from a conventional repertoire; they can also imitate adult writing; they can talk about their knowledges. But can they write stories?

We assume that, in order to act like an author and to write a composition as complex as a story, a person needs to access prior knowledge for a given knowledge base, then take the knowledge base and manipulate it to create a written entity that other people can read. So, in order to study young children as authors we need to know that they are writing from their knowledge base. One way to do this would be to let children choose their own topics. The problem would be that we would not have a knowledge base common to the children and might not understand the various knowledge bases used by different children.

One solution to the problem of prior knowledge is to select an experience typical for all of the children we planned to use in the study, to assess each child's knowledge of that experience, then to have the children deal with the same experience through different perspectives, like the perspectives of real and make-believe.

There are other reasons for using real and make-believe as a topic manipulation with emerging readers. Particularly debatable are issues of the effects of realistic and fantasy approaches upon the content and structure of stories and the relative memorability of the resulting compositions (see Sulzby, 1981, 1982, and Chapter Two). In this project, however, rather than focus upon an experimental test of

these topic differences, we elected to explore topic in as many ways as possible. The next section, "Ways of Exploring Topic in BRDKAWL 1980-82," shows the placement of Study II within this exploration.

Ways of Exploring Topic in BRDKAWL 1980-82

In Study I we assessed the children's knowledge base for a given topic (learning to ride a big wheel) and their understanding of different ways to approach a topic (real and make-believe). In Study II (reported in this chapter) we manipulated the way the knowledge base was used, by asking children to write a real and a make-believe version on the topic of learning to ride a big wheel. Study III allowed each child to choose a topic in line with the expressed preferences of two people, a child and an adult, whom the children met and interviewed as visitors to their classroom. In Study IV we created a new event (or provided a new knowledge base) and asked each child to write about the event as topic for someone (an audience) who was not present. Thus during the kindergarten year, the children had many opportunities to show their understanding of how topic is handled.

In first grade, we gave less direction about topic. In Study VI we allowed the child to choose both topic and audience and we quizzed the child about those choices. In Study VII, however, we asked each child to write a story for the examiner to keep to remember the child by. We allowed the children to ask the examiner questions about preferences, similar to the interviews in Study III, except the child bore more responsibility for asking questions. We examined the stories of Study VII to see if they reflected awareness of the audience

through the topics chosen and later interviewed each child about why s/he thought "I (the examiner) would like your story."

Real/Make-Believe Revisions From BRDKAWL 1979-80

Study II was patterned after a study in the 1979-80 part of BRDKAWL but used for a different, more exploratory purpose. The primary purpose of this study, as for all of the mini-studies that make up the heart of the case studies, was to explore the child's developing ability to read from his/her own compositions, within a series of oral and written language tasks. Since that was the reason for the study, rather than a direct test of real and make-believe differences, task order was not varied as it had been in the 1979-80 (Sulzby 1981 ; 1982) study. The real stories were collected first, just after Study I in which the child's real-life experience in learning to ride a big wheel had been assessed through a conversation sample. Within each condition, children were asked to do the tasks in the same order: to tell the story first; to dictate second; to re-read and edit the dictation third; to write fourth; and, finally, to re-read and edit the written composition.

The second difference was to re-word the directions so that they prompted all parts of a story, in line with expectations about both structure and specificity of content. The final difference was a slight, but significant one: the examiner and child sat face-to-face during the storytelling rather than facing the table or turning sideways to face each other. Then, following the storytelling the child and examiner turned back to the table.

Questions

Let us consider young children being asked to write a story for an adult who is not mom or dad, a very difficult task for most five-year-olds. One important question is whether or not these children treat the tasks that we think are different as truly different tasks. This question is particularly important for young children who are not yet reading from print. The only way they can do some of these tasks is through an oral language mode, as we will see with Andrea (below). Do they vary these oral outputs to show us that they do have knowledges about written language task demands? Do children at different points of development show predictable differences in how they treat the tasks? Additionally, are these differences arrayed along the designed set of oral language/written language relationships? In the section that follows, I will give a brief overview of the procedures, then I will make these questions more specific as I present results from our nine children.

Method

Format

Study II was held as two sessions, "Real" and "Make-Believe." Each child was seen by his/her examiner separately. The entire sessions were tape-recorded; additionally, the examiner wrote observations of behaviors not recordable on audiotape and collected copies of all the child's written products. An examiner's manual (Appendix) set out the specific procedures to be followed. The directions were to be delivered verbatim but in an casual tone. The directions are long and constitute an oral monologue which the child must attend to. Thus the direct were treated as part of the data;

any changes in wording by the examiner and any interruptions by the child were transcribed.

General directions. The child was given an overview of the entire session, setting the purpose of the tasks as being different things people do to write a story and assuring the child that the examiner would help. Here are the directions for the real story. The make-believe story substituted Little Prince/Princess Charming for "you," the child, and used the appropriate pronouns, as well as repeating the caution to remember that the story was to be make-believe.

TODAY I WANT YOU TO DO SOMETHING VERY SPECIAL. I WANT YOU TO WRITE A STORY FOR ME. (Pause for reaction.)

I KNOW YOU DON'T REALLY KNOW HOW TO WRITE A STORY LIKE A GROWN-UP YET, BUT I ALREADY KNOW YOU KNOW A LOT ABOUT READING, WRITING, AND STORIES. AND I WILL HELP YOU.

I WANT YOU TO WRITE A STORY FOR ME, BUT WE WILL DO IT A LITTLE BIT AT A TIME. WE WILL DO THREE THINGS TO HELP YOU WRITE YOUR STORY.

FIRST YOU CAN TELL THE STORY TO ME AND I WILL LISTEN. THEN YOU CAN Dictate THE STORY TO ME AND I WILL WRITE IT DOWN FOR YOU. THEN LAST OF ALL YOU CAN WRITE IT YOURSELF. DON'T FORGET—I WILL HELP YOU.

HERE'S WHAT YOUR STORY SHOULD BE ABOUT--IT SHOULD BE A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU AND HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE YOUR BIG WHEEL (BICYCLE, ETC.). LET ME TELL YOU MORE ABOUT IT.

Telling. During the storytelling, the adult and child were to sit facing one another. The examiner was to look into the child's face but not question or interact in obvious ways. The examiner's role was set thus:

You should look interested, as if you were listening to someone telling a story from a stage but as if you were not close enough to interrupt. You should not interrupt while the child is telling the story. Avoid any obvious nodding (except for allowable prompting).

The prompting that was allowed was to be certain that the child had finished the story and was not pausing to plan before going on. In instances when the child's intentions could not be safely inferred, the examiner first looked questioningly at the child, then said, "Humm?" then asked, "Anything else?" at set intervals with up to three such prompts all of which had to be recorded. In contrast, when the child used some signal that s/he had finished like a clear sentence final even more obvious falling intonation or said, "The end," or "That's all," the examiner asked, "Anything else?" one time. Here are the basic directions for "telling."

ONE OF THE THINGS THAT PEOPLE DO WHEN THEY GET READY TO WRITE A STORY IS TO TELL THE STORY TO SOMEONE FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE END. THEY TELL THE STORY TO BE SURE THAT THEY HAVE THE STORY JUST THE WAY THEY WANT IT TO BE. IT HELPS YOU WRITE A STORY IF SOMEONE LISTENS TO YOU TELL YOUR STORY.

I WANT YOU TO TELL ME YOUR STORY AND IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU. THE STORY IS ABOUT HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL (BICYCLE, ETC.). PUT IN EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO MAKE THIS A GOOD STORY, A GOOD STORY ABOUT YOU AND HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL.

YOU CAN TELL WHAT MADE YOU WANT TO DO IT, WHERE YOU WERE, WHO WAS WITH YOU, WHEN IT HAPPENED, AND EVEN HOW YOU FELT. TELL EVERYTHING ABOUT IT. THAT WILL BE A GOOD STORY.

NOW TELL ME YOUR STORY AND I WILL LISTEN. REMEMBER IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU.

Dictation. For dictation, the child and examiner turned to face the table where the writing utensils were arrayed as for Study I. The examiner took dictation on unlined typing paper on a clipboard on the left or right hand side depending upon the child's handedness. A carbon paper was inserted so that a copy of the dictation could later be used for re-reading. The clipboard was used flat on the table so that the child would have the opportunity to watch the examiner's writing and the examiner made observations about the child's attentiveness to the writing. The examiner wrote with pencil, carefully and darkly, at a speed described as "like a first grade teacher taking a language-experience story."

The examiner made no comments while writing except when the child dictated too fast for the examiner to keep up. In that case a set procedure was used twice and only twice. If the child continued to dictate too fast after that the examiner kept up as well as possible and quit writing approximately two seconds after the child's voice ended. The prompts were, "Wait a minute. I can't keep up with you. Here's where I am. . . ." and then the examiner read the preceding complete sentence and any partial sentence up to that point. Then the original child's speech, the examiner's copy of the dictation, and the child's response to the prompt could be compared. These are the basic directions for dictation:

YOU DID A GOOD JOB TELLING YOUR STORY FOR ME. THIS TIME WE WILL DO ANOTHER THING THAT PEOPLE DO TO WRITE A STORY. ONE OF THE THINGS THAT PEOPLE DO TO WRITE A STORY IS TO LET SOMEONE ELSE WRITE IT DOWN FOR THEM. THAT'S LIKE HAVING YOUR VERY OWN SECRETARY. WE CALL IT DICTATING WHEN YOU TELL YOUR STORY AND SOMEONE ELSE WRITES IT DOWN FOR YOU. IT'S LIKE WHEN YOU TELL MRS. WHAT TO WRITE DOWN FOR YOU IN THE CLASSROOM.

I WANT YOU TO DICTATE YOUR WHOLE STORY TO ME, JUST THE WAY YOU WANT IT TO BE FROM BEGINNING TO END. IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE JUST LIKE YOU TOLD IT--YOU MAY WANT TO MAKE SOME THINGS DIFFERENT NOW THAT YOU'RE DICTATING THIS STORY, BUT IT'S STILL THE REAL STORY ABOUT YOU AND HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE YOUR BIG WHEEL (BICYCLE, ETC.).

LET ME TELL YOU THE DIRECTIONS AGAIN:

I WANT YOU TO DICTATE YOUR STORY AND IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU. THE STORY IS ABOUT HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL (BICYCLE, ETC.). PUT IN EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO MAKE THIS A GOOD STORY, A GOOD STORY ABOUT YOU AND HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL.

YOU CAN TELL WHAT MADE YOU WANT TO DO IT, WHERE YOU WERE, WHO WAS WITH YOU, WHEN IT HAPPENED, AND EVEN HOW YOU FELT--EVERYTHING ABOUT IT. YOUR STORY WILL BE A GOOD STORY.

NOW DICTATE YOUR STORY AND I WILL WRITE IT DOWN AND REMEMBER IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU.

Re-reading and editing. Appendix F gives the directions for these two tasks, including levels of encouragements used to offer the child a variety of supports if the child responded that s/he could not read. The child's re-reading behaviors were observed and the examiner followed different procedures depending upon whether the child read looking at the print, pointing at the print, accurately matching voice to pointing or other tracking, or not attending to print. These variations will be discussed along with relevant examples in the results.

Editing, however, was more structured. Editing is the only task in Study II that focuses the child's attention upon specific parts of reading and/or writing. After children wrote and re-read, the examiner waited to see if the child would initiate any changes voluntarily. If not, then the examiner asked for general editing, "Anything you want to change? (What? Show me. Do it.)" The final part of the editing task involved sampling the child's understandings

of what were called "the three aspects of reading" in Chapter Two: comprehension or memory for text; stability of the word unit; and knowledge of letter-sound relationships. The examiner had opportunity to observe these aspects in the larger tasks, but in the editing task the examiner structured the editing changes more specifically. For comprehension, children were asked to re-read selected sentences and then "say it another way," or to demonstrate that s/he could separate wording from intent. For stability of the word unit, the child was asked to locate selected words in the text, preferably words that appeared more than once. For knowledge of letter-sound relationships, the child was to re-locate those words, to suggest replacements, "something you could put instead of (word)," and to write the replacements. In this task, as in all others, the child who protested that s/he could not do it was urged to "Try. Do it your way."

Writing. Writing was, of course, the goal of the entire session and finally the children were told that they should write their story themselves, assured that the examiner knew they couldn't yet write like grown-ups but could do the writing their own way. Here are the directions for writing the story:

YOU DID A GOOD JOB DICTATING YOUR STORY FOR ME. THIS TIME WE WILL DO ANOTHER THING THAT PEOPLE DO TO WRITE A STORY. ONE OF THE THINGS PEOPLE DO TO WRITE A STORY IS TO ACTUALLY WRITE DOWN THE STORY THEMSELVES. REMEMBER WHEN YOU WROTE FOR ME WHEN I CAME A LONG TIME AGO? IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE JUST LIKE GROWN-UP WRITING. YOU CAN JUST DO IT YOUR OWN WAY.

I WANT YOU TO WRITE YOUR STORY FOR ME, JUST THE WAY YOU WANT IT TO BE FROM BEGINNING TO END. IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE JUST LIKE YOU TOLD IT OR DICTATED IT--YOU MAY WANT TO MAKE SOME THINGS DIFFERENT NOW THAT YOU ARE WRITING THIS STORY, BUT IT'S STILL THE REAL STORY ABOUT YOU AND HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE YOUR BIG WHEEL (BICYCLE).

LET ME TELL YOU THE DIRECTIONS AGAIN:

I WANT YOU TO WRITE YOUR STORY AND IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU. THE STORY IS ABOUT HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL (BICYCLE). PUT IN EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO MAKE THIS A GOOD STORY, A GOOD STORY ABOUT YOU AND HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL.

YOU CAN TELL WHAT MADE YOU WANT TO DO IT, WHERE YOU WERE, WHO WAS WITH YOU, WHEN IT HAPPENED, AND EVEN HOW YOU FELT--EVERYTHING ABOUT IT. THAT WILL BE A GOOD STORY.

NOW WRITE YOUR STORY AND REMEMBER IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU.

(The child will probably protest that s/he can't write or can't write that much. Encourage, using general encouragements like "try," "do it your way," etc. The first encouragement to give in this case, however, is:

DO AS MUCH AS YOU CAN. I KNOW IT'S A BIG JOB. DO AS MUCH AS YOU CAN.

Few kindergarten children write more than one sentence for this task. Allow them to stop when they say they have done all they can after you have encouraged.

For this task, the table was cleared of materials except the writing utensils. The examiner sat back in her chair with the clipboard on her lap, again making a carbon copy. While the child wrote, the adult looked at the writing and observed the child's behaviors. The adult made a copy of what the child wrote.

Re-reading and editing. The adult recorded observations during re-reading and editing on her copy. The child edited directly on the handwritten story. Editing procedures were the same as for dictation except that only one sentence was edited for the comprehension sample. This change was purely pragmatic; children rarely write more than one sentence and often less under these conditions.

Results

The Task Paradigm

First I will present the task paradigm as it was conceived, since how the child treated the paradigm becomes part of the results. I will discuss various conversions of the paradigm that children could have made, depending upon their responses. Then I will present Andrea's responses as an example of a child who "followed expectations" of the paradigm in its "ideal" form. Different groupings of Andrea's responses will then be used to begin a display of the responses of the case study children.

The task paradigm, conceptually. Conceptually, the child's language was sampled with six tasks:

- conversation (dialogue)
- storytelling (oral monologue)
- dictation
- handwritten composition (writing)

re-reading

editing

In actuality, the dictation consists of two versions, the child's speech as uttered (transcribed later from audiotape) and the child's speech as printed by the scribe. These two versions may or may not be duplicates. The re-reading and editing tasks are repeated, once for the dictated story and once for the handwritten story. The child's re-reading may also become two tasks, depending upon whether or not the child seemed to be reading from print and whether or not the child pointed to the words while re-reading the first time. Each of the tasks could have resulted in a complete version, with the exception of the editing tasks. For children (like Andrea) who did not point for their first re-reading attempt, there was the possibility of nine versions, as shown in Figure 7.

Insert Figure 7 about here

Variations of the paradigm. The paradigm was created with those children in mind who are not yet reading independently from print. Children like Betsy who read easily from print probably might not have the two second re-readings (Boxes 6 and 9) because they either point voluntarily or show through their reading behaviors that they are reading using print cues. Other children may point voluntarily as well, thus they too will omit the extra re-reading samples. In effect, they drop (5) and (8). Still other children will not attempt to write or will refuse to re-read, dropping out as many as five versions (5-9) or only the versions tied to writing (7-8).

Figure 7. Possible Versions of Task Paradigm

Conversation
(from Study 1)

1

Storytelling

2

Dictation
(transcribed
from audiotape)

3

Scribe's copy
of dictation
(taken on paper
in pencil, child
looking on)

4

Re-reading
of dictation -
without pointing

5

Re-reading
of dictation -
with pointing

6

Written story

7

Re-reading
of handwritten
story -
without pointing

8

Re-reading
of handwritten
story -
with pointing

9

Similarity of story versions. Within the boxes representing the versions the child could produce basically the same information nine times or could vary that information, in a number of ways called "degrees of story similarity" (described on pages 250ff.). A mature writer might use his/her knowledge base, as reflected in in the conversation sample, and successively hone the information into a more and more interesting & accurate story across the modes of storytelling, dictation, and, finally, writing, using the re-reading and editing tasks as opportunities to add further polish. Young children are less likely to be able to do that but, from among our children, we might expect the children who are close to reading independently to be able to make such distinctions.

Another option would be to take the knowledge base and convert it to a story that one would stick with across all versions. Certainly, re-reading should first be a repetition of what was written or dictated before one began to change it. We would expect that keeping almost all versions the same would be an option of the children who were fairly far along in literacy development. We will see that this is the case for Andrea, a "moderate" child not yet reading from print and, in the studies that follow, we will see other less mature children moving toward this option, whereas the higher children often show more flexibility in refining their composition. Less mature behaviors would be to tell a different story each time or to produce some unidentifiable response. A behavior that might signal difficulty with literacy tasks or alternately might signal mature development would be the continued story, depending upon the conditions under

which it was produced.

In the discussion that follows we use these distinctions to discuss the degree of similarity between story versions. The major distinctions are: same story, verbatim (or read "accurately"); same story, stable but not verbatim; same story, not stable but similar; continued story; different story; changed perspective. These distinctions are better understood with examples so first we will display Andrea's nine samples, then use these samples while defining the degrees of story similarity. In cases where Andrea does not illustrate a given category, other children's responses will be used and contrasted with Andrea's.

Andrea, the "Ideal"

The children in our case study sample varied in how they adapted the paradigm as we shall see below. We already knew that Betsy seemed to be reading independently and that Mike had made no attempt even to write lists. The children most likely to maintain the paradigm would be those with a fair amount of emergent reading and writing ability but who are not yet reading independently. Andrea was such a child. She was the only child in Study II, Session I (real), to produce all eight versions (nine including conversation from Study I) and to keep the content of the Study II versions very similar. For a child like Andrea, maintaining a stable, if not verbatim, story seems to be an important accomplishment. Andrea seemed to be working between highly similar story versions to stable (but not verbatim) forms. When she deviated, her changes were predictable thus they form good examples to use as references in understanding the stories of the other children.

Andrea's examples

All nine of Andrea's story versions are presented in Figure 8 . They will be discussed and presented again in sets of three: (1) conversation, storytelling, dictation); (2) scribe's version of dictation and two re-reading attempts; and (3) handwritten story and two re-reading attempts. This organization will be the framework for discussing the other case study children's versions and for making comparisons across modes.

Insert Figure 8 about here

Degrees of story similarity

Before discussing Andrea's examples in sub-sets we need to return to the distinction of the degree of similarity between story versions. In this research project, a child's story versions are judged to be more or less different or more or less close to verbatim, or perfect repetitions. Clay (1967; 1979) has noted the importance of a child's being able to remember a story and match that story to units in print as the child is beginning to read. Rarely, however, does a child remember every word of a story; often their "verbatim" attempts include some variation or perhaps some self-correction and struggle to retrieve the verbatim account (compare Daniel R.'s storybook reading attempt, Chapter Four, pages 171-74 and Appendix C). When children are reading primarily from print cues, of course, they have external aids to memory. Their story reading attempts may be a word perfect match with the print or may include "miscues" that indicate an intelligent "reading" response to the print. (I concur with Haussler,

Figure 8 (Page 1). Andrea's Story Versions

CONVERSATION SAMPLE (from Study 1):

Adult: Tell me about (when you learned to ride a big wheel).

Child: Uh--I was four, I used to ride a little big wheel.

Adult: Uh-huh.

Child: And my daddy used to push me. And so did my uncle--

Adult: Uh-huh.

Child: --my uncle pushed with a broom.

Adult: You're kidding--

Child: No. (Both laugh)

Adult: That's a funny way to learn to ride a big wheel.

Child: He pushed me with the broom.

Adult: (Laughed)

Child: And my uncle usta push me with his foot.

Adult: Uh-huh.

Child: And my daddy usta push me with the broom, too. (Both laughed)

Adult: They had a real game with you, huh?

Child: (Nodded; both laughed)

Figure 8 (page 2). Andrea's Story Versions

TOLD STORY (real):

Well, my dad bought me one
and--he was helping me ride it (pause)
He, uhm (pause) he was pushing
the big wheel (sniff)
and, and he, uhm (pause) then he let
me try mine by myself (pause)
and I ride it.
That's all.

DICTATED STORY (real):

Uhm, my dad, he (pause)
uhm, he--helped--
he--pushed me and my bike (pause)
And he, uhm (pause) and he, uh, he--let--
then he let me try to do it by myself
and I did it.
That's all.

SCRIBE'S COPY OF DICTATION (real):

My dad he he helped.
He pushed me on my bike*
and he let me try to do it by myself.
That's all.

RE-READING OF DICTATION (real), without pointing:

My dad (sniff) he helped me with my tricycle
and (pause) he pushed the bike
and then he let me do it by myself
and I did it.
That's all.

*Error due to examiner's understanding
her to say "on" in person; "and"
on tape; both make sense, and Andrea
did not correct examiner's re-reading
in prompt to slow dictation.

**Prompt to slow dictation began here and
started with previous sentence. Child
did not repeat "and I did it." Examiner
added end of sentence from memory.

Figure 8 (page 3). Andrea's Story Versions

<p>RE-READING OF DICTATION (real), pointing:</p> <p>My dad helped me with my tricycle and then (pause) he pushed me with it and then he let me do it by myself (sniff) and I did it. (pause) That's all.</p>	<p>WRITING (real):</p> <p>Child's writing: M D H A M W I M T S K P T M I B M S R I D E T</p> <p>Voicing during writing: My /m/ tricycle /tr/ /ey/ By my /b/ /s/ did /d/ /i/ /t/</p> <p>Examiner observed much other voicing of phones and syllables and what sounded like re-reading of words and phrases, all in beginning to end order.</p>
<p>RE-READING OF WRITING (real), without pointing:</p> <p>My dad helped me with my tricycle and then he pushed me (sniff) and then he let me do it by myself. And I did it.</p>	<p>RE-READING OF WRITING (real), pointing:</p> <p>(sniff) My dad--helped me with my-- my dad helped me with my tricycle and he (pause) he (pause) he (pause) /p/ he, um, he let me do it by myself and I did it.</p>

1982, that when the child is clearly reading independently from print, a reading miscue analysis is the appropriate tool; but here I use the term "verbatim" to show the relationship between emergent reading attempts and the onset of independent reading.)

"Same story, verbatim." When we judge a story version to be "same story, verbatim," we mean that it is either a word for word match with the original or that the child shows a clear and fairly successful attempt to achieve a word for word match. Andrea shows no verbatim renderings although it is possible that she was working for verbatim memory with her re-readings of her handwritten story, particularly the second one, with pointing. Unfortunately, her writing did not encode all of the parts that she re-read and her voicing during composition did not offer evidence that she intended to encode the extra parts.

"Same story, stable but not verbatim." A second distinction is that the child produced a version that is the "same story, stable but not verbatim." As children move closer to independent reading they begin to be able to treat their own speech as "text," as a stable, memorable entity, just as we saw them doing with storybook texts. In this project, we use the term "stable" to denote a high degree of memory for text that is not necessarily verbatim memory and is not "reading." By "stable," I mean that the child recalls all of the clauses of the original version, without adding any, leaving out any, or changing the order of the clauses.

Andrea's two re-reading attempts for dictation are "stable" with her speech in the dictation but not with the scribe's version. In the

oral form of the dictation, she said the same clauses that she later re-read but when the scribe repeated part of the dictation to her as a prompt for her to repeat the end, she failed to include the clause, "and I did it." (She also failed to repeat the end of the preceding sentence but the adult printed it anyway. The actual scribal version should have ended with "and he let me try," but since the judgment of stability is based at the clausal level the judgment would not change.)

Story versions that are the same and stable may have quite a bit of dissimilarity in details of the wording. Notice that in the re-readings of the dictated speech that were judged to be stable, Andrea added "with my tricycle" to the first clause; either changed the vehicle from a bike to tricycle or used the two terms as synonyms; and, finally, drops out "try to" from doing it by herself.

All of the stories that show less similarity to the original version can be called "not stable," because they have different clauses or clauses presented in different orders. The four types that seem important are stories that are "not stable but similar," "continued story," "different story," and "changed perspective."

"Not stable but similar." Of the remaining four types, Andrea only presents us with stories that are "not stable but similar." Andrea's told story is clearly not "stable" with her conversation because there are clauses omitted and added in the told version. The two versions, conversation and storytelling, would not be expected to be "stable," for two reasons. The conversation was gathered at during a previous study and the mode of conversation includes input from

another person. It is certainly possible, however, that the told and dictated story versions might be stable because they are supposed to be two versions of a story planned to be written. Indeed, when Andrea's told and dictated stories are compared, they are more similar than storytelling and conversation, but they are not "stable." They are close to stable for there is only one clause that is different; the dictated story omits the clause "My dad bought me one."

"Continued stories." Andrea furnished no examples of continued stories; we have to turn to other children for examples. Producing a "continued story" in this situation may indicate a mature or an immature response. Betsy's stories appeared to be a mature form of continuation and Noreen's appeared either to be "continued," or the next form, "different." Betsy's told and dictated versions seemed to be a continued story and both seemed consistent with information she had included in her extensive conversation. Since Betsy was reading from print, her re-reading was "verbatim" with the dictated version. Only the told and dictated versions are displayed.

Betsy, told, real:

Well, the first thing that happened is

I came downstairs when I woke up and, um,

I found my tricycle

and it was my birthday

and I said, "What is this thing?"

And I looked at the (pause) the ribbon that was on it--

it was a ribbon about that big → (pause)

And we kept the ribbon, and, umm,

then, um, what I did was I rode the--tricycle

around the house a lot of time

until it was almost past breakfast time.

And, and my tricycle just felt like it was a big bike.

And I never ride my tricycle because--

I never ride it anymore because I've only have it--

for two years.

And, um, it's a red tricycle

and I want-- now I want a bike

and not a dumb, little (pause) tricycle.

One of the tricycles I used to have is--was blue

and it wasn't as big as my red tricycle

and I had turned the handle, somewhere,

and the handles broke off. (Pause)

And then--my dad put--bought some other handles

and put them on

and then--now it's my brother's tricycle,

cause it's much too small for a five-year-old. (Pause)

My brother and I (deep breath) doesn't really pedal real well.

He walks the tricycle sorta. (Pause)

Is, when, when I first had--went outside with my tricycle

and I was going--I went around in the yard

and then--I took a walk with my dad and my brother.

Cause my brother's only two

so he would have to be carried. (Pause)

And--I was only--three when I got (pause) my (pause), um,

(pause) my tricycle.

It's pretty big now.

But now it's too small for me.

And that's all I can think.

Betsy, dictated, real:

Well, all right, what--when--I first trried to ride it

(Pause) it, it felt like, um, (pause) it waass, was, (pause)

um, it felt like--it was (pause) a bike that didn't have
pedals,

Cause I couldn't reach the pedals so well. (Pause)

And, my brother--(examiner asked for repetition)

Because my--because I couldn't reach the pedals (pause)

and because (pause) my brother was chasing me

and he kept making me fall on the tricycle. (Pause)

He couldn't run so fast. (Long pause)

And--my brother--kept telling me to let him have a turn,

and (pause) I let him have a turn, but (examiner asked for
repetition)

And--he asked for a turn. (Pause)

And--I gave him a turn,

but he couldn't reach the pedals. (Pause)

And it, when I first (pause) went for a ride--outside--

my dad was--with me. (Pause)

And that's all. (Examiner: Anything else?)

Well, one more thing. (Pause)

Um, when I went arou--I went around the block (pause)

and I kept falling (pause) on my tricycle. (Pause)

That's all.

"Different story" and "changed perspective." Noreen's story versions (Figure 9) may be the example of a "different story" between telling and dictation. Her versions were also quite a bit different from the content of her conversation. On the other hand, she told and dictated versions may simply represent an unclearly signalled "continued story." Noreen also presents an instance of "changed perspective" as she shifts from real to make-believe. In her re-reading from dictation she shifted back to first person, "real," once again. Her re-reading contained similar content to the dictated version but it was not stable.

Insert Figure 9 about here

Whether Noreen's story versions represent the category, "different story," or represent an unsignalled continuation, the category "different story" is needed for two reasons. First, it might be likely that there would be large differences between the content of the conversation samples of Study I and children's compositions in Study II. This was not the case in any real sense, but two of our lower children, Richard and Mike, claimed to have difficulty remembering learning to ride a big wheel or other vehicle in the Study II sessions whereas they didn't protest at all in the conversation session of Study I. Both children had a knowledge base for the event, but seemed to be dependent upon different negotiations of the tasks with the examiner in order to produce stories as, "things people do to write a story." The second reason would be if any of the

Figure 9. Noreen's Story Versions

<p>Noreen (5/4)</p> <p>Told story, make-believe</p> <p>My dad woke me up.</p> <p>[Remember this is a story about Princess Charming.*]</p> <p>Her dad woke her up and she practiced in the morning.</p> <p>[Anything else?]</p> <p>(Sigh; no verbal response.)</p> <p><u>*Illegitimate probe from examiner.</u></p>	<p>Noreen (5-4)</p> <p>Dictated story, make-believe (audiotaped version)</p> <p>She rided her bike out to the park.</p> <p>Um, she swinged. (pause)</p> <p>She went to the slide. (pause)</p> <p>She went on the (pause) jungle gym.</p> <p>(Pause) She went on the rocket.</p> <p>(Pause) And she went home. (Pause)</p> <p>[OK.*]</p> <p>That's all.</p> <p><u>*Illegitimate prompt.</u></p>
<p>Noreen (5-4)</p> <p>Scribe's copy of Dictated story, make-believe</p> <p>She rided her bike out to the park.</p> <p>She swinged.</p> <p>She went down the slide.*</p> <p>She went on the jungle gym.</p> <p>She went on the rocket.</p> <p>Then she went home.*</p> <p><u>*Note wording errors as compared with audiotaped version.</u></p>	<p>Noreen (5-4)</p> <p>Re-reading from Dictation</p> <p>I went to the park.</p> <p>I went on the swing.</p> <p>(Starts again)</p> <p>OK, I went on the swings. I went on the slide. I went on the rocket. I went on the, uh, spider (whispered) spider (pause) That's the spider there (pointing out window to playground). And I went on the jungle gym and slide (pause) and I went home.</p>

children failed to understand the requested tasks so much that wildly different speech was produced each time. Again, this was not the case. As we will see below, children primarily produced similar versions and, in Chapter Ten, we will see that story similarity across versions increased during the kindergarten year.

Degrees of story similarity are only one of the types of comparisons that can be made between the story versions, however. Andrea's examples have been divided into three groups for closer examination.

Conversation, Storytelling, and Dictation (Figure 10)

Insert Figure 10 about here

Conversation and storytelling. Andrea was a child who was judged to be "moderate" in emergent literacy. One outstanding feature of her performance on Study I had been her shyness and her lack of verbal responsiveness, particularly in the conversation sample. The one exception to this shyness was in the discussion of learning to ride a big wheel. Note the richness of her narration as compared with her told story. She gives many more details and is very responsive to the examiner's verbal and non-verbal contributions. The interchange has lively and positive affect as well as rich content. In contrast the told story is more sparse in detail and constrained in affect. Daddy's pushing the little big wheel with the broom becomes just "pushing the big wheel." The uncle is gone but there is a teeny bit more evidence of Andrea as an active agent.

The conversation samples from Study I were compared with the told story from Study II for all of the case study children. Almost all of

Figure 10. Andrea:

Conversation, Storytelling, and Dictation

CONVERSATION SAMPLE (from Study 1):

Adult: Tell me about (when you learned to ride a big wheel).
Child: Uh--I was four, I used to ride a little big wheel.
Adult: Uh-huh.
Child: And my daddy used to push me. And so did my uncle--
Adult: Uh-huh.
Child: --my uncle pushed with a broom.
Adult: You're kidding--
Child: No. (Both laugh)
Adult: That's a funny way to learn to ride a big wheel.
Child: He pushed me with the broom.
Adult: (Laughed)
Child: And my uncle usta push me with his foot.
Adult: Uh-huh.
Child: And my daddy usta push me with the broom, too. (Both laughed)
Adult: They had a real game with you, huh?
Child: (Nodded; both laughed)

TOLD STORY (real):

Well, my dad bought me one
and--he was helping me ride it (pause)
He, uh (pause) he was pushing
the big wheel (sniff)
and, and he, uh (pause) then he let
me try mine by myself (pause)
and I ride it.
That's all.

DICTATED STORY (real):

Uhm, my dad, he (pause)
uhm, he--helped--
he--pushed me and my bike (pause).
And he, uhm (pause) and he, uh, he--let--
then he let me try to do it by myself
and I did it.
That's all.

these conversations were much longer than Andrea's. In seven out of nine cases, the conversation sample is richer than the told story. Usually this added richness came from more details, more variety in the details, more sub-topics introduced, and usually more details of the specifics of the child's learning. There were two instances in which the conversation could not be judged to be richer. Both were children judged "high" in emergent literacy. One was Betsy, who created very rich versions across modes and the other was Nicole who told a richer story but got distracted in the conversation by talking about her sister and not herself.

What can we conclude? It is clear that the children were working from a rich store of prior knowledge about learning to ride a big wheel (Nicole's rich told version completes the evidence for all nine children). It seems that, as one would expect, when there is another person interacting with the child in a conversation about which the child has abundant, intimate knowledge, that the child is likely to handle that knowledge in an expansive and interesting manner as was found in the oral narratives collected by Menig-Peterson and McCabe (in press). The adult can ask questions to cue more information; the adult is not just looking interested but is saying, "Hmm," or, "Uh-huh," or laughing; or the adult may tell an anecdote that will lead to more elaboration. But when a child is asked to tell a story as part of writing a story and the adult sits there without talking or interacting openly, the oral mode has become monologic rather than dialogic. This seems to constrain the child's verbal output. As we shall see, changing the task demands even more toward written language can create even more constraints at the level of richness of detail

Telling and dictation. Telling and dictation of the same story offer important contrasts about written language knowledges of five-year-old children. Both seem to be conditions in which you do the same thing: you tell a story. However, for a child with growing awareness of how written language works the two modes should differ in a number of ways. Some differences should be detected in the wording, in that written language is often better specified because the audience is not present. Other information that can be indicated by gesture or expression must be specified in the wording as well.

The speech modes that comprise the telling and the dictating should also differ. The teller is in face-to-face contact with the listener; in dictation, the listener has become scribe who is writing down what the child says. The task of dictating requires one to shape one's speech to the constraints of the scribe's writing. Sulzby (1981, 1982; 1982) reported that speech used telling and dictation could be distinguished by a listener and that differences were related to emergent reading ability. Chapter ten will explore these differences in the case study child's development over the kindergarten year; now we will examine Andrea's stories and compare them with the other children on a more casual level.

As discussed earlier, Andrea's dictated story is not stable with her told story, although she seemed to be trying to tell the same story again. She dropped out the reference to her father's buying her the big wheel but she did it with hesitations and repetitions and finally seeming to leave a sentence hanging as a "false start." The "he helped" phrase may also be another false start; if so she had two

abortive tries before she composed the more complete sentence,

"he--pushed me and my bike."

Andrea, however, had difficulty in the telling mode as well. In fact, independent judges listened to a tape of comparable sections of Andrea's two versions and could not distinguish between her telling and her dictation from the speech alone. She showed a good bit of difficulty in the wording of both modes and seemed to be modifying her speech more because of her own problems of expression rather than careful watching of the scribe.

The scribe's version gives further evidence of her difficulty; nevertheless, she did produce two appropriate versions for both telling and dictating. She was able to create the versions without aid from the examiner and only needed to be interrupted once because her dictating speed was too fast.

In Study II all of the children produced something for both storytelling and dictation but they varied in their need for aid from the examiner. Two children's versions (Mike, Real and Make-believe, and Chad, Make-Believe) were "not scorable" as independent productions because they required unallowable assistance from the examiner. Two of the "low" children, Mike and Richard, both needed extensive interaction to produce their stories. Richard is the child who was described as having a "control" issue but his need for interaction seemed equally as important in the times when he was cooperating as it was when he was resisting the task. Mike was equally dependent and later used the examiner's questions as aids in constructing an independent version (see Cox & Sulzby, in press). The following

examples come from Mike and include interactions from the examiner;
they can be compared with Mike's Study II conversation in Chapter Four.

Mike, TOLD, REAL, 1/27/81

Child: (sigh) When I was um, when I was four and a half,
I knew how to ride one, but, but my long's weren't, um,
long enough to get the pedals. (clears throat)

Adult: What was that? What did you say? *

Child: I, I was big and I, I knew how to ride a big wheel
when I was four and a half
but, uh, but um, (sigh) my legs were too short.

**

Adult: OK, well how did you learn?

Child: Well, I didn't need to learn when I was four,
I already learned before I was four and a half.
I learned when I was four. (sigh)
And now (sigh) I know how to ride it.
(sneeze) (sneeze) (sniffle) (pause)

* Illegal wording of prompt

** End of independent production; beginning of interactive

Mike, DICTATED, REAL, 1/27/81

Child: I can't remember when I first learned. (pause)

What does that say? (pause)

Adult: I'm writing down what you tell me.

Child: (pause) But what does it say?

Adult: It says just what you told me. (pause) OK? (pause)

Hmm.

Child: (sigh)

Adult: Anything else?

Child: (pause) Well, (long pause)

Adult: Do you remember what this story's about?

Child: Um, um.

Adult: About your big wheel--

Child: --Um um

Adult: And how you learned to ride it.

Child: Uh-um. I know what you mean. That was a lon--

Adult: (Interrupts, indecipherable)

Child: --That was a long, long time ago. (pause)

Wh, whe, when, we were starting to move I wanted to lear--
r-ride a big wheel. (pause)

That's all I can remember. (clears throat) (sigh)

Well, that's all I can remember.

*Becomes interactive here

Mike, TOLD, MAKE-BELIEVE, 2/19/81

(This section follows his refusal to tell his story.)

Adult: Well, where do you think Little Prince Charming was when he learned to ride the big wheel?

Child: In space.

Adult: In space! Oh, that's going to be a good story, Mike.

OK, now, ho-who was with him and how did he do it?

(pause) Who was with him? (pause) Out there in space? (pause) Hmn? Who was with him?

Child: I don't (sigh)--

Adult: Was he all by himself?

Child: I unh (indecipherable) (Probably said, "Uh-huh," very low.)

Adult: Oh, he was up--he was by himself, OK. (pause) Why did he wanta learn to ride a big wheel in space?

Child: I don't know. (pause)

Adult: Well, how did he feel about it?

Child: Maybe kind of un-unbarrassed.

Adult: Embarrassed? (laughing) (pause) Did he learn to do it?

Child: Yes.

Adult: When did this happen?

Mike, TOLD, MAKE-BELIEVE (Continued)

Child: He already tole you. On Mars.

Adult: Oh, I know. I said when did it happen?

Child: (sighs) (pause) On lunch time.

Adult: (laughing) OK. Now that's good. Can you put that all together in a story?

Child: Um-hmm.

Adult: OK? Let's hear it. (pause)

Adult: Come on, I know you can do it. (pause)

Child: (sighs) But I already read it, I read it in my mind.

Adult: But I want to hear it. I can't read in your mind.
Say it to me out loud.

Child: OK. (deep breath) (clears throat) (pause) I can only read that story in my mind, but, I can only read one word at a time.

Adult: OK. Well, let's do it one word at a time, but, let me hear it, too.

Child: (sighs)

Adult: What's the first word? How does it start?

Child: The first word is: He did it in space.

Adult: OK.

Child: Second word is uh--(pause)

Mike, TOLD, MAKE-BELIEVE (Continued)

Child: What is that noise (referring to music in background)?

Adult: Sounds like a xylophone. (indecipherable) (pause)

What was the next word?

Child: It was about when he did it.

He did it on Mars.

Adult: And when did he do it? (pause) What time was it?

Child: Lunch time.

Adult: OK. And how did he feel?

Child: Unbarrassed.

Adult: OK.

Mike, DICTATED, MAKE-BELIEVE, 2/19/81

Child: He did it on Mars. (said rapidly)

Adult: OK. (pause) [Illegal prompt]

Child: And where it happened. (long pause)

And rode one.

Adult: You said, "I don't know"? (pause)

Is that what you said? Wha'd you say? [Illegal prompt]

Child: No. And (pause) and uh, and

he was embarrassed. (pause)

What happens after the story? (pause) What happens
after dis story?

Am I all finished?

Adult: (interrupts)--uh, well, no, m-pretty soon you get to
write one.

Child: I have to copy all that?

Adult: Well, if you want to, or you can write your own,
that's better sometimes if you write your own,
but we'll talk about that in a few minutes, Mike.
Anything else?

Child: Nope.

In contrast with Mike, Betsy produced the full versions we saw earlier for the Real condition, but in Make-Believe she went from a very full account for telling to a constrained question-answer form for dictation. Both she and Mike seemed to take the examiner's questions into their composition but Betsy was able to make this maneuver independently (even if it did produce a weird "story") It is also possible that Betsy intended these guides, "First, I'll tell you w-when it happened," to be meta-level comments or asides, but she was not able to signal this well in the middle of her kindergarten year. She also kept them in her written version. (In first grade, she separated asides from content easily.)

Betsy, dictation, make-believe

First I'll tell you w-when it happened. (long pause)

Um. First (pause) she was a little baby

when it happened. (pause)

And so she told her mother that--she wanted

to ride it. (pause)

And her mother said she was too small. (pause)

Now I'll tell you--who was with her. (pause)

Her--her mother was with her. (pause, clears throat)

And I'll tell you now why--she--she wanted to do it.

(pause)

Because--she had an older brother who wanted to do it

who hadn't let her who wanted to do it. (pause)

And he already learned to do it. (long pause)

That's all.

When Betsy's make-believe dictation is compared with Andrea's we notice the presence of pauses at regular intervals. Betsy had gauged her dictation speech so that the examiner did not have to interrupt her with a slow-down prompt. Andrea's dictation had pauses but they seemed to be governed more by her difficulty in wording than by the scribe's writing needs. Thus even with a brief dictation, the scribe had to ask her to repeat part of the dictation.

In the real session five of the children (Andrea, Nicole, Doug, Jodie, and Chad) required one or two prompts to slow their dictation. The only children who needed prompts to slow in make-believe were Richard and Doug. Both Richard and Doug became attentive to the scribe's writing but didn't seem to understand what was taking place. Douglas confirmed this hypothesis through questions that he asked during re-reading but Richard interrupted the dictation to express his consternation. Here's part of his interactive dictation.

Richard (5-2), dictation, real:

Just wanted to ride it

and I learned how to when I was four. (pause)

Hey! How come that--how come the pencil is wr--saying
what I said? (laughing) (pause)

How come?

In the make-believe session when the examiner gave him a prompt to slow that began, "I can't keep up," he asked, "Why?" and began to quiz her about speed of writing and what was being written.

Children had different opportunities to learn more about the scribe's needs through these sessions. Children who could watch the

scribe and knew a lot about reading and writing could observe their speech being encoded into print. Children who did not yet know much could adapt the modes toward more interactive forms that gave them the chance to ask questions or elicit aid from the examiner. As we move into the re-reading and writing tasks we will see more of the opportunities that the children had during Study II.

The children's speech distinctions and wording distinctions can be summarized by emergent reading ability grouping. These figures cannot be understood fully until we compare them with other sessions, but they let us know that there was a range of ability within the children in Study II.

When comparable sections were taken from each child's told and dictated story versions and re-taped with all clues to the composition mode removed, it was far easier to detect that the "high" children used their voices differently in telling and dictating. There were six comparisons (3 x 2) for each ability level, but two versions were not comparable. Here are the proportion of children were judged to make an oral distinction in each group.

	Proportion
<u>Group</u>	<u>Distinguishing</u>
High	5/6
Moderate	3/5
Low	2/5

When the told and dictated stories were compared for degree of similarity, none of them were as similar as the categories "verbatim," or "stable," but many were quite similar. This chart lists the

children according to the degrees of similarity found in their stories for the two sessions. Within the "similar category" the children's names are roughly ranked from most similar to least similar. A category called "question/answer" was added to indicate those stories that required or used the examiner's questions.

	<u>Sessions</u>	
	<u>Real</u>	<u>Make-Believe</u>
	Andrea	Richard
	Richard	Nicole
Similar	Jodie	Douglas
	Nicole	Andrea
	Douglas	Chad
	Chad	
Continued	Betsy	Jodie (but same content as her real story) Noreen
Different	Noreen	
Question/Answer	Mike	Mike (Betsy, independent)

It appears that the children do distinguish between told and dictated versions of a story when asked to and that both of these speech entities differs from the way children converse about the same topic. In the next section, we will look at how children re-read from dictation, starting with Andrea.

Insert Figure 11 about here

Figure 11. Andrea:

Scribe's Copy of Dictation; Re-reading Without Pointing;

Re-reading With Pointing

SCRIBE'S COPY OF DICTATION (real):

My dad he he helped.

He pushed me on my bike*

and he let me try to do it by myself.**

That's all.

RE-READING OF DICTATION (real), without
pointing:

My dad (sniff) he helped me with my tricycle

and (pause) he pushed the bike

and then he let me do it by myself

and I did it.

That's all.

RE-READING OF DICTATION (real), pointing:

My dad helped me with my tricycle

and then (pause) he pushed me with it

and then he let me do it by myself (sniff)

and I did it.

(pause) That's all.

*Error due to examiner's understanding
her to say "on" in person; "and"
on tape; both make sense, and Andrea
did not correct examiner's re-reading
in prompt to slow dictation.

**Prompt to slow dictation began here and
started with previous sentence. Child
did not repeat "and I did it." Examiner
added end of sentence from memory.

Dictation and Re-Readings from Dictation

Andrea would have been in much better shape if she had known more about how adults write down dictation. Her scribe's copy of the dictation did not contain all the speech she said for dictation because she had gone too fast, then when the scribe asked for assistance, Andrea didn't monitor what the scribe repeated and didn't correct it. Thus Andrea had already violated the notion of story stability when the prompting took place.

Since the scribe's version was different than her speech, her re-reading attempts which seem to be based upon memory for the dictated speech are not stable with the written version. Andrea was looking at the print but she did not seem to be tracking it and when asked to point she did not point accurately. She pointed generally at each line and said a sentence remembered from her oral composition.

Andrea's performance is consistent with our placement of her as "moderate." Taken in isolation, her reading attempt could be considered even higher than that of Nicole. Nicole was clearly not reading from print in Study II, as were the other two "high" children, Betsy and Jodie; however, her attempts showed a high level of awareness of print and she was interrupted illegally by an examiner's probe, preventing a more direct comparison with Andrea.

All of the other children, the remaining two "moderate" children and all three "low" children had a great deal of difficulty attempting to read their dictations. Three of the children showed resistance to reading because they knew print must be read. Chad tried very hard to read from print and attempted to match his pointing to the print even though the task was quite far above him. Both Douglas and Richard

tried various ways to read and finally were assisted through choral or echo reading. Mike refused to try saying that he could not read.

Chad's re-reading attempts are shown in Figure 12. He attended to print voluntarily, as shown by his use of his finger in the first re-reading attempt. The examiner interrupted him (an illegal prompt) and asked him to point to each word. Notice that in the first and second attempts, he said the same words for line one; the words are the two clauses that are shown as two lines on the scribe's copy. In the second attempt, after the examiner asked him to point, he made two sweeps across the line, broken at the clause boundary. In both attempts he seemed to have a rule that lines represent something like clause boundaries.

Insert Figure 12 about here

Both Chad and Douglas (Figure 13) voluntarily used their fingers to sweep across the lines on the first re-reading attempt. While both boys seemed to know that the voice somehow must match the printed words, both had difficulty remembering all of the dictation. In both cases, the boys used up more of the remembered portion of their dictated message on the first printed line than the scribe had actually encoded in that location. This problem can lead a child into noticing the mis-match even at a point when the child is only occasionally able to use print cues. Douglas provides us with an example of such a

Figure 12. Chad: Re-reading From Dictation

With Pointing

Scribe's copy of dictation

1. Um, he, um, he gets on it
2. and and he turns the pedals
3. and he starts going. That's
4. all.

First re-reading, sweeping
finger across lines. Typed
words are child's re-reading.

(Line 1 sweep)

He gets on it and he turns
the pedals

(Line 2 sweep)

and he--starts--going

Interrupted by examiner
who asked him to point;
see second re-reading.

Second re-reading, sweeping &
some pointing. Child's words
in cursive above scribe's
version.

He gets on it
and he turns and he turns the pedals

Um, he, um, he gets on it

and he starts going
and and he turns the pedals

and he starts going. That's
and he starts going. That's

all.

mis-match problem and of a child's attempt to solve the problem.

Insert Figure 13 about here

In Douglas' first re-reading attempt with voluntary pointing, he became confused at the lack of match between his voice and a graph that he recognized, I. While Douglas could attend temporarily to the graphic display of I and while he was expecting the verbal and semantic unit I, it seemed clear that he was not immediately aware that the written and oral forms were the same. He seemed to reject graphic I as being capable of being a "word" (cf. Papandropoulou & Sinclair, 1974; Ferreiro & Teberosky, in press).

Doug: . . . 'cause this one's all alone, and it can't make a w--and it ca, and it can't make a word.

Douglas' confusion over I led to a long discussion in which he tried to figure out the problem and was able to elicit aid from the examiner through increasingly specific metalanguage. Finally, he seemed to have an "a-ha" realization that the printed I could be the oral/semantic unit I that he had expected. (This example is discussed at more length in Sulzby, in press.)

After Douglas solved his problem with I, he completed the first re-reading with great difficulty. The examiner then asked him for a second re-reading. She asked him to "read it with me," using a form of assisted reading to see how much Doug could match voice to print.

Figure 13. Douglas: Re-reading From Dictation

With Pointing

Scribe's copy of dictation

line 1 My mom and dad
line 2 were with me when
line 3 I did it and my
line 4 sister and brother
line 5 were with me, too.
line 6 I wanted it cause
line 7 I wanted fun. So
line 8 I got one. And
line 9 another reason why
line 10 I want one

First re-reading, sweeping finger across lines.

(Figure 14 gives Douglas's re-reading with examiner assistance.)

line 1: My mmom--and dad--were with me too.

line 2: Al--so--my sister my brother--they were with me too

line 3: (He was expecting line 3 to have the words for lines 6 and 7: "I wanted it cause I wanted fun." Here he noticed the mis-match and entered into a long discussion of whether "that thing," I, can be a word. This example is discussed in Sulzby, in press. The re-reading attempt ended here and assisted reading began with some choral and some echo reading.)

and anticipate the message with adult guidance. The assisted re-reading is shown as Figure 14, pages 285-286.

Insert Figure 14 about here

Dictation is written in conventional orthography. When children have to read from it, they may be dealing with elements that they have not yet incorporated into their own system. For example, Andrea did not use spaces between her "words" in the real condition and when she reached the "make-believe" condition she used a columnar display to indicate word boundaries. Both of these devices are different than the space usage in the scribe's conventional story versions.

Dictated stories may thus be sources of confusion for children at some points. However, that confusion may lead to growth through the conflict between the child's notions and the observed form. Both Douglas and Richard spent much time exploring how the writing system works through the dictation. Douglas tried to re-read and asked numerous questions about how the writing system works (see Sulzby, in press). Richard insisted upon copying from his dictation for writing and also engaged the examiner in myriad questions about letters, words, and space. Now we need to examine how these children handled the task of writing their own stories.

Writing and Re-readings from Writing

Again Andrea's examples present a useful reference for discussion. She wrote energetically and produced the manuscript shown in her

Figure 14. Douglas,
 Assisted Re-Reading From Dictation
 (Page 1)

Doug, 1/22/81, Study II, Real:

195 Adult: Mmy-----were (laugh)-----
 Child: --my--mom-and-dad-----with-me-

Adult: -----(That letter? Or that--)
 Child: (What's that letter?)-----

Adult: -----when------(You
 Child: (No, that word.)-----I-didit (laughing)-----

Adult: said wanted before, this time you got it!)
 Child: (still laughing)-----

204 Adult: -----(That one's and.)-----
 Child: it--sso-----and-I-(Wait. What's

Adult: -----M-----
 Child: letter?)---(Pause, 207-209) (I don't know, what that,

Adult: -----(OK, you see it anywhere else?)-----
 Child: says.------(Pause 210-216)

216 Adult: -----(OK, it's my)-----(Uh-huh)-----
 Child: Hmm.-----my------(Zat a S, it l

219 Adult: -----(Yes, yeah, it does look like
 Child: kinda like a s?)-----

220 Adult: a s. It's an s, uh-huh.) (Pause)-----
 Child: -----(Pause)-----

223 Adult: -sister------(Yeess)-----
 -sister-and-brother-----were-with-me-too-

225 Adult: (Excellent!)-----
 Child: -----Iiii--(pause 227-230) (I don't know

230 Adult: -----(OK) wanted-----
 Child: that letter, know that word.)-----too-to-

234 Adult: -----(OK)-----
 Child: playwith?------(I really don't know what that

235 Adult: -----(Yeah, yeah)------(that word, OK,
 Child: letter is-----that word-----

236 Adult: that's not playwith, you're right. OK. It
 Child: -----

Doug, 1/22/81, Study II, Real:

Reaction to level 4 encouragement, re-reading of dictation,
continued.

- 237 Adult: says, I-wanted-it-cause-----
Child: -----I-wanned--to, no! (What's
- 241 Adult: -----(Which one?)-----
Child: that letter?)----- (well, I mean, that word?)
- 242 Adult: --fun----- (Uh-huh!)-----
Child: -----so-I-could-h,--so-----I---/k/--- (What's
- Adult: -----got-----
Child: that, what's that word?)-----a-bigwheel?---so-I-
- 252 Adult: -----(That would work out, wouldn't it?)
Child: got-a-bigwheel,-----
- 253 Adult: -----
Child: (Yeah)
- 254 Adult: (OK, that's not what it says, but that would work
out the way you're pointing. OK. Let's read
it together.)
- 255 Child: 'Kay.
- 255 Adult: So-I-----one. (So I got one, same thing as
Child: -----got-----a-----
- 260 Adult: big wheel, huh? What's this one? This one?
Child: -----
- 262 Adult: -----** (Yeah. OK, all right. What's
Child: And, that's a and**-----
- 264 Adult: ----- (OK, and)**
Child: (breathing) I don't know that word -----
- 269 Adult: ----- (OK, that says, another.)
Child: and--what does this say?)-----
- 269 Adult: -----another----- (uh-huh)-----
Child: -nother-----an-noth-er----- (What's that
- 272 Adult: -----reason-----why----- (OK)
Child: say?)-----reason-----why-Iii-wanted-abigwheel-----
- 275 Adult: -----
Child: (Where's the other stuff what said it?)
- 276 Adult: (Oh, cause you quit saying it, remember?)

**There's confusion about the reference here and about what
the child actually understood by what adult was saying.

handwriting in Figure 15, along with much voicing while she wrote. The examiner was able to transcribe only part of her voicing, because her speech was too low for the microphone, but murmurings can be heard throughout the writing task.

Insert Figure 15 about here

In examining the children's writing, two things quickly become evident. First, the task of writing a story is so hard that children produce little in a one-to-one setting like we used. Andrea actually produced a large amount of writing in relation to her told and dictated versions. (Study III will show that these children produce more and differently when they can move around and talk while writing.)

Second, children's ways of writing vary greatly. Andrea, for example, "wrote" four clauses but she failed to represent a number of the words. Her first clause includes one or more letter per conventional word unit; these letters are equivalent to the syllabic unit. In the remaining clauses she omitted units like he and and then he let me do it. She spent a great deal of time voicing sounds and words while writing, including re-reading sections. Andrea's writing can be called invented spelling and her level of analysis primarily assigned one letter per conventional syllable (M=my; D=dad; H=helped; T=tri; S=cy; K=cle) with the exception of pushed and self (PT and SF) which may have been elongated due to voicing in isolation.

Figure 15. Andrea:

Writing; Re-reading of Writing Without Pointing; and

Re-reading With Pointing

WRITING (real):

Child's writing:

MDHMWMTSKPTMB/MSR
IDET

Voicing during writing:

/m/ /n/ /r/ /e/ /y/ /b/ /p/

/b/ /m/ /d/ /i/ /t/

Examiner observed much other voicing of phones and syllables and what sounded like re-reading of words and phrases, all in beginning to end order.

RE-READING OF WRITING (real), without pointing:

My dad helped me with my tricycle

and then he pushed me (sniff)

and then he let me do it by myself.

And I did it.

RE-READING OF WRITING (real), pointing:

(sniff) My dad--helped me with my--
my dad helped me with my tricycle

and he (pause) he (pause) he (pause) /p/

he, um, he let me do it by myself

and I did it.

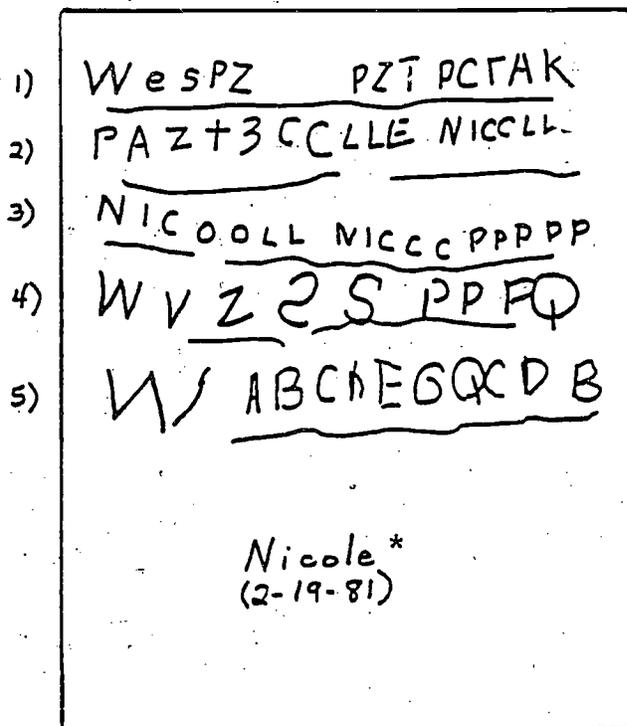
A brief summary of the writing samples of all nine case study children will illustrate the variety in the writing systems used. Here is the summary across both sets of stories, real and make-believe, including the "size" of the unit and a classification of the writing systems used to produce them.

Child:	"Size" of unit actually written:	"Writing system":
Betsy	Full story	Mixture of invented and conventional spelling
Jodie	One clause; three clauses	Mixture of conventional and name elements
Nicole	Lines of letter strings intent of internal units not clear	Letter strings; some invented spelling in editing; perhaps in first line MB, too
Andrea	Three/four clauses	Invented spelling
Chad	Lines of copy from items in surroundings	"Environmental print"
Doug	One word/one clause	Invented spelling
Noreen	Letter strings	Letter strings
Richard	Two/three lines	Copied from dictation
Pete	Unidentifiable mark, perhaps a Y; one "word" in invented spelling	Primitive invented spelling

The summary above presents the classifications that we made about the children's writing. Figure 16 shows the actual written products for the make-believe condition completed in February, the middle of the children's kindergarten year. Since this was the second story-writing sessions for each of the children, they knew what they were expected to do. Some of the samples can easily be read or have been discussed earlier. For others that cannot be understood without aid, notes have been added on the child's text page. Each of the samples was reduced by from the original, with the exception of Nicole's which had to be reconstructed in order to conceal her real name. Her sample is shown first along with the other two "high" children; the three "moderate" and "low" children's samples are displayed in order.

Insert Figure 16 about here, pages 291-293

Figure 16 (Page 1). Written Stories,
Make-Believe, of Nine Case Study Children



*Nicole's example has been reconstructed to disguise her name. The first line was half pencil, then yellow crayon. Successive lines were purple, green, green, and blue crayon. Underlining was done without comment during writing.

She re-read twice, once voluntarily, and the second time, with pointing. Re-reading without pointing:

"How did Princess Charming learn to ride--her--bike. When she saw her sister ride her bike, she thought she could do it. But she couldn't. So her--she asked her sister to give her a push. She said, 'Yes, I will.' She did and then (pause) she lived happily ever after because she could ride her bike."

Figure 16 (Page 2). Written Stories,
Make-Believe, of Nine Case Study Children

FOR I'll TALE YOU WEN I-APPAND
 SHE WDS A LITTL BABY
 SO SHE ASOTHAAR MOTO
 • IF SHE CODAIDE IT
 BU+HOA MOTO+HA SDO SHE WDS
 TO LITTL YOU WOT NOW I'll TEL
 HOR WONT MADE
 IF BEECOS DO
 HAD A AND A SHE
 HIS HO BIG CODOR-ER
 ALL AND IDE
 THATS

Betsy
 (2-10-81)

BOA * BOA STAYN
 SOUT SUAN
 ROK TOKN
 SOUT SUAN
 ROMY SUAN

Re-read with and without pointing,
 looking at print, one word per
 Jodie
 (2-17-81)

spaced unit: "I bought a big
 wheel. She started riding it.
 [S]he felt good.

WL
 NW
 52b SER
 W-LWIS

Andrea
 (2-17-81)

Re-read following print with
 finger but not matching voice or
 finger to print:
 "My dad helped me, helped me,
 with my, um, tricycle, and then
 he pushed me with it. And then
 I, uh, wanted to do it by
 myself." (Low tone: "Yeah.")

SOMY CRYOICRAID
 PAUSE STOP ELEVATOR
 NRC NGSPEED
 WAYSCHOOLLIMIT
 YIELD

Chad
 (2-17-81)

Chad's re-reading is shown
 in Figure 17.

Figure 16 (Page 3). Written Stories,
Make-Believe, of Nine Case Study Children

<p>HONTITZOWAH</p> <p>Douglas (2-9-81)</p>	<p>NNOB+OHCN⁽³⁾</p> <p><u>ANOP+OI</u>⁽³⁾</p> <p>ANOB⁽³⁾</p> <p>Noreen (1-27-81)</p> <p>Letters & crayon (orange) Lines & pencil (brown)</p> <p>Re-read looking at examiner and not print:</p> <p>"I went on the swings and I rided my bike. (Pause) I saw a sign. That's all.</p>
<p>Richard (2-3-81)</p> <p>LITTLE PRINCE HIS FATHER</p>	<p>Mike (2-19-81)</p> <p>2 A</p>

Earlier I commented on two surprising findings about the children's written stories: (1) that they produced so little and (2) that their ways of writing varied so much. Both points are important and lead to another question: (3) what do children get out of doing complex written composition when it is so hard and few have alphabetic and/or conventional conceptions of the English writing system? I will re-examine the first two claims and use that information to address the third.

What is the output? Clearly, Betsy produced a long, readable story. Most of the other versions are not readable unless someone explains them. The two closest to being readable are copied from conventional orthography. Chad's conventionally spelled words supposedly stand for completely different words and Richard only copied from his dictation. Two stories are primarily in invented spelling but they would be hard to read unless you knew the author's intent.

The output for these children is (1) the written record of the composition; (2) the intention of the writer; and (3) what got done in the process of writing. Andrea's writing sample includes the examiner's summarized notes about her voicing during composition. The example that follows is a record of what Douglas said while composing his one clause, "He wanted it so he," which he ended when he got into a puzzle about how to spell (the second) he. Both of these examples, Andrea's and Doug's, show the effort and the intellectual challenge that can go into even a brief composition by a five-year-old.

Notice that Douglas stopped to think before beginning:

(He picked up pencil and looked at paper for a long time, making following sound before writing first question.)
(Just after end of directions:)

357 Child: Huh.

357-366 (Pause)

366 Child: Huh.

366-377 (Pause)

377 Child: H.

377-380 (Pause)

380 Child: H.

380-382 (Pause)

382 Child: Hmmm.

382-385 (Pause)

385 Child: Hmmm.

385-391 (Pause)

391 Child: Hmmm.

391-395 (Pause)

395 Child: Hmmm, how do you spell he?

395 Adult: What do you think?

396 Child: H D.

397 Adult: Oh, you do it your way. OK, it doesn't have to be like grown-up writing.

399-409 (Pause, sound of child writing H,D, then tapping pencil on paper.)

409 Child: Hmmm.

409-412 (Pause.)

412 Child: Hmmm.

412-415 (Pause)

415 Child: (Laughing) I can't think.

417 Adult: What are you doing now--what part of it?

417 Child: he.

418 Adult: Uh-huh, that's good. Now what?

419-422 (Pause)

422 Child: Wan--ted.

422-424: (Pause)

424 Child: W.

424 Adult: Sure. OK, I'm gonna turn the tape recorder over while you're working on that, OK?

428 Adult: (After flipping tape over) OK. "He wanted"--

429 Child: He--wɔ/ (short pause) he, he (short pause) /t/ (short pause) he (short pause) he (short pause). (Still writing, long period of pencil scratching.)

441 Adult: (Laughing) I bet I know what that says--

441 Child: What?

441 Adult: You tell me.

442 Child: He--wan--ted--it.

442 Adult: Beautiful.

- 443 Child: (laughed) /t/, /t/--/t/--
ssso--
- 447 Child: O (then child mumbling to himself).
- 451-458 (Child whispers to himself: he wanted--it,
he wanted it--so hccc-- (then child whispers
louder: he, he (short pause) he (short pause)
E.)
- 460 Child: (Out-loud) No, I want to change that. (He
has written HDWtill20, then an H-like figure.)
- 460 Adult: OK.
- 461 Adult: Just mark through it and change it.
(Child did that.)
- 462 Adult: Yeah.
- 462-468 (Child whispering: he wanted-----hccc--,
then more whispering.)
- 468 Child: (Out-loud) He, how you spell he? (Pause, then
whispering he.) (Notice he is asking for a
word he has already spelled as first word.)
- 469 Adult: How do you think?
- 470 Child: What?
- 471 Adult: How do you think you spell it?
- 471 Child: I don't know.
- 471 Adult: You don't know?
- 471 Child: Uh-uh.
- 471 Adult: You got any of it written down? (Examiner
had seen the H at the end of the sequence
and was wondering why the child didn't look
back to the first word he which the child had
spelled HD. One hypothesis was that the child
would be dissatisfied with HD which is an
unusual rendering for he for inventive spellers.)
- 471 Child: Yep--H.
- 471 Adult: OK.
- 472-473 (Pause)
- 473 Child: Hmm.
- 473-475 (Pause)
- 475 Child: Hmm.
- 475-479 (Pause)
- 479 Child: I can't think of anything else.
- 480 Adult: OK, why don't you leave the rest of he and go
ahead and put the rest of what you want to
write?
- 481-486 (Pause with child saying "hmm" very low
from time to time, looking at the paper,
with pencil in hand.)
- 487 Child: I can't think of where I am.
- 487 Adult: OK. You can't--well, OK. Re-read it for
me so I can see where you are.

Variability of writing systems. In Study I we learned that all of the children could write at least one conventional word (the child's name) and most could write a number of additional conventionally spelled words. Now we learn that a number of other options co-exist alongside conventional orthography.

In recent years, invented spelling based upon alphabetic principles (Chomsky, 1970; Henderson & Beers, 1980; Read, 1970, 1975) has had great popularity as a research topic. This research has been translated into practice in some instances that I am aware of; in this practice, children are encouraged to "use your invented spelling." The variability of the "high" children's writing attempts causes me to question the assumption that all children do or should go through a period of invented spelling. It is quite possible that they do or that the appearance of the phenomenon is quite subtle. For now, I raise a caution and suggest that we continue to explore both the capabilities (Ferreiro & Teberosky, in press) and the preferences of children in different situations over time.

What do the children get out of this writing? Each form seems to make its own contribution to the child's knowledges about literacy. The invented spelling ranged from Mike's sounding out the word space which he segmented as /s/ /ey/ /s/ but wrote only with two letters; to Doug's complete clause; to Betsy's quite full story. In invented spelling the child can hold an intended message in mind and encode its sound via the alphabet letters. The child practices segmentation and

blending of the sounds in meaningful units, in sequence.

The children who used letter elements and other letter strings also varied widely. Jodie, who used name elements, practiced many principles of conventional orthography plus the idea that words have repeated patterns but she has created a conflict about how the same letters can stand for different words in her invention. She may later learn that this occurs occasionally in traditional orthography but with other cues from letter-sound relationships, syntax, and semantics to help resolve the ambiguity. Nicole used fewer elements of standard orthography. She ran all of her letters together and repeated more of the same letters and the same "type" of letters than is allowable in English orthography. Yet she "edited" in fairly advanced invented spelling. For her, the letter string writing system seemed to be highly preferred, perhaps for speed, but she could use other systems. Noreen, on the other hand, did not seem to have attained the alphabetic principle yet, using only conventional spelling of family names and letter strings with no clear idea of her intent.

Finally, children copied traditional orthography. Chad copied environmental print to stand for his composition but Richard copied the form he knew "was" his composition, the scribe's copy of the dictation. Chad used his written form for a complex attempt to track the print. He is "role-playing himself as a writer and reader" to borrow a phrase from Don Holdaway (Note). Chad is clearly reaching far above his capability as a writer but he shows a sense of what writing is like and then he "reads" from this writing. The problem is that there is no principled relationship between his writing and his

intent except a "write something that exists as writing" rule. All of the other children made up a system or borrowed one clearly related to their composing act.

Richard's copying, for instance, can be very fruitful because he can partially remember his message and try to work out the relationship between the message and the writing, now slowed down and partitioned in his "writing/copying" attempt. In fact, Richard used this activity to ask lots of questions about writing.

So, for all the variability and scantiness of production, the act of trying to write a complete composition seems to be valuable for the case study children. The writing data also produces evidence of my contention that "knowledge" about written language, as an organized, integrated system, arises from knowledges variously acquired and organized, often occurring and interacting in simultaneous, conflicting, or overlapping events.

Re-reading from writing. Andrea wrote in invented spelling and used her memory for the story to re-read, once without pointing and once with pointing. Her story without pointing was "stable but not verbatim" with her written text. She recited four full clauses without pointing and only glancing generally at the paper. When she pointed, she dropped out the second clause although the audiotape seemed to have a /p/ which she abandoned. In these two attempts, Andrea was able to use two degrees of sampling from the print to confirm her expectations. Since her expectations were so precise, having just been "deeply processed" at the word, syllable, and phone level individually and tied through the meaningful clauses, she had

the opportunity to use many levels of the reading process simultaneously when re-reading.

The case study children varied the task paradigm here just as they did with dictation. Of four possible re-reading attempts in each of the two written modes, the "high" children averaged 3.0 attempts; the "moderate" children, 2.8; and the "low" children, only 1.3. The averages were slightly lower for written than for dictated re-readings, with the largest difference for the "low" children (Noreen, three for dictated and two for writing; Richard, two for dictated and one for writing; and Mike had not attempts).

These findings are extended a bit by the one other type of re-reading. In Study I (Chapter Four) the children were asked to write and their comments during writing were recorded, just as they were for Study II. In both cases, the voicing during composition may or may not be considered to be re-reading. In Study I we asked the children to re-read at the conclusion of writing and noted differences in the wording and intonation of the children's speech. In Study II, as well, the children "voiced" during composition and, while some of that voicing may have seemed to be re-reading, some of it may not have been conceived by the child to be reading.

For example, Mike sounded out the word space during his make-believe writing task and then wrote, 2A. Yet he refused to re-read. Chad, on the other hand, made no voicing while copying the words of his "story" yet he "re-read" easily, giving a story similar to his other versions and even monitoring the print, saying that the word starts was not in his story (the print). In this example, Chad's

"reading" is written in cursive above his text. Once again Chad is practicing reading from an unconventional form but using many conventional reading behaviors.

Insert Figure 17 about here

Clay (1978) argues that voice, finger, and print matching is an important step toward solving the reading puzzle. Already, in the middle of their kindergarten year, these children have made great progress even when it would seem unlikely given a partial look at their literacy behaviors. Jodie's writing might imply that she knows far less than her reading behavior would indicate; Doug's writing behavior seems advanced but his reading behavior lags behind. A glance at the written products of Chad and Richard might cause one to be quite impressed but for erroneous reasons.

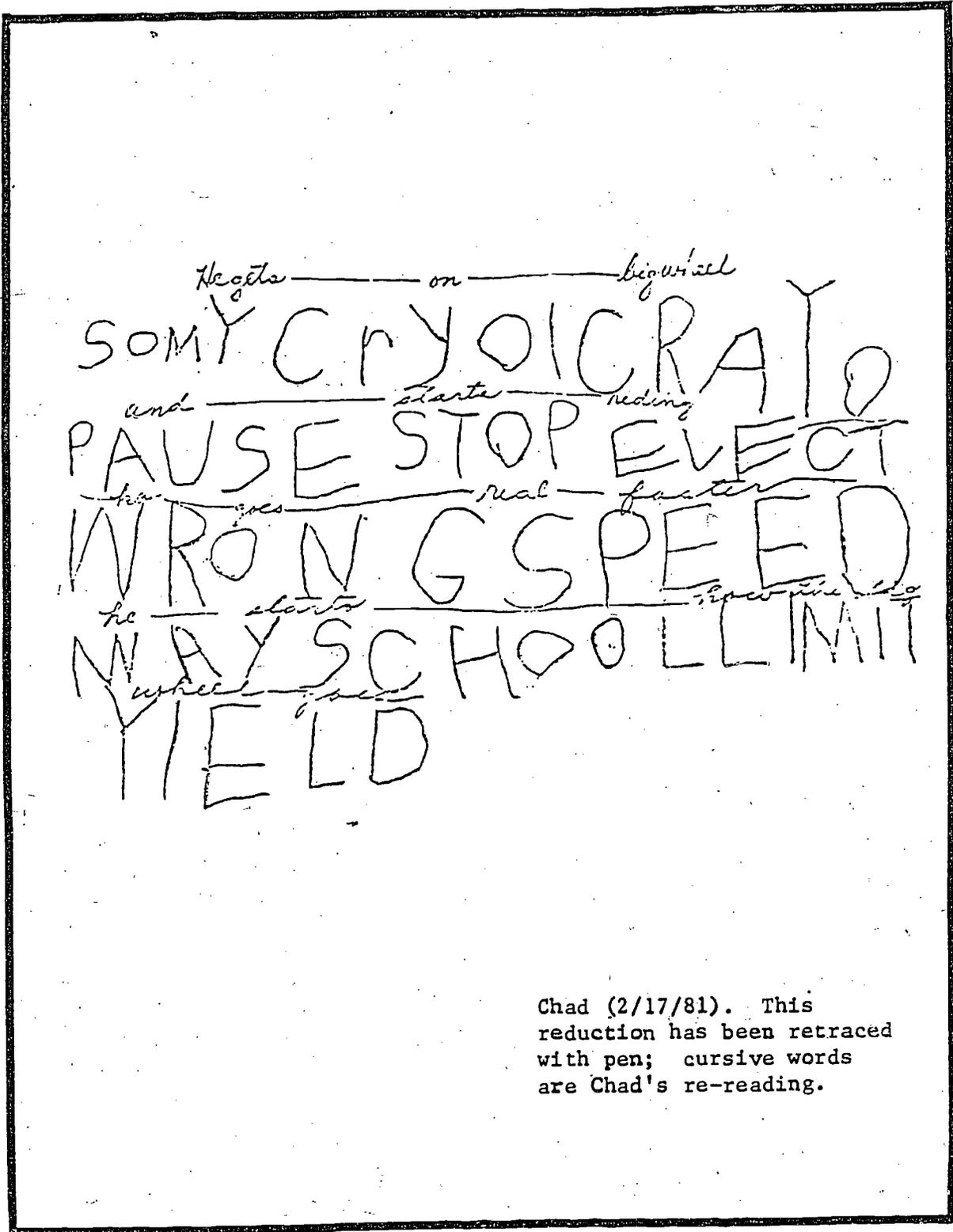
Editing

One final task, editing, was used but it did not result in a total story version so it was not included in the paradigm display used in the preceding section. Editing is, nonetheless, an important source of information about the children's development as composers and as readers. By editing, I simply mean changes in the text. Revision or re-drafting seemed to be terms too grandiose for the children's scanty productions, yet the tasks we asked them to tackle are far more complex than simple mechanical proofreading (if indeed proofreading is so simple).*

*I am indebted to Lucy Calkins, personal communication, for mentioning the various uses of these terms.

Figure 17. Chad:

Re-reading From Writing



Chad (2/17/81). This reduction has been retraced with pen; cursive words are Chad's re-reading.

Voluntary editing. As incongruous as the comment seemed, Chad attempted to edit by saying that his make-believe story (re-reading, page 297) did not include the word starts. Douglas edited voluntarily while writing (page 291, counter number 460), "No, I want to change that [M-like figure] ." Typically we think of editing as being at a higher, more semantically-oriented level but none of the children made changes above the letter or word level without prompting.

Prompted editing. The final part of the editing task was designed to sample in greater detail the child's understanding of what I propose to be three aspects of reading, large systems (that become integrated as well) into which children's knowledges get organized. The aspects are comprehension; stability of the word unit; and knowledge of letter-sound relationships.

Comprehension was assessed by selecting clauses (or sentences) and asking the child to "say that another way for me." Here the child is asked to focus on a unit within the whole, separate the intent from the statement, and paraphrase the original statement. This is a far more difficult task than simply monitoring one's speech and making internal, spontaneous self-corrections. The children gave four types of response: saying they couldn't do the task; repeating the original statement more slowly; saying basically the same statement with a new phrase or clause added; and, finally, giving a paraphrase with

internal changes. Of four opportunities, here are the number of times each child was able to show some evidence of comprehension as measured by either add-on or internal re-statement:

Betsy	1 (written mode)
Jodie	1 (dictated mode)
Nicole	0
Andrea	4 (2 written; 2 dictated)
Chad	1 (dictated)
Doug	2 (dictated)
Noreen	2 (dictated)
Richard	0
Mike	0

Stability of the word unit is quite complex and involves the child's growing ability to treat the same letter units as the same word in different locations, to re-locate a word by its approximate location in the "speech space" and in the "written space," and to reject dissimilar spellings of the same oral/semantic word. In the editing task, however, the measure was simple. Here are the number of times (out of four) that each child was able to locate a proposed word in a written text. This often, but not always, included finding more than one instance of the word.

Betsy	4
Jodie	4
Nicole	2
Andrea	4

Chad	0
Doug	3
Noreen	0
Richard	2
Mike	0

Knowledge of letter-sound relationships was measured by asking children to find these same words that they located in the stability task and to replace them with a synonym. If the child did not offer a synonym, the examiner offered one. Here are the number of times (again, of four opportunities) that each child replaced the word with another unit in which there was some evidence of letter-sound relationships. In other words, this item was a check of invented spelling or of a letter-sound relationship underlying conventional spelling.

Betsy	1*
Jodie	4
Nicole	4
Andrea	4
Chad	0

* Betsy refused to replace words in three attempts, giving semantic reasons for her refusals. For instance she said mother could be replaced with mom and wanted with wished but each time she refused to make the change since the new word was not as good a choice as her original! (The examiner did not press her to make the change since there was ample evidence of her letter-sound knowledge.)

Doug	3
Noreen	0
Richard	2
Mike	0

The prompted editing gives a more common baseline of data across children than the more naturalistic observations of the connected writing and reading. The case studies use of the information together. In looking across the children from the prompted data, however, it is easy to see that children had more difficulty with the comprehension task than they did with the word locating and word writing tasks. It is also evident that the "low" children appear low in comparison with the other groups in the word and letter/sound tasks; whereas, the comprehension task shows more variance at both extremes.

Real and Make-Believe

In Study I, General Knowledges About Written Language, the children demonstrated that they could distinguish between real and make-believe and that they could formulate interesting, even fantastic make-believe topics. Yet in the stories produced under the real and make-believe conditions of Study II only one child actually put fantasy material into the make-believe story. That was Mike, our "low" child who had so much difficulty with dictation and with writing. Mike set his protagonist "on Mars" even though he didn't specify who "he" was.

Richard introduced "Little Prince Charming" by name in his dictated title but his story content was very traditional: "His father taught him how to ride a two-wheeler." Richard's production is literary in nature with a title and a literary closing: "Then he

lived happily ever after." Nicole probably wrote about the princess in her first line but she re-read using pronouns.

The other children used basically the same material that they used for their real story and changed the pronouns from "I" and "me" to "s/he" and "him" or "her." Some of the children (Andrea, Noreen, and perhaps Jodie) reverted to self as the protagonist in some versions and Nicole used "my sister" and "me" in editing.

The effect does not just seem to be a lack of putting exciting, innovative material into the make-believe stories, however. Almost all of the children mentioned far more interesting ideas and themes in conversation than in either of the story conditions. In the Study II tasks the children used their knowledge base in a more constrained, stereotypical fashion rather than creating an expansive story.

In Chapter Ten we will examine topic effects in greater detail. Now, however, we can conclude that the children took the rich information base that they showed in their conversation and stripped it to "bare bones" in the real and make-believe conditions. This is consistent with the results of the 1979-80 study as well.

The effect seems to be tied in part to the structure of our interview setting. In Study III we moved back into the classroom for the child/adult audience investigation and used a setting in which the children would move about and talk, in which more kinds of paper and writing utensils were available. In this setting fantasy topics were produced far more freely. Additionally, other features related to literacy also appeared that were missing in Study II: the representation forms of drawing and scribbling and structural features

like multi-page booklets or genre designations like "picture book."

Conclusions

The tasks of storytelling, dictating, writing, re-reading, and editing, along with a sample of conversation from Study I, comprised the structure of Study II. As we have seen, the children varied greatly but within fairly regular patterns. Conversation seemed easier than a monologic storytelling which, in turn, seemed easier for many children than dictation. All of these oral forms were easier than writing if the handwritten product is the measure. Yet each of these progressively harder tasks allowed the children to display numerous knowledges about written language. In the case of Richard, Douglas, Mike, and perhaps other children, the tasks also allowed the children to explore written language before us. Memory emerged as a significant feature, but not in the form of rote memory but memory as an organized set of expectations about language. The topic distinction of real and make-believe seemed to be overwhelmed by the effect of the overriding goal of writing a story in a structured one-to-one setting. In Chapter Seven we will watch children manipulate topic when they have more choice not only of topic but also of writing materials and context.

Chapter Seven:

Child and Adult Audience Effects

Introduction

Audience is a complex variable that we usually associate with accomplished adults who write novels or feature articles or with playwrights or actors. Yet part of the model of reading and writing that even children need to develop is a sense of audience needs and characteristics. Further, the child needs to become able to separate self from other in planning an effective written communication. Being able to take the perspective of another person is an important cognitive development of young children (Donaldson, 1978; Flavell, 1977; Piaget, 1926) and is closely tied to sense of audience in written forms. However, separation of self from other probably also establishes the potential for using oneself as an audience (Graves and colleagues, personal communication) and as a monitor and critic of one's composition.

In Study I, the children in Miriam Kendall's room had distinguished between child and adult audiences at a knowledge level. In Study III, we wanted to tap their ability to distinguish between child and adult audience needs functionally. The form of the study is more naturalistic than the previous two studies and is exploratory in nature. The major questions it addresses include whether or not children distinguish topic preferences of child and adult audiences

and whether or not children make distinctions in the form of representation used in composing for child and adult audiences.

Study III included a large-sample phase in which two visitors, a four-year-old and an adult, were interviewed about their tastes in stories and then invited Miriam's class to write stories for them. The data consisted of transcripts of the interview, transcripts of the children's composing sessions, and copies of the compositions themselves, along with transcripts of the children's explanations about the compositions. Additionally, the nine case study children discussed and re-read their stories after a one-week delay; these discussions were also transcribed.

Chapter Seven consists of a description of those data along with a discussion of the relation of this study to other sources of information about how these children show their awareness of audience characteristics and needs.

Purpose of Study III

The primary motivation for the child/adult audience study was interest in children's growing awareness of audience. The study itself took place in the classroom, rather than in individual sessions with examiners. The group setting was motivated by a concern from Studies I and II that children were constrained by the one-to-one context and that we would not see the range of possibilities that we

might see in a more naturalistic setting. Furthermore, in Study II we had constrained topic choice and we wanted to be certain that children would feel free to write about topics that came to their mind for the child and adult audiences. Graves (1979) has observed that a primary way that young children show their growing awareness of audience is through topic choice. In his research, children who are just beginning to write appear to range rather freely among topics and produce just as freely. Then, somewhere near the end of first grade or early second grade, as the children become more proficient and more aware of audience, they suddenly seem to be blocked about choice of topic. Graves reports that this is due to having more understanding of audience.

A writer develops a sense of audience that becomes more and more explicit and precise. Audience can be someone else who will have to read, understand, be intrigued, be puzzled, even be turned off by your writing. Graves' data includes conferences between teacher and child and between child and child in which audience reactions become explicit to the young writer through questions that the audience/reader has to ask in order to understand the written piece. Graves also reports that children become increasingly aware of audience as self. The child becomes aware of self as a monitor of expression of ideas and evaluator of how well a piece of writing conveys intended meanings. Scardamalia (1982, p. 91) describes sense of audience as minimally demanding "the coordination of two points of view, one's own and another's."

In Chapter Two, it was suggested that a reader uses an internalized model of the reader/writer relationship in an attempt to construe the author's message. Mature readers can reflect upon their own processes in attempting to understand a piece of writing, as evidenced by the following record of a reader's internal speech to self while attempting to read a computer manual:

Why would he give me this long line of garbage--
that doesn't make any sense. I hope I don't have
to understand it, sure would like to skip it--
Oooh, maybe that's just for computer-types. He didn't
put that in here for me. Anyway, if he thinks it's
important for regular users he will say something
more about it. I h ..

As this reader reflects, we notice comments about the author's intentions and about intended audience. We also witness the reader's using the model as a means of governing his own reading strategies.

We also note that a writer may make certain assumptions about the intended audience. These assumptions can be as extreme as ignoring the audience. For instance, in the study that follows, some of the children state clearly their intention to write something one of the visitors stated he liked in stories, yet during the act of writing the child composer seemed to ignore that purpose. Intentions about comprehensibility show themselves, sometimes in a puzzle that a child discovers when the intention is beyond the child's ability to convey, as we will see when Chad wanted to indicate that part of a drawing

stands for "underground," but decided that the problem of how his audience could understand that intention was solvable by telling:

"I'll tell him."

As with most, if not all parts of mature reading, it is important to know the roots of audience awareness in oral language as well as in written language. In oral language, audience awareness is evidenced in dialogue or conversation; it is probable that conversational interchanges teach children to become more aware of audience needs and of ways to take care of those needs. In Study I, the children had conveyed awareness of audience by describing different topics or topic variations for children and adults. Most of these comments seemed to be tied to written forms of language.

We know that children in this age range make adaptations in their oral language according to the age and relative status of the person with whom they are conversing. Through observing children in home settings, Jean Berko Gleason (1973) found evidence of code-switching by children when they addressed adults, children of the same age, or younger children. She found examples of differences in content, style, and even willingness to speak to certain audiences. In experimental studies, Menig-Peterson (1975); Menig-Peterson and McCabe (1978), and Shatz and Gelman (1973) have found that children are able to adapt the contents of their oral accounts or conversations to the needs of their audiences, even though they do not do so in all circumstances (particularly in some of the situations described by Piaget). These studies do not totally refute claims that young

children's speech does not take audience needs into account sufficiently, but it does indicate that children are developing the abilities to modify their speech relative to the needs of other people. These modifications may be stylistic (as in Gleason's code-switching study) or content-related (as in Menig-Peterson & McCabe's study of specification of reference).

In 1979-80, we had attempted to query children in a way that would reveal their knowledge of code shifts, or stylistic changes when addressing different audiences. We had been quite unsuccessful in getting children to explain code shifts between child and adult age groups. While we had expected for this to be a difficult task for most five-year-old's, we had hoped to pick up indirect clues from some of the children about fruitful wording and situations to use to elicit their knowledge of code shifts. Instead, coming from clues in the story composition studies and also from clues suggested from Graves' research, we decided to focus upon content-related knowledges, to look for effects of audience awareness in topics that children would choose for adults and for other children. We also planned to include the possibility of detecting stylistic as well as content differences, through having the children interview their prospective audiences before the children wrote.

Data from the on-going observations made by Susan Anderson in Miriam Kendall's classroom also motivated us to move Study III into the classroom. During February the kindergarteners had prepared valentines for the traditional Valentine's Box. Additionally, Miriam

had begun a unit about letter-writing. In one major activity, each child wrote a letter to his or her parents. Then the class took a field trip to the Post Office to mail the letters. They spent time learning about the Post Office from the postal workers, including discussions of how the workers knew who to send letters to and how letters actually got delivered to children's homes. Then, after the field trip, the children were asked to watch for the arrival of their letters at their homes and to report the parents' reactions. The teacher asked for these reports, usually in a "Sharing Time" activity. For the reports, some children also brought written replies from their parents.

This activity provided a classroom context for Study III. In this context, the children and teacher were already exploring author/audience relationships. The classroom setting also was appropriate for an exploratory study, which Study III is. A few of the questions explored are explained here.

Will the children distinguish between the topic preferences of children and adults? We had one set of data from Study I which indicated some distinction each child thought of. Could we further tap these distinctions by introducing a specific adult and specific child as people asking the children to write for them?

Will the children make distinctions in the form of representation they use in "writing" for the child and for the adult? To make the contrast more vivid, we used a child who was clearly not yet reading and an adult who specified that he could read and spent much time

reading. During the individual sessions we had asked the children to write "for me," as adults. In these situations, the children used some form of writing and no drawing (except for those few examples in which the drawing was said to represent writing and not illustration).

In the classroom letter writing we observed that the children copied traditional orthography from models that the teacher provided. This was the case both for letters to parents and when sending valentines to peers. In these observed instances, it seemed that writing and drawing took a conventional text/illustration relationship for these genres. Would the children continue to exhibit strong conventions about text and illustration if writing for a four-year-old or would drawing as a representation for the message become more evident when composing for the child? Would drawing diminish for the adult or would it shift in role from central representation to an illustrative one?

Alternatively, would the potential audience have no noticeable effect in this situation? It might be possible that, with the complicated demands on the child, s/he might simply produce whatever came to mind at the time of composing. We might once again find evidence of the famed egocentrism, either with regard to stated audience preferences and/or in producing a "story" the intent of which could only be known by asking the child author. (The latter possibility is, of course, complicated by the difficulty of understanding the "message" of any drawing and of much of children's early writing attempts so we attempted to observe the composing and to

interview the children about intent during the composition session.)

In the next section, I will give an overview of the method of data collection. The remainder of the children will include the results and discussion in three parts: audience interviews;

composition sessions; and delayed re-reading interviews. The final part involved only the nine case study children with all other parts including the class of 24 children.

Method

Tasks

There were two replications, each involving the same series of tasks, first for "child audience," and second for "adult audience." The first two tasks included all 25 children currently enrolled in ~~Miriam Kendall's class. The first task was to interview the invited~~ guest who served as an audience. In order to have a successful interview, we invited each guest to first visit casually with the children during their opening exercises and individual working time. Then the teacher called them together and officiated over the interview, which involved two major sections. The first section was a lengthy exploration of the guest's reading habits and preferences; the second section was an invitation by the guest for the children to write stories for him.

The second task was story composition. For each guest, the class was divided into two halves, by the teacher, who attempted to put a mix of children into each half. For each of two days, one group composed stories for the invited guest with the principal investigator as their teacher and the second group worked with Miriam Kendall on an art project in an adjacent work area. During the composing sessions, Elizabeth Sulzby roved around with a tape recorder, taping the children's on-going comments during composing and making summary statements describing the activity. Then, when each child turned in his or her composition, Sulzby taped the child's explanations and readings of the stories.

Results and Discussion

Guest Interview

In both guest interviews, the teacher served as the guide to the discussion, asking questions to keep the children on track. She used a similar format, making adjustments for the children's prior knowledge of the technique when the second guest visited. She followed a format that we had noticed was typical for her (cf. Sulzby & Anderson, 1982).

First, she involved the children's own background knowledge. She asked them about books and stories they liked before moving to the guest. During the discussion, she wove four types of questions in and out, addressing different children as they gave responses. Occasionally, she made comments about children's responses that classified the response into these categories as well, so the form of her speech was not always that of a question but the function was maintained. These questions move from general to specific preferences and include descriptions of the children's feelings about the books, along with the books' contents or topics. Here are the question-types that she asked, using varied wording:

1. What kinds of books and stories do you like, (child's name)?
2. Is that a certain book? (Calling for specifics if the child did not volunteer or noting that it was a specific book if the child did. This seemed to have an effect of helping other children react to the child's

The final task involved only the nine case study children. One week after the second composition day of each condition, the three examiners met with their assigned case study children for a delayed audience interview. This interview consisted of three basic questions. The first was an identification and explanation question-pair to tap the child's memory for the composition intent: "Show me your story for (guest's name). Tell me about it." The second called for a reading response or a reaction to a reading response: "Read it to me." This question was paired with the graduated set of encouragements used in BRDKAWL. The final question was aimed at the child's notion of the audience's reaction to the composition: "What do you think (guest's name) will do when he gets your story?" The child was asked for the basis of his or her supposition in order to further ascertain any assessment on the part of the child about the intended audience.

comment.)

3. What do you like or like best about that book or story?

(She usually accepted a content-oriented answer, then pressed for an affective evaluation through the fourth type of question.)

4. How did the story make you feel?

During this part of the discussion the children contributed eagerly and freely and, while they were still vying for a chance to talk, she turned their attention to the guest.

Child guest. The teacher's goal with both guests was to have the children ask the visitor about his interest in books. However, with the first visitor, the child called Ricky, she first modelled asking him questions, then turned the discussion back to the children.

Notice that in this section, she first asks Ricky questions, gets him answering, then tries to get the children to think about the issue of how "we" can find out what he likes, and does not actually turn the discussion over to the children until the goal of their asking questions is verbalized (in this example, by Betsy).

Mrs. Kendall: Ricky is visiting today. I'm just curious about you, Ricky. Are there special books or special kinds of stories that you like, too? What kinds would they be?

Ricky: Like, a magazine, and, like, a book and other kinds of books.

Mrs. Kendall: Are there special kinds of stories that

you most enjoy?

Ricky: Only one, though.

Mrs. Kendall: What's that?

Ricky: THE magazine.

Mrs. Kendall: Why do you like that so well?

Ricky: The Christmas catalog, cause it has lots of toys in it.

(Mrs. Kendall and Ricky continue to talk a bit about what book has it in that is appealing to him. He mentioned trucks and garages, then she closes this section, and turns back to the class.)

Mrs. Kendall: Say, boys and girls, you know, I'm giving you a problem. See if you can work this out.

Child: I have a story that I didn't get to--

Mrs. Kendall: Now, wait a minute, maybe you can bring it in on this. Hold on just a minute. Ricky is visiting us today, and he's probably got some very special books or stories (pause) that he likes. How could we find out what special books and what special stories he likes. Stephanie, do you have an idea how we can find out--that out?

Stephanie: I have--magazines. (She re-states one of

Ricky's earlier contributions.)

Mrs. Kendall: But, in this case, if we want to find out what Ricky's favorite ones are, how would we do that? (Rejects the re-statement, reiterating the "finding out" goal.)

Child: Well, we could show him the pictures and read it and show him the pictures--

Ricky: I like--

Child: --and maybe he'd say, "I like that one."

Mrs. Kendall: We might do that. That's one way we might find out. Ricky, do you have a suggestion?

(Ricky begins telling about books he has and Mrs. Kendall acknowledges his comments, then calls on another child who suggests asking Ricky for information.)

Mrs. Kendall: All right, Betsy, see if you can help us.
Go ahead.

Betsy: Well, we could, um, ask him which books he has and then decide (which) he would like.

(While this suggestion isn't totally clear, Mrs. Kendall picks up on it and then supported the children as they begin to ask him questions. She first asked him a question herself and then turned it back to the children. This is the second time she has modelled but this time she marks it linguistically as a model.)

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Mrs. Kendall: (Addressing the class and bracketing comments to Ricky within these comments.)

Is there anything else you'd like to ask Ricky? Things about (unclear) ? Anybody here?

Ricky, I want to find out something and now maybe it will give you some ideas.

(Second clause addressed to class as is the next model statement.)

Maybe this will give you some ideas but don't copy me.

Ricky, (pause) do you ever read any books about animals?

Her tactics led to a long discussion in which the children asked Ricky questions, he volunteered information, and, finally, Ricky showed some of his books from home that he brought with him. The discussion also included Ricky's telling them that he couldn't read. He asserted that he knew about the content of the stories by looking at the pages. The children also pointed out that people could read to him.

The discussion ended with Mrs. Kendall's introduction of the idea that the children might write stories for Ricky. She elicited the children's ideas of what they might include and asked Ricky what he would like.

For summary purposes, and since it is impossible to know what the possibilities were within a group discussion that individual children mentioned many of their individual ideas, the topics mentioned have been classified into two categories, preferences introduced by Ricky and preferences that the children asked about. It was not clear that Ricky actually rejected any of the topics mentioned.

Preferences Ricky introduced:

magazines, THE magazine (evidently, a Christmas catalog), toys, trucks, garages, "gingerbread" book, Francis stories, library books, animals, zoo books, "Mr. Fumble," helicopter book, crocodile book, "my big book," "little books," picture books, "antses" story (probably, Anansi tales), snakes, and stars.

Preferences children asked about:

Sesame Street books, books about people, Mr. Rogers' books, squirrels, jet fighters, rockets, airplanes, ABC's, ducks, trains, snakes, Star Wars (movie), Mary Poppins.

The composing sessions began with a review of things Ricky had said he liked. During this review, the children primarily mentioned

items from the interview with Ricky (Sesame Street books, stars, snakes, trucks, trains, magazines, books with toys, clarified as the Christmas catalog, Mr. Rogers' books, picture books, and ducks. The topics that they mentioned which were not heard during the Ricky interview included two fairy tale topics, The Three Little Pigs and Three Bears, and one child's current theme, stories about fictionalized fruits, "The pineapple story," and "Cherry Stories."

Adult guest. With the second guest, the adult, Mr. Rouzie, the teacher began with the review of Ricky's visit. Again, children were able to recall topics Ricky had mentioned; they also recalled the procedures they had used to learn about Ricky, "We asked him."

Again Miriam Kendall led the children to discuss their own preferences before turning directly to the visitor. First, the children asked the visitor about himself. Then, even though the children had just asked the adult about his interests (music) and job (restaurant), their first questions about his reading preferences echoed those they had asked Ricky, the four-year-old. They wanted to know if the adult liked magazines, catalogs, and books with pictures. He agreed that he did and that he liked magazines that had stories, poems, cartoons, and articles.

Other topic introductions by the children seemed to be based upon the kinds of distinctions between adult and child preferences that the children had reported in Study I. The children asked if he liked newspapers and fat books, commenting that their parents liked those

materials. Perhaps it was a child/adult distinction that led one child to ask the visitor if he liked fishing magazines.

However, one other tendency could be noted, somewhat like the tendency to ask questions patterned around the child interview; that was for the children to press the adult to determine if he liked things children like. A question about Little Golden Books seemed to be of that variety. One child, Freddie, asked if the adult liked Little Golden Books. The adult particularly remembered liking one of those books as a child and Freddie and he got into a spirited conversation about Scuffy, the Tugboat, that other children entered into. Other questions of this sort included, "Do you like to read to children?" and "Do you like stories about children?" To the latter question the adult replied that he liked stories about children getting along with children and children getting along with adults. The child with the "theme," Caroline, had previously asked him in private if he liked "Cherry stories," explaining to him how the Cherry family met, got married, and had children (cherries).

In this interview, the children asked about only one topic that the adult rejected. They wanted to know if he liked fishing magazines and he said that he didn't. In most cases, when children asked questions, the adult embellished on their questions.

The final type of topic introduced may have been keyed by gender. The questions came from boys and were about spaceships, black holes, war, rocket ships and space ships, and tanks. In response to these questions, the adult added that he liked science fiction in general,

rather than just stories about space ships and that he also liked mysteries. The adventure-oriented topics were introduced by the children for both the child and the adult. In particular these topics were snakes, star wars, jet fighters, and rockets.

As with the child, the topics are summarized according to who introduced the ideas.

Preferences by Mr. Rouzie introduced:

science fiction (elaboration), magazines with stories
poems, cartoons, and articles (elaboration),
Scuffy, the Tugboat (elaboration), galaxies
(elaboration).

Preferences children asked about:

magazines, catalogs, books with pictures,
Little Golden Books, fishing magazines, black holes,
Star Wars, space ships, to play with children,
films, newspapers, fat books, to read to children,
war, rocket ships, tanks, jet fighters, snakes,
"cherry stories."

In the composing sessions for the adult, the children remembered that Mr. Rouzie said he liked books about science, space ships, stars, science fiction, films, catalogs, magazines, poems, Golden Books, snakes, toys, children, fat books, tanks, wars, including World War II (which he had said in an aside that was not picked up in the taping

session) Freddie, the boy who had discussed Scuffy, the Tugboat, added that it was particularly Scuffy that he liked among the Little Golden Books and that he liked science fiction, not just science. Caroline asserted that he liked big Cherry stories.

Summary. During the interviews the children were able to elicit information from each guest and to recall that information at the beginning of the composing sessions. It is, of course, impossible to separate the effects of interview order in this study, but the children did seem to make some adaptations based upon their preconceived ideas about child and adult interests. It seemed also apparent that they wanted to know about each audience whether that person shared their own interests. Finally, it appeared that they elicited more voluntary new information from the child (or that the child gave more information). The adult, on the other hand, seemed to adapt more to the children's questions. In the next section, we will see how children used this information when they composed for the two audiences.

Composing Sessions

Overall observations. During the composing sessions, two things were apparent that differed from when children were taken outside the class for individual observations. First, they stayed at the task of composing longer. Second, the forms of the compositions were more varied. Both of these observations seem to be tied to social considerations.

When children started to compose, they settled down into smaller groups within the working area of the room. Children would talk over ideas with each other, including discussions of what "he" would like, referring to the guest. A child might start drawing a picture, notice what another child was doing, and then incorporate that idea into a second picture. Sometimes these "borrowings" were incorporated into a story line, sometimes not. A second element prompting longer time at the task involved interaction with the adult. Children began to turn in their compositions and, when the adult asked them to "tell me about it," they often left to go add more to the story. Children had more avenues for aid made more obvious to them. They could ask other children questions, they could look at other children's work, and they could consider the absent audience (through the task of explaining the production to the "teacher").

The social interchange seemed to add to the likelihood that the forms would be more varied, again in part because children could see each other's work. At times, however, in both composing sessions the idea of what the audience would like was discussed among the children.

Along with that topic, children would assert that they were doing what they wanted to do: "I'm making a picture." Other children would agree that they, too, were making a picture book or that their book was of some other kind or description. Betsy, for instance, asserted that she was making chapters. Other children discussed page arrangements and organizations, title pages, covers, ways to anchor the books together. It was clear that the notion of book carried with it ideas of more complex compositions for most of the children; even though a child's book can and usually does contain just one story, the children seemed to constrain story in the individual sessions to mean a one-page brief story. That form to the content remained in the oral accompaniment to the compositions in the audience study, but the accompaniment in pages, illustrations, and expansiveness of the composition over time spent in composing and materials used in displaying the composition was quite different.

For example, during the composition sessions for the child 24 children were present. Three did not speak clearly enough to be heard during the composing session, but all described their compositions at the end of the sessions. All 24 of those children used a composition form that can be classified as more than one page. This includes such simple manipulations as using one page as a front-and-back arrangement. Ariadne drew a picture and wrote "From Ariadne" on the back. Mid-range compositions included series of pictures, forming a sequence with oral accompaniment or with written text, using only the fronts of pages, to similar sequences, using

front-and-back arrangements. These did not always work, as Richard found when he tried to staple together pages that were oriented differently, but the children were showing the concept of displaying a composition over pages. The two most sophisticated forms were (1) multi-paged large books like those of Kimberly and Betsy and (2) multi-paged mini-books like those of Caroline.

Children who made multi-paged large books had more details of published books than did the one child who made mini-books. These were Kimberly and Betsy who worked together and discussed these refinements between each other. Kimberly had a cover, with a picture and a title, an author page with name and handdrawn picture of the author, arranged in front-and-back order. Then she had a body to the book, consisting of four pages with only fronts and no backs. She had drawings on each page and used invented spelling to write her text on the last three pages.

Betsy had a cover with a letter address, somewhat like that found on the cover of one of the Sesame Street books in which the only writing that might be a title consists of an address to the reader ("Would you like to play HIDE & SEEK in this book with lovable, furry old GROVER?" "Please say yes!") Like Kimberly, who had been sitting with her, she had a page for the author's name and picture. She then numbered the seven pages that formed the body of her story, 1-7 (backwards 7). On these numbered pages, she had backs-and-fronts for the first three but ignored them in the numbering. She called each of the pages, "chapters," and they appeared to be about different topics,

not necessarily related to the title of the "book."

Betsy's composition

<u>Form</u>	<u>Description</u>
Cover	Text said, "DAER RKeKKY, HiRe iS A BOOK FOR YOU iS COD ShiP's" Illustration of girl on ship with sun in top right
Author	By BETSY
page	Picture of child in box beneath name
Page 1	Text at top, "YOU MAY FINDE YHe HiDAN HORT" Picture of ship at bottom with picture of a heart hidden under a flap of paper which she had constructed.
Page 1a	Pictures of hearts and smiley faces on an unnumbered side of 1.

Page 2 Text at top, "SAEKE'S" with picture
beneath which includes a snake and
some stars.

Page 2b This page seems to be either an
inventory of words she knows and
loves or a cryptic message tying
the author to the audience. Text
says,

"ME YOU

HELP

i LOVE

YOU"

(In explaining this page a week later
she said, "This is about school," and
then read the words like an inventory.)

Pages 3
and 3b Two pages of pictures

Page 4 This page had a text at top,
"Hi HeLLO,"
the numeral 4 written slightly
above the center of the page, and
a picture of a rocket on the

bottom.

Page 5 This page has the words,

"I'm

LONLYe,"

written at the top, above a drawing of a small heart in the center of a spiral which ends at a numeral "5" in the bottom right-hand corner.

Page 6 This page has the words, "MY WOOR,"

written across the top, ending in the top right-hand corner. Beneath the words is a drawing of a girl on top of what appears to be a mountain, placing something in a container. The numeral "6" is written mid-way up the right-hand margin.

Page 7 Page 7 has the numeral reversed (as were 1, 2, 3, and 4) in the bottom right-hand part of the page. Written across the top is,

"FROMBETSY

TORBEKKY"

Parts of these texts were explained in part by conversations overheard during composing (like when Kimberly and Betsy discussed how to spell "lonely," each asserting different preferences for how "I spell it") and in part by descriptions to the examiner when the stories were turned in. Additionally, for the case study children, information could be added during the delayed re-reading session.

The second type of multi-page composition was the mini-book, but only one child used that form. During her first session, Caroline drew a multi-paged book on one 8 1/2 X 11 1/2 inch piece of paper that she divided into a number of tiny rectangular boxes. When the examiner first noticed her strategy, she had filled in one box with, "BOOK," and a second with, "CAROLINE." While the examiner was observing other children, Caroline finished her drawing and cut the tiny "pages" apart. She had placed them in an order the examiner had not seen the order in which they were composed. During the second session, the examiner saw the pages before they were cut apart. At least for the second session, Caroline had composed the pages "out-of-order" on the page display but in order" of logical sequence. After she cut them apart, they, like the pages in the first "book," again followed a logical, front-to-back physical order with the drawings lined up with the oral story that she told to accompany them.

Each session she discussed her story while she was composing in conversational wording and tone. Then, when she turned the story into the examiner, she "read" it with a reading intonation even though

there were no words to the story. The story clearly had drawings to represent the story events she recited. The first story was "read" while turning the tiny pages.

Caroline (3/5/81)

One day there was Mr. and Mrs. Cherry went outside to think of getting three cherries or not.

They decided yes, so they just saw behind them a little (pause) pink rug with little cherries on it so (pause) they took them home with them and they walked home. And then they got to the house and went, "Ding dong," and went and they opened the curtains and they left the curtains open. So they closed the curtains and (pause) and opened the door (gesture).

And then they opened the curtains to see.

And then they closed the curtains and then they went to bed.

Caroline introduced her main characters clearly, in specific terms, and then used pronouns and other reference words fairly clearly. In her second composition, she specified the constituent actions even more clearly, for "getting three cherries" means getting Cherry "children" and the preconditions of a wedding are fulfilled in her story for the adult.

These examples indicate the degrees of sophistication about the forms of published books and stories that children are gathering. It appeared that part of their growth came through sessions like these in which children picked up ideas from each other, discussed the use of those ideas, and incorporated them into their own compositions. Additionally, the teacher's questioning of one child seemed to have a greater effect in that a child would respond that he or she was going to add "author's name" or "some writing" to the story he or she was working on and soon other children at the same work area would be including that detail as well.

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Another set of overall observations during the composing sessions concerns the role of the teacher or researcher. First, a number of children's needs and desires for interaction must be balanced. Second, it is impossible for one person to observe the detail of the composition than can be observed in one-to-one situations. Graves (personal communication) and his colleagues roved from child to child and had specific writing conferences set up in the classroom between teacher/researcher and university researchers and individual children. Using that technique, he and his colleagues were able to gain samplings of the children's composing techniques. We used one-to-one interviews in some parts of the study, removed from the classroom setting, were able to gain much detail about the sequence of the composing. In the classroom setting, we gained details that we could not have observed one-to-one, yet we lost observational detail.

During the composing sessions of Study III, we were able to sample not just parts of the composing but also parts of the balancing act of the adult(s) present. For instance, at one point, Douglas is trying to tell about his story and seems to go into a "reading" to accompany the picture sequence. The other children are making so much noise that the examiner had to interrupt his rendition and turn it into an interactive sequence. In one-to-one sessions we looked for times when the child would turn monologues into dialogue, yet in the classroom setting it was the "teacher" who entered dialogue, not because the child had been impercise but because the noise had covered the child's speech.

Adult: Okay, Don, let Doug have his turn and then I'll see you, okay?

Doug: Okay. This is the author's name and this is the cover. That's a snake. (Contextualized speech, "telling" intonation; he did not read the title, "The Rainy Day," which he had earlier asked the examiner to write for him.)

Adult: Okay. What's on the back side of this page now?

Doug: Nothing. (Evidently, even though he had written his name it was not "part" of the composition.)

Adult: Oh, your name again, okay.

Doug: Um, I made my name. (Seemed to acknowledge the

print of his name, but then his speech becomes
"reading-like, after a full stop.)

One time a boy got a box from his friend.

He opened it up.

A snake jumped out.

He ran away.

He got another box one day and, and
it was a truck

but he thought it was a snake.

His mother took the box up
and put it in his bedroom.

He (noise covers next part) and he opened it up.

He thought it was going to be a snake again.

Adult: (Interrupting) Okay. Now they were talking
so loud I couldn't hear. Who took it to his
bedroom? Did the boy take it to his bedroom?

Doug: No, the mom. (Contingent speech, appropriate
to conversation; notice that after the adult
calls the children to order, Doug continued
again in a "reading-like" recital and ends.)

Adult: The mom did.

Okay, Danny, I can't hear over here.

Can you guys whisper. Mike, can you whisper?

His mom took it to his bedroom. Then who
opened it?

Doug: The boy came into his bedroom
and he opened it.

Adult: Okay.

Doug: He took it out and started to play with it.
The end.

Besides having the adult's time divided between class and individual, often the attention was divided between two or more competing individuals carrying out important developmental tasks. For instance, at one point two of the lower children were both trying to spell words. Daniel B. had drawn a series of rocket ships each going to a different planet and had decided that he must label the planets for his audience to be able to identify them. Mike had composed a story that was fairly complex and coherent for him and had been urged to give it a title. He was trying to dictate the word "army" to the adult. At one point, the audiotape records Daniel saying planet names, sounding out, saying letter names, asking implicitly for adult evaluation all the while while the adult is repeating "army" and "what's next?" cues to Mike. Here is one section of that sequence:

Daniel B. --and, umm, umm, and now let's see, moon!

Let's see, M--

Mike: T, A, and, um-

Daniel Mmcoonn--(simultaneously with Mike.)

Mike: T.
Adult: What?
Mike: T? OK.
Daniel: Mmmooonn.
Mike: D.

From these instances we can see that a teacher/researcher would need a tremendous amount of knowledge (beginning with the increased perceptions mentioned in Chapter One) to keep track even somewhat successfully with the events of composing in the classroom, whether the purpose was primarily to record events for research or to offer needed encouragement and assistance to children at the point when they needed it.

From these observations, we have moved in more recent research to try to record the range of behaviors that can be expected in a classroom setting and to provide practitioners not only with this information but also some ideas of how they can expect their management and observations abilities to increase as children become more adept with and accustomed to writing in the kindergarten classroom. Now, however, we turn to the question of whether or not the children differentiated child and adult audiences as documented by the transcripts and products of their composing sessions.

Child topics. Twenty-four of 25 children present for the composing sessions for Ricky, the child guest, included at least one topic mentioned in the interview session. Topic is defined as a central item in the child's drawing that is also mentioned in the child's speech, either in oral explanation of the pictures, in the oral story "reading," or in the written story accompaniment. The one child who did not include a relevant topic was Nicole who composed a three-page story using invented spelling which she read as, "Once upon a time there was a rainbow and over the shiny rainbow was, there was a cemetery." The various representational systems, both writing and drawing, were so clear that only two of the remaining 24 productions had to be clarified by consulting the transcripts. These children both had personal themes which tended to override other intentions. One example was Caroline's "Cherry Story" in which the transcript reveals that she had begun planning to include a "house" because Ricky had said he liked houses in his stories. Similarly, Mickie, who always focuses upon a personal theme of famous Chicago buildings (the John Hancock and Sears Tower), also said that he was including "a regular house," even though it is not clear from his drawings that he has drawn anything other than huge monoliths with warning lights.

Having asserted that child-relevant topics were included in almost every composition, however, I must now qualify that statement. The topics that were included were extremely limited, non-central to the more lively discussion of the interview, and repetitive. The most popular topics included in the children's compositions that were also

included in the children's productions were houses, for twelve children, rockets, for nine, and snakes, for six. The most popular topic inserted by children that had not been mentioned in the child audience interview is that of rainbows. While rainbows tend to make the rounds of kindergartens anyway, these data were collected just after St. Patrick's Day!

The children discussed Ricky while composing, including discussions about his ability to read and their abilities to write. Richard included Ricky in one of the pictures, in the Sear's Tower, beside which stood "the play Sear's Tower," and four other children included an inscription, "To Ricky."

Adult topics. Twenty-three of 25 children were present and composed but Daniel R. failed to turn in his picture story of a radarcar with radar "looking for tanks and planes." All of the 23 children who composed used some topic that had been mentioned in the interview. The most far-fetched was, again, Caroline's "Cherry Story," but she had interviewed Mr. Rouzie privately and got him to assent that he liked "Cherry Stories." She seemed to make a distinction (not based on discussion with the adult), that he liked "big Cherry Stories."

The adult topics show more variety, however, the interview was the second in time so there is no way of separating various kinds of practice/historical effects from this greater variety. This is particularly relevant because, while the children composed about topics mentioned in the interview, the core content was the same as

those mentioned in the child interview, with the exception of the second most popular topic, that of children, included by seven children. Houses had dropped in popularity, commanding inclusion by only three children each of whom drew a specific kind of house: a "generic" house; a huge building; and a barn. Snakes were included by four children, including Chad who said the snake picture was an "extra" and not a true part of his story. The most popular topic category, used by 14 children, was a conglomeration of themes of space travel and/or war. It is possible that each of these could be included in adventure and science fiction; however, the topics seem more likely to have been motivated by the discrete items: rockets, eight children; tanks, five; planes, three; and spaceships, two.

It is intriguing to notice that, although the topics included were indeed part of the interview, they were based upon ideas that the children were curious about. One can speculate that there are two basically "adult" themes: interest in children and powerful adventure, but that is certainly an inference built upon shaky foundation, given the nature of this study.

We can conclude that the children did narrow their topics to those included by the two visitors, whether or not they distinguished within the topics themselves. Comments by the children support the claim that they were attentive to the child and the adult as audiences for their stories, even though they might not have held the audience sufficiently in mind to influence smaller choices. We now look at a sample of comments from the children's discussions while composing.

Effects of audiences as potential readers. When composing for the child, many of the children seemed to base their decisions about the form of representation that they would use upon the fact that Ricky couldn't read or couldn't read their writing. The first question asked by the children in the first composing session for the child was, "Can we make picture books?" Caroline explained that she was making all of her little pages of pictues, ". . . so he could look at the pictures."

When the first child mentioned writing, he or she (unidentifiable on the tape) asserted that Ricky "won't understand." By the time this comment was finished other children were asking how to spell various words, so the writing attempts weren't noticeably delayed by these objections. Another child said that Ricky would like his story, ". . . well just because it's different pictures."

When the children began composing for the adult, they discussed his topic preferences more among themselves at the beginning than they had done with the child. They mentioned categories that could substantiate the claim that they were taking the topics from an adult perspective. For instance, one child asked, "Did he say he, he likes fiction?" The examiner answered, "He did say he liked fiction, particularly he likes science fiction," and the child promptly replied, "I'm going to try--to make some flying saucers."

Some of the children seemed to be concerned that their writing wouldn't be understandable to the adult. A group turned in their productions at about the same time, explaining that they were picture

books: "These are picture books. We can't write anything cause we don't know how to write."

In another instance, Virginia and the examiner were discussing whether she would write or draw first and she elected to write first. At that point, Jodie asserted that she wasn't going to write. When the examiner encouraged her to try and do it her own way, Virginia suddenly interrupted saying that she couldn't write, either:

Virginia: I can't because I--but then
he wouldn't know how to make it up.

Adult: (Interpreting in anticipation; this was a breach
of procedures.) He, he won't know how
to read it if you write it?

Virginia: Uh-huh.

Virginia went on to compose a three-page story in invented spelling; for the child, she had drawn pictures.

Kimberly gave the longest discussion about the adult audience. Her comments ranged over time. She had begun a piece that she called, "A Children's Story," saying that the topic was because Mr. Rouzie liked children. After working on it for a while, she suddenly came up and entered into this long discussion about grown-ups.

Kimberly: I'm going to make mine long and that's good.

Adult: You're going to what?

Kimberly: I'm going to make this long cause then it's
good cause men like it long.

Adult: Men like long th--long stories?

Kimberly: Big people like long stories.

Adult: I think they do. They tend to like longer stories. . .

Adult: Why do you think big people like longer stories?

Kimberly: Because they want--sometimes--

Adult: They what?

Kimberly: They want sometimes lonely stuff.

Adult: They want sometimes lonely stuff, uh-huh.

Kimberly: Yeah. They like to have long stories because they like to rest.

Later, she added that adults want long stories, "For a bedtime story," and that she had included a picture of Mr. Rouzie in her story.

Two of the children dealt with issues about how the adult would know how to interpret their pictures. Daniel B. had drawn three rockets and explained that each was going to a different destination, one to Saturn, one to Mars, and one to the moon. When asked how the adult would know that, he suggested putting a picture of each heavenly body in his pictures. The adult pressed him about how Mr. Rouzie would know which was which and he didn't solve the problem. The adult asked if he could put the names on the picture and he left, as if to do that. Later he came back with the pictures and no names. He began to explain which was which to the examiner. She again asked how Mr. Rouzie would "know Mars from Saturn." He explained that he had made Mars bigger than Saturn. Finally, he acknowledged the problem with a

possible solution.

Daniel: Well, maybe--well--could spell it on it.

Adult: Uh-huh.

Daniel: --like a name--but--I don't really know how.

It was Daniel B. who got into the long sounding-out sequence at the same time that Mike was trying to dictate the spelling of "army." Both boys had responded to questions about how the adult would understand their drawings.

Forms of writing used. Far and away the most common kind of writing was the child's own name. In describing the child's writing, the name seems to hold special significance. For that reason, I place it as a separate category, even though it can be considered to be "conventional" writing. Here are the numbers of children using different forms of writing, by condition.

	Child (N=25)	Adult (N=22)
Own name	16	21
Conventional		
words	8	6
Invented		
spelling	7	5
"Scribble"	0	1
Letters/ numerals		
"Dictated"	2	1

I find nothing to remark on about these data, except for the pausivity of connected text overall, compared with the wealth of ~~examples~~ and of oral accompaniment. In the next section, I will describe the oral accompaniments of the case study children, along with their other responses to the delayed re-reading interview.

Delayed Re-Reading Interview

One week following each composing session, the case study children were interviewed individually. The examiner had a stack of child compositions spread on the floor beside the interview table and asked the child, "Show me your story for Ricky (or Mr. Rouzie)." The purpose of this selection was to see if the child recognized his or her own composition which the children did in every instance. The next two questions were (1), "Tell me about it," and (2), "Read it to me." By asking both questions, we could see if children made a distinction between the oral accompaniment to the production in response to tell and read requests. The final question was, "What do you think Ricky (or Mr. Rouzie) will do when he gets your story?" along with a request for the basis for this judgment, "What makes you think he'll do _____?" Unfortunately, due to illness, only seven of the nine case study children had delayed re-reading interviews for both child and adult. I will discuss the children according to emergent reading ability levels.

High children. Each of the three high children made a strong distinction between the child and adult audience in discussing why they thought that each would like the story or what the audience would

do with the story. Two girls each asserted that, even though her story had writing, the child guest would only look at the pictures because "he can't read." One of these girls explained the importance of writing as distinct from drawing as a form of representation.

Betsy: . . . I likes writing things.

Adult: Why do you like writing things?

Betsy: Because--pictures don't tell as much as writing does.

Adult: Oh? How does that, uh, how do you know that?

Betsy: Cause, um, if you, um, take pictures then they won't really know what's happening. Cause a lot of things can happen with a boat and a buoy. And a lot of things can happen with a (pause) ~~snakes~~ and trees.

(Elements in her story pictures.)

Adult: Um-hmm.

Child: And stuff, and everything like that.

Adult: Well how do, ah, how do words help that?

(Illegitimate introduction of term words.)

Child: They tell what the, the picture is, is doing with the, uh, um, with the words. To tell, to tell what the pictures are doing. And what the people are doing and what the everything is doing.

Both Nicole and Betsy wrote, with Nicole using invented spelling

and Betsy using a mixture of conventional and invented spelling. They both distinguished clearly between telling and reading. Jodie, on the other hand, did not write and did not distinguish; she sounded as if she was telling a story for both the telling and reading request like Betsy, who clearly distinguished her reading from asides to examiner during the reading, Jodie's speech in response to the read request sounded like telling throughout:

Jodie: Well, see this is the story of a king
and a rainbow. And, see, one day the rainbow came
and then it went away.

That's all I could remember.

She asserted that she was reading, "Because that's how I wanted it," but gave no further explanation except, "I don't know."

Moderate children. Andrea was absent for the adult interview so only Doug and Chad can be compared across conditions. By the time of the delayed interview, the two moderate boys were no longer making very vivid distinctions between the two audiences. Douglas claimed that both child and adult would read his stories, even though there was no writing on the adult story and he himself had ignored the dictated title, "The Rainy Day" on the child story. In Study II, Douglas had used some invented spelling of the syllabic level. In this study, as in Study II, Doug showed trouble understanding "what gets written of what is said." When the examiner asked him to remember what he had asked her to write on the story. He said, "Rainy Day," and then asked about "this top one," or the word, "The."

He read the "middle one," as Rainy and the "bottom one" as Day. When asked to recall what he wanted the whole thing to be, he said, "I wanted it to be the rainy day." In this example, it appears that Doug did not treat the word "the" as a salient, writable item. Notice, however, that he appears to try to sound out the unit so he is treating the written unit as a word and even names it with another short and indistinct sound unit, the oral word "to."

Adult: Let me say it to you again. OK. The whole thing
is the rainy day.

Doug: Yeah.

Adult: What's the first one?

Doug: Hmm. (pause) I don't know.

Adult: That's a real tough one.

I'll say it real slow.

The--rainy--day.

Doug: Yeah.

Adult: What's the first one?

Doug: (Pause) To.

Adult: OK. Why are you saying to? Because of the T?

Doug: Uh-huh.

Adult: (Deciding to give information.) Uh-huh.

Instead of being to this is the.

Doug: The.

Douglas made a strong distinction in the speech he used for

telling about the story and for reading the story, even though he was "reading" from the pictures, in the child condition. In the adult condition, his telling intonation was reading-like and when asked to read, he looked surprised and said, "Hmm. I did."

In contrast, Chad said that he couldn't read from either story because there "is no reading." In trying to explain this to the examiner, Chad became very disfluent, "Uhm (pause) uhm, uhm, it's just a--a like look a lot--at, uhm, story sorta." When asked to tell about his stories, he used almost totally contextualized language, even contextualized to the no-longer-present act of drawing.

Adult: Tell me about your story. . .

Chad: (Pause) Well, it was pretty hard to make, and, uh, (pause) there's a lot of things to do with it and it's real fun to, um, color stuff.

The only way the adult was able to get Chad to specify the items he was talking about was to ask a series of questions like, "What is this about?" and "What are those up here?"

Andrea composed stories for both the child and adult audience but she was ill for the adult delayed interview. From the information contained in the child interview, it seems that she also did not have a very distinct idea of the child audience by the time of the delayed interview. She had changed her story somewhat from being about a boy going to a garden and seeing a rainbow to being a king going to a garden. Jodie had asserted that her story was about a king because Ricky was a boy and if he weren't she could have made it about a

queen. Andrea, in contrast, gave as her reason for choosing this theme, "Cause it was the first one that came up with me," "In my mind." Andrea appeared to use invented spelling in her child story, although her text was indistinct in the composing session and she crossed part of it out. It is not clear how complex or accurate a linear representation it is. That is, it is not clear that each letter stands for one unduplicated sound; we have found that children will begin to compose, lose track and then re-write an already recorded segment. In the adult story, Andrea only wrote her name on the three pictures.

Low children. Noreen was absent for all parts of the adult session. During the composing session for the child and during the re-reading, she said that the flower in her picture was for Ricky's mother and that the house was for Ricky. In the re-reading, she insisted strongly that the flower was for Ricky's mom and not for Ricky, "Cause they don't--boys don't like flowers. . . . Anyway, Ricky doesn't like them." (Thus while her picture story seemed to have little connection with Ricky, her disclaimers showed awareness of him as a person and of his preferences.

Additionally, Noreen said that Ricky couldn't read her story because it had no words in it; she said that he could, however, read her name "because he's in nursery school."

The two boys had stories for both conditions. Richard had a picture of Ricky in the child story, along with a story fitted to a child, and a picture of Mr. Rouzie in the adult story, along with a

space and the story. For both conditions, he claimed that he could not read the story and that it could not be read because he had written nothing. These statements were not directly connected to considerations of the audience, rather, to Richard's abilities.

Richard's story for the child was in pictures which included favorite elements of the boys in Richard's kindergarten, the John Hancock building and the Sears Tower but he wove them into a story containing Ricky himself, real objects and events and toy, or "play" replicas, like "the play Sears Tower for Robbie," and "real Sears Tower." In response to the request to "tell me about it," he gave conversationally presented lists of the items in the drawing, elicited dialogically.

Richard presented one of the most interesting distinctions between the "tell" and "read" request. When asked to read, he refused since, "I didn't write words down." However, he said, "I could tell about it." He had, in fact, just told about it in the dialogic form. Now, for this request, he maintained an oral monologue, clearly making one of the distinctions of the task paradigm for BRDKAWL. Here is his "told" story in response to the re-negotiated "read" request.

Richard (3-10-81):

Once upon a time the little boy Ricky

and he played Sears Tower.

There was a fire

and the ambulance came

and Ricky was saved
but his dad was brought to the hospital
and this (pause)
(aside) oh, yeah, this is the Sears Tower
and this is the Hancock. (Adult: On the left.)
And here's the Sears Tower
and they were safe, too.
And they brought them out of quick here.
(Possible aside) I (unclear syllable) say at these two.
and it put out the fire
and it were OK
and he was back inside
but some of his pies were wet,
but he went outside again.
the airplane
And he brought out his play restaurant
and he saw the Sears Tower
and then his mother and dad drove him to the Hancock
and the Sears Tower
and he looked at them
and then he went home.

Even though Richard had some difficulty signalling whether some parts of his speech were monologic or dialogic and what the context was for some of the references, he maintained a much longer and more vivid

stretch of monologue than he had in either of the conditions of Study II. In spite of the involved nature of the oral story, however, his drawings did not support such an involved intention in contrast with Doug who had conveyed his boy with the snake/truck presents through both speech and drawings. For the adult condition in Study III, he again said that his story, about space travel, could not be read. He claimed that he couldn't read, but he could spell; however, "I don't know how to make words from spelling." He seemed to have a special kind of speech in mind for "reading."

Richard: Th--there's nothing to read--but only,
only taking off.

Adult: OK.

Richard: It's "five--four--three--two--one--
decommission--zero--blast-off!"

(Quotation marks seemed to be justified
by his intonation.)

Adult: Oh, you could've put that?

Richard: I didn't write them.

Richard had written both his name and Mr. Rouzie's name on the story, in spite of his denials that he had written anything. When pushed to find something that could be read he denied that there was anything and when directed to the exact spot of the writing, he still acted as if this particular writing "didn't count." For a form, he gave an explanation of the source: Mr. Rouzie, "Cause I copied that card!" and Richard, "I know how to make my own name!" This seems to

further substantiate the distinction between names and other conventional words that children seem to make. However, Richard's understandings seem to be advancing in that he is denying that he can write because copying or running off well-learned routines is not the same thing as writing the words needed for a story. Additionally, not all speech can be used "for reading."

Mike made no reference to either audience voluntarily and did not seem to make a distinction in topic since both stories were about space travel. At the end of the delayed re-reading interview when he was asked about what the child might do with his story, he said that he would read it. When questioned further, he then asserted that the story was about space, or rather "Star Wars" which Ricky had said he liked; Mike quickly retracted this statement and amended it as being a "Buck Rogers" story rather than a "Star Wars" episode.

Mike's child story could be considered to be a rehearsal for the adult story in that the child story seems to be a relatively disorganized sequence. In the child story, he began with a mixture of what Glenn and Stein (1978) call descriptive and action sequence statements. For the adult story, he seemed to have taken the core elements and have woven them into a "motive-oriented" sequence with a beginning, an action sequence, and a conclusion. This kind of working on the task while supposedly performing the completed task is a behavior that Mike's examiner, Beverly Cox, considers to be a very important sign of how development takes place for some children.

In both conditions, Mike distinguished between telling and

reading, by claiming that he did not read. In the telling task for the child audience, the examiner asked about one of the figures Mike had called a ghost.

Adult: --What is he doing? Tell me a little bit more.

What is he doing?

Child: I got to write the words. I don't know what he's doing. (He immediately turned the page and described the drawings on that page.)

Mike's reply may refer to the act of composing. Compare this statement with Betsy's claim (page 352) that writing does more than pictures can, specifying what it intended. In the reading part of the interview, Mike claimed that he couldn't read: "No, I can't. I don't have any words." Then he volunteered, "And I don't know what this funny thing is. I gotta think up something." Again, he seemed to be exposing his notion of composing that indicated that he was now holding a higher concept of what reading and writing are supposed to do than he had shown in earlier sessions of BRDKAWL.

His concepts seemed to be advancing but were still confused, from a conventional adult criterion. When he was asked what Ricky might do with the child story, he said, "This is chapter one, this is chapter two, this is chapter three," turning through the three pages of drawings. When the examiner asked the question again, he replied, "Maybe read it or something." Again, for the adult, Mike claimed that the story might be read. He also defended this idea by explaining that (evidently recalling the claim in the interview) the adult had

said he liked to read. Additionally Mike had both dictated the word "Army," by asking the adult to write it and by dictating the letters, "A-B-G-A-T-A-T-D," for the word "army." When he had been asked to read, he had explained indignantly, "I can NOT READ!" Like Richard, when he was pressed to find something that could be read and directed to the exact spot, he found the writing. He seemed to be pleased, particularly with his letter-by-letter dictation and pressed the examiner for exactly, "What does THIS SAY?" His persistent questioning, laughter, and repetition of the sounded-out sequence indicated that parts of writing and reading from print were becoming less mysterious and threatening to him.

Case study children's writing in individual and group sessions.

I have stressed the differences in the kind of productions that children created in the classroom as compared with the individual session, but that comparison only holds up if it is the found in the case study children. Indeed, for all nine of the case study children, multi-page productions with drawings were created in the classroom and single-page productions with no drawings were made in the individual sessions.

For the final comparison, I attempted to judge the writing/representation systems ~~used in the~~ two settings in order to determine if we could compare the relative maturity of the systems used in the different settings. Overall, there was more "writing," meaning more use of letters in response to a "write" request. For this comparison, the child's name was not included as part of the

judged "writing." In the individual sessions, all nine of the case study children used some kind of "writing," if we include Mike's Y-like mark that he called a mistake. Four of these children produced only picture stories in the classroom setting; four others, including Noreen who was absent for the adult session, produced at least one picture story. Only Nico produced written stories for both child and adult conditions.

Children for whom comparisons could be made. The children for whom making a comparison was relatively clear included the three high children and two of the moderate children. The high children's productions were, in general, high and included much print. The "relative maturity" judgment could be made with their comparisons in contrast with many of the lower children whose writing systems bore an uncertain relationship to intended message. Betsy used invented spelling and conventional spelling for both individual sessions and for the child story but she created a picture story for the adult session. Part of her reason seemed to be that she was tired of working and didn't want to work so hard; it was not tied to her conception of writing, as evidenced by the level of her other writing and her discussion of the advantage of writing given on page 352.

Jodie's writing was more mature in the individual sessions in which she used a combination of conventional spelling, some phonetic units combined with graphic placeholders including name element which had sufficient stability to be remembered for a while and deciphered rather well by an absent audience. For the classroom sessions, she

only drew picture stories and had relatively brief messages to accompany them. She complained about composing in the classroom and, in a typical fashion for her, was chided about not trying.

Nicole, on the other hand, produced writing that was more mature in the classroom setting. She used invented spelling that could be read for both sessions; whereas, for the individual sessions, she had used letter strings and name elements with a story to go with them. She had shown that she could use invented spelling by using it in an editing task.

From among the moderate children Andrea's performance was relatively high. She, like Betsy, showed variability by producing writing for three sessions, in this case always using invented spelling, but producing a picture story for the adult. Her conceptions are not so clear as Betsy's, however; it is not clear that she thought an absent adult audience could read her writing.

Douglas used a more mature writing system in the individual sessions, using invented spelling in both real and make-believe conditions. His endurance was limited and that may have influenced him to return to picture stories in the classroom. His oral composition that went with the pictures was very mature and the pictures also related events that changed in a story-fashion.

Children for whom judgments seemed ambiguous. Chad and the three low children gave more print in the individual sessions and more drawing in the classroom session, but that does not mean that the individual sessions showed more mature concepts about writing. For

instance, Chad's productions overall were low in maturity. In the individual sessions, he had copied from environmental print. For the real story, he had denied that there was a message to go with the print. For the make-believe story, he produced an oral "big wheel" story. For the two classroom session, he produced picture stories, but the oral parts of the stories were quite contextualized and dialogically-elicited. His conception of how "message" and "print"/"picture" go together seemed quite uncertain.

Noreen's limited samples seem somewhat like Chad's. For the individual sessions, she had letters with no clear message; for the one classroom session, she had a picture story. Her story changed somewhat from the composing session to the delayed re-reading. Her conceptions cannot be inferred very clearly due to limited evidence.

The two low boys, Richard and Mike, seemed to have similar conceptions, even though their individual and classroom sessions cannot be judged by relatively maturity. The conceptions seemed to be that for the individual sessions, they would produce some print, but no specific message; for the classroom sessions, they would produce a message through a picture story with an oral version, but with no print for the message: print/no message; message/no print.

This is an oversimplification because each had some kind of a message in the individual session, but it was not clearly tied to the act of producing the print. Richard had copied his dictated stories in both individual sessions and Mike's speech with the examiner was dialogic and not clearly an oral monologue intended to be represented

in the print he produced. In the real condition he had made a Y-like mark that he called a mistake and, in the make-believe condition, he had attempted to sound-out the word space which he wrote as a backward S and an A. Richard had copied Mr. Rouzie's name from a display card but denied that it was something to be read as part of his story.

The issue is whether or not print forms that are not clearly signalled as having an intention can be compared with picture sequences that seem to convey some story-like sequence. At the end of Study III, it did not seem possible to make a reasonable comparison between them.

Summary

The children in Miriam Kendall's classroom carried out lively and informative interviews with two visitors, a four-year-old child and an adult male, both of whom invited the children to write stories for them. The children narrowed the range of possible topics to overwhelmingly indicate awareness of the preferences of the visitors in contrast with just writing about any topic. They seemed to make some slight distinction between the two visitors in the products of the compositions, but there was more evidence of consideration of the intended audiences in the children's discussions during the composing sessions, when turning in their stories, and, for the nine case study children, in the delayed re-reading sessions.

More noticeable than the audience distinction, however, were the differences that were noticed when children were asked to write in a classroom setting in contrast with the one-to-one individual

interviews. In the individual composing sessions, children wrote one-page compositions, using some form of writing and no drawing. In the classroom sessions, children created multi-paged compositions, all using some drawing, and generally using much less print. These comparisons were verified by directly comparing the compositions of the nine case study children.

The compositions of the case study children were contrasted by setting to determine if either the individual or classroom setting elicited more mature composition forms. Comparisons could be made for five of the children, but for the remaining four, who produced the least mature compositions, the forms could not be reasonably contrasted.

This study gives some evidence of the roots of audience awareness that can be compared with other evidence from children's reading attempts with storybooks, from their re-reading behaviors with their own compositions, and from other comments about their intentions for composing. The study was exploratory; its results should be taken as the basis for more refined techniques to examine the effects of audience upon the early roots of composition. Additionally, its results lead to questions about the effects of setting upon production which we raised from the findings of the two years of comparing Study I writing elicitation techniques with the techniques used in Study II.

Chapter Eight

STUDY IV: "New Event" Stimulus

Introduction

In this chapter we return to the six-task paradigm of talking, storytelling, dictating, writing, re-reading, and editing by once again taking our nine case study children from the classroom for one-to-one interviews as we had done in Study II. In Study III with its classroom setting, we had gathered evidence that the children had repertoires for reading and writing that were much fuller than they had demonstrated in the one-to-one interviews of Studies I and II. Partially, we were curious about the form of the writing systems that they would use in the one-to-one setting with the task of "writing a story" reinstated. In Study I children had used list-like structures with overwhelmingly conventional spelling; in Study II children used varieties of writing systems but no drawing in "writing stories"; and in Study III children added much drawing to accompany full stories, that could be oral or written in nature even if delivered orally.

We were more concerned, however, about the nature of the stimuli we had been using for the children's topics in relation to the conceptualization underlying the six-task paradigm. In the conceptualization for BRDKAWL, the basic six tasks of talking, storytelling, dictating, writing, re-reading, and editing had been designed to tap children's awarenesses of oral language/written language differences. In Study II, there had been no direct and comparable measure of "talking." The prior measure of conversation

about the topic of the compositions for Study II had come from the conversation sample at the beginning of Study I, removed about two or three months from Study II. At that time, the children did not know that they would be asked to write about topics from the conversation. The conversations that the children took part in during Study II itself were about the tasks being done; furthermore, they tended to be interview-like in nature.

The stimulus for Study II was also removed in time from the children, even though the children had all had the experience of learning to ride a big wheel or a bicycle. As noted in Chapter Six and in Sulzby (1981c) the topic of learning to ride a big wheel could have different semantic content for different children. In Study IV, we provided a new stimulus, so that the children could compose about a new, immediate event for which we had a record in the form of notes and tape recordings. We would have a record of the child's experience with the event and also of the child's speech during the event.

Additionally, we constrained the event itself so that it contained all of the parts of a well-structured, goal-directed sequence such as is conceived to underlie story structure according to story grammar theorists (Mandler & Johnson, 1977; Stein & Glenn, 1979; Stein & Glenn, 1981). Since "stories" in Study II had been impoverished by story grammar standards (as had been stories in Sulzby, 1981c), we were concerned with whether the structure of the event would be mirrored in the structure of the children's stories about that event.

Finally, we were interested in the children's developing notions of audience needs. In Study IV, we wanted to observe how the children would compose a story about an event we had just shared for an audience that was not present with us. Issues of the structure of the stories were relevant to this part of the investigation, including not just the overall "grammar," but also how cohesive devices were used, how well the child specified parts of the story, and whether or not the child included literary devices to signal audience and author relationships (see Scollon & Scollon, 1981).

Method

The stimulus for the "new event" study was a race with tiny wind-up toys, with rules announced at the outset. The race stimulus was structured to replicate the hypothesized story grammar structure of a setting and an episode structure, including an initiating event, internal response/goal, attempt, consequence, and reaction. The race included a setting with protagonists (the race track display and children). There was an initiating event (the children drew lots for their wind-up toy racers). Internal responses included the stated goal of trying to win the race as well as non-stated responses which each child could be aware of. The children's actions in guiding the toy racers formed the attempt toward the goal. There were observable consequences for each child as they attempted to cross the finish line first with their racer and there were equally observable reactions from each child. In addition to internal reactions, external reactions were structured through the awarding of ribbons for each

participant with each child choosing and decorating his or her own ribbon. While the structure conformed to one episode, the child could easily create embeddings leading to multi-episodic stories (Stein & Glenn, 1981).

Sessions were held in the school cafeteria, in a corner with a racing track consisting of three lanes outlined in masking tape. For each session, three of the case study children and their examiners formed a group. The children were told that they would have a special race which the examiners would explain. One of the examiners (following a script provided in the examiner's manual, Study IV) gave directions for the race, using a casual but enthusiastic manner. A second examiner shook up numbers for the children to draw numbers for the racing toy each would use in the race. After receiving the box containing the toy, each child was given time to explore the toy, each of which had a trick about it that would prevent it from racing straight down the child's lane to the finish line. The children were told that they could help their racers in any way that they could figure out, except that they could not just pick the toy up and carry it over the line; the toy had to travel the distance in the lane itself.

All parts of the group session were tape-recorded, including the children's comments as they opened the boxes with the racers, during the race, and following the race. At the conclusion of the awards ceremony and its accompanying discussion, the principal investigator called the group back together and announced directions for one-to-one

composing sessions. In these sessions, following the structure used in Study II, children were asked to write the story of the race using the three forms of storytelling, dictating, and writing, with re-reading and editing used to insure that the story was "the way you want it to be." In contrast with Study II in which the audience was the examiner and with Study III in which the audience was either the child or adult visitor to the classroom, for Study IV the child was asked to write the story for an absent audience:

THE SPECIAL PART ABOUT TODAY'S STORY IS THAT
WE WANT YOU TO MAKE THE STORY FOR SOMEONE WHO
WASN'T HERE YOU NEED TO MAKE THE STORY
SO THAT A PERSON WHO WASN'T HERE WOULD UNDERSTAND
WHAT HAPPENED AND WHAT A GOOD TIME WE HAD.

Results

The results section is organized topically. Specific questions are raised and analyses are described briefly prior to each set of results. In many cases, papers that exist as separate documents are summarized.

Stimulus Activity: The Race as Topic

The first question to be addressed concerned the type of language used by the children during the stimulus activity and group conversation preceding individual sessions. While each set of three children had somewhat different reactions to the race activity, they all seemed to become involved and enjoy the race. The language that

was used preceding the race and following the race was interactive conversational language, usually dialogic in form. Occasionally, there were adult-instigated IRE sequences (Mehan, 1979) in which the adult posed a question and held the floor until a child gave a sanctioned response, but typically participants seemed to contribute freely.

The language that was used during the race, however, usually was more emotive in character, consisting of squeals, excited or regretful cries of "Oh, no!" or encouragement, or description of the action of the racers:

Nicole: (Loudly) What's the MATTER with this thing?!

Child: (Indecipherable murmur)

Doug: It's going the wrong way. I guess I'll have to turn it this way.

Nicole: I can't STEER the thing!

During the conversations (after the race, the children showed that they understood the race that had taken place and eagerly acted-out some of the foibles of the racers and their solutions to getting them to stay in the lanes and cross the finish line. The speech was oral conversational speech primarily, and included copious amounts of gesture and facial expressions. Only one of the children did not contribute freely during the group interaction. That child was Andrea who managed to get all other members of the group to try to pull speech from her.)

Besides furnishing as evidence of the children's interactive

language usage, (the group sessions insured us that the children were aware of the entire sequence of events, including the activities of the other two children and their racers. The conclusion with the ribbon decoration gave us evidence of reactive comments as well as serving as a further activity which the children could describe in their stories.

Audience Awareness

The children were asked to compose the story for someone that wasn't present at the race, so that the person would understand what happened and what a good time the children had. Thus the directions had called for the child to select an audience, to give information and convey reactions.

The first question to be raised is whether the children complied with the request to choose an audience. Of course, the child could imagine an audience and not specify a person. Mature writing is often described as having a general audience or, in the terms of Scollon and Scollon (1981), a fictionalized audience. Some of the children actually specified a person or persons as the audience.

The children who specified audiences came from among the most and least advanced children. Four of the nine children specified an audience. Three of the children mentioned family members and a fourth mentioned a classmate.

One outcome appears to be important. Specifying an audience does not necessarily entail decontextualization or specification for a non-present, non-interactive audience. One of the high children,

Jodie, specified her audience as being a cousin "or my whole family." Her told, dictated, and handwritten stories contained important differences. Her told story is very oral in wording. Her written story is a brief, three-clause schematic version of her oral and dictated stories, but her dictated story contains the most revealing evidence of audience effects. While she dictated a story that began in story form, it appeared to be partially letter-like in form, depending upon a high degree of interpersonal familiarity. Note the underlined section. Notice that the story begins without a setting or introduction of the topic (this was true for all versions of her story).

Jodie, dictated story:

I came in second. (pause)

Um, Chad came in first. (pause)

Andrea came in third. (pause)

(Aside: I know what I'm gonna say for the last line. The very last word. (pause) Uh, let me think.)

I picked a leaf for m'blue ribbon. (pause)

When I give this to you,

I will show you the blue ribbon. (pause)

(Begins talking, then signals that words should be taken as an aside: Let's see. That's not--)

Um, had kind of like a creepy creep for my racer.

(Louder) I kinda had a creepy creep for my racer.

Andrea had a frog that nobody had ever worked before.

(pause) Let's see. (pause)

Chad got a helicopter (pause)

but it doesn't fly. (pause)

It has wheels.

(Aside: Isn't this long?)

And I like the blue ribbon a lot. (pause)

I can't think of anything else.

Jodie's story shows great attentiveness to the scribe's needs in pausing during the writing and in re-stating unclear or indistinct phrases. She shows awareness of the potential audience who will see her blue ribbon but she doesn't give the audience information about why she would get a blue ribbon. In her told story she had introduced the blue ribbon as the very last statement: "And I got a blue ribbon." Now, in the dictated version, the reference to blue ribbon appears to be given information with "leaf" as the new information; however, the audience will not know that she used the leaf as a decoration on her blue ribbon.

The other high child, Nicole, specified that her story was for her grandma and grandpa. She created the only fictionalized story in the sample. Each version, told, dictated, and written, began with a setting that seemed to become increasingly literary (her written-

version has to be judged by the re-reading since she was using letter strings for a writing system).

Nicole, storytelling, setting:

Once it was, no, once it was a very nice day out
and this little boy and his friends were outside
planning a race. . . .

Nicole, dictating, setting:

One day (pause) there (pause) was (pause)
a lit-tle boy (pause)
and (pause) his (pause) friend (pause) and (pause,
cough) the(y) were (pause) planning (pause)
a race. . . .

Nicole, re-reading from writing, setting:

One day there was a little boy
and his name was Terry
and he had a friend over that was named Annad. . . .

Nicole's story has no noticeable effects of the specific audience of grandma or grandpa; instead, she seems to have created a story that would be clear to any audience. Scollon and Scollon (1981) refer to this phenomenon as fictionalizing the audience and discuss a companion role of the fictionalized author. Here is Nicole's entire dictated story (pauses have been deleted so that the reading will be clearer).

Notice her reference to the author. In their case study of Rachel, the Scollens observed Rachel introducing herself as character/author; in this story, Nicole has concocted a set of characters rather than tell the actual event and then she "fictionalizes" herself as author at the end.

Nicole, dictating:

One day there was a little boy
and his friend

and they were planning a race.

So they put down some tape
and he had a race.

And they had a tie.

And they made two ribbons,
otherwise it wouldn't be fair.

The end.

I'm going to write the author's name.

The two low children who specified audience were Richard and Noreen. Richard not only specified audience, he showed important signs of decontextualization. Noreen seemed to respond to the request to think about a person who was not present but did not seem to know how that related to her story; instead, each time she mentioned a person (a classmate of her aunt) she seemed to become confused about how to continue. Both children seemed to have some difficulty in dealing with the demands of specifying audience.

Richard used a form that Graves (1982) has called the bed-to-bed story; he seemed to have to begin at the very beginning of his day in order to get to the race event and he even commented, "Um, I, I can't remember if I don't talk about my day." His day had included a game in his classroom in which a ball is passed from person to person while music plays. Notice his speech to the examiner and his attempt to keep his story decontextualized, which becomes highly successful in the dictated version.

Richard, storytelling:

(pause) Okay.

(pause) I woke up (giggle)

and I went to school (laugh)

and (pause) and did that--whatever that passing ball thing is

and we went into this room

where we did the race (sniff)

and, um (pause) and first I got my spider going

and it went in everybody's lane (laugh)

then I got back

and then I started it again

and it went backwards

and I started it again

and it went frontwards.

and, ooohh (singing-like tone) then--I forgot your name--

(Adult: Mrs. Sulzby)

Mrs. Sulzby told me (in a deep voice)

"You better get it going

or you won't win the race."

And I got going

and then (mumbled and looked at ribbon on his
teeshirt with Yosemite Sam decoration)

What is this thing? (Adult: It's a ribbon.)

And then Yosemite Sam's eyes!

(Distinctly) The end!

"Notice the contrast with the dictated version. The ellipsis shows material omitted for brevity. This version includes changes he made after repetitions for the scribe.

Richard, dictating (sections):

I woke up, ate breakfast, got dressed, went to
kindergarten, and I was late.

Then the bell rang

and I went in

and, um, then we did our passing ball game

and then I went to the cafeteria with Mrs. Sulzby

....

Then, then I won the race

and I put, um, the ribbon on Yosemite's eyes.

(Pause, aside: This is long!)

The end.

In this version he was able to specify the game, even though he still used the personalizing pronoun our. He omitted the tonal cues for Mrs. Sulzby's speech and turned her statement into direct quotation by saying, "And Mrs. Sulzby said," rather than "Mrs. Sulzby told me." Finally, he brought off the finale with the ribbon in a manner that grandma and grandpa or any audience would be more likely to understand even though the reference is still exophoric.

In the storytelling attempt Noreen seemed to indicate that Ariadne might be her audience, but she may have been simply stating that Ariadne was not present.

Noreen, storytelling, preface to story:

(pause) Ariadne wasn't here. (laugh)

(pause) I don't know what to say now.

...
In her dictating attempt, she mentioned her aunt who had had an accident but she didn't differentiate her speech so that the examiner could know whether she was mentioning an audience or was responding to the idea of someone who was not in the room. Her re-reading attempt was ambiguous, since she asked the examiner what the first line said and the examiner mentioned the aunt. Noreen included the aunt in the subsequent re-reading attempt but she omitted mention of her in her writing (judged by re-reading since she used letter strings).

Noreen's story versions were all highly contextualized, omitting any setting and initiating event and only telling the contents of the action. For example, her total story in the told version is

activity-related; interestingly, from the wording it is not clearly an attempt to attain a goal.

Noreen, storytelling:

Um (pause) my frog was (hushed voice) jumping
all over the place.

And Richard's was going backwards

And Betsy's was turning around. (laugh)

Decontextualization Through Information Structuring

In the examples shown above, the four children who specified an absent audience for their stories differed in whether or not they then gave information in a manner and order which would help their specified audience. Children can provide information so that an absent audience can understand it even without thinking of a specific audience. It is assumed that children reared in literate societies develop expectations about how stories should be told that involves decontextualization, or specification of the context within the text, be it oral or written discourse. Story schema theories assume, for example, that stories begin with a setting which includes a habitual state and/or location of a protagonist who is introduced before the activity of the story is introduced. In our directions for Study IV we attempted to prime these categories.

In this and the following section, we first examine a number of means of providing for audience needs through decontextualization from the immediate context and through provision of a context suited to written texts. This section contains two parts. First, we will look at whether

or not the children gave a setting, including introduction of a protagonist, and whether or not they told "what we did," the introduction of the activity. This examination is limited to the stories of Study IV. In the second set, which includes comparisons with Study II, we will look at the overall structure of the stories, using criteria from a story grammar and treating the stories as incomplete or contextualized structures. In the section that follows, Internal Provisions for Recontextualization, we look at the use of cohesive reference and at the specification of items context within the stories themselves.

Setting and central activity. In spite of being requested to compose the story for someone who wasn't present for the race, overwhelmingly the children created contextualized stories that presupposed knowledge of the activity being described. In only one instance was the protagonist introduced; this was Nicole's fictionalization of the little boy and his friend (or friends, depending upon the version). In all other cases, the child began with the use of the pronoun "I". Sulzby (1981c) found a similar phenomenon with a larger sample and noted that while the use of "I" is understandable to an absent audience an occasional child shows greater understanding of the conventions of written language by fictionalizing the self as protagonist. Following is an example of a child treating self as protagonist given in the Sulzby 1981c corpus (p. 152); this example was taken from a "real" condition like that in Study II of the present project:

Once upon a time, once upon a time

there was a little girl named Kimberly,

Note that this example was decontextualized for the audience and yet the child accommodated to the needs of the present scribe by spelling her name.

By creating a totally fictional character, Nicole seemed to allow herself more latitude in other parts of the story. She was also the only child to provide a setting, with the exception of Richard who created a setting only by giving the blow-by-blow details of his day from getting up and going to school. Nicole's story specifies that "it was a very nice day out" and that the children were "outside planning a race." She also creates a fictional ending in which the two children tie and both are awarded ribbons, in contrast to the actual race in which the children all won ribbons in spite of coming in first, second, and third places. Richard, in contrast, could only specify actual locals rather than the general cases needed for a setting. His "setting" seems contextualized rather than decontextualized thus.

Chad treated the setting as completely contextualized, by the use of deixis; "The first time I got there," indicating the site of the race. Most of the children began the story as if the audience knew the directions, thus adapting the situation somewhat toward conversational conditions of contingency. They were somewhat more successful in negotiating the introduction of the central activity, the race, but in all instances except for Nicole there were still signs of contextualization.

Andrea used decontextualized references to the race in both her dictated and handwritten stories; however, she had been given an illegal probe by the examiner in her told story. In response to a re-statement of the question, "What did we do?" Andrea responded, "We had a race." She retained and elaborated on this phrase in the following stories, which seems to indicate that she was fairly advanced in her expectations for a story's structure. Similarly, Richard began his told story with a contextualized reference to the race: "We went into this room, where we did the race," in which the room and race are treated as given, rather than new information. He was able to maintain this form in his re-reading of dictation, having omitted it in dictation, perhaps because of interrupting himself to question the scribe about how long the writing took. Chad continued his use of conversational exchanges with the scribe in referring to the race as "what we were going to do." Mike needed conversational exchanges with the examiner to compose and was able to refer directly to the race in response to a question he elicited from the examiner.

Mike, dictating:

Child: What did I say first?

Adult: You told me what happened.

Child: I like because I, ah, won the race. . . .

Mike, like Richard, used "the race" for his first mention of the race, rather than using language that would foreground the item as new information for the non-present audience.

Story grammar as a measure of structure. In mainstream American

English-speaking literate communities, like that of our children, we expect a story to contain at least the basic simple story framework described by story grammar theorists like Stein and Glenn (1979, 1981) or Mandler and Johnson (1977). Basically, we expect the story to move in a forward direction like that in our race stimulus:

Setting

Episode structure

Initiating Event

Internal Response

Attempt

Consequence

Reaction

If the story is elaborated, we expect imbeddings to occur at expected places. Each category above can be elaborated by adding statements or by embedding other structures operating as units. Some embeddings may serve the function of temporal inversions. One example is when the setting is elaborated as an abstract. Menig-Peterson and McCabe (in press) discuss abstracts as being part of a category called appendages.

Abstracts are defined as summaries or encapsulations of the whole narrative that appear at the outset, such as, "I broke my leg one time," prefacing a narrative about how it happened.

If the child treats the story as context-dependent upon the situation that just occurred rather than decontextualized, the story

rendered may presuppose information in the situation; it may also presuppose information in the directions given by the examiner.

Sulzby (1981c) found this to be the case; she also found that children build stories around the semantic content of the event they are narrating so that given parts of a story may vary in elaboration depending upon the real-world occurrences in their experience.

Sulzby (1981c) used an adaptation of a story grammar devised for children's productions (Glenn & Stein, 1978; Stein & Glenn, 1981) in order to judge the structure of children's real and make-believe stories about riding a big wheel (the stimulus replicated in the present Study II). The underlying structure for that grammar is the episodic structure outlined above; however, Stein and Glenn found that children's productions appear to develop from precursors that are non-episodic in nature.

The pre-episodic structures consist of four categories:

- (1) No structure
- (2) Descriptive sequence
- (3) Action sequence
- (4) Reactive sequence.

The episodic structures also consist of four categories:

- (5) Incomplete episode
- (6) Simple episode
- (7) Complete episode
- (8) Multiple episode.

Additionally, children can refuse to produce a story or produce a

story that is dependent upon interrogation from the examiner. Using the techniques described in Sulzby (1981c), the told and dictated stories from Study II (treated as Trials 1 and 2) and from Study IV were scored for overall structure. It should be noted that descriptive, action, and reactive sequences can serve as elaborations of the primary categories in the grammar for the complete episode; this is important given the fact that some of the children quit before the story was completed. For this comparison, however, we treated all stories as if they were complete.

In Sulzby (1981c) the structure of stories was found not to have a significant relationship with emergent reading abilities. Additionally, the stories produced under the conditions of telling and dictating stories as part of a writing task were found to be very impoverished as compared with the stories in the Glenn and Stein (1979) corpus; both of those corpuses were impoverished as compared with the less constrained procedures used by Menig-Peterson and McCabe (in press). (Only the Sulzby corpus was collected under conditions specifying writing.)

The scores assigned ranged from 0 for "no story," and 1 for "no structure," through 8 for "multi-episodic" stories. Table 3 shows the distribution of scores for each child, arrayed by emergent reading classification, across trials. Again, there is variability of structure within and across each ability category, as was found in Sulzby (1981c; also reported in 1982b). The frequency distribution of the scores did not permit a comparison with parametric techniques.

Insert Table 3 about here

Table 3

Adapted Story Structure Scores

Child	Trial 1*		Trial 2**		Trial 3***	
	Told	Dictated	Told	Dictated	Told	Dictated
<u>High ERA</u>						
Betsy	4	5	8	5	7	7
Jodie	5	7	1	2	3	3
Nicole	8	6	7	7	7	7
<u>Moderate ERA</u>						
Andrea	4	4	5	5	5	5
Chad	5	6	6	6	2	4
Doug	5	6	5	7	4	4
<u>Low ERA</u>						
Noreen	3	2	3	3	3	3
Richard	3	5	7	4	7	7
Michael	2	1	0	2	1	1

* Study II, Real

** Study II, Make-Believe

*** Study IV

The distribution of scores, summed across trials, did reveal one difference from data reported in Sulzby (1981c). While the earlier samples had shown impoverished structures in comparison with Glenn and Stein's sample, the current samples agree quite well with their distribution. Table 4 shows the percentage of structures produced by the kindergarten-aged children in each sample.

Table 4
Percentage of Structures Produced
by Kindergartners

Structural Type	Glenn and Stein Draft (n = 54)	Sulzby 1979* (n = 96)	Sulzby 1980-81** (n = 54)
No structure***	15%	21%	9%
Descriptive sequence	6%	4%	9%
Action sequence	11%	26%	15%
Reactive sequence	13%	23%	13%
All episodic structures	55%	26%	54%

* Reported in Sulzby (1981c and 1982).

** Data from current study.

*** Contains "no story" and "no structure" categories.

While structural scores are higher for this set of children than for the larger samples reported in Sulzby (1981c); the distribution of scores across ability level and also across the conditions of told and dictated stories seems comparable. One possible difference can be found in the Study IV trial which is not comparable to the first Sulzby corpus; that is that the told and dictated stories appear to be more similar structurally than do the stories in the real and make-believe conditions in each comparison. This observation is highly attenuated by the small sample and the timing within the set of related studies.

Children's "written" stories as incomplete or contextualized structures. The results from Sulzby (1981c) and the current set of studies seem to indicate that there is no direct and simple relationship between story structure as scored by a story grammar production system and emergent reading ability; however, this observation must be made most tentatively and compared with other results. The issue of decontextualization is most critical. From examination of the children's stories directly and using other scoring systems like a cohesion analysis (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; King & Rentel, 1981) or a completeness of context analysis (Menig-Peterson & McCabe, 1978; Sulzby, 1981c), it becomes evident that we do not know where the story begins and ends conceptually for the children. (We can score where the story begins and ends in relation to allowable probes and/or clearly stated asides, but that is not the same as showing where the child conceives the story to begin and end.) If we

score the stories from the transcribed outcomes, they merit the scores reported herein. Even within this scoring, however, the setting was often only sketchily implied. If we assume that the child's story presupposes information available in the context (as we will show there is evidence for assuming), then the story that might be judged an "action sequence" might be the attempt category in a full episode. Likewise, a descriptive sequence might be an elaborated setting of a story that was a more ambitious endeavor than the child wanted to complete. Glenn and Stein (1979) bypassed this issue by furnishing story starters to their children so their data cannot be used to make a direct comparison.

Noreen's story (page 382) is an example of a structure judged to be low-level (an action sequence) that would be an elaboration of an attempt sequence were it imbedded in the full, decontextualized story. Given Noreen's general functioning, including her writing, a low-level structure seems consistent. For example, she was uncertain whether her statements about the requested audience were part of her story or not. Her writing for all story attempts was a series of letter strings that had no one-to-one or other identifiable relationship with the speech that she uttered in composing or re-reading.

One of the high children can be used to make a useful contrast. By the second and third trials (Study II, make-believe, and Study IV), Jodie's told and dictated story structures were judged to be as low or lower than Noreen's. However, there is evidence that the score structures she produced were partial story attempts, rather than

complete ones. Jodie appears to have stopped composing from fatigue or knowledge of the difficulty of the task. Simultaneously, she seems to have been making progress in her ability to control more conventional aspects of the English adult writing system. I will review all three trials for Jodie and will compare her with the other high children who maintained high structure scores in order to explain my reasoning.

For Study II, real, before she had had the experience of writing a story for the examiner, Jodie told a story scored as an incomplete episode that she turned into a complete episode in her dictation. In the told version, she began with an initiating event placed in a setting stated in a perfectly understandable form for a non-present audience to understand.

Jodie, Study II, real, told:

See, it happened all--

when my mother got this big wheel from the rummage
sale. (pause)

You see, umm, I, I was--four then

This was a few years ago. . . .

Jodie went on to explain how she learned to ride the big wheel concluding with a consequence, "and I rided it," and a reaction, "and I rode it a lot." When she attempted to write this story, she began with the clause about her mother buying the big wheel then stopped in fatigue. She appeared to be using invented spelling as her primary writing system:

For Study II, make-believe, Jodie attained very low scores for her one and three statement attempts for the told and dictated stories. Each time, she seemed to be simply converting her told story from "I" to "she" and "her" for Little Princess Charming but her story ended with a disclaimer about fatigue, inability, or difficulty of the task: "That's all I can think of," "I, I can't remember," "I don't know what else to write," or "This is REally hard." In contrast, her written story (see page 292) included enough structure to have a beginning, middle, and an end with an implied goal (from "started riding it" and "felt good"). It consists of three complete clauses with spacing between word units which she tracked in re-reading and which had stability for her within the composing session. In order to compose this huge unit, Jodie used some conventional spelling for the words I and a (an indirect indication of an advanced concept for the word unit, according to evidence from Papandropoulou & Sinclair, 1974, and Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1982); she used a tiny bit of invented spelling for initial phonemes; primarily, however, she used letter strings that appear to be repeated and varied patterns from her name (a technique that she explained in Study IV's writing task). In using this complex writing system, she was able to compose a far more complex entity in graphics than she was able or willing to compose in oral form.

I have concluded that Jodie is using lower-level writing systems

in the service of higher-order goals and that the structural aspects of her composition, as revealed by a story grammar scoring, are temporarily depressed as she explores the more difficult writing tasks. Study IV furnishes further evidence for this interpretation because Jodie composed complete entities in her told and dictated versions, yet still attained only very low structural scores.

In contrast with her abbreviated attempts for Study II, make-believe, Jodie created entities in Study IV that had proper beginnings, elaborated middles, and conclusions, yet could only be scored as action sequences by the story grammar system. In fact, they appeared to be of a different genre than the story; they seemed to be more like letters in form. This interpretation is consistent with her announcement that the story was for her grandma and/or grandpa.

Jodie, dictation, Study IV (asides, pauses, and filled pauses removed; also see page 375):

I came in second.
Chad came in first.
Andrea came in third.
I picked a leaf for my blue ribbon.
When I give this to you,
I'll show you the blue ribbon.
(I had kind of) a creepy creep for my racer.
Andrea had a frog
that nobody's ever worked before.
Chad got a helicopter
but it doesn't fly.
It has wheels.
And I like the blue ribbon a lot.

Jodie's beginnings are a series of statements about the order in which the children finished the race, or "came in." Like many authors of short stories or novels, she sets up a context which a reader could

infer was about a competition of some sort. She does not go on to build upon this framework but seems to change genre. She inserts interpersonal statements like, "When I give this to you," referring to the story, and "I will show you the blue ribbon," with direct address to the supposed audience. Her statements are all either events, states, or meta-statements addressing the audience about reactions or future actions in relation to display for the audience. To add to the complexity of her composition, she also included meta-statements to the scribe in the form of asides about the composition ("I know what I'm gonna say for the last line.")

In Jodie's writing of this story, she again included only the beginning of the story; however, unlike the oral composition, she did not elaborate it with other contextual information. She seemed to be confident in this trial, however, that she could write and she was quite willing to use invention. Her composition for this trial seemed more understandable for a conventional reader and she explained in detail how elements of her name could stand for the word came (see Sulzby, in press, for other details). She also stated clearly, however, that what she had written in this composition was not the entire story: "I'm not gonna write the rest."

Jodie seemed once again to be using lower-level systems in the service of higher-level goals. In her oral compositions, she was using action sequence and descriptive sequence statements in the service of creating an interpersonal communication somewhat like a letter. In her written composition, again she is using letter strings and name elements in the service of writing elements that she either doesn't know how to or doesn't want to write conventionally or in invented spelling. Furthermore, she explained her strategies.

These comments about the relation of story structure to emergent reading and writing abilities is speculative, given the small sample size. The notion that parts of performance will suffer when other parts of performance (or the child's conception of possible performances) are incorporated is certainly consistent with other aspects of development. As we will see in the remainder of this chapter and in chapter ten, there are also other instances in which performance of children suddenly drops at a later point in development.

In summary, I want to suggest that young children's stories may be contextualized and thus incomplete as we indeed found them to be. This incompleteness may be due either to insufficient knowledge of the demands of written language (as was the case with Noreen) or to the child's use of alternate strategies to reach other goals (as with Jodie). These goals may be high-level goals in the face of which the child reverts to more primitive behaviors--such as impoverished structures by story grammar standards or primitive writing systems.

We will return to this topic in the section on children's uses of writing systems. In that section, I present further examples of children using lower-order strategies to achieve higher-order goals and, conversely, of children like Richard using copying of conventional print even though he wasn't sure what the parts represented. That same child, Richard, also used what may be a lower-order oral composing strategy by reciting the well-known sequence of his day to get the story of the race started; in this case, his race sequence was well-formed, even containing blocked goal paths in a set of three attempts before his final outcome, "I won the race and I put, um, the ribbon on Yosemite's (Yosemite Sam's) eyes."

Internal Provisions for Recontextualization

(This section contains summaries from three papers available separately: Cox (1982), Tracking "it" through the woods and down the trail from emergent to independent reading; Cox and Sulzby (1983), Children's use of reference in told, dictated, and handwritten stories; and Tinzman, Cox, and Sulzby (1982), Children's specification of context in told and dictated story productions. These papers also include comparisons with Study VI. The kindergarten results will be discussed here and Study VI comparisons will be discussed in chapter ten.

Text, context, decontextualization, recontextualization. In our examination of children's writing and reading from their own writing, we have been distinguishing between oral interactive speech imbedded in its context and monologic forms of language, particularly written language, which we have discussed as needing to be decontextualized

so that it is understandable to a non-present audience. We have been using the word "stories" to refer to the children's composed units, because that was the unit requested, not from any judgment about the nature of the unit itself. The story grammar scoring placed judgments upon the children's compositions concerning how well-formed the entities were as stories in the formal sense. Now, however, we need to address the issue of how text-like the entities are. Text, according to Halliday and Hasan (1976), is not a grammatical unit but a semantic one. It is a set of relationships between units that in English are called sentences (or, in our adjustment to children's compositions, clauses) that shows how a speaker or writer conceives of the meanings that the sentences represent being bounded together.

Unfortunately, the term that Olson (1977a, 1977b) and others have used to distinguish written language from face-to-face interaction is decontextualization, or removing the relationship between the speech or writing and the immediate context in order to create text that stands (relatively) autonomously. In effect, the text must contextualize internally through intralingual or intratextual devices. In this section, I use the term recontextualization to refer to that process whereby the text world is created.

In the previous section, we found that the kindergarten children vary in how well they produce autonomous text. Only rarely did the children introduce a protagonist by a literary device such as, "Once upon a time there was a little boy named Chad." Instead, they tended to start the story as if it were contingent upon the present situation

or speech of the examiner. In using the story grammar scoring, however, along with the repeated production paradigm of telling, dictating, writing, and re-reading, we found that what children produced in a given setting might be only a part of the total story. In this section, we examine the actual productions for the aspect of internal cohesion, or the meaningful hanging together of the clauses, accomplished through techniques like reference, and for the specification of context which would answer to questions, such as who, where, what, when, how, and why, that could be addressed about the story. These aspects are parts of the internal devices speakers and writers can use to provide context within a text.

Reference. The technique of reference as described by Halliday and Hasan (1976) is an important device that speakers or writers use to make text internally cohesive and has the potential of making text decontextualized, to use Olson's (1977a, 1977b) term. Reference can be divided into two major types, according to the relationship of the reference item to its referent. (Appendix G gives examples from the children's stories of each of the types discussed in this section.) Reference that refers outside the text to an external referent is called exophoric; this type^A of reference is suited for face-to-face oral interaction. The form of reference that is suited for so-called autonomous written text is endophoric, with the reference item referring within the text to the referent.

According to Halliday and Hasan speech roles typified by personal pronouns differ in whether or not they will be considered to be

endophoric or exophoric, with the first and second persons, "I" and "you" typically treated as situational, or exophoric, but with the third person, "he," typically treated as endophoric or textual, referring within the text. Speakers/authors can make the first and second person pronouns carry endophoric status through devices like direct quotation or literary introduction. In the directions for the real condition of Study II and the race condition of Study IV, children were asked to write a story about themselves. King and Rentel (1981) found that children's stories could be judged relatively cohesive by differentiating between Halliday and Hasan's subcategories, formal, instantial, and restricted exophora.

Instantial exophoric references are most important for this discussion because they refer to the immediate context of situation. Cox (1982) followed a similar procedure to King and Rentel in scoring stories from the current corpus. This scoring is important because it allows a differentiation that gives a measure of children's sensitivity to the topic of the stories.

Within the text itself, distinction is made between the manner in which the reference is "staged" for the hearer or reader. The hearer/reader typically expects a reference item to point backward to a retrievable referent; this type of backward-referring item is called anaphora. Less often, a speaker/writer will use the reference item before the referent; in these cases, the hearer/reader may have difficulty following the presentation. Such reference is called cataphoric and is treated as typically non-cohesive (with the exception of such cases

as a slot-filler use of it in an introductory clause like, "it is true that X").

Within endophoric references, text can be examined for how close reference items are to their meaning source. Halliday and Hasan use the term tie to indicate the relationship between the reference item and its meaning source within the text. They distinguish three types of ties, immediate, mediated, and non-mediated. Immediate ties, or those ties within contiguous clauses, and mediated ties, or instances in which reference is reinstated across numerous clauses, are both cohesive. Reference can break down by too great a distance between the reference item and its referent without reinstatement; this situation has been given the label non-mediation. There are ties but they are non-mediated and hence non-cohesive.

Children's stories can be judged by degree of dependence upon the situation by distinguishing between those exophoric references that are found in the immediate situation and those that are far from the immediate situation: between instantial and restricted exophora. They can be further distinguished by the degree to which the endophoric references are cohesive and are tied by immediate or mediated distance.

Scoring of the told and dictated stories of Study II and IV required, first, that the stories be separated from all other language produced (such as interactive speech with the examiner). Two independent judges, using the standards of the examiner's manual and the audio tapes along with typed transcripts, were able to mark the

text boundaries without difficulty. Additionally, repetitions, false starts, asides, and extraneous interruptions were removed and the texts were re-typed without punctuation or capitalization.

Second, the re-typed texts were parsed into clausal units based upon procedures and reasoning of Pappas (1981). Initial agreement between parsers was 96%. Third, all pronominal reference items were coded, using procedures of Halliday and Hasan (1976) and of King and Rentel (1981). The Halliday and Hasan scoring treated all reference outside the text as exophoric; the King and Rentel scoring, based upon work with Hasan, distinguished instantial and formal exophora from restricted exophora, and treated instantial and formal reference as endophoric. For this scoring, both the immediate situation of the topic and the directions given by the examiner were treated as the immediate situational reference.

The final step in scoring involved tallying the various types of reference items and translating them into proportions of the total textual units (to equate for length of production). A correlational comparison of the proportion of pronominal cohesive reference to overall emergent reading ability categories of the children revealed a trend toward more use of cohesive reference for the higher children during kindergarten; however, this trend was non-significant and, as will be shown in Chapter ten, was reversed in first grade. Table 5 shows the means and standard deviations for each group's use of cohesive reference collapsed across Study II, IV, and VI. For the remainder of the comparisons correlated t-tests were used.

Means and Standard Deviations
of Endophoric Reference by Children
Differing in Emergent Reading Ability

Emergent Reading Ability	\bar{X}	S.D.
High	.53	.26
Moderate	.40	.25
Low	.32	.21

The first general question to be asked about the children's stories is whether or not the children create cohesive texts, entities that are bound together rather than being unrelated sets of utterances. Using pronominal reference as the primary measure, we found that the children did create cohesive texts, using significantly more cohesive than non-cohesive pronominal reference devices; this was true with both the Halliday and Hasan and the King and Rentel scoring ($t(8) = 10.93$ and 2.63 , respectively). Furthermore, it was the children's use of instantial exophora that accounted for the difference between the two scoring procedures as shown by Figure 18 (which includes Study VI). Thus we can conclude that the children, while not creating totally autonomous text, were creating units that hung together meaningfully and could be followed through reference items and that their deviations from cohesive reference could be understood by reference from the immediate speech and situational context rather than from a context completely out of the ken of the listener/reader.

Insert Figure 18 about here

Figure 19 addresses the relationship between anaphora and emergent writing level during the kindergarten year. The high group appears to use more anaphora that is closely tied (immediate and mediated) than the lower groups throughout the kindergarten year, with the difference approaching significance in Study IV ($t(2) = 3.80, p .10$). As we shall see in Chapter ten, however, this trend is reversed drastically at the beginning of first grade, perhaps tied to attempts by the high children to create more sophisticated texts and losing control of lower-level devices.

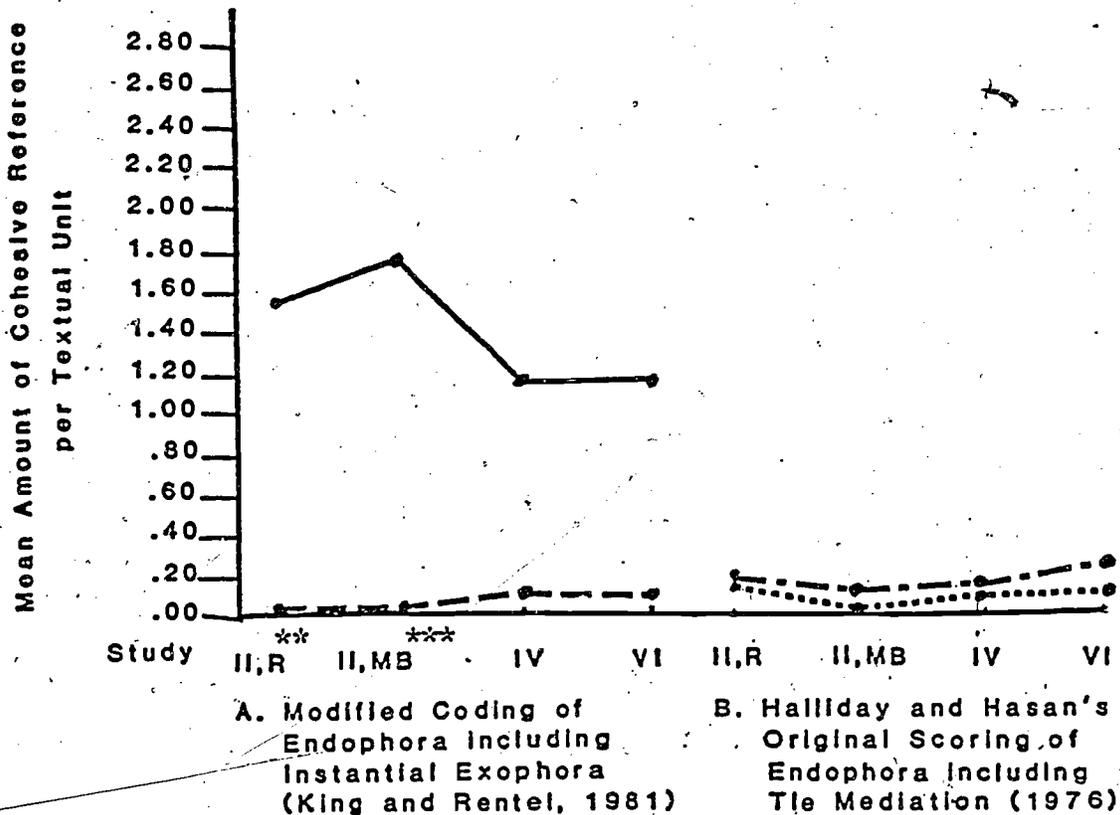
Insert Figure 19 about here

Cox (1982) also reports other details of comparisons between the various studies and the told and dictated conditions which are omitted here. The only other result of interest here is a trend ($p < .10$) toward a difference in favor of more use of anaphora for dictation than for telling. This result would be expected if indeed children are differentiating dictation as a written form and telling as an oral form, with potential for face-to-face interaction. These results were indicated in an analysis of pronominal and lexical reference that included a comparison with second graders (Cox & Sulzby, 1983).

Completeness of context. Another way to analyze internal contextualization is to conceive of a story or narrative as providing answers to a series of questions that a hearer/reader might ask about a topic. Menig-Peterson and McCabe (1978) analyzed children's ability to orient a listener toward a topic using an analysis of specification

Figure 18

Comparison of Cohesive and Non-Cohesive Reference Used by Young Children in Composing Stories *



A. Modified Coding of Endophora including Instantial Exophora (King and Rentel, 1981)

B. Halliday and Hasan's Original Scoring of Endophora including Tie Mediation (1976)

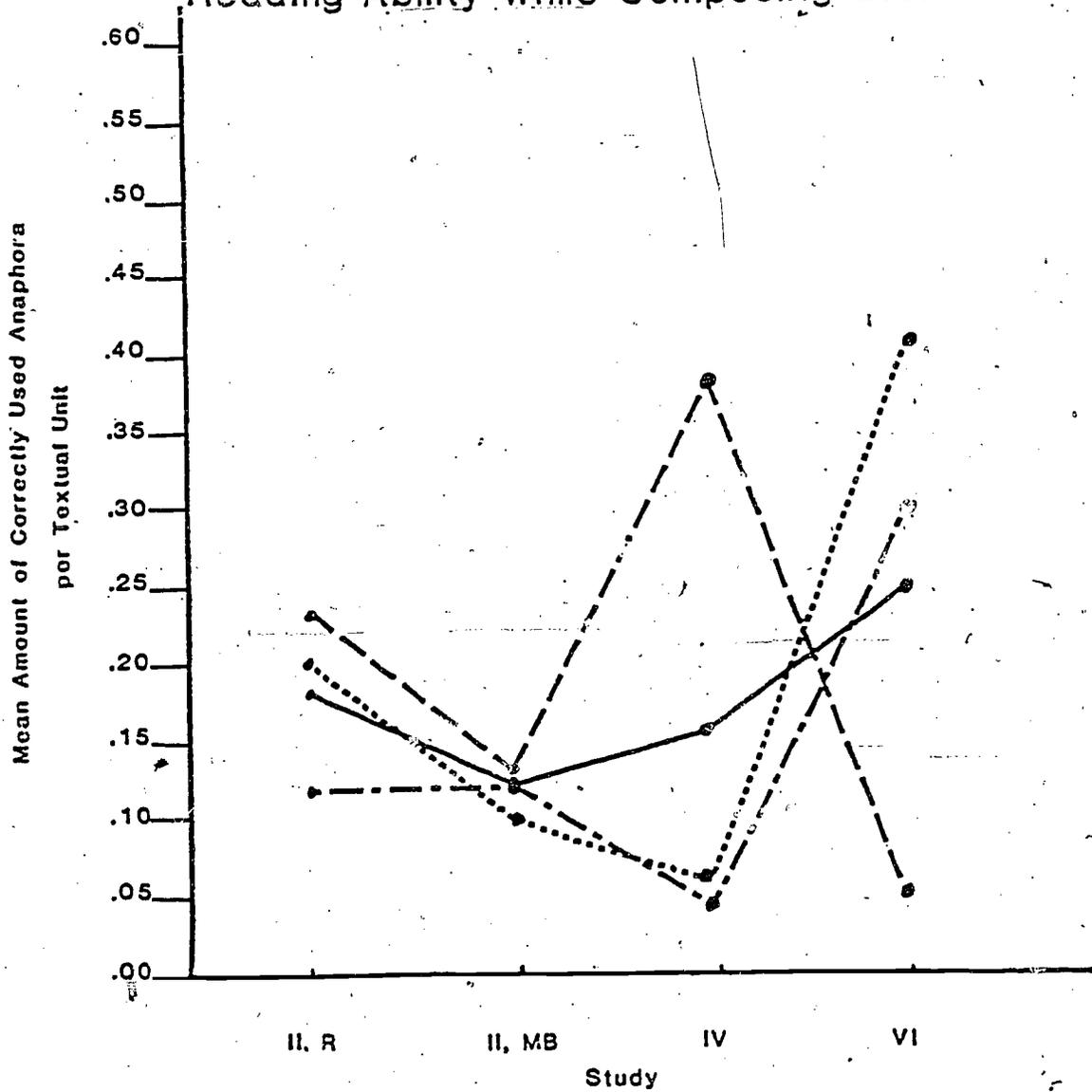
- * Collapsed across told and dictated modes
- ** R = Real Condition
- *** MB = Make-believe Condition

— Cohesive Reference (including Instantial Exophora) - - - - - Unambiguous Cohesive Reference (Immediate and Mediated Tied Anaphora)

- - - - - Non-cohesive Reference (Restricted Exophora) Non-mediated Anaphora

Figure 19

Use of Anaphora (immediate and mediated ties) by Young Children at Three Levels of Emergent Reading Ability while Composing Stories



Emergent Reading Ability Levels

- High
- Moderate
- . - . Low
- _____ Collapsed across groups

of the who, what, when, where, why, and how information in a narrative. Sulzby (1981c) adapted their analysis for use with real and make-believe stories from the 1979 kindergarten writing corpus. She found a significant difference in the specificity of children's make-believe stories as compared with their real stories and an interaction that indicated that the make-believe stories were better specified in the categories of who, what, and how, or the categories that form the heart of a narrative (description of the categories and the scoring system is provided in Appendix H).

Tinzman, Cox, and Sulzby (1982) applied the completeness of context scoring to the stories in Studies II, IV, and VI of the present corpus. Only the kindergarten studies will be described in this chapter with Study VI reserved for chapter ten. Additionally, they analyzed the relationship between the categories that were given in the directions and those that were simply requested. For instance, the who of Study II, make-believe, is given in that a protagonist, Little Prince or Princess Charming, is named and the child is told to create a story about him or her. The category of where is requested but not given: "you could tell where you were."

Each informational category was also examined across trials, converting raw scores to proportions of possible scores, but those results will not be presented here. Individual difference findings will be discussed in Chapter ten.

Figure 20 shows the mean completeness of context scores for the three trials of Studies II, IV, and VI. It can be seen that throughout the kindergarten year, the high group provided more specification of context than the two lower groups; in fact, the three groups are clearly differentiated across the year. In first grade, however, there is a disordinal interaction with the top group dropping far below the two lower groups that rise to levels similar to the high group during kindergarten.

Insert Figure 20 about here

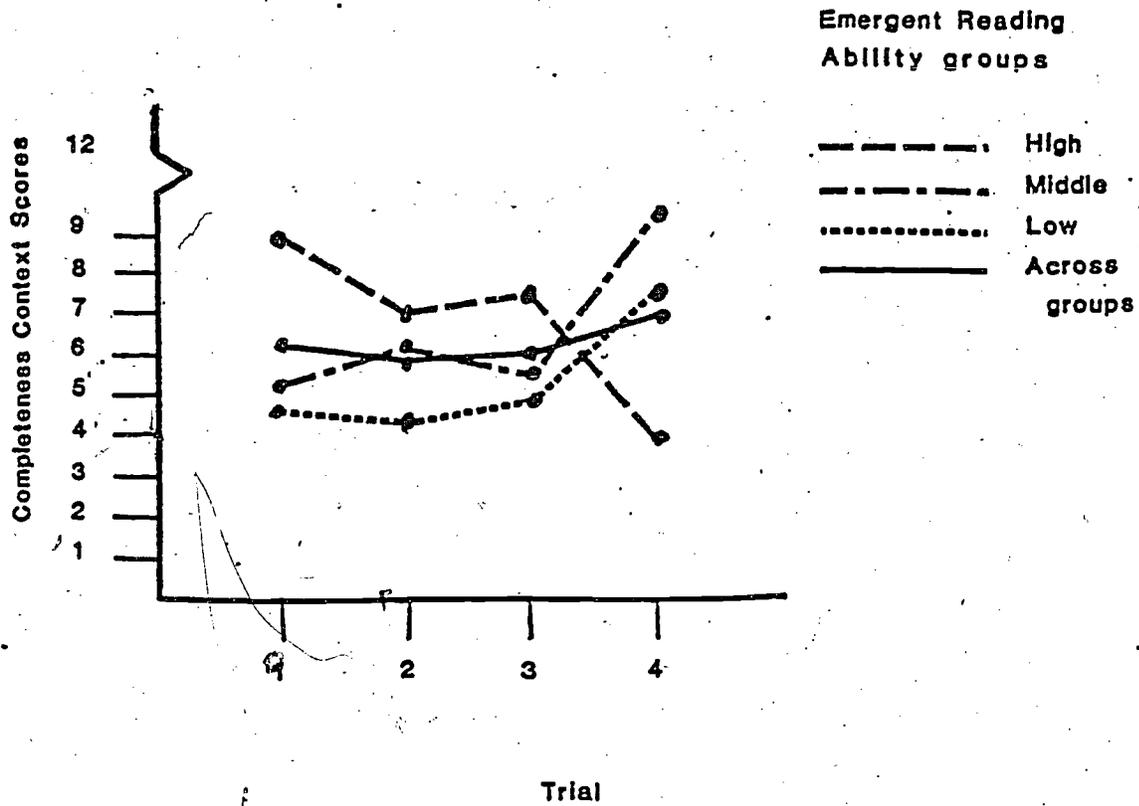
In this chapter we are concerned with the trend during kindergarten, which was statistically non-significant but repeated across three trials, for the high group to give more specification than the lower groups. This finding was based upon very small groups with much variability. Study II conditions were replicated with a group of nine second graders blocked on reading ability (based upon teacher judgment and confirmed with standardized reading test scores). While the means of each sub-group differed and the second graders were higher than the kindergarteners, again the difference was not statistically different (Figure 21).

Insert Figure 21 about here

In all analyses, giving the information in the directions

Figure 20

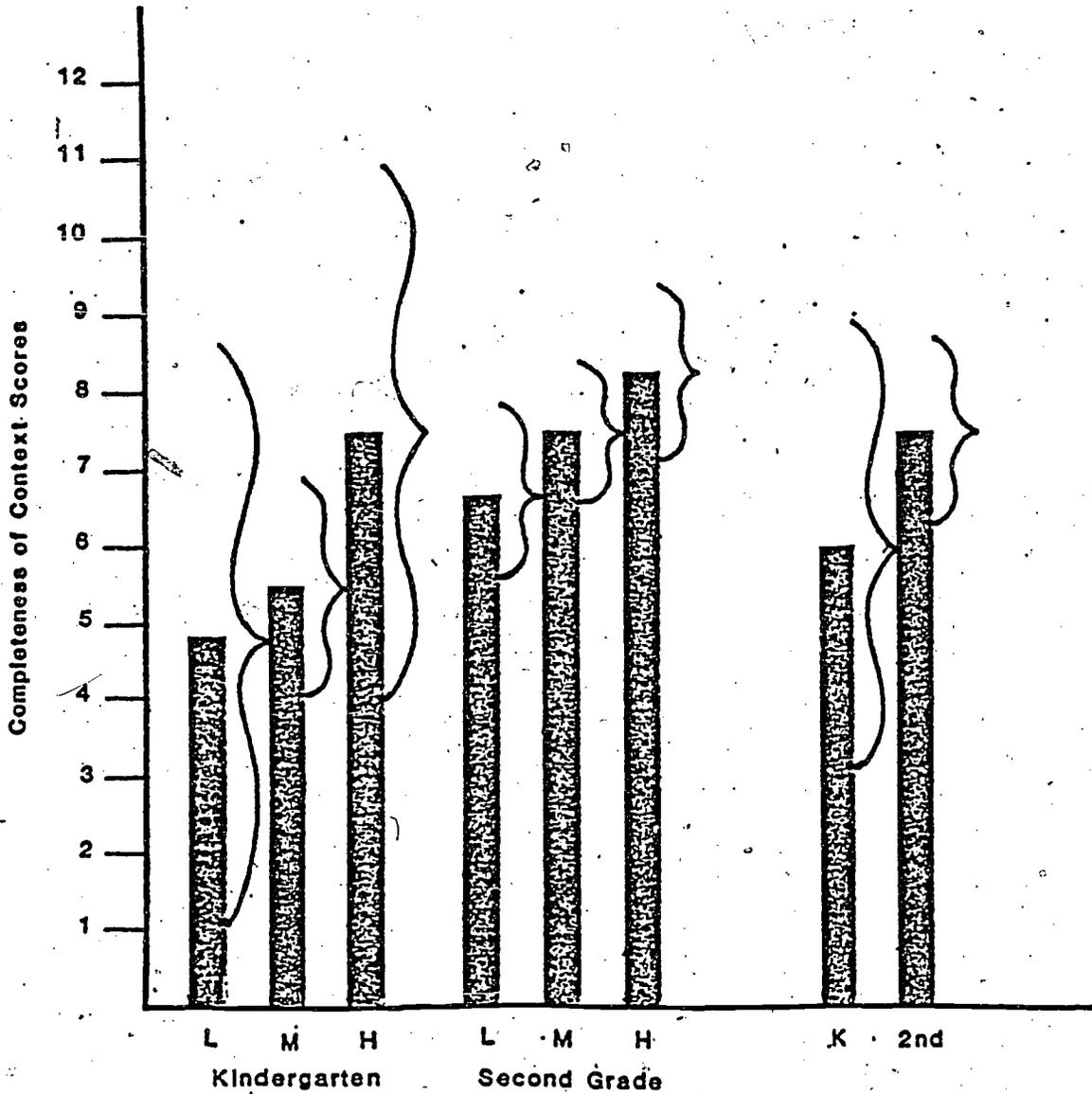
Mean Completeness of Context Scores
for Young Children Across Trials



- 1 = Study I, Real
- 2 = Study II, Make-Believe
- 3 = Study IV
- 4 = Study VI

Figure 21

Comparison of Mean Completeness of Context Scores
for Kindergarteners and Second Graders
Using "New Event" Stimulus Conditions



Note: Brackets indicate one s.d. in either direction

resulted in a significant effect upon the specification of that information in the children's stories. Simply requesting the information in the directions had no such effect.

While there was no significant difference for emergent reading ability levels, perhaps due to low sample size, the findings, combined with those of the larger sample study of 1979 (Sulzby, 1981c), indicate that specification of context is a fruitful area for further research. Early research in young children's oral language had indicated that they were insensitive to the needs of other people, yet more recent research (Gleason, 1973; Menig-Peterson, 1975; Menig-Peterson & McCabe, 1978; Shatz & Gelman, 1973) has shown that they do adjust their speech to audience needs. With a larger sample, Sulzby (1981c) showed an effect of topic in tasks calling for a written language product. The effect of directions in the study reported here lends further evidence that specification should be examined further.

Getting to Written Form: Storytelling and Dictation

In the sections above, we looked at storytelling and dictation in their transcribed form to search for evidence that children were incorporating aspects of written language. In this section, we will examine the speech in its auditory form to see if children show awareness of the needs of the scribe in dictation, or if storytelling and dictation are indistinguishable for kindergarten children. This section is a summary of a paper titled, Children's development of the

ability to distinguish telling and dictating modes (Sulzby, 1983).

Sulzby (1982a) reported that judges could distinguish between audiotapes of children telling and dictating the same story. This data came from the 1979 corpus in which order and conditions effects were counterbalanced and randomized. However, clues to the composition modes were present on the tapes and had to be disregarded by the judges.

In order to provide a more rigorous test of the ability of judges to distinguish between the modes of telling and dictating, we selected comparable units of speech from the audiotapes in which there were no clues to the composition mode. These sections were either judged to be the same or semantically similar. The telling and dictation conditions were then varied randomly for each child and the order of children randomized; then a master tape was made in which each child's samples were recorded twice with an announcement, "Child 1 (or 2, etc.), Sample 1 (2)" preceding each recorded section. Judges naive to the study but acquainted with young children listened to the master tape and made three kinds of judgment: are they the same or different; which was telling and which was dictation (with urging to guess even if they sounded the same); and basis for the judgment.

As a further test of the ability of the children to distinguish, speech density was measured by calculating the number of words per section in each condition, using the entire production and the comparable sections used for the likeness/difference judgments. Pauses between units were timed and all pauses of over one second

were marked in typed transcripts.

Overall, judges were able to distinguish telling from dictation. The judgments were more difficult (more judgments of "same," or "almost same," and "guessed") for the early trials than for trial 3 (Study IV). By first grade, the judgments were laughably easy. The bases for the judgments were consistent with the criteria on which the samples had been judged by the investigator selecting them.

If the total scorable stories are counted, including allowable probes by the examiner, children overall took from two to three times as long to dictate as to tell, taking "child time" alone as the measure. The lower children had more interruptions as a result of getting into dialogic exchanges with the examiner, etc. (see Cox & Sulzby, 1982). Dictation had more legitimate interruptions than telling which had almost none.

Table 6 gives the mean words-per-second for the comparable sections that were used for the like/different judgments above, plus comparable sections for children with clues to mode on the audiotapes. These means again indicate that telling is much faster than dictation during first grade. (Later analysis of first grade stories indicates that the disparity grows with a 4:1 ratio between the modes for the high group and about 3:1 for the moderate and low groups; see Sulzby, 1983a).

Insert Table 6 about here

Table 6

Mean Number of Words Per Second
in Telling and Dictating Modes

ERA Groups	Storytelling			Dictation		
	Trial 1	Trial 2	Trial 3	Trial 1	Trial 2	Trial 3
High	2.18	2.17	2.11	1.40	.48	.37
Moderate	1.15	1.40	.77	1.34	1.52	.69
Low	2.15	3.43*	1.71*	1.90	2.22*	1.26*

These means include times for children whose samples could not be used in individual judgments, due to clues to composition mode on tape; only child speech times and pauses not affected by examiner are included.

Written Form: Children's Use of Writing Systems, Segmentation, and Adults as Aids

This section has three parts. The first part focuses upon the writing systems used by the children in writing their stories. The second part is a narrower analysis of one feature of writing form: the children's growing awareness of segmentation between word units. The final section is a continuation of the second. It spotlights children's means of eliciting and using aid from an adult, particularly through the use of questions. The second and third sections are based upon a paper by Sulzby (in press) titled, Kindergarteners deal with word boundaries.

Children's use of writing systems. In Chapter six, the children's writing systems for study II were summarized. The chart on page 289 shows the "size" of story written by each child and the classification of the children's "writing systems." In Chapter Seven, we found that the nine case study children did not necessarily maintain the same preference for writing systems when composing in the classroom. There was a much more frequent use of pictures rather than graphic marks or print. Some children used a more mature writing system in the classroom and others used a less mature writing system, perhaps paired with a more mature "message" given in oral form. For example, Nicole used invented spelling in the classroom whereas in the two sessions of Study II she had used letter strings, a seemingly less mature writing system. Doug abandoned invented spelling for a series of pictures; his pictures did, however, form a coherent, well-formed

set of illustrations for a story which he conveyed in reading-like oral intonation.

In Study IV, the current study, we thought we might see the children incorporating more elements of drawing or other innovations and we certainly thought that we would see progression upward in writing systems. Our findings, however, appear to indicate far more stability of the children's preferred writing systems in the one-to-one study session setting. We are, thus, positing a strong effect of context. We, the researchers, were present with the children in the classroom for Study III and for the delayed re-reading.

In Study IV, only one child changed "writing system" from the classification we had made for Study II. That child was Mike, who had only written the slightest bit in Study II, with his "largest" production being an invented spelling "word" of two letters: S and A for "space." In Study IV, however, he copied environmental print for his "story." Again the amount of his output was very limited, so the judgment is based on a small sample. The judgment is also hampered by Mike's constant denials that he could write or could spell. (I will discuss this further later.)

Presented below is a summary of the writing systems used by the children for Study IV.

Child:	"Size" of unit actually written:	"Writing system":
--------	----------------------------------	-------------------

Betsy	Full story	Mixture of invented and conventional spelling.
Jodie	Three clauses	Mixture of conventional and invented spelling and name elements. Strong preference for forms other than invented spelling.
Nicole	Lines of letter strings intent of internal units not clear	Letter strings: Repetitions of alphabet letters, usually four to five in a row before shifting to next letter in alphabetic order.
Andrea	Three clauses	Conventional and full invented spelling.
Chad	Two lines of copy from crayon box, third line the word "end," fourth line invented spelling for "the end." Columnar display.	"Environmental print," one conventional word perhaps copied or remembered, one unit in invented spelling.
Doug	One clause	Full invented spelling.
Noreen	Letter strings, four lines, columnar display	Letter strings; Some evidence of

internal variation,
source (copying or
generation) not known.

Richard Three lines but two trials

Copied from dictation.

Mike One line

"Environmental print"

From the comparison of these results with those for Study II, we see that only Mike completely changed writing systems within the social setting. For most, there were only incremental differences. Five out of the nine case study children were writing more in terms of sheer numbers of units, and also in terms of proportion of the intended message (taking the told and dictated story as the base). A sixth, Chad, made a partial change of writing system, incorporating a bit of invented spelling for the first time.

First I will explain a bit about why this comparison is difficult to make through looking at those children whom I judged not to increase. The three "high" children could not be judged to increase. Part of this is a peculiar type of "ceiling effect." They always matched the oral output to the graphic output; that is, they "wrote" their entire stories, in contrast with other children who said they had to stop before they were finished because the task was so hard.

Among the "high children," Betsy always wrote her entire story, although it might be pared down a bit from her elaborated wording in telling or dictating. Her writing was in conventional spelling and invented spelling so close to conventional that it is easily readable. The other two "high" children also wrote all of their stories, in a

peculiar way. Jodie used a strategy of creating word units from a re-arrangement of elements from her name, a writing system usually considered to be immature (cf. Ferreiro & Steberosky, 1982). She combined this with a little invented spelling and some conventional words. She spaced between these units, assigned a stable oral unit to each, and re-read "conventionally," given the unconventional nature of her writing system. Nicole, on the other hand, used series of letter strings, that lacked internal variation. In Study II, she used variations on the letters of her name. In this study, she used variations on the letters of the alphabet, in order. She used no invented spelling in this study and she had only used it in editing in Study II (she also used invented spelling in the classroom in Study III). Just as she had in Study II, she "read" her entire story, matching it to the graphs on the page by a finger-sweeping technique.

I thus judge both Jodie and Nicole to be using a lower-level writing system for a higher-level purpose. The fourth child who did not seem to vary in amount written was Chad, a "moderate" child who always copied from environmental print. Chad, however, changed in that for Study II, he seemed to use invented spelling to write "the end" or "the ending" with DNN. He "read" his entire story (using the told and dictated version as the basis), matching his voice with the print in a sweeping way, except that he denied he could read the last part, the DNN. Chad's "writing" always looked conventional--he copied real words, usually maintaining the physical unit from beginning to end even though he did not space between the units. "SONY" would be

written and most of "crayola" written beside it. Unlike Jodie, however, he did not attach any stable relationship between units written and units "intended." Thus, Chad seemed to copy a more mature writing system and assign a lower-level relationship between it and intention.

From this comparison and from those of the children who wrote more, I conclude that the children may combine higher and lower level writing systems and intentions in ways not observable without watching the composition and probing the child's understandings. Nevertheless, we did find stability of the writing systems within the one-to-one settings.

Five of the children wrote "more" or increased in ability within the preferred writing system. Both Andrea and Doug represented more of the sounds within invented spelling systems. Doug's increase was most vivid because he seemed to move from a primarily syllabic form (one letter per syllable) to fuller invented spelling with one letter per phoneme (even though he omitted some phonemes). Andrea had already reached that level of phonemic representation but, in Study II, Make-believe, she had used columnar display and had difficulty with the one-to-one representation, by repeating elements. For Study IV, she went back to writing across the lines without spaces between word units, but her invented spelling could be deciphered rather easily.

The remaining three children are the "low" children, each of whom increased in the amount written in some way. Noreen wrote by

generating strings of letters. She generated more letters and, during composing, she made some comments about her writing. She also asked about the adult's written comments. Later, during re-reading she explained that each line represented a child's turn, in wording that sounds as if relationship between the acts and the utterances are not clearly understood. At the beginning of the re-reading, she refers ambiguously to her dictation:

Child: I think I forgot. . . .

I don't know what to say. (Pause.)

Adult: Well, just read me your story.

Read me the story that you wrote.

Child: (Pause.) Should I say the same things that I said before?

Adult: Is that in your story now?

Child: Yeah.

Adult: Okay. Read me your story then.

(Child recited a story, stable with dictation, except for unclear conversational turns.)

Adult: So, point to where you're reading--for me.

Child: (Sighs.) Richard's turned around and went backwards (points to line 1). Betsy's--this is Richard's--right where that dot is (makes dot between lines 1 and 2) and (pause) Richard--and Betsy's is right here. (Makes dot between lines 2 and 3; sighs.) Betsy's went round and round and mine went--no (pause), this is Betsy's and this is Richard's (points to lines 2 then 1)--Richard Kastor. Betsy's went, turned, and mine went straight.

Richard continued copying from his dictation but for Study IV he copied more quickly and with more confidence. He still lost his place in copying, but, by starting over, he was able to keep his place and self-correct this area, discussing it all along. It was clear that he had gained confidence in his ability to copy.

Mike, however, changed writing system. As mentioned previously, this judgment is based upon extremely small samples because Mike had only made a random-like mark for Study II, Real, and for Make-Believe, he had only written two letters, S and A, for "space." In Study III, in the classroom, he had "dictated" the spelling for "army" which was a string of letters with internal variation (perhaps) between vowel and consonant letters and with no phonemic relationship to "army." For Study IV, he copied environmental print, then denied that it said anything or that he could spell. Later, however, he declared that he meant it to say, "The army entrance."

Segmentation. In this section, I focus on one part of the children's writing that has generated much interest in the past decade. That is the issue of children's confusions about the structural characteristics of written text and its match with oral speech. Most research in this area has looked at the child's knowledge of words as discrete units. In this analysis, I examine the written products of the children in relationship with their statements during composing and re-reading in order to infer the child's notions about word boundaries and how they are represented. Since this section and the following section are summaries of a longer paper,

I will only present findings and discussion briefly.

The children will be discussed by ability level, with comparisons across the two trials of Study II (Trial 1= real; Trial 2= make-believe) and Study IV treated as Trial 3. In this section, the children's use of questions will be highlighted, then in the final section, I will discuss how they use questions and other means of eliciting aid. Comparisons between reading, writing, and comments about the tasks will be given, drawn from the case studies.

The "high" children can be described as displaying and discussing discoveries that they have made or are making about writing in general. They did not ask questions about word boundaries, as we had suspected they might, given the retrospective literature on early readers and spellers (Clark, 1976; Durkin, 1966; Read, 1970). Perhaps they had done their questioning prior to kindergarden and now could confidently display their current understandings.

Betsy is the most mature composer and reader. She composed complete stories filling 16, 12, and nine lines on 8½ by 11 inch paper, writing left to right, for her three trials, respectively. She used both conventional and invented spelling. She showed evidence of conventional spacing between word units which became more conventional and clearly spaced over trials. She seemed to understand the purpose of spacing but she would occasionally use units that adults segment as unanalyzed wholes, a characteristic

not uncommon to young children in oral as well as written language (Sulzby, 1978).

Betsy, 2-10-81 (Trial 2):

line 3: She ASC+HAR MO+NR (She asked her mother

line 4: IF she CO+DRIDE IT if she could ride it.)

Chances to re-read with and without pointing and to locate and replace individual words gave evidence that Betsy treated words as stable, isolatable units. Voicing during composition indicated that she treated ASC+HAR as a unit, but she located and underlined ride as a separate unit and suggested travelled as a possible but not satisfying replacement.

Jodie reads almost as independently as Betsy. She reads from conventional orthography and seems to use letter-sound information as well as other cues. Her writing system uses spaces even more clearly. Her writing system, however, is quite different. She favors the use of "graphic placeholders," particularly using elements from her first and last names.

Jodie uses some conventional spellings and variants of conventional spelling (for example, Ni for in). She is capable of using invented spelling but when she did use it she did not treat it as if it were stable in the degree that she treated the graphic placeholders. For example, she invented big as BIK, then later sounded it out as /bIk/. Here is a full story,

highly dependent on name elements SU and AN. Her reading during composition is indicated below each unit.

Jodie, 2-17-81. (Trial 2):

†
 I LOA A BOAH OAA+N
 bought a big wheel
 S U A GUAN
 She started
 ROA TOAN
 riding it.
 S O U A SUAN
 ROAN good.
 felt

Jodie is one of the children who discussed her writing system. Both she and Nicole (below) explained to their examiners that "this is how I do it." During Trial 3, Jodie commented specifically on why invented units using name elements were like Jodie but were different words: JOIE, JODE, JODI. Once she composed such a unit, she treated it stably during that composing and re-reading session but the same oral word, (came) could have three different spellings on the same page (KAM, JOIE, JODE).

The first two "high" children showed steady progress toward conventional use of spacing but Nicole's productions seemed more erratic. On Trial 1, she used some conventional spelling with some graphic placeholders (name elements and other letter strings, repeated letters from the alphabet). In Trial 2, she wrote using graphic placeholders, then edited using invented



spelling. Nicole talked about invented spelling and invented reading, and said that she "did it my way." In editing, she located the word sister as the string NICCLLE, then said she found it because "I read it, I spelled it my own way, and then I read it--and it said sister." She replaced NICCLLE with an invented spelling string with internal spacing which may have been influenced by the space left on the page (cf. Clay, 1975).

Nicole, 2-19-81 (Trial 2):

line 2: PAZ+3CC LLE ~~NICCLLE~~ EE
 line 3: NICOLL NICCC PPPPPM
 AP

Re-reading of editing which wraps around the right end of lines

2 and 3: My (MI) sister (TS) didn't (DD) give (Ee) me (M) a push (AP).

Nicole is not yet reading independently. In dictating and in re-reading, she segmented orally between words but she did not show clear evidence of using spacing as a primary cue to keep her voice, eyes, and the print aligned (cf. Clay, 1978). Instead, she spoke of using some known words and letter cues, both from the scribe's conventional spelling and from her own inventions. Her final production (Trial 3) was one of the least mature in appearance. She used only one known word; the rest of her writing consisted of long strings of repeated letters with no conventional internal variations. In her re-reading, however, she treated the print as if it represented her story, using word-by-word phrasing and reading intonation.

The "moderate" children differed from the "high" children both in the amount of written composition as well as in the nature of the writing systems they used. They also differed in the ways they displayed their knowledges. Unlike the "high" children they do use questions and more direct ways of eliciting aid from the adult. Among the questions are questions about word boundaries but only Douglas asked these kinds of questions.

Andrea was perhaps the most mature of the "moderate" children in writing system. She used invented spelling for each trial. Many children who use invented spelling do not space but run all of their "words" together, first as initial consonants alone, and later with even more of the word elements represented. Andrea's three trials followed this pattern with Trial 1 mostly one letter per word and then with final consonants and medial vowels entering more often in the two subsequent trials. In Trial 2, she also used a columnar display which has been noted (Bissex, 1980; Sulzby, 1981b) as a way which young children may represent word boundaries.

Andrea, 2-3-81 (Trial 1):

MPHMWMTSKPTMIB/MSF
IDEY

Re-reading: My dad helped me with my tricycle (TSK). He pushed (PT) me. [He let me do it] by (B) myself (MSF). I (i) did (D) it (ET).

Andrea, 2-17-81 (Trial 2):

WL (Well he)

HEP (helped)

MWMTSER (me with my tricycle)

DAD (dad)

WFTWIS (with tricycle)

By Trial 3, Andrea's spelling was very complete invented spelling and she reverted to using lines with no spacing between word units. She composed the story with a hypothetical "if you, then you" structure but re-read it fluctuating between the hypothetical "you" and the real "we."

Andrea, 5/26/82 (Trial 3):

WEHADARWHS (We had a race)

ANDEIFYOUGAETHOTHEFINISHYOU

(And if you got to the finish [line] then you)

WELGATWBHW~~WATED~~

(will get [a] ribbon)

Re-reading:

We had a race and we got--

we had these little (indecipherable:racers)

to use

and if you got to the--(re-read voluntarily)

We had a race and we got to have--

If we got to the finish line

we got to have a ribbon.

Douglas's output was much less than the four girls described thus far but he showed steady increase toward the use of conventional use of space to show word boundaries. Trial 1 consisted of only one written letter for one word (W for wanted), a Y (intent not stated, although it could have been a duplication of the /W/), and his name with no spacing. In Trials 2 and 3, he used invented spelling for one clause each time. In Trial 2 the word units were all run together but in Trial 3 spacing was used appropriately. For Trials 2 and 3 his oral segmentation during composition and re-reading showed conventional word units except for wanted which he pronounced as two distinct oral units.

Douglas asked many questions about word boundaries. He pursued his confusions, as will be described later, until he seemed satisfied.

Chad, the third "moderate" emergent reader, is the second child to show variable rather than steady progress. Chad's chosen writing system was to copy from words in the environment (on the crayon box, tape recorder, or the mural on the cafeteria wall). He showed evidence of spacing awareness by copying whole units (in contrast to Mike, below) and by occasionally putting his fingers between these units while copying, even though it didn't result in his actually leaving a space. In re-reading Trial 2, Chad recited a story to go with the copied words although, of necessity, his

speech and print were not aligned. He did not seem to understand the notion of matching an oral word to a written unit; he re-read by saying several story words at the same time that he pointed to one word within his copied "text."

Chad, 2-17-81 (Trial 2):

line 1:

SOMYCRYOICRAIO

pointings:

1 2 3

re-reading for

each point: 1= Well, when he gets; 2= on; 3=big wheel

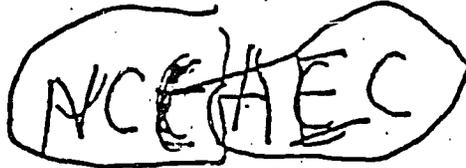
In Chad's third trial, he seemed to have invented the spelling for one word/phrase, "the end," but when he attempted to re-read, he said that he couldn't read it. He said that he meant it to be "the ending," but he did not seem to connect the activities of writing with the possibility of retrieving the intended message from writing that he had composed. Instead, he seemed to consider copied writing as fully readable. This belief does not mean that he was confident he could read it, simply that it was writing and could be read.

Among the "low" children, we found low understandings of word boundaries; however, two of the three showed some awareness. It was these two "low" children who asked the most questions and elicited the most aid and information from the adults about word boundaries.

Noreen wrote series of letters with no signs of invented spelling. In Trial 1, she wrote six letters in a line but when she finished she added two circles, each around three letters.

She explained that the circles were to keep the parts from getting mixed up.

Noreen, 1-20-81 (Trial 1):

A handwritten string of letters 'NCEAEC' is shown. The letters 'NCE' are enclosed in a hand-drawn circle, and the letters 'AEC' are also enclosed in a hand-drawn circle. The circles are drawn around the letters, with some overlap between them.

In Trial 2, Noreen wrote three lines of letters, again with no sign of invented spelling. For Trial 3, however, she explained her writing, giving three different explanations about spacing. She wrote three lines of letters just as she had done for Trial 2. For Trial 3, there were clear indications that she considered the lines to stand for her description of the race that was used as a stimulus for the composition. Thus, she can be judged to be using an invented writing system even though it was not invented spelling. In explaining the spacing, first, she said that each line stood for one of the three children and that child's part in the race. Second, she put dots between each line. Finally, she underlined each line. When she put the dots and the underlinings, she commented that they would help her know whose "part" each line was. Thus she explained three different ways of representing segmentation.

Mike is the child who showed the least ability to indicate his understanding of word boundaries; this was because his productions were so scanty. In Trial 1, he made only one mark that seemed to be accidental rather than intended as writing. In

Trial 2, he attempted to sound out a word, space, but only marked two letters, a backward S and an A. His writing, SA, was less complete than his sounding-out; in sounding-out, he indicated a final /S/ but he did not include a second S. For Trial 3, he showed more endurance in writing; this time he copied letters from the crayon box. In contrast with Chad, however, Mike showed no awareness of the word boundaries and copied letters from within words and across word boundaries. He did ask the examiner questions throughout, at first trying to discount his ability and later showing curiosity about how print works.

The final child in the "low" category, Richard, asked numerous questions about word boundaries. He, like Mike, did almost no independent writing but he insisted upon copying his dictated story each time he was asked to write. Unlike the other two "low" children, Richard's re-reading attempts used word-by-word phrasing that sounded like reading, even though he could not get his finger, voice, and the print aligned.

For Trial 1, Richard showed a number of interesting behaviors. First he copied part of his dictated story, writing left to right, until he ran out of room on the page. Then he turned the paper to the reverse side to continue. Instead of continuing from where

he left off, however, he began to trace the original part through the paper in right-to-left order, reversing all letters, to "make it straighter." Like children in Marie Clay's (1975) samples, he seemed to be influenced by the position of the paper and his starting point. Later, when asked to "invent" the spelling for big wheel on the same side of the page, he wrote (and sounded-out) from left-to-right again. His internal segmentation for big wheel contains a few possible errors from a conventional standpoint, with his spelling encoding being quite abbreviated and non-exclusive; nonetheless we can see that he could segment and solve segmentation problems quite well, including using the adult for support. The following examples is taken from a longer sequence.

Child: /bə/ /I/.

/wə:/ /wə:/ /wə:/.

/i-ə/.

/I/ /I/ /w/ /w/

/i-ə/ /hwiəl/

Wh--at's /hwi-əl/? Oh, /hwə/! Y.

/i-əl/

/I/--what's--/I/--what's /Ig/? Oh, yeah, T.

right?--I mean--I. (He had confused T and I

visually earlier in the session.)

Adults as Aids. In this section we will explore the ways in which children elicit and use aid from adults. The earlier retrospective studies of early or precocious readers and writers (Clark, 1976; Durkin, 1966; Read, 1970) indicated that such children asked adults questions or otherwise elicited both aid and attention from adults, particularly their parents.

In the current research, we focused on one sub-part of reading and writing--children's awareness of word boundaries--and examined children's questions and aid elicitations regarding word boundaries. We found the "high" children to be displayers and explainers of their knowledge in this area. It was the "moderate" and "low" children who asked the most questions and used other means of eliciting and using aid from the adult examiner.

The examples of two of the children discussed in the segmentation section of this chapter will be presented and discussed. The first is one of the "low" children, Richard, who copied from his dictation when asked to write his story. The second example is Doug. In this example, however, Doug is re-reading from dictation rather than writing or re-reading from his writing.

These examples may be significant for an important reason: in both instances, we see the children struggling with conventional orthography at a time in which their own conceptions of writing and reading from writing are not yet conventional. I agree with Ferriero and Teberosky (1982) that we need to examine the sources of conflict in the child's literacy environment in order to track children's literacy development.

The first example is Richard, the child classified as "low." Richard asked a number of word boundary questions in Trial 1. He was copying from dictation that contained conventional spaces but he did not leave spaces in his copied versions. Among the ways he asked about word boundaries are the following:

Richard, 2-3-80 (Trial 1)

Child: I wan--are these both together?

Adult: Show me.

Child: Are these--does T and Y, does T and I go to this? (Pointing to word after it. Questioning was aiming at whether words it and and are one unit.)

Adult: To this one here? (Pointing to and.)

Child: (Nodded yes.)

Adult: No, uh-uh, it's got a space in between it, see.

Child: Uh-huh. (Adult said yes; child took paper back and continued copying.)

Many of Richard's problems involved getting lost in his copying. Then he would want to know if parts "go with" other parts. Additionally, he did not seem to treat words as stable, non-overlapping units. He had copied About my bicycle backwards after copying it forwards. He then re-read it with the examiner's help and the examiner asked him to underline each word separately. (Note his voluntary use of letter-sound information.)

Child's
copying:

ym + 008A
EIVY d

Adult: --Show me about.

Child: /b/ (splosively)

Adult: Draw a line under it.

Child: Why? (Short pause) Why should I? (Pause) So I
could (breath) make it, uh, what? (Pause) Why
should I? (He then did it, underlining

ym + 008A --, from right to left.)

Adult: That's about? OK, where's my?

Child: No! Right here! (Indicating ym)

Adult: Draw a line under my. (Child did.) OK.
Where's bicycle?

Child: Bicycle? /b/ Right here! (Indicating 08)

Adult: Draw a line under it.

Child: Oh, boy! I already drawed a line under them.

Adult: OK (accepting his effort). Now you drew a line
under about, my, and bicycle. Where--what's left?

Child: Q' and us! (Laughing, seemingly about his letter U
which he had called Q.)

It was not always clear what Richard was learning from these exchanges but he continued to ask questions about word boundaries. Those questions became more specific and also revealed more evidence of Richard's growing notions about how word boundaries work. In Trial 3 he was still insisting that he could not write on his own but had to copy. In this trial, however, he showed awareness of word boundaries and was able to align his voice to

print for a brief stint in re-reading. In his writing he inserted large dots between pairs of words. His explanation was somewhat confusing, yet he seemed to indicate Clay's notion that word boundaries not only separate but they also show combination. When the examiner asked him what the dots were for, he said they were "to get these across." Then he said they were to get them (words) together, then corrected himself: "No, not put them both together."

The second example, Douglas, is a child judged to be "moderate" in emergent reading ability at the beginning of the year (after consultation with the teacher; see Chapter Five and Ten). He maintained that relative standing in comparison with the other case study children throughout kindergarten. During the year, he made good, steady progress but he was not an independent reader by the year's end, nor was his writing full invented spelling or conventional spelling.

Competent, or well-functioning, to use Marion Blank's (1973) term, is an apt description of Douglas. He is lively but rather quiet. He gets along well with other children. Both boys and girls seek him out as a playmate and fellow worker.

During the study sessions, the examiner assigned to Douglas enjoyed him. Such enjoyment of a child's company has been noted by Clark (1976) and Durkin (1966) as typical in the parent-child relationships of young fluent readers. Doug is not an early fluent reader but we propose that he shows many of the characteristics reported for such children.

The characteristic that we are primarily concerned with in this example is the ability to ask questions and elicit aid from an

adult. Such behavior was reported by parents in studies by Clark (1976), Durkin (1966), and Read (1975). In the example that follows the examiner will not show typical behaviors for the parents, however, in one respect. The examiner was instructed not to introduce linguistic terms nor to assume that she knew what the child's concepts were. Hence, she probably volunteered less information than a parent might and she did far less "teaching" than is reported in recent parent-child transcripts.

In the example, Douglas is trying to re-read a story which he has just dictated to the examiner. The story is about himself and how he learned to ride a big wheel. The story is presented in manuscript to illustrate the kind of writing the child was reading and the placement of words on the page which is an important part of the problem Douglas tries to solve.

Douglas, 1-22-81 (Trial 1):

line 1 My mom and dad
line 2 were with me when
line 3 I did it and my
line 4 sister and brother
line 5 were with me, too.
line 6 I wanted it cause
line 7 I wanted fun. So
line 8 I got one. And
line 9 another reason why
line 10 I want one . . .

Douglas began to attempt to re-read, using his memory for the dictated text as an aid. He pointed to line 1 and recited the first sentence as he had dictated it; then he pointed to line 2 and gave the second full sentence. He then had a problem because he had already recited: "My mom and dad were with me, too," and "Al-so--my sister, my brother, they were with me, too." He was evidently expecting the third line to read, "I wanted it cause I wanted fun," but he detected a problem. The printed third line does have "I" but Doug was troubled, as the following part of the transcript shows. In this section, the examiner has just asked Doug what he is pointing at (line 3).

- 135 Child: The I. Thought I knew--I i--I thought I knew, knew what that was, nh, knew it what, that was gonna say. (The following discussion is about line 3: I did it and my..)
- 137 Adult: Uh-huh.
- 138 Child: But I don't. But I forgot (under breath "what it was")
- 138 Adult: OK.
- 139 Child: (Louder, as if finishing above statement.)--say.
- 139 Adult: OK. So--you knew what it was gonna say--
- 139 Child: Yeah.
- 140 Adult: Yeah, but you got here (pointing), and what's that?
- 140 Child: I↓ (distinctly)
- 141 Adult: What'd ya think?
- 141 Child: Huhh. (Pause to 144.) Hmm. (Pause, 144-145.) I don't know it.
- 145 Adult: (Chuckling) OK. Well--you were sort-of pretend-reading it, huh?

146 Child: (Says something covered by adult comment.)
146 Adult: A little bit? Uh-huh.

At this point, the examiner offered one of the encouragements from the Examiner's Manual which were used to aid children attempting to read. She told Doug that she could help him; this encouragement usually ends with, "What do you want me to do?" to elicit the child's concept but Douglas voluntarily began to explain his predicament. His explanation indicates a problem about word boundaries. Notice that in this section he does not use any metalanguage but refers to "this" and "that," "that thing," then finally calls I by its name. Calling I by the letter name (152) does not clarify for the examiner what the child intends so the examiner tries to get Doug to explain.

148 Child: Ehh. (Short pause.) I don't really know if that thing goes--uh, if this goes with that. (I did, line 3.)

149 Adult: OK. It does. Uh-huh, sure does.

150 Child: Uh. (Pause, 150-152.)

152 Adult: Well, what'd ya mean, "goes with"? I'm sorry, maybe I didn't answer you right.
(Child begins answering while adult is saying "didn't answer.")

152 Child: That Iiii (elongated)→

152 Adult: Yeah→

152 Child: Did it go with this?

153 Adult: You mean, d'--what'd mean "go with"?

153 Child: Thought it could--does the I go with that?

154 Adult: This I is all by itself.

155 Child: Yeah.

155 Adult: Uh-huh, and this over here is all by itself. (Indicating I and did, line 3.)

- 156 Child: Yeah.
156 Adult: Uh-huh. Yeah.
156 Child: So does this go with that?

In the section that follows Douglas asserts, like the children in Papandropoulou and Sinclair's (1974) sample, that one letter cannot be a word. Then he decides that the I can only be the letter name I, "that's the only thing it can make," "the only thing it spells." Finally, after deciding it is I, Douglas begins to laugh in delight, as he realizes that it can be the word I. Notice the increasing specificity in his requests: earlier he had stressed the deictic words (this with that, 148), then the relationship this with that (156), but here he becomes more and more specific with metalinguage being used appropriately (letter, spells, word, 161-169):

- 157 Adult: Hmmm. (Short pause.) If it went with it, what would it be?
- 158 Child: I don't know.
- 159 Adult: Oh, OK. Hmm. I don't know exactly how to answer your question, 'cause I don't know what you mean.
- 161 Child: See, like, this thing's one letter.
161 Adult: Yeah.
161 Child: And th, and that doesn't spell anything, just one letter.
- 162 Adult: I see.
162 Child: 'n, I'm wondering if this thing goes with, with these letters. (Indicating I and did.)
- 164 Adult: Uh-huh. To do what?
164 Child: To, like--'cause this one's all alone, and it can't make a w--and it ca, and it can't make a word.
- 166 Adult: I see. (Pause)

- 167 Child: The only letter it, the only thing it can make is, uh, I. (Said with extra stress.)
- 169 Adult: Yeah.
- 169 Child: That's the only thing it spells, I. (Pause.) Yeah.
- 170 Adult: OK, uh--
- 171 Child: (Interrupts, excitedly) Oooh! Iiiee--
- 171 Adult: --I! (Child claps.) OK! (Both begin to laugh extend- edly.)

The laughter marking this incident seemed to indicate high affect by the child and adult at this moment of discovery. Holdaway (1979) suggests that supported discoveries with positive affect between child and adult are important in the development of what he calls self-regulation in emergent reading.

In this instance, after the child and adult laughed and then discussed the discovery that there is a time when one letter can be a word, Doug went back to his pursuit of the reading attempt and was able to give the appropriate semantic interpretation to I. He was expecting the next clause to read "I wanted it," rather than "I did it," but as he read the line, he treated the I as being correct and questioned his miscue with wanted.

Both children, Richard and Douglas, were able to elicit and use aid from an adult in a one-to-one setting even though they were at very different points in literacy acquisition. In a paper available elsewhere (Sulzby & Cox, 1982), Beverly Cox and I discussed the different abilities of children in the high, moderate, and low categories to elicit and use aid from an adult in one-to-one and large group

settings. We speculated that in the large-group setting, the children in the low group (like Richard) would have had difficulty in two ways. In literacy, their development was far behind the other children so they would have had trouble expressing their curiosity. In the one-to-one setting, Richard had begun by refusing to try to write and demanding that he be allowed to copy. He wanted to give that task up until he was able to get answers from the adult as he copied. In social terms, the low children were not rewarding for an adult to spend time with compared with the other children. It was not until Richard became engrossed in the literacy task that he became rewarding to the adult. His first session and early second session were very frustrating to the adult examiners, as were those of other low children. Another low child, Mike, displayed behaviors that seemed to be unresponsive and negative until the examiner and he adjusted the task paradigm toward interactive, conversational exchanges.

During the year-long study, we saw the low children grow in their ability both to elicit and use aid from the adult in a manner that led to literacy development and in a manner that made the social interaction between child and adult rewarding to the adult and child. I believe that the area of social development needs much more examination, both in terms of what the adult can and should do to make the tasks conducive to the child's exploration and to make the child's responses available enough to provide rewarding exchanges for the adult.

In this section, we have looked at writing systems from the formal nature to their basis in social exchanges. In the next section, we look at children's re-reading from their own writing.

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During the year-long study, we saw the low children grow in their ability both to elicit and use aid from the adult in a manner that led to literacy development and in a manner that made the social interaction between child and adult rewarding to the adult and child. I believe that the area of social development needs much more examination, both in terms of what the adult can and should do to make the tasks conducive to the child's exploration and to make the child's responses available to the adult, and to provide rewarding exchanges for the adult.

In this section, we have looked at writing systems from the formal perspective to their basis in social exchanges. In the next section, we will look at children's re-reading from their own writing.

Metropolitan Readiness Tests, Form P, Level 1, was .37 (corrected for ties), $p < .05$.

This scale, called the Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Dictated and Handwritten Stories (ERAJDHS), was applied to the current corpus for kindergarten only. Of the 54 story/reading pairs, twelve cases did not fit the scale. Nine of these cases were of the same type, judged to be the complement of an existing category. The scale description was adjusted to reflect this finding. The initial category called "five" was defined as a reading attempt in which the child's eyes were not on print but his/her story rendition was stable (using the definition of stability given in Chapter six). In the instances in which the scale did not fit the child's eyes were always on print for a good portion of the time but the child was not tracking print; in these cases, the story was not stable. These behaviors were more mature than the "four" and less mature than the "six" category and, theoretically, there was reason to think of these behaviors as complementary. In the remaining three cases, one child produced a story that was a "pattern" story rather than the story requested and the re-reading attempt included ellipses of clauses; and, for two of the children, the adult gave an illegal probe during the re-reading attempt. In all three cases, the judges agreed upon a score that seemed to be the conceptual equivalent to the child's behavior. Judges were able to come to complete agreement after these problematic cases were resolved.

Using the resulting scores as the dependent measure, we used a

mixed analysis of variance with modes and trials as the repeated factors (see Table 7). The scale was found to differentiate between groups successfully, $F(2,6) = 9.03, p < .025$. Since two of the three high children were at ceiling levels (total scores for six observations were 42 and 41 of 42), the differences between groups can be considered to be conservative.

Insert Table 7 about here

There was, in addition, a mode by trials interaction, $F(4,32) = 5.31, p < .01$. Figure 22 shows the graph of the interaction with the dictated story reading attempts extremely higher for the first trial while only slightly higher for the final two trials.

Insert Figure 22 about here

The main effect for groups indicated that the groups were distinguished over time. The means displayed in Table 8 indicate that children's mean scores within the groups increased over time; while the high group's scores were almost at ceiling, the low and middle groups mean scores increased over trials.

Insert Table 8 about here

Rank order correlations (corrected for ties) between the pairs of

Table 7

Emergent Reading Ability Judgments For Dictated
and Handwritten Stories (ERAJDHS) of Children of Differing Abilities
Across Composition Mode and Trials

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>ms</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Total	151.31	53	---	---	
Between	102.48	8	---	---	
Groups (G)	76.92	2	38.46	9.03	<.025
Error _b	25.56	6	4.26	---	
Within	51.83	45	---	---	
Mode (M)	8.16	1	8.16	4.61	NS
Trials (T)	6.03	2	3.01	1.45	NS
G x M	2.12	2	1.06	< 1	NS
G x T	4.19	2	2.10	1.01	NS
M x T	6.79	4	1.70	5.31	<.01
G x M x T	2.77	4	.69	2.16	NS
Error ₁	3.55	2	1.77	---	
Error ₂	8.11	4	2.08	---	
Error ₃	10.11	32	.32	---	

Figure 22
 Mean Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for
 Dictated and Handwritten Stories:

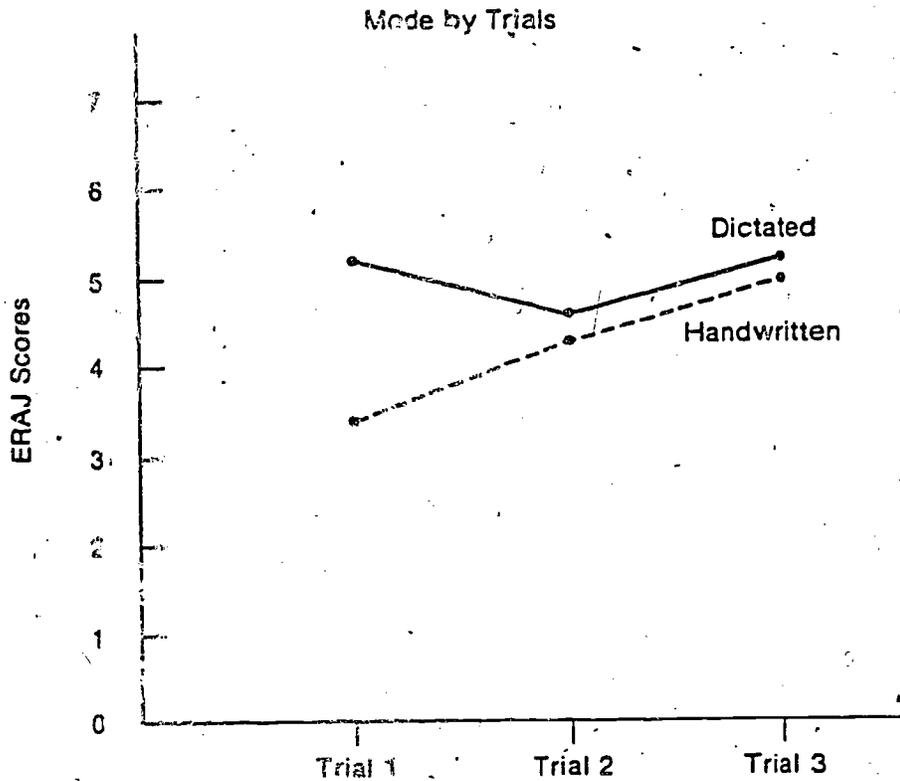


Table 8
 Mean Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for
 Dictated and Handwritten Stories:
 Groups by Trials

Groups	Trial 1	Trial 2	Trial 3
High	6.3	6.2	6.2
Middle	3.8	4.2	5.2
Low	2.8	3.2	4.0

dictated and handwritten stories were as follows: Trial 1, $\rho=.83$ ($p<.01$); Trial 2, $\rho=.58$ (NS); and Trial 3, $\rho=.73$ ($p<.05$). The correlation between the total scores for the ERAJDHS for the six sessions and the total raw scores on the Metropolitan was $\rho=.80$ ($p<.05$).

Thus it seems that child's re-reading attempts can be matched with the nature of the writing attempts using both intention and a gross discrimination between writing systems used and that the resulting categorization of these reading/writing behaviors can be used as one kind of measure of emergent reading/writing. (The Otto and Sulzby, 1982, paper points out limitations of the ERAJDHS as well as its contribution to the classification of emergent literacy behaviors.)

Since this chapter is also concerned with the behaviors of the individual children, I present the raw scores here in Table 9. These scores indicate that the children's individual scores did not vary a great distance from the group mean, with the exception of Noreen's first dictated story. This was the exception mentioned above in which the child dictated a "pattern story." Since the scale defined story stability at the clause level, Noreen's re-reading which deleted subject and verb from the repeated clauses was judged to be a stable story.

Insert Table 9 about here

Table 9

Emergent Reading Ability Judgments
for Handwritten and Dictated Stories

Child	Trial 1*		Trial 2**		Trial 3***	
	Told	Dictated	Told	Dictated	Told	Dictated
<u>High</u>						
Betsy	7	7	7	7	7	7
Jodie	7	6	7	7	7	7
Nicole	6	5	5	4	5	4
<u>Moderate</u>						
Andrea	5	4	4	5	5	5
Chad	5	2	5	2	5	5
Doug	5	2	4	6	5	6
<u>Low</u>						
Noreen	6	2	4	4	4	4
Richard	3	2	5	2	4	4
Michael	3	1	2	2	5	3

*Study II, Real

**Study II, Make-Believe

***Study IV

Nicole's scores are more interesting because they look more like scores of the "moderate" group. It should be remembered that both Nicole and Jodie used letter strings and name elements in their writing. Jodie, however, also used word boundaries and created strings which she treated with stability along with segmented speech and tracking of print. Nicole had simply used unsegmented letter strings without internal variation that resulted in English-looking strings. At this point she was showing some attention to print but was not tracking and her writing system made it virtually impossible to track in the handwritten condition.

The moderate group could be described as moving toward attention to print and story stability. The low group in contrast appeared neither to be attending to print nor to story stability with the exception of the fluke of Noreen's first attempt (explained above). In this section, the developmental progression toward conventional reading and writing seems particularly vivid in the case study children.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined the results of Study IV, New Event Stimulus, looking at the nature of the compositions of the nine case study children nearing the end of their kindergarten year. We saw that the children's choice of writing systems in the one-to-one settings appeared to be the same as they had used in Study II but different than they had used in the group setting of Study III.

In the one-to-one setting, the writing systems chosen were also different when children were asked to write a story as they were in Study II and IV from when they were asked to "write everything you can write" in Study I. These setting and task differences seemed to replicate the findings of the 1979 kindergarten study (Sulzby, 1981c).

Even though the children showed stability of choice of writing systems in relations to tasks and settings, we saw that the children increased in what they could do with the writing systems chosen for story writing in the one-to-one setting, both in composition and in re-reading their own compositions. In Chapter Nine, we look at the end of the kindergarten year results for all of the children in Miriam Kendall's classroom. The chapter contains two major parts: first, the results of Study V, General Knowledges About Written Language II, which is a replication of Study I; and, second, the results of the observations in the classroom. In Chapter Ten, the final chapter of this report, we look at the case study children's development during the first grade year.

Chapter Nine

Study V: General Knowledges About Written Language Replicated

And Teacher Observations

Introduction

Chapter Nine has two parts. Part I contains the results of the end of the year interview with all of the children in Miriam Kendall's kindergarten class. Part II is a paper co-authored by Susan Anderson, titled "The Teacher as Adult Linguistic and Social Model," a summary of the findings of the classroom observations.

In this chapter, the children's responses to the writing reading interviews are summarized, including their responses to metalinguistic and metacognitive questions. In general, children wrote more in quantity, more conventionally, more neatly. Some of the less mature writing responses such as refusals, substituting drawing for writing, or writing isolated letters disappeared while other categories such as words, common words, and inventions increased. Children's verbal explanations were clearer and given with more ease. Children's reading attempts were appropriately distinguished. They read lists as lists with appropriate intonation; they read storybooks with behaviors that are appropriate to that genre. Storybook reading behaviors emerged as particularly fruitful with a classification of the patterns of storybook emergent reading behaviors presented in greater developmental detail.

Observations in the classroom indicated a consistency in the

teacher's goals and behaviors during the year. Some of the patterns we observed and confirmed through interview and videotapes are the following: she emphasized the use of what she called verbal language in creating a social/linguistic community; she shared experiences through art activities in which children were expected to set and evaluate their own goals; storybook reading and sharing time (rug-time) were important social-emotional events structured by the teacher; and she did not give formal instruction in reading and writing during the year. While she indicated that verbal language primarily meant oral language, her use of extended conversations over time, use of extended metaphor and analogies, and use of precise, "decontextualized" language appeared to be tied to written language conventions. Sharing information about the children's knowledges by the research team seemed to have some effect in increasing her awareness of what the children could do but had no observable effect on her teaching during 1980-81.

PART I

Study V, General Knowledges About Written Language

At the beginning of the kindergarten year, we raised a number of questions about the knowledges about written language that a group of middle-class children brought to school with them. At the end of the year we wanted to know whether these knowledges had changed. During the 1980-81 school year, we had observed in the classroom and interviewed the children individually, beginning with the "General Knowledges About Written Language" interview in the fall. Now we repeated that interview at the end of the year. In between these two "General Knowledges" interviews, nine of the children, our case study children, were interviewed five times in individual sessions. The remaining 16 of the 24 children were interviewed twice between the two "General Knowledges" interviews, during the child-adult audience writing sessions of Study III. So, in addition to a year of "maturation," home learning, school experiences and learning, these children also had the opportunity for some impact by the research techniques we used.

In this final session, we re-interviewed all of the children about what they could write and what they could read. A final, additional set of questions asked the children to give advice to Ricky, the four-year-old who visited during Study III, that would help him during kindergarten. (I am indebted to Tobie Sanders and Johanna DeStefano for the idea of a near-to-peer interview). The results of Study V are organized into three sections, Writing Interview, Reading Interview, and Advice About Kindergarten for a Younger Child.

Study V

Writing Interview

Questions. In Chapter Four, a number of questions about children's writing were raised that are now re-addressed in abbreviated but parallel form (see page 115 and 138 ff.). Four children were used as major examples in that chapters; the writing, re-reading, and comments of those children at the end of the year are given for comparison, with other examples added when needed.

What do the data look like? The data continue to look like those given for Study I. That is, when asked "What can you write? Write everything you can write," children produce a list of items. These items are typically arranged in a columnar display on a page, usually oriented with the short width as the top and length running downward, in other words, oriented like a notebook page in an 8.5 x 11 inch bound pad. The writing system used is overwhelmingly conventional and the re-reading behavior is overwhelmingly list-reading in intonation and wording. The only outstanding difference is that the children produced more, said more, and omitted less mature behaviors. The writing used is, however, in sharp contrast to their writing in story-writing situations. This task-dependent effect has now been replicated within children as well as between groups and is consistent with reports by Ferreiro and Teberosky (1982) as well.

In Chapter Four, the writing samples of four children, Caroline, Robert, Kimberly, and Mickie, were displayed to illustrate the variability of the products. End-of-the-year samples from these four children are given now for comparison. The variability still remain, as can be seen, even though there are obvious differences.

Insert Figure 23 about here

Caroline still used a neat list-like array, but her word list changed from being restricted to her own and family members' names to include a common word, book, which she varies with the plural marker, s. Robert went from what looked like a disarray in terms of top-to-bottom columnar order to an order in which words are arrayed in a linear-sentence-like fashion, but without use of spaces to signal word boundaries. Kimberly has taken her complex list with its underlinings from the fall and has transformed it into a neat list (that appears more bland but is definitely readable). Notice that she held onto the idea of providing lines beneath her words. Mickie "wrote" things that look like writing instead of drawing, even though we shall see that he still signals the relationship between drawing and writing. We will look at these examples in more detail, starting with Mickie.

Mickie, who drew items in the fall, has written a list of words and word-like forms. Listening to what he said while writing, however, reveals a wealth of information about his concepts for writing. Notice that his items run bottom-to-top, with item four added last at the bottom. He holds a model that says that writing is best if copied, which he did to write "crayola." In the fall, however, he had drawn the Crayola box and copied parts of the letters from the logo as if they were part of a design; in the spring, though

Caroline example

(4) BOOKS

(3) BOOK

(5) MOPS

(1) DAD

(2) MOM

Printed from original in #2 pencil

(1) JARCATDAD MOM
(2) STOP GOD OGA MY
(3) DON FOPL

(4) [scribble]

Robert example

Reduced from original in #2 pencil.

Kimberly example

KIM Mchan

PI PPNPI

MOMMY RAY

DADDY

Reconstructed from child's original to disguise drawings.

Mickie example
Reduced from original in #2 pencil.

(3) ASHHV

(2) BOA C

(1) CHAYO/A

(4) A A A A
w w w w

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he "copied" his crayola is different from the type face on the Crayola crayon box (see below).

Crayola brand manuscript:

Mickie's version:

(both recreated)

Crayola

CrAYOLA

Besides copying the word crayola, Mickie said he wanted to write tape but "I c--I'm missing a copy." At that point, he lets us know that the ambivalence about the relationship between drawing and writing (see Sulzby, in press a) has not disappeared--simply become less salient as he has added more knowledge. The following dialogue shows that ambivalence; note that Mickie introduced the idea of drawing just after he had dismissed the idea that he could write tape without a model copy:

Child: Maybe I can draw the Sears Tower but I have to
to copy it cause I don't really know how it
looks, how it looks.

Adult; Ohh--

Child: I know it has bumps, but I don't know if it
has points or not.

Adult: You don't know if it has what?

Child: I don't know if the Sears Tower has bumps or
points.

Adult: Oh, okay.

Child: And I'm mixed up.

Since Mickie gives up on writing tape or drawing Sears Tower, he needs to think if there is anything else he can write. He decides he will write book. Notice that book appears to be well-spelt in invented spelling, with two vowel letters, oe, for the /u/ typically spelled by oo, and the c for k, an advanced abstraction far beyond letter name-based phonetic relationships. However, listening to what occurred while he was figuring out how to spell book leads to different conclusions:

(Continued on page 462)

Child: /bə/ /bə/ /bə/ [Whispered, after which he took
a deep breath.] I got a B.

Adult: Uh-hum. (Pause.) What else do you need?

Child: (Pause.) Hmmm.

Adult: What are you going to write?

Child: (Sighs.) Well--

Adult: What's the word you're going to write? [Adult
should not have introduced term word.]

Child: I'm gonna, I'm gonna try to spell, um, (pause).
book.

Adult: Okay.

Child: But I don't know what--comes after B.

Adult: (Long pause) Does an O go next? [Another
illegal prompt; however, the child had
introduced additional metalinguistic terms
and in the next section builds upon the aid
given.]

Child: I think.

Adult: Okay.

Child: Okay.. (Following was whispered.) B--book.

(Pause.) Book. A--hmmm. (Pause.) What
comes after O? Book (pause) book. I think
an, I think a G comes after a, a O.

After saying that G comes after O, Mickie actually wrote the small e. He added the C later during a discussion about how it was that he knew book started with a B. He intimated that he wasn't finished or wasn't satisfied: "I think I'm gonna have to copy it." Copying both drawings and writing was important in Mickie's notion about learning. However, he gave a vivid example of letter formation as feature abstraction, rather than being simple copying. When asked how grown-ups write, he first illustrated that they hold their pencils correctly whereas he held his pencil in a semi-palmar grip. Then when pressed about how grown-ups learned to write, he explained from his own experience of learning how to make an A from his dad. Item four consists of four ways Mickie said he had made the form A in his life after he was a baby and did "scribble-scrabble." Also note that he holds these approximations in his repertoire, perhaps not "at the ready" but able to be retrieved or reconstructed. (The adult's comments, which were just ums and uh-huh's, have been omitted.)

Child: Well, first I was a baby. Then I just did

scribble-scrabble. Then I got bigger.

Then I did something pretty good like this.

(Wrote item 4-1.) Now--then I grew--and

then I learned how to make an A

and I made it like this--(pause)

I made it like that. (Wrote 4-2.)

And then my dad taught me how to make--

he makes such good A's--he make--he makes

them like this. (4-3.) (Pause.)

I mean--he makes them like this. (4-4.)

Both Mickie and his dad were fond of drawing together, with the Sears Tower and John Hancock building being favorite models (as they are with many of the children in the Chicago area). Also there was much evidence in both of Mickie's interviews and in our classroom observations that the time the two spent together was very influential on Mickie's knowledge about literacy and about how one learns.

Item 3 was Mickie's sample of grown-up writing. After he wrote it he asked the examiner: "What does that spell?" This questions and questions like "What did I write?" are questions that Marie Clay's (1975, 1982) research has made salient to us as ways that children learn about writing. We saw a number of instances of children asking questions after production as if to discover more about literacy activities. In this example, Mickie claims that he had an intention to write a very grown-up word.

Child: What does that spell?

Adult: What do you think it spells?

Child: I don't know--how should I know? A reminder

that we can't assume children hold the same

ideas about writing that we do.

Adult: Wh--what were you trying to make it spell

when you were doing it?

Child: (Sighs.) Something--I was trying to make it spell

something. (Intonation indicated that something

was treated as a general term and not as the word he was trying to spell.)

Adult: What?

Child: (Clears throat.) Ultimate.

Adult: What?

Child: I was trying to spell ultimate:

In these examples and in the full transcript, we can see that Mickie is making use of conventional models (copying) more accurately. He also can copy letters quite well and in copying has converted some of the type face from the rayon box to the kind of printing done in his classroom copying exercises. He may have a notion of matching length of printed word to "length" of the spoken word. He differentiates between words and letters and uses both letter names and sounds from within the word when trying to write. He uses metalanguage easily and fairly accurately. In his reading interview, he emphasized the writing aspects of reading more than the reading aspects (at least, as an adult might view them) and continued to talk about drawing and writing together. The remaining examples are given in lesser detail but are none-the-less significant.

During the writing interview at the end of the year, we noted that the children seemed much more at ease with being asked to write and to talk about their writing. While we cannot separate the effects of having the research project done in the classroom, at least we can say that kindergarteners are capable of being at ease with writing tasks such as this interview and story writing.

Our first child, Caroline, is an example of how eager many of the children were in the spring. She enthusiastically assured the examiner that she could write "tons of things" and that, "I have a letter to write to the teacher that has all the words I know on it." During the kindergarten year, Caroline's mother had sent in numerous stories that Caroline had dictated at home. These stories were far more complex than any of the children's dictated stories produced in our interview sessions. (Hilliker (1982) reported that children's writing done at home was far more complex than that done in a kindergarten classroom in which writing was encouraged.) In Caroline's explanations about what she knew and how she learned it, she gave her mother much credit for writing things "tons of times" for her to learn from.

During Study III, Caroline had drawn "little books" with pictures and accompanied these books with complex speech which reflected a great deal of knowledge about written language, including literary conventions (see pages 336-337). She completed the words in this example in the order, dad, mom, book, books, and the cursive writing. She re-read the words in the final, top-to-bottom order, saying her

own name for the cursive item, with all items said in a list intonation. Note that her cursive item is formed of actual letters and letter-like forms linked together in a manner appropriate to cursive writing.

By Study V, the words that the children wrote appeared to be far more "automatized" than in the fall. Mickie was the only child of our four example children who wrote by saying letters and sounds out loud to himself and the examiner while he wrote. The two girls simply said whole words while they wrote. Robert wrote his words in a linear order across the page; instead of using list fashion. In moving to this display, he omitted spaces between the words, a characteristic common to the children's story writing forms. Robert began by reciting a list of words in list intonation as his answer to the question, "What can you write?" Then, when he wrote, he occasionally whispered letter names to himself while writing but he said a whole word at the end of each item. Thus we have a display in which "words" are run together, but the act of composing shows that he clearly treated each word as a separate writing act.

While it is interesting to examine individual children, quantitative comparisons are also important. Following is a frequency count of writing responses to contrast with those on pages 140-141; this count illustrates the conventionality of the children's inventories of what they can write in spring of kindergarten.

Writing Responses

No Response	0
Isolated letters	0
(One child wrote	
alphabet along with	
other words)	
Names (own name,	
friends', relatives')	22
Other common words	17
Inventions	8
Phrases, sentences	1
Drawings	0

The inventions are worth commenting on, since I have claimed that children typically are very conventional in this task in contrast with the storywriting tasks. The children who used some invention were spread across the ability groups. Six used clear examples of invented spelling. One child, Jodie, used what was probably a memory for the visual word, off, which she spelled foo; this inference is drawn

because of the data included in her case study in which she used visual memory and conventional strings inventively in preference to invented spelling. One other child used part of his name and the status of that item cannot be determined.

It is somewhat interesting to observe that 22 children wrote their own name and occasionally other names at the end of the year. Names continue to be important. However, all of the children received one specific literacy lesson during kindergarten--"copy card," in which they were instructed to copy their name conventionally with the first name on one side of the card and their last name on the back. My subjective response is that the writing of the child's first name (rarely the last name) is still due to what Ferreiro and Teberosky (1982) call extrascholastic influences rather than in-school drill. Part of my opinion is based upon the question, "How did you know what that was?" to which children vehemently answered: "Cause that's my name!"

One contrast with names seems particularly important, given Piagetian speculations about the development of logic and proper names. In the fall six children wrote names alone; in the spring, no child limited the inventory to names.

Again, I want to stress the importance of conventional models co-existing with invented (or re-invented) models. Ferreiro and Teberosky (1982) discuss the importance of the conventional co-existing with the different solutions to the symbolization problem for young writers. In part, they emphasize the role of conflicts in

trying to symbolize as if the child must recapitulate the discovery of alphabetic writing; however, they also acknowledge (and our data substantiate) the importance of the current culturally sanctioned models. That is to say: children may be solving problems in development, but they also have models of how other people have solved these problems historically as part of their data.

A second but related point is that names furnish a greater variety of spelling patterns than do the so-called simplified words in instructional materials like basal readers. I am constrained from revealing the names of these children so I provide a list of first names from a similar kindergarten not involved in this study to illustrate this point: Heather, Murphy, Christian, Sabine, Jessica, Ann, Carrie, Leanne, Brian, Giovanna, Michael, Ashleigh, Philip, Alexander, Kristen, Ann, Rebecca, Lynette, Frederick, Benjamin, Adam, Susan, Hernando, and Joshua. As we have seen, children learn their own names and names of family members and friends as well; these names furnish part of their literacy repertoire.

Space use. The children's use of space is also more conventional than in the fall. There was no discernible problem with left-to-right orientation within word units. Only two of the children could be considered to use the page in a disoriented fashion. One child wrote only one word. Fourteen of the children used a columnar display. Three used spaces between words and a fourth may have been trying to use spaces; five used words run together with no spaces. All in all, the increased conventionality and neatness led to increased ability

for an "absent audience" to read what the children wrote on the writing inventory.

Writing and spelling systems. Still, the children favor either all upper case or upper case with only a few letters coming in as lower case. There were no children who failed to produce letters. However, to show the fluctuations that exist in these kinds of data, only one child as compared with two in the spring used mixed case as needed.

<u>Letter forms</u>	<u>Number of children</u>
All upper-case	9
Upper-case except i	1
Upper-case except i plus one or two others (t, e, r, and te)	5
Upper-case except e	6
Upper-case except e; r	1
Upper-case except e, a, t, h	1
Mixed case as needed	1

Some people argue that children learn to write the upper-case letters first because they are exposed to them more often and/or are taught them more frequently. I think findings from my own research and that of Ferreiro and Teberosky (1982) tend to indicate that a more complex developmental process is going on.

In the results reported about letter forms we continue to note that upper-case is predominantly favored. The fact that only a few

lower-case letters enter at first and seem to enter somewhat systematically indicates that the shift to lower-case is conceptual. For example, in the data above, it appears that i continued to be an important letter to enter as a lower-case option and e increased in popularity. While I suggest that these findings indicate a developmental conceptual phenomenon, I do not yet have an explanation of why these letters might be preferred.

Ferreiro and Teberosky (1982; originally published in Spanish, 1979) reported a cross-sectional and longitudinal study of literacy development in middle-class and lower-class children in Buenos Aires. In the Argentinian schools and preschool/kindergartens that these children attended, lower-case cursive was the instructional model yet the children overwhelmingly used upper-case manuscript, just as the American children do. Starting with some children as young as three, Ferreiro and Teberosky report that this use of upper-case manuscript developed from early "marking" in which children alternated between two models: a cursive model (like scribbling) and a print model (items that look like letters and/or numbers). The developmental progression they traced showed children giving up the cursive model and moving toward the print model. Ferreiro and Teberosky present the development as a recapitulation of the discovery of writing systems; I do not feel comfortable going that far at this point in my own thinking but I do believe their data again cast doubt on the idea that children's preference for upper-case manuscript is a simple response learned because they see upper-case more often.

There is a further argument that upper-case is easier to form, given the relative lack of small muscle control of young children. I do not think this argument is sufficiently strong in light of the evidence that children often can and do form the lower-case letters in well-learned units like their names simultaneously with showing a strong preference for upper-case.

During the early part of this century, researchers like Hildreth (1936) and Legrún (1980 (tr.)) demonstrated children's pre-instructional abstractions about writing through their writing attempts. The examples they provided showed children creating their own systematic ways to write. More recently Simner (1981) has analyzed children's formations of both upper- and lower-case letters prior to and following formal instruction. Simner tested hypotheses generated by a Grammar of Action based on strokes needed to copy geometrical forms as well as letters. He found that children seem to have a related but different set of rules used in forming letters. He suggested that they make an assessment of the overall difficulty of the individual letter and then use strokes that will "lessen effort" at the same time that they lessen the likelihood that the child will make an error.

While Simner's research focuses on how children become able to copy letters in conventionally "correct" form, his work indicates that children make an overall assessment of the task to be done and that children maintain their own task analysis long after formal instruction has begun (see Resnick, 1976), forming letters with a different sequence of strokes than they were taught at least through second grade.

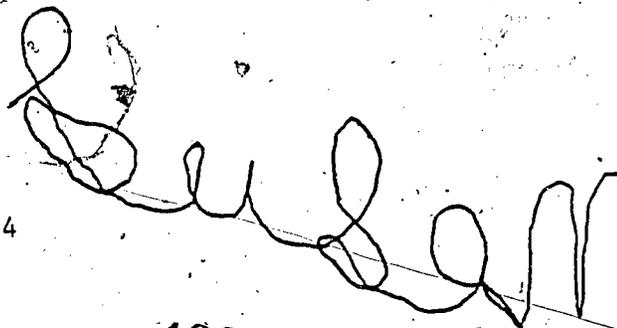
Results of request to write like grown-ups. In the spring the number of children responding to this item increased; only one child said he didn't know grown-ups write, how in contrast with six children in the fall. This child was an oriental child who wrote one word, cat, in upper-case manuscript and later identified some words in isolation in the storybook, using what appeared to be memory for previously learned words and some sounding-out. Otherwise, his interview was quite laconic.

The terms children used settled down more toward the use of script (14 children). One child used scribble-scrabble and then elaborated it as script. One child said scribbling. Two of the children said that adults used small letters; one of those demonstrated that adults write in lower-case manuscript. One child introduced the new term which I can remember using as a child: "real writing," with a compound word intonation. Two of the children indicated that adults hold their pencils differently than they did. Three children said, "like this," and demonstrated: two of them gestured in the air and third wrote her first name in conventional script on paper.

The attempts to write like grown-ups looked more letter-like in form, with some children joining actual letter forms. One child, mentioned above, wrote her name conventionally and two others joined upper- and lower-case print letters of names (like Amy on page 147 and the example "Susan" below):

(Traced from original)

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A handwritten name 'Susan' in a cursive, letter-like script. The letters are connected and have a fluid, flowing quality. The 'S' is large and loops around the 'u', and the 'n' has a long, sweeping tail.

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Children thought that grown-ups learned to write equally as much by school as parental help. Nine children said grown-ups had been taught by their moms and dads and nine said they were taught in school. Four children referred to the adults' own efforts ("just tried," "taught themselves"). Two of the children said they did not know; these two were both oriental children who had come to the States recently.

One of our case study children, Betsy, had begun to fill a page with writing, including sentences that seemed to be a letter to her mommy, daddy, and other friends and family members. She voluntarily explained most of her items as we will see in the section that follows after this one. When asked how grown-ups learned to write, she built upon those ideas:

Child: Same way children did. They were once children,
so--(pause)

Adult: Um-hm. Well, how does th-, how do children learn
how to write, then?

Child: Umm. (Pause.) They looked at grown-ups writing
when--after grown-ups learned how to write
and they copied it and their moms and dads told
them.

...

Adult: What would it take for you to learn to write like

a grown-up?

Child: This is all. (Pause, then she began to write again, returning to printing.) That's all. I'll write my name really fast. (Wrote it and then wrote what she seemed to think was a script A.) . . . I knew what (indecipherable) is. Nobody ever taught me, but I just knew how to make it.

Adult: (Re-stated question.)

Child: A lot of practice.

Adult: A lot of practice. Well, you have really learned a lot--

Child: (Interrupting)--and a lot of looking and listening.

We return to Betsy below as a child who used language about knowing and learning very easily and informatively. For now, we can see that her ideas intertwine the learning of adults and children quite realistically; adults are people who were children once and the parent-child relationship seems quite straightforward and dependable to Betsy, a theme that recurs in all of her transcripts.

Results of knowing and learning questions. All 24 children gave some answer to questions about how they knew what they had written and how they had learned it: The answers were distinguished by being fuller and more complex; additionally, as was the case with Betsy, the children often gave information about their metalinguistic and metacognitive understandings about writing voluntarily in the course of writing their inventory.

The contents and proportions are similar to the beginning of the school year, however, with still a dearth of mention of school help and abundant references to help by other family members. Eighteen children mentioned some family member and a nineteenth mentioned "home" as the source of this knowledge. Thirteen children mentioned mom alone, two mentioned mom and dad, and two others mentioned dad alone. Siblings were mentioned twice and "family" was mentioned once. A twenty-first child mentioned someone other than a family member. Only four children mentioned school or school activities; among those only one mentioned the specific teaching activity that seemed to be very specific to the performances we saw children giving under these conditions, "copy card," in which the children were supposed to trace and re-write their names "correctly." Twenty of the children mentioned their own efforts and knowledge states. Three of these children mentioned no other source for their knowing and learning.

Jodie is a good example of the fullness of these children's responses. For the series of questions asking about knowing, she gave these kinds of answers: I thought X; I tried to spell X; I knew X; I

just knew; writing a cup at grandfather's (evidently writing the words from the cup); I knew the sounds; I remember. For the questions about learning, she stressed help from other people as well as her own efforts: I looked at it and my mom told me; books; I can read.

The responses about their own efforts were again quite specific: look off books; write it down tons of times; see it in my mind; see it in a book; figured it out; copying; practice; sound it out; just thought them up in my mind; I just looked it up and I memorized them; "by my copy card at school," game at home. The final example was intriguing because the child described a game with pictures of what you should spell and dots to match up that forces you into spelling the name of the object conventionally. The child who gave this answer was one of the few who used invented spelling in his inventory but we do not have sufficient information to know if this was his preferred writing system or not.

After Betsy (see above) had volunteered information during writing her inventory which included what appeared to be parts of a letter, her examiner re-instated the knowing and learning questions, gesturing across her entire page. Here are portions of Betsy's answers that give more evidence that she was definitely thinking of writing as composing longer texts in addition to being a task requiring lower-level mechanics.

Child: Well, I learned how to write things and
I knew it was a message cause messages
are things you write down and you give it

to people.

Child: And (pause) write to yourself so you remember what you wanta buy--.

Child: (Interrupting adult)--that's a list.

Child: I learned. I know how to spell door and I knew how to spell man so I knew how to spell doorman.

Child: Well, unh, I thought about it.

I thought how things sounded and then I, uh, copied them. Once I, um, spelled egg, A, G.

[Egg is now part of eggface, spelled conventionally and used as a description of her little brother.]

Child: I just looked it up and I memorized them.

Betsy's comments and the comments of the other children continue to emphasize the home, family, and their own efforts and to downplay the effects of the school and teacher(s). I believe this emphasis is probably not simply due to the lack of formal instruction in writing in their kindergarten but may be a more widespread effect of

differences in the kinds of experiences in homes and schools. While this is a speculative belief, I will give part of the basis for my opinion. The few studies that we have that look at children's literacy development in the home (Anderson, Teale, & Estrada, 1980; Heath, 1982; Taylor, 1982) indicate that children's learning is diffuse, spread over time and space, and for middle-class children is quite rich and personalized. Another reason may simply be that the bonding between parent and child is so much more intense and longlasting than is possible in a school situation that the parents' inputs may be embedded in memory in a more significant way than the teacher's inputs are typically, given the socialization differences between the home and school. Whatever the reason, the children do stress home and family. They also stress themselves as active learners; it may be that the best possible school setting would keep alive the child's intrinsic motivation and would not interpose the teacher as the source of knowing and learning. Finally, the children's perceptions may change as they enter the more formal schooling of the grades.

Reading Interview

(I have collapsed the Transition from Writing to Reading into the Reading Interview for this chapter.)

Re-reading request. In the fall 15 of the 24 children read the

inventory in list-like intonation. In the spring all 24 children treated the re-reading request specifically as a reading task. Twenty-two of the children used a list-like intonation immediately; the speed and "naturalness" of their responses were notable. Of those 22, four children also used framing statements with the "read" words framed clearly as "words-as-words." The remaining two children only read one word each, but they again clearly said the "word-as-word." Let me explain what I mean by the above three distinctions which are aided by increased attention by anthropologists, linguists, and sociolinguists interested in conversation and literacy activities (Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1981; Gumperz & Herasimchuk, 1972; Gumperz, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 1981).

In what I am calling list-like intonation, the child typically looks at the paper, often with a noticeable in-taken breath, and then begins to recite the words on the page, with pauses between each word, a contour within each word typically ending with either a rising tone or a definite falling tone more appropriate to sentence-final positions, occasionally elongating the pronunciation of a word (see also Bolinger, 1972). Gumperz and Herasimchuk (1972) noted the odd use of what they called "reading rhythm" when children read the word the in reading groups; it is often pronounced /ð i / (instead of /ð ə /). This intonation pattern is somewhat like the word-as-word intonation. In both cases, the speaker signals that certain words are set aside from other speech. With the lists, the child sets the entire list off from the remainder of his or her speech. One test for

this is to have an experienced, stenographer transcribe the tapes; typically the transcriber will list the words with commas between them, occasionally with quotation marks around the words or underlining, depending upon the punctuation style being used.

Robert read his list (page 459) in the following manner:

Jaarr
jar
caaat
dad, moommm
step, go
dog
Amy and Don
Uhh--and thiss--pish!

The transcriber had underlined Amy, left and not underlined, and underlined Don. In the last line, only pish was underlined. Pish was Robert's reading of the original FOI which he said he knew wasn't fish but he couldn't remember how to spell fish. He evidently completed it as FOOL because of seeing that form in a book and needing something to use for fish. After finishing the writing of FOOL, he still asserted it was pish but said "I don't know" when asked "how come" it was pish.

Robert's discussion of pish/fish;

Child: It was about--there was a fish, I know that.

I was gonna write--but I can't remember how you spell it, of course, but my two fish died.

And I can't think of how to spell fish anymore--

Adult: Ohh. That's too bad--about them dying.

Child: Uh-huh.

Adult: Just go ahead and do it the best you can.

Child: I'll try. F--(pause) F--O. (Pause.)

Adult: Put what you think.

Child: F. (Pause.) E--can't be!

Adult: Why can't it be?

Child: Well, if, if, if there's anything I can think
of--because, cause, cause that was just, like,
there in the book!

One of the children who framed the words-as-words with comments about them was Jodie, one of our case study children. In the example that follows, she successfully distinguishes words-as-words from words used with emphasis (i.e. "that's yours."). She also successfully uses other metalinguistic terms and descriptions, particularly about spelling.

Child: This spells hi, H-I., M-E, me, F (pause) F-O--
foo, um, off . [a self-correction]
N-O, No, I-N, in, uhm, that--well,
that's yours. (Examiner had added a mark.)

Adult: (Understanding her emphasis and its referent.)
That's mine, yeah. Um-hmm.

Child: And this is--I don't know what it spells in
script. (Reference is the "grown-up writing.")

Another child who framed words-as-words is Doug, a second one of our case study children. He used his finger as a pointer while reading the list, running his finger left-to-right across the surface of the words.

Child: Okay, hmm--dog--Doug--(pause)

/b/ /b/--bike--(pause)

bus (pause)

I don't know. (Pointing to LAN) I forgot

what that one is. (Pause.)

Ramp. (Pause.)

Bike (pause) hmm--is this one? bbiike?

(Looked back and forth between BAK

and BAG.)

And I forgot what that one--the letters

was--uh--garbage--

uhh--tray.

There were two further indications that the group of children as a whole performed this task more easily and conventionally. First, there were no instances in which children used the describing behavior discussed on pages 153 ff. Second, a number of the children dismissed the "grown-up writing" attempt as not really writing, saying either that they didn't know what it spelled in script, as did Jodie (below), or saying that the items was "me trying to write script."

When the children were asked what else they could read, their responses fell into a few categories: nothing, five children; books, nine children, including one who also included a basal preprimer (Tip and Mitten) and two who also included other words; other words, nine children. The "other words" category consisted of five children who listed general words and four who listed categories of "environmental

print"--words from the cafeteria, from the street, phone numbers, bus signs, etc. Besides the child who mentioned the basal reader, only one other child mentioned instructional materials: "people's copy cards," or name cards. In the next section, we examine the children's metalinguistic and metacognitive explanations about how they learned to read.

Metacognitive questions about reading, or "I learned halfway by myself and halfway from my mom and dad and now I'm practicing." As with writing, the children's answers about how they learn or will learn to read, about how other people learn to read, about what people need so that they can read and why that is were much more full and fluent in the spring of kindergarten. They were also much more school-oriented. The process of learning to read seemed so clear to some of the children that they actually laughed at our questions, as we will see in Stephanie's answers below.

As Daniel R. put it, people "have to have" a mom and dad to learn to read. This is consistent with the children's ideas in the fall but now they are more specific that mom and dad have to "teach" and they give examples of how that teaching goes. Teale (1982 and in press) has been questioning the idea that children can or do learn to read "naturally" and suggests that natural reading includes much teaching in the home setting, though this teaching may not be as formal as that in the school.

At the end of the year, all 24 children responded to these questions. Only one child, Tanya, a second language child, refused to answer, but she justified her refusals: "because I cannot read." As we will see in the storybook reading section, Tanya was indeed beginning to read from print. While her response is complicated by her different cultural and linguistic background, it is possible that she is refusing to speculate about possibilities or to "pretend" because of her increased knowledge about what reading entails.

The remaining 23 children all mentioned processes or units of language, with the most frequent responses being "sound out," letters, words, spell, write, listing specific letters by name or by sound. A new category appeared having to do with thought processes and bodily organs. Children mentioned the need to memorize and gave examples of memorizing the spelling of words or "memorizing" the reading of books. They mentioned the need to practice and to do things many times. And they need to think, as Freddie asserted:

Adult: What do people need so that they can read?

Child: (After a long pause.) Their brain.

Adult: Okay. Anything else?

Child: Their hand. Their mouth. Their eyes.

Adult: Okay.

Child: I can't think of anything else.

Adult: You told me people need their brains and eyes
and mouths to read. Why is that?

Child: So they can see and think what it says and (pause)

when they know, they can say it.

In response to the question, "How do people read?" Freddie had explained: "By knowing what it means, says."

Children continued to think that other people, particularly mom and dad, are essential. Sixteen children mentioned other people; 14 specified either mom or mom and dad. One child just said, "somebody to help," and another said, "A teacher." School was mentioned explicitly by seven children and two others mentioned playing school with mom or a brother. In describing what mom and dad do, the children said that they write for them, read with them, or teach them specific things about reading. They began to indicate two changes: they themselves would become more and more independent and the other persons needed to be available "to help." Helping was described by a few children as being "to tell you if you are right or wrong" when you try to read things.

Stephanie summed things up quite well at the end of a very long interview when the examiner asked her to explain her answers:

Adult: Why do you need books to learn how to read?

Child: Cause those (pause)--what do you mean? (Laughing.)

Adult: I know--that's a silly question. Well, see what-- see what do you think? What do you think--why do you need books?

Child: (Laughing throughout.) Cause that's the only thing you can read (slight pause) besides letters and things.

Adult: Yeah. You can read letters, so why do you
need books?

Child: Cause those are important! (Still laughing.)

Adult: They're important? What makes them important?

Child: Because (laughs)--I don't know!

Adult: Yeah, I agree with you. I was just wondering what,
what it is that makes books important?

Child: (Pause.) Let me think--(pause) You learn things
out of 'em! (Laughs.)

Adult: Yeah, yeah, okay. You said moms are important?

Child: Um-hmm.

Adult: And why is that? Why, why do, why do you need
moms to learn to read?

Child: Cause they can help you.

Adult: Um-hmm. And brothers?

Child: Cause it--so they can play school with you.

Adult: (Laughs.) That's pretty nifty for you, huh?

Stephanie had given full explanation of how her mom helped, including
setting up a play school for her and her brother.

Adult: How did you learn to read?

Child: (After a bit of urging.) Well... I said,

"Mom, when am I gonna learn to read?"

Adult: Uh-huh.

Child: And then she said that I was gonna learn
to read right now, like this second.

And I, how? (laughs) how? (acting out her
puzzlement.) And then, uh, she said,
"Well, by playing school with Joe," my
brother.

Adult: Um-hmm.

Child: And he, uhm, played school with me--for a
long time--

Adult: Um-hmm.

Child: And she made books for us and stuff like that.

The transcript of Jodie's reactions was exciting,
particularly given her typical "I can't" behavior that recurred in the
case study documents whenever the questions were introspective. In
response to the metacognitive reading questions in the spring, she
mentioned numerous resources of her own (sounding out words and
spelling words, which she demonstrated) and, particularly, the content
of "good books," which included an outdated preprimer as well as
storybooks. Immediately afterward, when she was asked to read the
book she brought with her, she "shared" the book as a literary
experiences, stopping to exclaim about how funny or how good the story
was.

Other children showed the pleasure they got from books, seeming
to treat instructional materials and tasks as if they are as much fun

as books written for non-instructional purposes. Caroline illustrates this kind of reaction, including the re-reading behavior that seems to be a distinguishing feature of home reading.

Adult: How did you learn to read?

Child: Well, I have (pause) a book at home
that I got from Christmas. (Pause.)
And I readeed it, and I readeed it,
over and over, and it goes in order,
so you'd--learn--this--front page--always.

Adult: Really?

Child: --You have to start from the front to the back
(pause) always, and that's wha--and I have,
um, I have books--like, I have--a book--
for first graders and I can do stuff in it.
(Pause.) And I can, uh, I have a--another book
that's for, uh, kindergarteners, and it has,
like, matching words--and it's really--like
spelling stuff.

Adult: Umm. I bet that's fun. How do people learn to
read?

Child: I already told you this, but I'll tell you again
(laughing).

Adult: Okay.

Child: (Laughs.) Um, sometimes they see the books
(pause) and sometimes they see the dictionary

and sometimes they see it in books how to spell and sometimes they see it from their teacher--they tell it. And sometimes they see it in their mind and they try to figure out.

Given the lack of stress on writing in the early grades in most schools and in the school that these children were attending, it is difficult to determine if the difference in the children's answers about writing and reading are instructionally-influenced, are due to differences between writing and reading as processes, or both. It is clear that these children have come to attribute importance to school and to teaching-like activities that they did not mention in the fall and that the attribution was limited to the questions about reading and was not given about writing.

In our characterization of reading as being a hierarchically organized set of interactive processes for the fluent reader, we categorize certain knowledges (graphics, letter recognition, phonemic interpretation, etc.) as being low-level processes. As educators, we often disparage instruction on these "skills." I think the picture is becoming abundantly clear that the initial acquisition of these knowledges is conceptual and developmental. I think that the children are also furnishing the hint that they find learning about spelling, sounding out words, letters, and words to be high intellectual challenge. I think that the current research in emergent literacy has contributed two important ideas: (1) "high-level" processes

involving comprehending written language begin long before the child is reading from print and (2) "low-level" processes are not low in intellectual content or challenge nor can they be taught as if they are without risk of harm to children.

Favorite storybooks. This section is summarized from Sulzby (1982c) and includes information from another project examining the storybook reading development of children from two to five (Sulzby, 1983b). In the metacognitive questions about reading above, the children had continued to talk about books. As Robert put it, "We've been reading those two [books] more than anything. Andd--I--well--at night--so, I've been really memorizing them." As we saw with the example from Daniel R. in the fall, "memorizing" and all of the other behaviors leading up to independent reading from print are far from simple, low-level behaviors. Instead, they appear to be conceptually-based, developmental phenomenon.

The children's storybook reading attempts at the end of the year were scored by the Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks. Table 10 shows the distribution of children in each category for both the fall and spring sessions. The children's scores were significantly higher in the spring using a comparison of the means for correlated samples ($t=3.38$; $p<.005$). The mean scores were 4.33 in the fall and 6.38 in the spring; both sessions the standard deviation was 3.26. Of the 24 children, 16 increased their scores and four remained the same. Only four children showed decreased scores.

Appendix J gives examples from nine of the eleven categories,

Insert Table 10 about here

Table 10: Emergent Reading Ability Judgments
 for Favorite Storybooks, Frequencies, Study I and Study V
 Beginning and End of Kindergarten Year (N=24)

Attempt Type (sub-categories) Major categories

		Study: I		V	
A. Attempts Governed by Print					
Holistic, independent	(1) (3)	5		10	
Holistic, strategic	(1) (2)				
Aspectual	(1) (5)				
Print-governed refusal	(2) (0)				
B. Attempts Governed by Pictures, Stories Formed					
Written language-like		6		7	
Verbatim-like	(1) (0)				
Similar to Wr. Text	(3) (2)				
Oral/Written Mix	(2) (5)				
Oral language-like		5		5	
St. Told for Audience	(2) (3)				
Oral interactive	(3) (2)				
C. Attempts Governed by Picture, Stories					
Not Formed		4		0	
Action-Governed	(2) (0)				
Labelling, Commenting	(2) (0)				
D. Refusals, Dependent					
		4		2	

along with a brief explanation of the categorization used. All of these examples are taken from the spring study, with the exception of Daniel R.'s vivid verbatim-like attempt. In my work with younger children (Sulzby, 1983b), we collected two storybooks at a session in order to estimate the stability of the behavior over books. In two of the studies (which form the basis for the doctoral dissertation of Beverly Otto) all children read one book in common after they demonstrated that it was a classroom favorite. Children's reenactment scores at any given time were closely correlated ($r = .92, .94, .93, .99$, for four sessions). Table 11 shows the distribution of scale levels over children at different ages, using data from the current research and the work with younger children.

Insert Table 11 about here

These data indicate that the behaviors are arrayed in a developmental order; however, my own observations and speculations lead me to doubt that one category will always be present for some children. Figure 24 presents the categories as a tree-structure beginning with the lowest-level independent reenactments, in which no story is formed, and ending with independent reading.

Insert Figure 24 about here

It is the highest-level oral language story (B2a) that causes me concern. In Chapter Four I used an example from Douglas; the example from Don (Appendix C) from the spring study is a much

Table 11°

Percentage of Reading Attempts at Increasing Levels

of Sophistication by Age

Age	Number of Attempts	Refusals or Dependent Attempts	Stories Not Formed	Oral Language-like	Written Language From Pictures	Governed by Print
Two's*	24	42	21	33	4	0
Three's*	60	35	6	22	28	8
Four's*	72	19	8	15	32	25
Five's** (November)	24	17	17	21	25	21
Five's** (May)	24	8	0	21	30	42***

*Data from the current study. Two's consist of children up through age 3-2, a natural break point in the age distribution. Four's consist only of children between 4-0 and 4-11. Two attempts were taken per session.

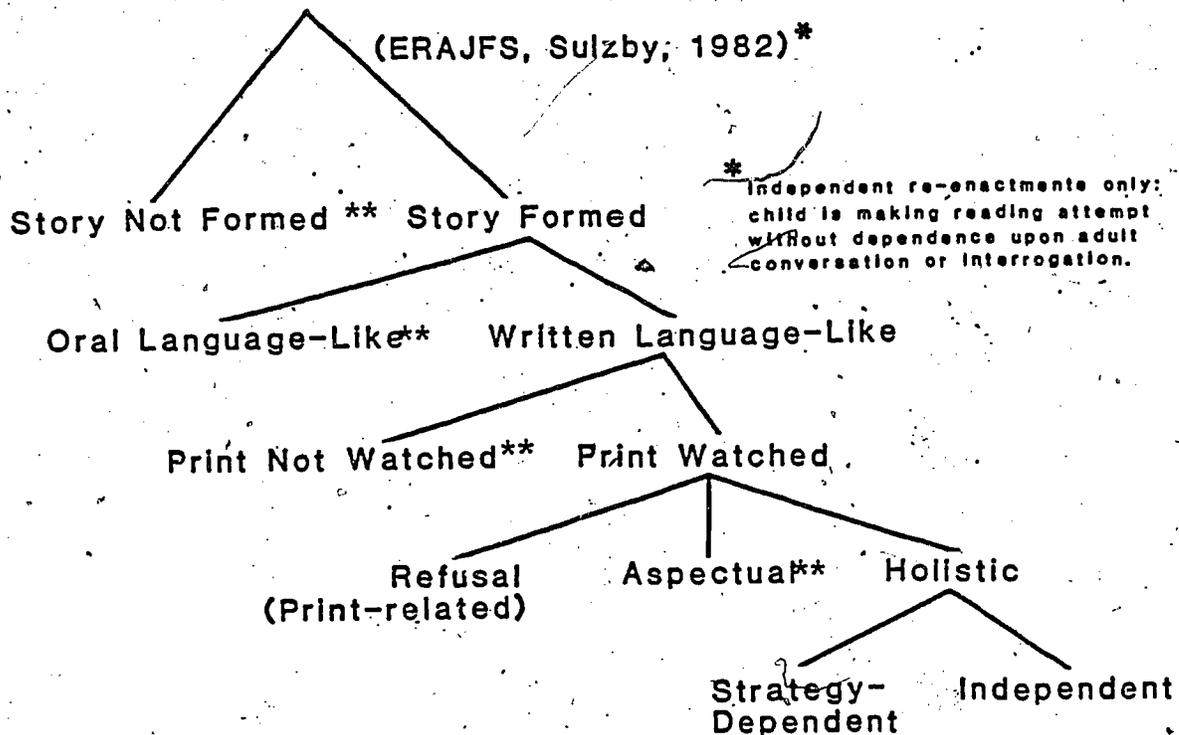
**Data from Sulzby (1982); reading attempts were taken at the beginning and end of the kindergarten year with the same subjects.

***Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

This table is taken from E. Sulzby, Children's Emergent Abilities to read. Final report to the Spencer Foundation, August, 1983.

Figure 24

Categories of Emergent Reading of Favorite Storybooks



** Sub-categories not shown.

clearer exemplar for this category. I suspect, however, that children who are in strongly literate environments and engage in much storyreading with their parents may not pass through this category but will go directly from B2b to B1c in which there is a mix of oral and written language. Our distributions with the younger children seem to be consistent with this notion. Theoretically, the category fits as placed, and it fits empirically for some children. We do not have longitudinal data with enough children at this time to form a solid conclusion.

Storybook reading appears to be a very fruitful area for further research in emergent reading. Additionally, it provides a theoretically-interesting way of tapping children's distinctions between oral and written language. Finally, it leads to a way of examining parent-child interaction in an area that has great impact on children's later in-school achievement and research in this area is growing (Harkness & Miller, 1982; Heath, 1982; Heath & Thomas, in press; Ninio, 1980; Snow, 1982; Snow & Ninio, in preparation; Teale, 1983).

Book parts. The children increased in their ability to label the parts of books and to give an explanation of the functions of the parts. Table 11 lists the frequencies parallel to the display on page 182.

Insert Table 11 about here

One of the categories, title page, decreased. For some reason, fewer children indicated a label for the title page or a functional description. Jodie gives us an idea of the difficulty that even the

Table 11

Book Parts Knowledge Inventory II

	Cover	Title Page	Page	Picture	Print
Label, or synonym	22*	7	19	20	22
Function	23	11	20	21	23

*Figures indicate number of children out of 24 answering correctly.

children who were given credit for the function had in expressing themselves. (Nevertheless, we noted that children typically acted appropriately toward the title page when they read their storybooks.

Adult: What's this part? (Indicating title page)

Child: The, uhm, (pause) the fron--like the, like,
it's just like the front but it's not.

Adult: Do you know what it's called?

Child: It's like, it's like the, uhm, cover-like.

Adult: Uh-huh. What's on it?

Child: Uhm, it's the author and, uhm, what the book's
called.

Adult: What do you do with it?

Child: Uhm, it tells the author of the book and
what it's called.

One point might be important. As we shall see in Part II, Miriam Kendall, the teacher, used the term "the get-ready page" for the title page. She used the title page as part of the story-book reading experience and discussed authors and illustrators with the children. Nevertheless, they showed little verbal facility in the interview setting with the title page, either by label or by function.

The results of the writing and reading interviews let us know that the children have increased in their literacy knowledges even though the kindergarten curriculum did not offer formal instruction in either writing or reading. The one specific piece of instruction, "copy card," was not commented on by the children as being very important although knowing how to write and read one's name seemed to be important knowledge that the children brought with them from home. Children continued to attribute most of their learning to their parents and to their own efforts although there was a discrepancy between the degree to which school and/or teachers were mentioned in the writing and the reading interview. Children began to mention instructional materials being used in the home for reading and to say that they would learn to read in school, although the numbers making this claim were only 25% of the children. Children do mention their own parents as teaching and "helping," and have become even more explicit about how parents do this. Their metalanguage increased in its amount, the fluency with which it was used, and the terms used correctly as labels or through explanations.

Advice about kindergarten for a younger child. I was concerned about children's perceptions about the first year of their public school career so we decided to ask them about kindergarten. We made use of Ricky, the four-year-old who had visited during Study III. The examiner praised the child at the end of the reading interview and then said:

I was thinking about Ricky--you remember Ricky, the little boy who came to visit, the boy you did a story for? You know, he'll be starting to kindergarten next year. Could you help Ricky by giving him some advice.

What would you tell Ricky that might help him do a good job in kindergarten?

Could anyone else in your room give him some good advice? Who? What do you think (name) would say that might help Ricky do a good job in kindergarten?

Only one-fourth of the children (8/24) mentioned literacy activities as being important for kindergarten. Six of these children were girls and two were boys; there was a mix of ability levels. Interestingly, most of the children who mentioned literacy activities spoke as if the child should learn before kindergarten. Caroline said that Ricky should buy books, get pages (evidently for writing on), write things down, copy, do math and spelling pages (here a reference to exercise books), and read from a "reading book," again a reference to instructional materials. Robert said that he would teach Ricky how to read and that he would write and tell him to memorize it. He also said that Freddie would tell Ricky to be good and would teach him words.

The remaining answers all related to social behavior: listen to the teacher, be good, play with friends, don't fool around, don't say bad words, work hard, clean up, don't hit, don't trip, pick up glass on the playground and give it to the teacher, don't hurt other kids, and be careful. There were no noticeable patterns of difference

between the advice a child gave and the advice he or she thought a peer would give. Also the peers were from a wide ability range as well.

In brief, the children found only two areas for advice, literacy and other academic pursuits and social behavior. Overwhelmingly, they thought that how one acted in kindergarten was very important. Unfortunately, we did not probe these answers further so they only suggest an avenue for further study. These two areas match the two emphases in kindergarten programs and the relatively greater stress on social matters seems to be consistent with Miriam Kendall's emphasis during 1980-81. In Part II, we see how Miriam implemented her program with these children.

PART II

The Teacher as Adult Linguistic and Social Model

NOTE: This section is a reproduction of a paper co-authored by Susan Anderson and presented at the International Reading Association meeting in Chicago, May 1982. Parts are redundant with information given elsewhere in this final report.

During 1980-81, a group of four researchers spent the year studying the literacy acquisition of a group of kindergarten children as part of the BRDKAWL project, or "Beginning Readers' Developing Knowledges About Written Language." The BRDKAWL project's goal was to describe the knowledges about written language that a group of kindergarten children brought to school with them and to design assessment tools that might be helpful in understanding other children's emerging literacy, or reading and writing abilities. The project's design included the use of overlapping research tools, all converging upon the description of certain aspects of the children's literacy development.

So that the study would not be contaminated by formal instruction, a classroom had been selected in which there was no formal instruction in reading and writing. During the year, three researchers spent their time focusing primarily upon the children, with nine children given intensive scrutiny using case study techniques. One researcher, Susan Anderson, stayed in the classroom and attempted to discover parts of its culture, particularly those parts related to literacy. This paper focuses upon the teacher, whom we call Miriam Kendall, as the target, and we are sure that there were times during the year that she felt like a target.

Elizabeth Sulzby, Beverly Cox, and Beverly Otto took children from the classroom to take part in interviews and experimentally-structured tasks. In those studies, the variables being investigated were six language "modes":

- Conversation
- Storytelling
- Dictation
- Writing (handwritten composition)
- Re-reading
- Editing

Two cross-cutting variables were topic and audience. By using these sets of variables, we hoped to begin to discover the child's developing model for the reader/writer relationship as shown along dimensions of the child's developing distinctions between oral and written language.

So that we could further understand these variables we wanted to cross-check our observations when we took the child from the classroom by observing those same variables in the classroom. Additionally, we wanted to know what was being emphasized about those variables in the classroom. Specifically, what opportunities did the teacher structure for the children's use of conversation, storytelling, dictation, writing, reading, and editing and did she emphasize topic and audience considerations? This was our initial question.

A discussion with Miriam Kendall, the classroom teacher, helped us to understand that the question just wouldn't do. A foreshadowing

from the data will help explain why the question wouldn't do and why we changed our focus.

First of all, we found that our division of the world of language was not very meaningful to Miriam Kendall and the way she structured her classroom. There were times when she used our terms that seemed to be from her own choice, but primarily she did not and furthermore when she did use our terms they had a special meaning to her that did not come from our study. Our closest convergence was in storybook reading, which was not a major focus of our project but was part of a beginning and end of the year interview. The chalkboard in this classroom was not very accessible and rarely used. Children were only encouraged to "write" around Valentine's Day and that writing tended to be highly structured, mostly copying from a model. Occasionally, Miriam would say, when reading to the children, "And, those of you who are reading already may want to follow along to see if the words go with the pictures and what I am saying," but she put no emphasis upon the formal skills of writing and reading. She did use the term "audience" quite often, in the context of sharing time, but we did not observe it being tied to written language. Conversation was used widely and treated with great significance, both in sharing time and in less formal activities; while we might have considered conversation to be related to forms of written language, Miriam seemed to have a different, but, we think, related notion of its significance for five-year-olds.

Second, we found that Miriam's division of the world seemed attractive but alien to us. We did not understand it. Furthermore,

Miriam told us that she could not describe her own methods.

During the planning for the 1980-81 study of kindergarteners, Elizabeth Sulzby approached Miriam and explained that we wanted to observe in the classroom, at times having as many as four adults in the room with three observing children and one, Susan Anderson, observing her, the teacher. Miriam laughed and said, "Well, if you can stand it!" She went on to set some boundaries with us--her first stipulation was that we were to leave instantly if she signalled. This was in case our presence might be disruptive either to the children or to Miriam. The other condition was that we not try to prescribe how we thought she should teach. We stressed the second condition as part of our research stance but Miriam emphasized what we suspect is true about a lot of us in our teacher roles:

we have certain preferred ways of teaching, based upon our beliefs, and we usually are resistant to imposed change and need to understand the relationship between the proposed change and our beliefs. (Indented for emphasis.)

During that meeting Miriam told Elizabeth that it would help her if we could put in words, "what I do." She laughed and said that she knew what she did worked with five-year-olds but it seemed to be hard for her to explain to people because she lacked the professional vocabulary. She was aware that her practice was partly idiosyncratic, having been developed over 23 years of teaching, of picking and choosing from things that "felt right" and developing others simply because they seemed appropriate with the children. We agreed to this

charge and thus our question changed from a description of the world as we preconceived it for our study of early literacy to a question emphasizing the discovery of Miriam's model of teaching: THE DISCOVERY OF THE TEACHER'S MODEL.

We think we discovered these features as being central to Miriam's teaching; we present them now so that you can compare them with the procedures and evidence we have used:

- (1) She establishes social and linguistic expectations on the first day of class in September and maintains those expectations consistently throughout the year.
- (2) Her linguistic and non-linguistic practices emphasize what Harry Broudy (1976) calls the "associative" and "interpretative" uses of schooling rather than the more expected "replicative" and "applicative" usages.
- (3) She models her thought processes aloud so that they become available for reflection and description by five-year-olds. She uses words describing mental states often and with positive affect.

Description of the Data Base and Classroom Context

The Classroom as Setting

Mrs. Kendall's room has maintained both a constant appearance and a constant atmosphere during the four years Elizabeth Sulzby has worked with her. The classroom map shows an appearance of well-defined work and play areas with many things for children to do.

Classroom map goes about here

Appearance must be distinguished from atmosphere, however. The appearance of the room is a common one for a kindergarten class and is based upon the use of space and contents. Atmosphere connotes the way in which the participants occupy the space and use its contents as a group.

In appearance there are four quadrants which are labelled "entry and coat area," "rug area," "playhouse and individual activity area," and, finally, "lesson and art area." A further survey of the "insides" of each area on the map indicates that the "individual activity" area actually covers the entire room. We have noticed that, as viewed in the map, the room appears crowded and severely partitioned. When we visited the room, it did not give this impression; it seemed airy and roomy and allowed for and encouraged flow of activities. Children and teacher seemed to have tacit social "rules" for when the room-wide individual activity stations would be

used and for when the group would gather in the various areas for different purposes, such as sharing time, storytime, or art lessons.

In atmosphere, the classroom can be described as active but calm. The teacher controls the overall flow of activity by using body posture, voice tone, or piano tunes as cues. When Elizabeth Sulzby visited on the third day of school, 1980, that atmosphere seemed to be established (cf. Shavelson & Stern, 1981). Susan Anderson and the other observers were able to recognize it when formal observations began in October.

The Observational Strategy

Form. The observational procedure decided upon for both Anderson's observations of the teacher and for the other researcher's observations of the children was a narrative description modelled after DeVault, Harnischfeger, and Wiley (1977). In this format the observer attempts to describe as fully as possible what is happening in the classroom, indicating the times when activities change. Two related purposes supported this decision. First, we wanted to avoid reducing the data to our preconceived notions as much as we could. Second, we needed a wealth of data in order to capture the social and linguistic structure of this classroom.

All observations were written as objectively as possible in order that we could keep an accurate, unbiased record of the school day. Anderson's observations of the teacher were the key observations around which observations by the other researchers were compared.

Timing. Observers were trained to use the narrative description format. The next decision involved how we should schedule our study sessions. The first strategy was to have Susan Anderson observe each day of a typical week to decide what kind of schedule would be most representative. The teacher had suggested Tuesday or Thursday as most typical and Anderson's observations confirmed this judgment, although we found that there was little fluctuation between any of the weekdays. One solution that was rejected was to randomly sample days for our study sessions; that schedule would have been unworkable because it would interfere with both school and university schedules. Tuesday was finally chosen as the regular day for the study, with Thursday as the alternate in case of holidays and other problems.

After choosing Tuesday as the "candidate" date, all four team members made narrative observations on Tuesday, October 7, 1980. The team met following the observation to compare notes and times and to estimate the degree of observational "validity" or "adequacy" we could hope for from our techniques (see Guba, 1978).

From that date forward, except for holidays and other, changed dates, the teacher was observed in the classroom on Tuesdays. Additionally, during the case study sessions, the three other researchers and their case study target children returned to the classroom following the individual sessions. On these Tuesdays, four observations were made simultaneously. The team met following the sessions to discuss the observational contents and to verify times and activities observed.

The Data Base

The data base for this paper consists of 31 days of observations, with a "day" being defined as the morning kindergarten session, from 9:00-11:15 a.m.; one audiotaped session of key activities; one videotaped session of key activities; one interview with the teacher; a "de-briefing" session with children and teacher, all from the 1980-81 school year. Additional data comes from follow-up observations done by Sulzby at the beginning of the current, 1981-82 school year to verify information gathered in the teacher interview.

Method

Our method for this part of the study can be called naturalistic inquiry, as Guba (1978) has described it. More specifically, we have borrowed techniques from ethnography, using both participant observational techniques and an ethnographically-structured interview, with follow-up audio- and video-taped examples (Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Green & Wallat, 1981; Spradley, 1979, 1980).

After Miriam Kendall asked us to describe for her what we perceived her teaching method to be, we attempted to view her kindergarten classroom as an unfamiliar culture. That is, we tried to observe how it worked and attempt to become aware of the participant's understanding of the classroom. With this concern in mind, we chose ethnographic tools to help us acquire this awareness. Spradley (1980) defines ethnography as "the work of describing a culture," and this is what we set out to do. Spradley says:

The central aim of ethnography is to understand another way of life from the native point of view.

The goal of ethnography, as Malinowski puts it,

is, "to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world" (1922: 25). Field work, then, involves the disciplined study of what the world is like to people who have learned to see, hear, speak, think, and act in ways that are different. Rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people. (p. 3)

In order to understand the cultural setting of this classroom, therefore, Susan Anderson took a participant observer role in the classroom every Tuesday, making narrative observations. This role is distinguished from that of an objective observer who would use no subjectivity in recording the events that transpire. From the stance of naturalistic inquiry, we assumed that no observations could be truly objective and that the role of the participant observer was appropriate for discovery of culture. In this study, Anderson took her task to be what Heath (in press) has described as the discovery of "the overt, manifest, and explicit behaviors and values and tangible items of culture." She took participant observation as her tool.

The term "participant observation" can be taken to mean many things when used in research. One of the most important variables within participant observation as a technique is the degree of involvement of the observer, both with the people and in the activities which are being observed. We have already distinguished participant observation from what we called objective observation. Going one step further, it is possible as well as necessary for us to

distinguish the degree of our involvement in the culture while observing. Spradley (1980) has identified five types of involvement, from no involvement to high or complete involvement. In our study, Anderson's role can be described as "passive involvement."

Spradley (1980) defines passive participation thus:

The ethnographer engaged in passive participation is present at the scene of action but does not participate or interact with other people to any great extent. About all you need to do is find an "observation post" from which to observe and record what goes on. If the passive participant occupies any role in the social situation, it will only be that of "bystander," "spectator," or "loiterer." (p. 59)

This description aptly captures Susan Anderson's role on Tuesdays during 1980-81 in Miriam Kendall's classroom. She loitered around the round table in the coat and entry area which was a point which afforded the most complete view of the activities and structure of the room. Movement was kept to a minimum and occurred only when it was necessary for her move to see what was going on. One exception was when the children went to the play ground or other location, like the library. At that time, Anderson went along. The atmosphere was

casual, so occasionally Miriam Kendall would drop over and make a comment or two but those times were minimal. The children, too, learned that the observers had work to do and did not spend much time "visiting" while the observers were writing.

While the participant style that Anderson used was passive, the communication with the teacher increased the involvement. One type of involvement was constant throughout the school year. Miriam Kendall was given a copy of all observations and of all the transcripts from the individual sessions with the children. She was told that her reactions were desired but we tried to put no pressure on her to respond. (In part, we felt that our lengthy documents might be a burden for her to read and we wanted her to read from interest and not compulsion!) The second type of involvement was a result of the method of ethnographic investigation by which we generated hypotheses about the culture of the classroom and attempted to verify those hypotheses.

The Findings: Preliminary Analysis

From Narrative Observations

After several months, we made a preliminary analysis of the observations and noted trends that we thought we saw. These involved both Miriam's ways of instructing and her way of structuring the classroom events and space. From this analysis, we decided to do an in-depth analysis of three classroom activities that seemed to be highly significant both in terms of how frequently Miriam used them

and of the careful ways in which she structured them. In order to carry out this analysis, we asked Miriam to allow us to record days including such activities. On April 14, we audiotaped a session and, on May 12, we both audiotaped and videotaped a session. Narrative observations continued during this time as well.

From reviewing the total set of narrative observations, we refined our preliminary hypotheses and compared them with the audio and videotaped examples. From the refined hypotheses resulting from the total analysis, we constructed an end-of-the-year interview both to allow us to substantiate or disprove our hypotheses and also to give us information that we could get only from our informant, Miriam Kendall. Finally, we held a "de-briefing" in which Elizabeth Sulzby and Miriam Kendall watched the videotape and discussed it, the observations, and the interview.

The following section gives results from each kind of data, reduced to highlight the findings that we decided captured Miriam's model of teaching five-year-olds.

The Findings: Narrative Observations

The primary source of data were the narrative observations, collected weekly. In devising the format, we had taken our cue from DeVault, Harnischfeger, and Wiley (1978) and had used a modified narrative broken by notations of times at which activities or actions changed. Thus we achieved what a straight narrative cannot: a sense of the time structure in the classroom with all of its importance. This made it possible to compare the amount of time devoted to recurring and new activities as well as to gain a feel for the overall

timing of the day as seen on a yearlong basis.

In viewing the narratives as a record of time spent, we became aware of an assumption we held about how time is spent. We realized that we believed that, provided that a person has control of how he or she spends time, we could analyze events as a record of activities that are valued. Thus one of our first judgments was whether or not Miriam Kendall was in control of how time was spent in the classroom. Such a judgment would have been easy to make had there been a daily schedule announced in advance and clearly followed. One of our findings was that there was no such overt schedule, yet Miriam seemed to have a tacit plan and to be in charge of how time was spent.

At the end of 1980, Anderson prepared an evaluation of her observational procedures, giving preliminary hypotheses and suggesting ways in which to improve the amount of detail captured in the narratives, including gathering more examples of the teacher's language, and to incorporate observations relevant to the BRDKAWL variables. From the preliminary analysis, three areas seemed significant for further breakdown from the original observations and for future investigation. They were classroom management; language-oriented behaviors; and planned activities.

Classroom Management

We noticed that, although there was a considerable amount of oral language in the classroom among the children at any time when the teacher wasn't requiring silence, the overall noise level was generally low. Occasionally there might be a loud outburst but Miriam would immediately correct it through means that seemed to be typical

for her. For example, on October 14, some children were making lots of noise in the block area. Here is Anderson's narrative description of that exchange:

10:06 T. goes over to the blocks and asks the children if they can turn their voices down. "It sounded like the big bad wolf." The children giggle. "No, it isn't funny because we could hear your voices over by the big table. Can you be a little quieter?"

Notice the implicit message that, if the voices could be heard over "by the big table" that the voices were too loud. This statement seems to imply a rule as did other statements and cues Miriam used. These implicit rules seemed to work well within her classroom and were in place by the third day of school, from Sulzby's informal impression. We were unsure whether the general low noise level occurred due to the children's modelling the teacher's quiet manner or whether she made explicit rules at the beginning of the school year about behavior that was and was not allowed. At any rate the children were attentive to her cues.

Another aspect of classroom management involves transitions from one activity to another, along with expected behaviors for the new activity. We noticed that the teacher used two methods to signal transitions. The first, and most common, was a short tune played on the piano. When this occurred, the children immediately quieted and stopped what they were doing to listen to the Miriam's instructions for the next activity. The second method involved Miriam's beginning to put away a few things or getting out the needed materials

for the next activity. When the children noticed what she was doing, they immediately came over to help and began to prepare for the next activity. In this second instance, the signal for change seems less obvious; however, it was just as effective. Similar cues have been observed by Mehan (1979) and Green and Wallat (1981).

A final characteristic of management in this classroom that we observed was that whenever the children finished clean-up or an activity, they went to the rug area and seated themselves along the edge in a ragged, inner-facing circle awaiting further instructions. This behavior followed the two cues used above unless the teacher gave the instructions at the outset. Again, it was unclear how the children had learned that this was the expected behavior in this classroom.

From these analyses of classroom management, we formulated a goal for the remainder of the year. We would attempt to learn how Miriam conveyed expectations to the children about how they should conduct themselves in the classroom. For example, we wanted to learn how the children learned to expect transitions from certain cues and how they learned what to do in response. These questions became the basis for part of the final interview with the teacher.

Language-oriented Behaviors

In our initial plans we had thought we could go into Miriam Kendall's classroom and observe the language variables we designed into the main study: conversation, storytelling, story dictation, storywriting, reading, and editing, as well as topic variations such as real and make-believe and awareness of audience differences. We

had soon learned that the world of this classroom was not divided by these conventions of language and that we couldn't superimpose them. We had to learn how language was used in this classroom.

In addition, many of our expectations about how language is typically used in classrooms were not fulfilled. We typically expect children to be given a number of "lessons" in classrooms (cf. Green & Wallat, 1981; Mehan, 1979). Heath's (1982) ethnographic study of the interface between the cultural use of language in the home and in the classroom suggested that, in many first grades, children are given lots of lessons, in which teachers ask questions and teach procedures. She argued that the teachers in her study tended to ask questions which focused the children's attention on discrete bits of information. Such questions can be considered not to be true questions in which the asker wants information but to be questions which allow children to perform for the teacher's evaluation. Heath also noted that other kinds of language use form the basis of higher-level thinking and that typically those kinds of language use were postponed until the children learned the "basics" of reading and writing.

Language use in schools does not have to be restricted to lower level use for younger children, but many studies (see Rosenshine & Berliner, 1977) have pointed out the correlation between the use of low-level, factual questions and achievement test scores. In opposition, Broudy (1976) argues that the emphasis upon low-level thinking will result in less longterm retention of what is taught in school. Broudy divides schooling into four categories; while his

concern was about ~~all~~ uses of schooling, language use was highlighted. We found Miriam's language-oriented behaviors to be divided quite unevenly among Broudy's categories, away from the behaviors that he found less lasting (the replicative and applicative) and toward those which he claimed to have longterm effects (the associative and interpretative).

First we will describe the four uses and how they are seen in the classroom. Then we will give two examples of Miriam's typical language use.

Replicative use of language involves the passing on of traditional knowledge or bits of information. Typically, it involves the basis for the "basic skills," with examples being learning ones letters, learning the "sounds," or numbers. Applicative use of language involves procedures and an example might be learning how to write a letter, focusing upon the form rather than content. These two uses of schooling form the major ways in which time in school is spent, according to Broudy, and the major ways in which we evaluate schooling effects.

Broudy argues that we spend far less time upon associative and interpretive uses of schooling and language. Associative uses are non-linear, analogical ways of thinking and using language. Interpretive uses involve logical thinking, predicting, drawing conclusions, and other complex thinking and language tasks. While we do not think there is clear substantiation that these areas are neglected as much as Broudy claims, we do find them slighted in many classrooms. Associative uses are particularly slighted and it is this

use that we found most prevalent in Miriam Kendall's language-oriented behaviors.

We will return to these distinctions when we discuss Miriam's metaphors but now we will give illustrations of two kinds of behaviors, one of which stresses both replicative and applicative knowledges and one of which stresses associative and interpretive uses. The first is "copy card," a term Miriam uses, and the second is what we have called "oral weaving," a descriptor we designed for her use of language in her art projects.

In "copy card," the purpose of the activity seems to be for the children to learn to write their own names, spelled conventionally in manuscript, using upper and lower case letters appropriately. Miriam prepared a card for each child with the child's first name on the front and last name on the back. These cards are on display in a card holder in the entry and coat area, with the first names showing early in the year and the last names showing only after the child has mastered the task of writing the first name. At the top left hand corner of the card is a red dot. In introducing "copy card" Miriam had the children use the red dot as a guide to make sure that they look at the card correctly. When she gave the children a second card to write on, she asked them to check for their red dot to make sure that they were beginning in the right place.

In "copy card" Miriam's emphasis is upon the replication of the "correct" way to write one's name. This was the only instance we could find in which she gave an extended lesson requiring such use of language. She has taken the general stance that kindergarteners

should not be taught to read nor taught to write through a formal program. More typically, when Miriam gives a "lesson" about "basic skills" it is fleeting, put into a game or fun context, and directed at specific children with different expectations for their responses. For example, again on October 14, she gave Richard a brief lesson on counting. Just after a discussion in which all the children were gathered on the rug, she mentioned that tomorrow would be Richard's birthday and that he will be five. She asked Richard "to see if" she can play five notes. First she played four notes and said "Four." Then she played and had Richard count, up to five, with great emphasis. Then she had him choose people to be his candles, again counting. The chosen people stood in the center and Miriam told Richard to light them and have them sparkle. They put their hands above their heads to "sparkle." Then she had Richard "blow them out."

The language usage that we have called "oral weaving" is a typical behavior for Miriam and one that we were curious about understanding her perspective on. In "lessons" as described by Mehan (1979) or Green and Wallat (1981), the teacher will often ask questions and hold the floor open for given children to produce satisfactory responses. Thus lessons are extended, based upon the teacher's diagnostic judgments, until the teacher has decided that expectations have been satisfactorily met. Typically, the "correct" answer has been produced and "incorrect" answers have been corrected. Miriam, in contrast, is more likely to hold the floor for a child during telling time, for a child to clarify his or her own message, than she is during the part of the day that is her equivalent of

lesson time. During the lessons she is more likely to use the "oral weaving" form.

Anderson describes Miriam's "oral weaving" as a use of oral language in a creative manner to create a unit woven from her own words, from emotions evoked, from thoughts elicited, and from the children's responses. The unit that she wants children to attend to, or the point of reflection, seems to be a joint language unit "somewhere in the air between teacher and children," which at times also includes gestures or demonstrations.

We first became aware of this phenomenon because we thought that Miriam ignored children's contributions at times when we might not have; at first, we thought that she was preoccupied with her own activities and words. Later, we formed the hypothesis that she was creating this oral fabric and asked her about it in the interview.

Oral weaving is found particularly often in her art projects where she introduces an idea and encourages the children to respond verbally to it: to give suggestions, predictions, comparisons, metaphors. She takes their verbalizations, including "noises," and incorporates them in her art lesson, either through the media being presented or by acknowledging them and commenting upon them; she is also likely to allow them to stand without evaluation. Her teaching presentation becomes demonstration coupled with input from the children. Later we will present Miriam's discussion of this technique, along with speculations about its role in children's memory.

Planned Activities

The final category from the observations, planned activities, covers the actual curriculum scheduling. Although there are definite activities planned for each day, the time schedule was not rigid nor time-governed. There is an alternation between active and quiet activities so that the pace changes often. During each day, there is usually one major activity. The activity may be holiday oriented, art oriented, or may deal with the introduction of a specific skill, in the form Miriam prefers. She usually introduces the activity to the class as a whole and then takes a small number of children to begin the activity while the majority of the children involve themselves in individual activities. This period of time following the introduction is called "working time" and generally consumes the greatest amount of time in the day.

Besides the major activity, there are other activities like group singing or book reading, both of which are focused upon the teacher. Frequently there is outdoor play time in the fenced-in kindergarten yard; outdoor play is totally unstructured and usually occurs at the end of the session prior to going home. A final activity that occurs with frequency is telling time. This activity involves having the whole group and teacher as an audience to one child who tells about something he or she has brought or has done.

By far the most frequent of the activities were telling time and book reading; the most frequent major activities were the art projects. In each of these activities, furthermore, we were able to see Miriam's special choice of language and her way of structuring the social situations. We had hypothesized that Miriam's language favored

associative and interpretive reasoning and we seemed to see that emphasis particularly strongly not just in the language used during the art projects but perhaps also in her preference for that kind of activity as opposed to more didactic lessons.

Summary

These three areas, classroom management, language-oriented behaviors, and planned activities, were our ways of categorizing the weekly observations and generating hypotheses about Miriam's conception of her role as teacher. Classroom management gave us an idea of how the class day was structured, how transitions were made, and how discipline or encouragement appeared. We still did not know how these social structures were created. Language-oriented behaviors such as "oral weaving" had become evident but it was clear that we needed to delve further to discover both her purpose and her method of using oral language in the classroom. Finally, by noting recurring planned activities, we were able to observe the behaviors of the group as they occurred in different contexts. However, we found we did not really understand the nuances of such honored activities as art, working time, telling time, and book reading. Thus we decided to take a closer look at selected activities through audio and videotaped samples.

The Findings: Audiotaped and Videotaped Sessions

The Audiotaped Day

After identifying the most frequently recurring activities, we decided that we needed a more precise and accurate account of telling time, storytime (book reading), and art activity. We asked Miriam to

allow us to audiotape on April 14. We had explained to her that we were interested in her use of language in the three kinds of activity and she readily agreed to plan a day that would include each of the activities. Susan Anderson ran the tape recorder and also wrote her normal narrative observations. Thus we could compare the results of the two kinds of event records.

Telling time. The first activity of the day was telling time. Telling time is this teacher's name for what is often known as show and tell; it is a variety of rugtime (cf. Markowitz & Moses, 1981) and is defined by classroom norms socially communicated (cf. Green & Wallat, 1981). In Miriam's class, the norms for telling time involve one child telling about an object, an event, or a person in a few minutes. The teller is seated on a chair facing his or her audience who are seated in a semi-circle on the rug.

In the BRDKAWL study, the mode of storytelling or oral monologue is the closest equivalent to what goes on in rugtime. In both instances, if the child cannot sustain a monologue the telling mode is adapted toward interrogation or conversation (Sulzby, 1981, 1982). For telling time in Miriam's classroom, the teacher often addressed the chosen child's classmates as "audience." The teller's job is to tell about his or her topic. The children as "audience" question the speaker from time to time but more often it is the teacher who asks questions or probes for the child to explain more fully. In this way the teacher may exert

her authority figure status linguistically by asking questions to help the child expand his or her narration but physically she remains on her chair at the very back of the audience. She also does not select the next speaker. This choice is made by the child who has just finished presenting. While the children choose the next speaker, Miriam most frequently sets the boundary about when the teller has told enough. Usually she says something like, "Thank you for sharing this with us," and the child then picks the next teller. (In the videotaped sample, her termination strategy didn't work with Ariadne, a child known for her violation of social expectations.)

For telling time, the teacher sets up rules initially by the procedure of picking the next teller: "Today let's try to have a boy and then a girl." This abbreviated cue is often all that's needed to get the picking going. During telling, she uses oral probes as a way of getting the child to verbalize his or her understandings so that the audience will understand as well. Additionally, these probes are often used so that the teller will think through these same understandings. For example, one little boy was telling about the heights of the tallest buildings in Chicago. He simply gave the heights to his audience and might have ended there. Miriam's challenging probe was, "How did you go about finding out that information?" The boy replied to this probe and thus provided his audience with more information and more complex wording involving his own thinking and actions with the information.

After several probes, the teacher's verbal, "Thank you for sharing that with us," or a similar phrase is her signal to the child

for him to end his telling time. All but one child responded immediately to this cue. Upon hearing the "Thank you," the child picks another teller and sits on the rug with the rest of the audience. Thus in telling time, there is an acting-out of different roles in the speaker-hearer relationship; telling time is not everyday conversation. As seen in this classroom and as typically found in kindergarten classrooms, it seems to share characteristics of conversation and of monologue with the child being able to switch back and forth between the two and being able to be both speaker and audience.

At the conclusion of telling time, Miriam uses the same kind of "thank you" cue with additional cues that the context of the group is shifting: "Thank you. That's all the time we have today for telling time. You know what, today isn't Monday anymore. . . ." With such a simple set of sentences, children turn their attention to the calendar and are prepared to discuss days of the week or holidays or classroom helpers.

Art project. The second activity was an art project. Using a few words as transition, the teacher also created a physical transition so that the children gathered around the largest desk set in the art and lesson area. Miriam introduced the lesson by reminding them that they had all just had a week's vacation. She named a number of activities they might have done on their vacation and one of them was a trip to Florida to see the ocean. Her speech about oceans was filled with emphasis, perhaps to focus their attention upon the specific topic. She said, "I thought about the ocean and I tried to

remember things you might see in the ocean." The children immediately began calling out a number of things which would be found in the ocean.

This use of speech seems to be a significant technique of Miriam's. She did not ask for any ideas from the children, but the children interpreted her statement to be an invitation to give ideas. When she used speech in this way, typically, she slowed her speech, emphasized individual words, and used words about mental processes, as above: thought, tried to remember. She also tended to use hypothetical wording: might, could, maybe.

The art project introduction lasted twenty minutes. During that time Miriam was drawing an ocean full of the kinds of creatures, plants, motions, etc., that were suggested by the students. Throughout the art activity she verbally encouraged imaginative responses. Some she incorporated into her drawing; others she did not. This technique, as with the oral weaving, was deliberate as we will explain later in the paper.

As in telling time, the teacher signalled the end of the introduction. Her words this time have a future orientation, however: "Now wait a minute, stop. You've all got ideas, but I don't have any more room." She then went on to explain and demonstrate the method of making a crayon resist over the drawing. Her cue for the children to begin their part of the work tied back to her mention of their ideas. Holding up her drawing, she said: "This is only part of an ocean, but we need more. I like my ocean but you all had great ideas." While she directed them to pick up their own papers and crayons and to find

places on the floor around the room, her words emphasized their ideas.

The children worked on their drawings for about 25 minutes. During that time, Miriam circulated around the room encouraging them in their ideas, giving praise, eliciting more responses from them; we learned later that her goal is to encourage them to become more and more imaginative. Her language to them included the metaphors of "grow" and "plan" which we will return to later.

As the children finished, they cleaned themselves up and then went to various areas of the room to play games, work puzzles, listen to records, etc. They did this on their own with no instruction from the teacher and they continued to work with these activities until the teacher said: "Boys and girls, I'm going to give you three minutes until story time." Today she checked with each group to make sure that they were finishing and cleaning up. As the children finished their tasks, they took seats on the rug, talking with one another as they waited for storytime to begin. Again, the teacher used both a verbal and a physical cue for transition to a new activity, this time with the verbal cue separated from the physical cue and a time limit mentioned.

Storytime. After all of the children were seated on the rug, the teacher gave a brief introduction to the book: "It's not a very big book, but it may make you think big thoughts." As she opened to the title page, she said, "Oh, I like the get-ready pages in this book." Finally, she began reading the story, pointing out the action in the illustrations. Throughout the reading, the children made comments about the story. As in the art activity, she responded to or

incorporated some of these ideas and some she ignored. (Her method of reading a book will be examined in more detail later in the paper and is also being used to compare with the results of Study I and Study V in which we ask children to read favorite storybooks and to identify book parts for us. Cf. Sulzby & Otto, 1982.)

Summary

The audiotape allowed us to have a rather complete record of the teacher's use of language in these activities which we thought were significant; however, it did not give us the opportunity for visual examination of how non-verbal cues fit with the verbal cues in creating the social environment of the classroom. Anderson's handwritten observations could hint at this relationship but not capture it in the way that videotape could. The audiotape had expanded and confirmed our hypotheses about Miriam's use of language; now we would expand it further with videotape.

The Findings: Videotaped Day

The videotaped session was conducted on Tuesday, May 12, 1981. The same three activities, telling time, art activity, and storybook reading, were recorded.

Telling time. With the telling time activity, the physical setting, teacher cues, and probes were similar. Additional information was added by the camera's ability to capture Miriam's facial expression and body movements during the children's telling.

Art activity. Being able to view the transition and introduction to the art activity repeatedly enabled us to become more aware of how

Miriam used non-verbal cues in creating the social structure of the classroom. For example, in her introduction to the lesson which dealt with printing on a large sheet of paper using differently shaped "found objects" dipped in paint, she modelled choosing the tools she wanted for printing while she verbalized her reasons for her choices. She also modelled the manner in which the children were to carry their pictures from one paint station to another, again verbalizing her reasons for having to carry it gently:

"Watch. Did you see how I picked it up carefully at the edges? Now I have to pretend something. I have to pretend right now that I'm going to a different paint station because my paint station will no longer be on the table. For instance, there's one over there. (Motioning across the room.) I take it to the floor. There's one over by my desk with green. I take it to another paint station. The hall will have it, too. Here I'm carrying it easily on the edges because my hands are a little bit painty. New paint station. Can you imagine that for a minute? New paint station."

This technique of modelling a behavior physically while simultaneously verbalizing her thoughts and asking them to take part mentally is one of Miriam's favored styles of teaching. She simultaneously models thinking and doing. Typically, she usually includes her reactions as well, so that feelings are included in her model of "how to be" in the kindergarten classroom.

In addition to helping expose Miriam's combination of physical and verbal modelling, the videotape also provided documentation of Miriam's physical activities while the children work. Understanding this activity allows us to expand our hypotheses about how the social structure is conveyed and maintained. During the children's work time, Miriam continually moved about the room. Sometimes she simply observed the work going on. At other times, she would speak with one of the children, giving encouragement, praise, asking questions, and eliciting ideas, usually indirectly. A typical example was taken from the videotape:

Teacher: Control your rim and see what it does, Stephanie. Give it a try. You like the rolling rim best. I think they're pretty interesting, too. Is that what this was here? What about this print here? What was that? Do you remember?

Stephanie: That was, um, back there.

Teacher: Ohh. (Pause) It rolled up fast, didn't it? Why don't you try more of the blue object for printing? I think you've got room, Howie. Give it a try. See if you can get a little more. There's a lot of room for a regular print. It might surprise you.

The children tended to continue working as she spoke to them, responding only occasionally. However, they often incorporated her suggestions or their own ideas which seemed to be generated by the

statements she made. What we seemed to observe here was that in this classroom comments do not have to be acknowledged through a formal evaluation, whether by child to teacher or vice versa.

Storytime. The videotape enabled us to see the physical setting for the storybook reading as well as the teacher's non-verbal actions accompanying the reading of the story. In reading a book to the children, the teacher usually sits on a chair facing the children who are seated on the rug. She holds the book up to the side of her body so that the pictures face the children. She usually reads the title and all of the pages prior to the first pages of text. She calls these the "get-ready pages" and usually points out the author's and illustrator's names.

In this day's session, the teacher did not read the opening pages. Instead, she began her introduction by discussing the many colors used in the art project:

And because you used so many colors, I got to thinking about stories. There's something in the story that had lots and lots of colors. What? (Pause) Elmer (stressed) has lots of colors. Here he is. Elmer is the story of a patchwork elephant. And a patchwork elephant would have many, many colors. Why, he has green, and orange, and yellow, and pink, and black, and white.

Her introduction/transition as well as her choice of story tied in with the art activity. Thus she utilized oral and written language to expand her children's experiences with and abilities to describe colors, as well as to imagine a variety of uses for color.

While she read the story, she often held the book so only she could see the pages. She did not show the picture until the moment when the story words described the scene. The children's comments, mentioned earlier, tended to be predictions about where the story was going and what the illustrations would show. Their bodies would lean forward as if trying to get closer to the action of the story. While using these techniques, the teacher often laughs or looks sad or says, "You're going to like this," while holding the book facing her. The children seem to get more excited when she does this and to increase their predictions and attentive posture.

Miriam's reasons for choosing this particular method of reading, her emphasis upon the art activities, and her use of language were addressed in our final data gathering device: the teacher interview.

The Findings: Teacher Interview

Through the weekly observations we had become aware of the most commonly recurring activities (telling time, art projects, and oral storybook reading) and we had examined audiotaped and videotaped samples of those activities to gain detail. Throughout this process, we were formulating hypotheses about how the teacher conceived of the social structure in the classroom. In addition, we were gaining an awareness of how language was used to convey this structure. In all, we believed that it was the teacher's intention to be a social and linguistic model for the children in her classroom. After formulating this idea, we wanted to check back with the teacher to see if our understandings were accurate through an ethnographic interview.

Thus we interviewed Miriam Kendall on Thursday, May 28, 1981, with specific questions developed from our research at that point. Part of our concern centered around whether she intended to be a model or not. Additionally, we wanted to know if she thought of herself as planning for specific purposes with the children. Six questions were designed to elicit her views about purposes, planning, and means of control. Three questions centered on the art project. Purpose was interwoven here as well because we asked her about her philosophy for the projects. Additionally, we were interested in whether she noticed how long her introductions were and how she selectively attended to some of the children's responses but not others. The remaining questions had to do with book reading and "talking," or oral discussions and conversation. We asked her specifically about her views on probing for a certain answer, a typical teacher behavior which we found her to use rarely. She answered Sue Anderson's questions thoughtfully and discussed them again with Sulzby at the de-briefing session and during planning days the following fall.

Background. Miriam has taught only kindergarten for her 23 years of teaching. She has a B.S. in education and has taken few additional courses. Most of her continuing education has been through district-sponsored in-service workshops.

She commented that one of the in-service workshops has left a definite mark on her teaching style, a workshop on learning disabilities that helped her develop finer observational techniques. She first used the techniques to do what she calls "finite skills like letter-sound relationships, left-to-right, balance, coordination, and

the like," with much individualized instruction.

Miriam has adapted what she got from the workshop in two ways, both of which seem instructive to revealing her conception of her role. First, she now tends to work with the group as a whole, rather than individually. She still keeps notes on individual children and uses them in her "walks" and "conversations" with the children while they work. She commented that working with the group as a whole has forced her observation skills to become more acute. Second, she said that she now tends to make more observations about the child's social skills rather than about "finite skills" alone.

This second comment about social skills seems to be indirect evidence that she sees her role to have a social function. She expanded upon this notion as she discussed what she believed the kindergarten experience should be for the child. Again, she stressed social skills but there was a heavy emphasis upon the child as a thinker as well as a social being.

Miriam said that she wanted her kindergarteners to spend their year "learning how to learn." She attempts to give them living experience in kindergarten that brings in the social and emotional aspects. That is, she wants them to develop skills that help them cope in this new world, kindergarten, because it is different from the world at home. Here she stopped to describe in detail how she sets up these expectations on the first two days of the year. (Sulzby checked back to confirm that, indeed, these expectations are clearly set during the opening days, with a number of themes: group, including you-and-me; our place; plan; remembering; feeling; thinking;

waiting; challenge; along with introductions to her cues and special way of talking.)

Miriam referred to the coping skills as "goals" that she has for the children. She wants them to develop independent thinking skills and she wants to give them opportunities to make their own decisions. She feels this is very important, thus she uses the "working time" to provide the children with an opportunity to use independent thinking skills and to make their own decisions. (We noted later that we see her using her pet phrase, "What is your plan?" frequently to individuals during working time.) She avoids criticism of the children. She attempts to encourage them positively and to provide them with opportunities to stretch beyond what they are doing. She wants them "to feel like they can keep expanding forever without ever achieving failure."

Art projects. One of her primary activities is the series of art projects that fill a large amount of the school year. In describing her goals in art, Miriam said that she wants her children to expand and to grow through experimentation with media and that the product itself isn't important. We had seen her stress filling space and had wondered if this stress were an expectation about the product; now she informed us that the expectation was about the child's expansion. She also wants the children to be in touch with their feelings as well as how their activity makes others feel. For this reason, she expresses all of her own thoughts and feelings about her art as she demonstrates the media for the children. We had noticed her stress upon evaluation in personal feeling (see Menig-Peterson & McCabe, in press) and had

noticed her rare use of evaluation in the correct/incorrect sense as documented in "lessons" (Mehan, 1979) so her explanation was enlightening.

Miriam uses art to emphasize organizational skills as well. She itemized four skills which she treats under the rubric "organizational." First, the child must gather his own materials. She does not arrange the materials in a packet--children must know where to get the materials. If they cannot do this, they know they will be unable to do the project. Second, the child has his or her own idea which may or may not stem from Miriam's demonstration. Third, she hopes to see some incorporation of her presentation in their work, some sign that they have grasped the concepts that were conveyed to them. Finally, she hopes that they will expand through experimentation and sharing of ideas with those around them. It is this final goal that prompts her to circulate around the room using oral language to encourage. These skills seem to include materials, one's original ideas in response to a model or direction, and on-going revision and evaluation.

She described her art introductions as being a time in which she sets up a sharing atmosphere through verbalization. She considers her function to accept and incorporate the children's verbal input into her demonstration. Her goal for the verbalization/demonstration is "to get everybody's minds thinking and working constructively."

Book reading. We asked Miriam to tell us what she was trying to do when she reads a book to the children. She stated that her basic goal is for children to hear a good story. Again, she uses herself as a touchstone. She said she wants her children to know that books can make you feel and think so she picks books that challenge her affectively.

and intellectually. She may also pick a book with certain children in mind. She thinks that every child does not need to like or respond to all of every story.

Miriam is aware of her book-reading technique. She said she deliberately gives verbal expression to her thoughts and feelings about the book as she reads it. She wants her children to know that it is acceptable to express their feelings about a book. She also wants to develop an appreciation for good literature in her students.

Withholding the pictures has a definite purpose in her reading. Her goal is for her students to develop a sense of anticipation involving prediction and confirmation or refinement. As they begin predicting, she listens to them and mentally evaluates their guesses to see if they are following a logical form of thinking. Miriam cautioned us again at the end of our questions about her technique that her main goal is for the children to enjoy "and get a lot out of" books.

Structure. Miriam spent little time discussing schedules and plans as such but referred to them in the context of the social structure of the classroom. She said that she does have a general plan of what she wants to cover in the year as well as in a given day but that she rarely sets up strictly time-structured segments and she always remains flexible. She sets up the social structure during the first few days of class. She gathers her group together on the rug to give them a sense of group. (Notice also how the physical structure of the room becomes defined functionally.) During this session, she does some singing and story-telling with them. (Sulzby observed that the content of these activities stresses both groupness and individual

membership in the group.) She also has a ritual in which she dismisses the parents after showing the children that the parents do not fit into "our chairs" and "our room," an idea that seemed inhumane in description but seemed warm and reasonable when the ritual was observed during the following fall (1981).

On the third day when the children come in, Miriam takes them around the room to all of the activities which they may engage in, activities which they were allowed to use "idly" the first two days. Now, she asks each child what he or she plans to do today (what his or her goals are). Thus she establishes her key phrases about plan and working. After the children have chosen their activities and have been at work for a while, she plays a brief tune on the piano. The room gets dramatically quiet because of the introduction of the new element and now she makes the transition into clean-up and gathering on the rug. During this transition, she commends the children upon their plans and tells them that they have to do very hard work now. They have to remember how things were and how to clean up. She makes each step memorable through deliberate, stressed, dramatic language as well as through demonstration and cues. Thus, during the first few days of class she intentionally introduces her students to the structure of her class that she expects them to hold through the year.

Language. Miriam's description of the introduction to school structure led easily into our questions about her use of language. We worded the question as neutrally as we could, "What kind of talking do you like to do with your students?" She discussed a number of uses of language, but did not mention her dramatic phrasing. She said that

she asks questions to encourage, not to quiz. At times she deliberately becomes a participant and acts out appropriate behavior for the children to model. At other times she "just visits," as she calls it, just converses with a child to let the child know that she finds what the child is thinking worthwhile and to let the child know she is interested in his or her thinking. She said that she also gives directions and suggestions; she considers suggestions to be encouraging rather than judgmental.

We asked her if she finds herself following the model Mehan (1979) described of asking a question with specific desired responses, then probing until appropriate answers are given. She said she did not feel she does that very often; our observations had documented this statement. She said she tends to say, "What do you think?" to a child. An alternate strategy is for her to ask a question and then give her own answer, saying, "What about ... ?" Again, her tendency is to model but to ask for the child's evaluation of what has been modelled. She said that she feels she doesn't press children for correct answers; instead, she listens to their responses with general, often long-range goals in mind. She wants to see if the child's answer is logical, whether the child has difficulty with "word-finding," if the child is comfortable with expressive language, rather than if the child can give the right answer.

Miriam's final comments were surprising to us although we had seen evidence for her claims. We knew that Miriam was opposed to formal instruction in written language. We had avoided characterizing language as much as possible, even using "talking" in the earlier

question. Now, we asked her what she feels is her general focus for her teaching.

Miriam told us that she is "very definitely focusing" on creating a verbal language community and that skills such as writing, reading, and mathematics are secondary. She said that verbalization is the most important thing she is doing in her teaching. To walk into her room and see her art activities, to see the children working, to hear piano signals might be misleading as it was to us at the outset of this investigation. Now, as we heard Miriam express this goal, we could understand that verbalization, of a very special kind, is indeed her focus. The next section deals with the metaphors and important phrases Miriam uses that seem to illustrate this focus, examples of how her preferred language use can be illuminated by her statements in the interview, and, finally, a categorization of her language using Broudy's (1976) categories.

The Findings: Language Use Across the Year

As part of our investigation of this teacher, Miriam Kendall, as a linguistic and social model, we looked at her metaphors and pet sayings; how she uses language within the classroom to convey social expectations; and, finally, how her language usage seems to be distributed according to Broudy's categories of replicative, applicative, associative, and interpretive uses.

Teacher's Favorite Sayings: Her Metaphors

Each teacher has his or her own "pet sayings" which he or she uses frequently to convey important cultural messages to the class. Sometimes the teacher seems almost unaware of the import of these

sayings but, in Miriam's case, we felt that the phrases and metaphors were carefully chosen to be part of the means by which the structure and code of the class were set. First we will describe the phrases and the interpretation we gave them. In the remainder of this section, the other examples often include variations of the meanings underlying these phrases.

Grow. We have found that Miriam's most common metaphor is included in the phrases, "It's growing!" or "Something's growing here," said in a tone of wonder. Her face is usually directed toward what the child is doing and, as we will see later, she may lift the drawing or art work to direct other children's attention to it. Her tone and movements seem to be part of a total ritual of wondering attention. She seems to convey awe or amazement with the child's creation.

Grow is almost always used during art activities but it often pops up in her conversations with the children during working time. The metaphor is in keeping with her ideas about the art projects, that they should be an experience in which the child experiments with a medium to see what he or she can achieve with it. By saying that a piece of art is "growing," the teacher is encouraging continued independent thinking and creativity. This is in contrast to a teacher who might say, "My, what a pretty picture you've drawn," or "Isn't that nice!" These kinds of phrases imply that the work is completed and that creativity has run its course, according to Miriam Kendall, and she doesn't want to imply that. She wants to encourage the child to go back and reach for heights of creativity yet to be imagined.

Notice that her prompts do not require the child to analyze or carry on logically-sequenced explanations as in the dialogue teaching of Marion Blank (1973). At the same time, these prompts do require the self-regulation and self-evaluation that are characteristic of Blank's "well-functioning" children and are similar to Clay's (1978) and Holdaway's (1979) descriptions of self-regulation.

The effect upon the children of Miriam's use of "It's growing," seems to confirm that this phrase does help set the social climate of the classroom. Rather than leaving a task or turning in the paper, they often turn back to their task with renewed vigor, as if new doors had opened in their minds. When children finally turn in their projects, they often announce to Miriam, firmly, "It's done."

Plan. Another common phrase used by Miriam to the children is, "What is your plan?" This phrase is used in two ways. In private conversations with the researchers she uses the phrase to evaluate how children are working and, on the playground, how they are playing together on such projects as building sand worlds or using the wooden wheelbarrows. When directed toward children, usually in the working time, it often prompts expansion, as discussed above.

Occasionally, the "plan" question conveys the message that the child is exhibiting unsatisfactory behavior that the child needs to think about. A child may be running about the room, taking toys from other groups, or withdrawing. When Miriam observes this behavior, she takes the child aside and simply asks for his or her plan for the day. The child usually thinks for a moment and then names an activity which he or she has

left or now gets involved in.

In using the "plan" question this way, the teacher has used a positive technique to correct a disruptive child. She has conveyed a number of underlying messages about behavior and structure in the classroom. First of all, her way of disciplining or correcting provides the child with a social model of how the child should behave or react when someone else angers him or her. Second, she has made it clear that the child must re-evaluate his or her goals and find a plan more in keeping with those of the other group members. Finally, the message is conveyed that the child himself or herself must make his or her own decisions. These decisions must, however, be tied in with the group and the child must therefore be aware of himself or herself and of the group as s/he considers goals. This phrase about "your plan" is the essence of Miriam's positive correction in the classroom. It serves as a disciplining device, as an encouragement for independent thinking, and encouragement for the child to develop a positive self-image. Miriam's ideas seem consistent with Miller, Galanter, and Pribram's (1960) use of "Plan" as the basic unit of behavior.

In the section that follows, Miriam's basic messages underlying "grow" and "plan" can be examined in specific contexts.

Uses of Language in the Classroom

Miriam Kendall had told us that she wanted to create a verbal language community. Let's now look again at how she uses language as a structuring and focusing device. The activities here are art projects and book reading. We will examine these activities to see how she

conveys her goals to the children through language use.

In art, Miriam's basic goal is to allow the children to experience different media, including new ways of using old media. Her focus is upon creative thinking skills. In her art lessons, the product is not the important goal. The goal is the experience, including how the children feel about what they are doing and how they can make others feel through their art. For example, here's how she frequently speaks to a child about an art project:

Howie, you can turn it (his art product) anyway you want, so it pleases you the most. Look, let me hold it away from you. It looks a little different each time you turn it, doesn't it? I know, it makes you feel good.

That's the feeling I get when I see it, too.

The teacher is very aware of the power of language. Earlier we characterized much of her language as use of "oral weaving" in which she creates a verbal fabric both out of her speech and that of the children; this fabric is highly contextualized (Olson, 1977; Sulzby, 1981), and includes the physical surroundings and their joint ventures. During Miriam's art demonstrations we noted that the children are constantly calling out new ideas for her to use in her own piece of art. Some of these comments she repeats, restates, or references in her language stream accompanying her actions, some she does not. Rather than being a lack of attention, she says that her choices about responding are deliberate (although it is clear from observation that some of the children's comments may simply not have been heard). Her explanation is that she

wants to use verbalizations from the more vocal children as a springboard for the quieter children. As Miriam explains it, often one child's verbalization will lead to an idea's being thrown out by someone who hasn't contributed at all. She does not immediately focus upon that quiet child by commenting upon the contribution but she continued her "oral weaving" of the total demonstration. It is during her observations of working time that she watches for how the quieter child works after such a breakthrough in the demonstration. Thus her plan for each child's performance can extend over time and activities.

She gives much thought to how she places children in small groups for the art work following the demonstrations. Miriam describes the small groups as being conducive to conversations between the children. She herself circulates, making comments about their thinking and good ideas, treating these comments as "encouragements." She says that she will throw out suggestions if a child seems not to have grasped the use of the medium. She says that the child "might use them and he might not," that both child and teacher are aware that there is no obligation to do so. She seems to convey this message both through the general expectations that have been built into the social structure and, currently, through her tone of voice in making the suggestion and in her treatment of the child's products as things that are growing, things that evoke feelings, things that can be shared. As she circulates, she seems to take the posture of a "visitor," and she often calls this activity, "visiting." We observed the children converse with her while she visits, often while continuing to work, and

then continue to v. and converse among themselves as she moves away to another group.

We saw a variety of uses of oral language as Miriam circulated. Besides inquiring about their work, about what they are pretending, and how their ideas are growing, she may, from time to time, introduce new terminology, in the context of their ongoing work. She may give suggestions: "The floor is a great place to sit but not the rug. The rug is too soft. Your crayons won't come out bright." She may give directives, as to Stephanie in the example given earlier: "Control your rim and see what it does, Stephanie." As mentioned earlier, she rarely searches for a "correct answer," rarely holding the floor for a child to give a particular answer, although she may set the stage for a child to contribute or demonstrate. The main time that she insists on precise turn allocations is when she reprimands by asking a child what his or her plan is. When she does that, she insists that the child answer, usually verbally but always behaviorally.

Throughout Miriam's language use we thought that we also saw a great emphasis upon children's becoming aware of their thought processes. While this was not emphasized in the teacher interview, it was evident in the observations, in the de-briefing, and in Sulzby's follow-up visit to the first days of school in 1981. Words like think, know, remember, and idea were generously distributed in Miriam's speech to the children, but that could be the case with any speaker. We watched, instead, for instances in which she used her cues of slowed and emphatic speech and found them. A typical example would be, "I want you to think for a

moment. (Pause in which the children are still and silent.) No. I don't want you to say-A-word. Just think. Did you ever see something like this?" (Demonstration.) The speech units are segmented with list-like intonation. She says, "No," to their silence as if to make them aware that they have indeed stopped. Sometimes she warns them: "This will be very, very hard and you will have to think very, very hard. It may be one of the hardest things you ever have to do. See if you can remember a time when you found a special place to be alone."

During the de-briefing, Miriam watched children's faces as they viewed the videotape which had been taken two weeks earlier. Her comments to Sulzby were about whether or not individual children would remember the day. She watched one child intently for the first sign that he remembered; she saw the child's face begin to light up and commented, "I think he's remembering now." When the child began excitedly to comment about other things that happened that day and to predict what would next appear on the screen, she said, "Oh, I'm glad. I wondered if that would happen."

The Nature of the Teacher's Language

Earlier, we claimed that Miriam Kendall's language usage emphasized what Broudy (1976) has called the associative and interpretive uses of language in preference to the replicative and applicative uses. Here we present instances of each kind of usage taken from the observations.

Broudy uses the term replicative to mean the basic facts and information that are imparted through schooling, often calling for rote memorization. This input is the foundation for higher mental processes

but in its acquisition the input is treated as if it should be learned "as given." The only clearcut instance of this kind of demand by Miriam was in her use of the copycards with the red dots discussed earlier. Here she required that the children learn the conventional form of their names, in upper and lower case, oriented in the conventional manner. In general, replicative learning was not particularly evident in her classroom. Rather, she wanted to build upon and to supplement the facts and information they already had. In general, her usage was not replicative; instead, facts and information were used in associative and interpretive ways. New information and new procedures were usually inserted in the context of the higher level tasks.

The second use of schooling and language is application. In application one uses the constants learned replicatively in algorithms or routines to solve a problem. Miriam does give children a number of opportunities for application in which there is one or a finite set of solutions, although she is more likely to deal with open-ended problems in which association and interpretation are called for. Here is an example of applicative learning of the more constrained sort. After some brief assessment of the children's knowledge of numbers, Miriam moved on to the notion of combinations. Here she taught the children a game she calls "chip dropping." The idea of the game is to take a certain number of chips, say 8, and to drop them on a piece of paper which has a circle drawn on it. The children count how many chips land inside the circle and how many land outside the circle. Since they know they started with a certain number of chips,

their combination (say, three in the circle and five outside) will equal the original number of eight. The stress of the lesson is upon the application of the procedure of counting the separate sets and saying that they are the original total.

Associative uses of learning and of language are high in Miriam's classroom. In associative uses "the resources of the individual are activated by non-logical relations to the situation," such as contiguity, resemblance, frequency, effect, and other laws from associative learning. In particular, Miriam uses language associatively in the art projects and children make similar contributions. Here's a bit from the May art project:

Child: . . . looks like a rocking chair.

Teacher: Yeah. I can a bit, maybe I can. Let's see what happens here. I think I can start it here. Oohh!

Child: It looks like an upside down tree.

Teacher: Oh, isn't that a great tree?

Look what I'm coming up with

Teacher: I'll tell you, if I had to sit on that chair, I'd sit there like a sandwich . . . I'd be squished, I'd be squished. I'd look like --

The individual conversations between the teacher and students during working time also incorporate this kind of non-logical comparison between the concrete activity and thought processes of either the teacher or student. Metaphors and similes abound and seem to be used by Miriam

to cultivate creative thinking.

The final use of schooling which Broudy mentions is interpretive which involves more reflection than the other uses. Interpretation includes categorization, classification, prediction, and inference and is the basis of formal logical thinking. An example is Miriam's use of withholding the pictures during book reading then listening to evaluate the logic of the children's predictions based upon the information which they have gained from the story thus far as well as their own knowledge. Miriam expressed her expectations for the children that they would use many sources of information and interpret them in order to make logical predictions.

Limitations

We have used ethnographic tools in order to investigate the classroom from the teacher's viewpoint instead of from our preconceived notions. We generated hypotheses from data we gathered in observations and then checked those hypotheses from more objective records of the classroom, the audiotapes and videotapes. We also checked with our primary informant and found that our account seemed to capture many of her implicit practices and goals.

As we analyze the data we have collected, we are aware that our own cultural blinders have kept us from gathering other data that might have informed us further. For example, we are teachers ourselves and neglected to ask about many of the artifacts of the classroom. We asked, for example, why Miriam had the playhouse area in front of the chalkboard but we did not ask her what pencils were for, why she had

crayons out, why mobiles hung in the room, and many other questions that might have come to mind had we taken the stance of an alien or an ethnographer more rigorously.

Summary

From this analysis of classroom observations, audiotapes, videotapes, and teacher interview, we conclude that the teacher, Miriam Kendall, has given great thought to what role the kindergarten experience should play in the overall life of these children. She has made choices about what to emphasize, what to touch on lightly, and what to avoid during their year with her. Her goals are both social and linguistic. Socially, she established a notion of group on the first days of the year and involved with that notion of group is an emphasis upon awareness of one's own thought processes, feelings, goals, and possibilities. She uses language dramatically, weaving her own language, children's language, and the physical context into a unit. She does not "give lessons," typically, but spends much time developing a verbal context, including both private and public "conversations." She uses metaphors and set sayings to further the structure of the classroom that she has established. Her goals and structure are implicit. It was only in retrospect, through review of the data presented here, that the goals and structure became more explicit to us and were verbalized explicitly by the teacher in response to our questions. Had we gone into the classroom keeping our pre-formed notion of looking for instances of conversation, storytelling, dictating, writing, reading, and editing and of topic and audience, we might have

missed those aspects of conversation and audience that became salient through this investigation. The data can still be analyzed using our other breakdown of language but uncovering Miriam Kendall's implicit model will aid us to understand what has been conveyed to the children both socially and linguistically during their kindergarten year.

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Chapter Ten

Studies VI and VII: Writing and Reading After Entry Into Formal Instruction

Introduction.

During 1981-82, the nine case study children were briefly followed into first grade through two studies done in December and in May. The children were placed into three different classrooms with teachers whose approaches differed somewhat. All three teachers used a basal reader series newly adopted by the school faculty. The faculty had agreed to move "conservatively" through the books of the series, following the teacher manuals and using criterion-referenced tests. Early in December the teachers were interviewed about each case study child in their respective care. As part of that interview, each teacher suggested two basal reader stories to be used in Study VI.

Study VI included all four text-types discussed in Chapter Two. As in Studies II and IV, children told, dictated, wrote, re-read and edited stories, this time on a topic of their choice for an audience of their choice. In a second session, they read a favorite storybook, as in Studies I and V. Additionally, they read a basal reader story that the teacher said they had done well with in reading group and a more difficult story that they had not yet been instructed with, not more than a book level harder in publisher-specified difficulty.

Study VII focused on three text-types: handwritten stories by the children, a storybook read to the group of children by one of the

researchers, individual copies of which were given to each child, and a common story adapted from a storybook for the primer level of the basal reader series. The use of two common stories at the end of the school year allowed for some more direct comparison among the children than the techniques used in other studies.

Both studies were designed to have the personal components between researchers and children be more salient. In Study VI, the interview began with a reacquaintance conversation and reminiscence in which the adults and children talked about the kindergarten experiences. In Study VII, the adults asked the children to write a story for them to keep to remember each child by. They, in turn, gave individual copies of the story, Where the Wild Things Are (Sendak, 1963) to the children, with a personal inscription in the front cover.

Children were found to differ across text-types, as predicted, and to continue to differ in their growing proficiency in writing or reading. While teachers did not think most of the children could write and tended to answer questions about writing in terms of handwriting, all of the children showed advancement in writing. Each was able to write a story that had some degree of completeness, in a more advanced writing system, than in kindergarten and the end of the year, stories for even some of the lowest children were quite good. Study VI showed a drop, or seeming regression, in the cohesive features and specification of context, in the high level readers in storytelling and dictation, such that they dropped below the moderate

and low level readers and their own first grade performance. This results was similar to those reported in other studies. These findings seemed to be due to a greater divergence in what the high level readers were attempting to do structurally and topically.

Additionally, there was some evidence that these children increased in their differentiation between storytelling, dictation, and storywriting as forms requiring features of oral and written language.

The children showed variation within and among groups in both writing and reading. This variation was partially predicted by the kindergarten findings. There appeared to be an effect of reading instruction for some children in the kinds of strategies they used. Children's placement in classroom materials was questionable in some cases, with some over-placed and some under-placed. In all cases, the children's composition abilities were underestimated by the teachers and instruction as described by the teachers seemed in appropriate. The findings raise many questions about the interface between development and instruction.

Study VI.

For brevity's sake and since the method is basically the same as that used in Study II and III, I report only the results, sketching in methodological considerations where needed. First, the results of reading from the four text-types are discussed by group, then specific topics are covered. These include children's differentiation between storytelling and dictation; the form of children's writing; children's

re-reading of favorite storybooks; children's reading from two levels of basal reader.

Results by Group: Reading from Four Text-Types

High emergent readers. In kindergarten three girls, Betsy, Jodie, and Nicole, were selected as being high in emergent reading ability. These girls differed in their approaches to writing during kindergarten but made an overall high level of growth in the knowledge that they seemed to have about both writing and reading, although Jodie and Nicole used unconventionally writing systems.

All three girls were rated as reading independently from their own dictation and own written compositions. Only Betsy, however, used primarily conventional spelling with clear spacing between word units. Nicole used some conventional spelling and very complete invented spelling, a great advance over kindergarten. She edited spontaneously as she wrote. Jodie used more invented spelling but she included some patterns that are hard for an adult to decipher.

Betsy and Nicole were reading independently from their storybooks. Jodie's reading could perhaps be more accurately described as just below independence, as strategy-dependent; however, her book choice makes this judgment questionable. She chose Scrambled Eggs, Super by Dr. Seuss. She allowed a number of odd miscues to stand uncorrected but the book itself have a playful, at time almost nonsensical theme to it. She read stretches quite well and then became fatigued and careless.

Jodie's teacher spoke about her reading comprehension in class in

a way that fits with the judgment of strategy-dependent reading. Her teacher was afraid there was a perceptual problem because she "skips words." She described it thus:

And sometimes loses the meaning. She knows all the words, but as she's reading, she'll leave out--small words which'll throw the--whole context of the story off. And the other--children in the group will catch it. But she would never--catch it--she just--and I have--been asking her--to--to do a little for me, cause I'm not sure why she would miss those lines--I just can't figure it out--other than--er--she--she just--uh--skips a line or something--skips.

As Jodie read Scrambled Eggs, Super, she acted as if she didn't trust her ability to figure out the story using different strategies. When she got to her first stumping section, she complained, "You see, I can't really read," even though she had clearly been re-stating what was on the page with rapid and appropriate intonation. She then went through a stretch where she chose to leave words out or say "whatever," going on with her reading. She was clearly understanding the gist of sections, laughing at the silliness and stopping to paraphrase what was going on, "Oh, boy. He's using all this stuff. Eggs (indecipherable) and he's gonna cook it and he's gonna put that i, that in, that in. Pickles in?" in such an entertaining fashion, that the adult laughed as well.

My conclusion is that Jodie's reading ability and her social characteristics of reducing risk both affect her reading of tougher books (while "readability" is not the only feature affecting a book's difficulty, this book is higher in readability as well as more complex

in structure than books typically chosen by the children as kindergarteners). Jodie was not observed to work hard on making sense of any passage; she seemed to want the meaning to be readily apparent or she would treat it like nonsense or "too hard" whenever it wasn't. Notice that she appears independent in the two basal reader stories yet her teacher complained about her comprehension.

All three girls in the high group were judged by the research team to be independent in the two levels of basal reader stories. However, there was a discrepancy in the levels assigned to them. The child who has been independent in all tasks since kindergarten began, Betsy, was assigned instructionally to a second preprimer in December with a third preprimer given as her difficult level. She sailed through both passages. Nicole was placed instructionally in a preprimer and a supplemental first reader was given as her difficult book while Jodie's stories came from the front and the back of the supplemental reader. This order is just the reverse of what our results would have indicated for these three girls and appear to be due to differences in how the teachers instruct.

Moderate emergent readers. These children continue to maintain their ranking relative to the high group children. Only one of these children, Andrea, appears to be easily judged as independent in any text-type. In all cases, the children were placed in reading books for group instruction by their teachers.

Andrea, our "ideal" child who produced stories in all of the possible tasks of the idealized paradigm of Chapter Six, but who appeared to have great difficulty in conversational turn-taking and other social functions was judged to be reading easily and independently in a story in the first preprimer. She was judged to be strategy-dependent, focusing on known words, in the second preprimer. These results are consistent with her teacher's suggestions about basal reader placement for her.

Inconsistent with her teacher's judgment, however, are Andrea's abilities to write. The teacher stated that she could not write and did not try, yet in kindergarten we had found her to use invented spelling and to create expansive stories, particularly during Study III when we had children write in the classroom. Her teacher's comments centered on her handwriting and not her composition abilities, as was clarified in the interview probes.

Andrea's re-reading from dictation and from her handwritten composition were both rated as level five, on the "Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Dictated and Handwritten Stories." In her case, she showed attention to print in both attempts but both times her story was not stable with the original during dictation and as stated.

during writing. When she was asked to re-read a second time from dictation, while pointing at words, her reading deteriorated. She added clauses as well as changing the wording. She both sounded out words while writing, showing knowledge of letter-sound relationships, and she re-read during writing, showing a sense of monitoring her intended message. Her performances in both tasks seemed self-assured.

When Andrea re-read her favorite storybook, Cloudy with a Chance of Meatballs (Barrett, 1979), she was judged to read aspectually at first, focusing briefly on known words and some letter-sound knowledge. She was also predicting a storyline schematically. Soon, however, she protested and the examiner urged her to "pretend." At that point she fell back to a level which is a mix of oral and written language characteristics ("Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks," level B1c). The initial attempt to read aspectually is related to her attempt to read from the "difficult" basal reader story. She read in a fashion similar to strategy-dependent storybook reading, focusing inordinately on known words. Since basal readers introduce words and patterns within words in a sequential fashion, this finding is intriguing.

Chad gave a different performance between re-reading his dictation and re-reading his own writing; however, his written composition was two sentences patterned after basal reader texts. His dictation re-reading was level five, like Andrea's. His re-reading of dictation improved with pointing but he still did not hold the story stable. When writing, he re-read voluntarily and when re-read after

he finished his story was stable and his eyes were on print. However, his use of the basal pattern along with his reading of other text-types makes this performance suspect.

When reading a favorite storybook, he began reading depending on the strategy of remembering the text, looking at print, but not reading the words as written. He then shifted to a strategy of reading only known words; by this strategy what he read no longer made sense. He used this same strategy-dependent way of reading for both basal reader selections, both coming from the first preprimer of the reading series. In the second story, from the end of the book, his attempt was very labored and the examiner allowed him to stop reading mid-way through the story.

Doug also showed a discrepancy between re-reading his dictation and his handwritten story. Like Chad, he read the dictation at level five, attending to print but not holding the story stable. While stability is judged by the semantic match between clauses, Doug also showed an unusual behavior by dictating "two-wheeler" in his first sentences and then re-reading it twice as "bike." This behavior would have been more typical had the sentence been further into the story. When Doug was asked to re-read the dictation with pointing there was little improvement in the story stability and, again, he showed a behavior unusual in the children's re-reading of dictation in kindergarten. He read some sentences with a behavior more like the strategy-dependent behavior seen with storybooks, substituting specific words for his originals when they made no sense syntactically.

or semantically. He evidently was re-reading, "When my mother taught me how to ride a bike we started on a hill in my front yard," from the second sentence of his story. He started out pointing to the first few words at the end of the first sentence and continued through the second sentence. He read, "We (rising intonation) my-mom-w-went-(pause) my-(pause) front (pause) to (pause) a (pause) hill," ending with a finger-slide across the last words.

Doug used an aspectual focus on known words. Since he was reading the Little Golden book version of The Night Before Christmas, it was even more unusual that he did not seem to be using his memory for the story when reading. He used this same technique with the second basal reader story from the primer. His teacher had said he was in the third preprimer instructionally but his reading of that book, while accurate, was slow and sounded labored, perhaps because he was reading in a strategy-dependent rather than independent fashion. Thus we concluded that Doug was probably placed inaccurately in instructional materials; furthermore, there is an indication that his instruction is affecting the developmental patterns that we saw in kindergarten so that he was now treating dictation and storybooks more like basal readers.

Low emergent readers. Each of the low children made progress. Richard, in particular, had become a quite accomplished writer in comparison with his kindergarten attempts. Mike showed growth in dictation and Carrie was showing some attention to print when re-reading her own writing.

Richard was a child whom we had initially placed in the moderate group with Doug in the low group. The kindergarten teacher, Miriam Kendall, disagreed with those two placements, saying that socially these two boys would progress differently in a school setting with Doug working hard and Richard either "hanging back," not being involved in classwork, or being hard to get along with. By inference, we concluded that the two children would get different kinds of attention from a teacher. We observed evidence of this in the classroom and also in our sessions. Richard had been hard for the first adult examiner to get along with and it was only after switching examiners and firmly holding him to tasks that he began to show interest in both writing and reading. He seemed to thrive with the one-to-one attention he got from the researchers and also began to get approving attention from his teacher.

Richard was also receiving "lessons" from his mother at home. I stress lessons because his mother was using basal reader materials and giving formal lessons in contrast to the kind of informal, casual lessons that go on in many homes (see Teale, 1982). His reading in the basal reader series used in school was quite different from the reading by the middle group and other low group children. He read

from both the second and third preprimers smoothly and in an exaggeratedly expressive voice, a voice also associated with reading intonation but rare in first graders unless they have been given lessons in reading expressively (and, hence, often, much practice). He used self-correction behaviors not to correct words called inaccurately but to get the intonation the way he seemed to want it. I judge him to be independent in the basal readers.

Richard made a dramatic distinction between storytelling and dictation in both wording and intonation. He decided to write the well-known story of the Elves and the Shoemaker. His storytelling used the wording and intonation appropriate for a told story, with some interactive language as he tried to figure out the sequence of exchanges between the elves, the shoemaker, and the customers. He seemed to use storytelling as preparation for dictation which he did much more confidently, not losing track of his story as he paused between each word for the scribe. When he re-read his dictation, however, instead of recalling the dictated story he began attempting to sound-out the words. The examiner also used echo-reading with him and he recalled the story easily with this support. After re-reading, he was able to edit easily at the letter-sound, word, and sentence level.

When Richard wrote his story, he did some sounding and called some letter names. However, more like the advanced children in kindergarten, he talked about his story as he wrote and re-read voluntarily as he composed. During one of these re-readings, he

edited voluntarily, from PR for poor, to PooR. He also suggested that it might be spelled P-O-O-E, indicating confidence in his ability to figure out unknown words. His invented spelling was quite good and interspersed with conventional spelling:

ther WZ

a ald

Shoo. makr

and he had

a waf and

he was PooR

This masterpiece was written in blue, black, red, and green crayon and he drew an illustration after the story, a behavior that Graves (1982) considers more advanced than drawing first. While Richard was working with traditional material, he nevertheless showed great growth in writing and re-reading his own writing as well as making distinctions between the related modes that are more conventional than before.

Richard's re-reading from dictation with a sounding-out strategy is a behavior not detected with the kindergarteners and cannot be judged on the "Emergent Reading Abilities Judgments for Dictated and Handwritten Stories," as it currently exists. It is more like the strategy-dependent behavior seen with storybooks. It is also possible that extended research with dictation with first graders might reveal the same strategy-dependent behaviors. However, care should be taken to distinguish between effects of formal instruction and children's developing notions about reading from dictation.

Richard's re-reading of his own writing must be described as independent, particularly since he showed self-monitoring and self-correction strategies both during and after composition. His reading from a storybook was, again, aspectual, switching back and forth between sound-out, calling "known words," and reciting the story as he remembered it. Again, his flexibility in moving from strategy to strategy is a mark of progress in this young man who had seemed so inflexible in kindergarten.

During this time, though, Richard was having the kind of difficulty in first grade that his kindergarten teacher had predicted. He was having trouble with workbook assignments, often crying or tearing up his papers. His teacher expressed annoyance with him in the interview, when the examiner came to get him for the study sessions, and when observed by passersby in the hallway. Now, in contrast with kindergarten, Richard was developing literacy skills that would enable him to do more independent learning. Much of this learning would be used in unstructured time in the classroom since storybook reading and writing (as composition) were not a part of the structured lessons.

In addition to his lessons at home, Richard had worked hard in the interview sessions in kindergarten and also in his classroom, seemingly motivated by the research team's presence. He often came up and sat by an observer in the classroom, "writing my words." In the autumn of first grade, when he saw a researcher passing in the hallway, he called out, "I'm gonna write all my words for you," and

later he showed her a long list of words. This writing typically was of the inventory sort (Bissex, 1980; Gundlach, 1982); usually in conventional spelling, and seemed to be an important kind of practice for Richard. He appeared to use it as one focus for asking the kinds of questions that children have been reported to ask their parents at home about writing. His focus on conventional spelling had been a concern to his examiner in kindergarten; it appears as evidence, again, that children do not all go through the same sequence in writing development, for Richard was now using invention and convention flexibly.

Noreen changed her story between storytelling, dictation, and writing. She had also done this in kindergarten and we now concluded that she showed little evidence of treating her stories as objects of memory. Her re-reading from dictation was the lowest of any of the children in first grade, level four, with her eyes not on print and her story not stable. She continued to use unrelated letters as her form of writing. Since she did not voice during writing, we compared her story to the dictated story and it was different. This time, when re-reading, however, she had her eyes on the paper even though she was not tracking print, placing her re-reading at level five.

Her favorite storybook was the original version of *Ira Sleeps Over*, a story re-written for the primer basal reader in her class (a story we used in Study VII with all the children). Her reading was classified as a low level refusal, again the lowest of any of the children. Her reading from the lowest basal reader story was very

labored and uttered in a flat, word-by-word tone. With the harder story, she appeared to rely on her memory for the story or prediction of the story. This story was supposed to be a new story for her, according to her teacher, but Noreen told the examiner she could read the entire book.

Noreen's teacher had told the examiner that there would not be a story from the book that Noreen knew well. She characterized her as having little knowledge of phonics, fewer than ten sight words, and not remembering things from lesson to lesson, with very poor comprehension. The teacher said that she was placed in the lowest reading group in the first primer, a book they had been in for two months and were going through slowly. The teacher's estimate of Noreen's ability appeared to be fairly accurate; since the philosophy behind the reading series is that the child should be on instructional level, it is not clear why Noreen was "in a book," rather than the readiness program.

In spite of Noreen's relative low reading and writing ability in first grade, she had made progress since kindergarten. Her writing included more letters and some copying of environmental print. Additionally, she added her teacher's name.

Pete was able to compose a story and to keep its gist in memory across the modes of storytelling, dictation, and re-reading. He also attended to the scribe's needs when dictating. He no longer seemed bewildered by her actions in writing but seemed to understand them. When he re-read, his eyes were on the print but not tracking it and

his story was stable, a level five performance. His re-reading from writing was at this same level; however, he had copied his dictation. While his teacher appeared to stress copying in the classroom, this was a strategy that Richard had used in kindergarten, which had seemed to give him much information about how print works. Like Richard, Pete now talked about his writing and asked questions while copying. He seemed to use his speech also as a guide to keeping the sequence of letters straight:

Then after that comes (pause), um,
den, den, and after that comes another W
(long pause while he writes)
Then after that A comes,
then after that W comes--(pause)
Then after that comes a N,
then after that comes I. . . .
Then comes W,
then comes (pause) that, /t/ /t/ /t/ /t/.

Mike first claimed, "I can't read," about his storybook, but he started trying to read it, aspectually, seeming to focus on a known-word strategy, although he was very inaccurate. He used this same strategy with the two basal reader passages, the first two in the first preprimer. His teacher had said that he was not competent with any of the stories but suggested that these would be the easiest. From this evidence, it appears that Mike is using a behavior typically shown developmentally after much more experience with print and that it may have been artificially induced by the beginning of formal instruction.

Mike and Noreen were in the same group for instruction. Both

were predicted to end the year reading at mid-first grade level. When pressed for what this meant, the teacher said that they would probably be reading in a primer. Since both were being given formal instruction when their emergent reading for other text-types seemed so low, we were interested in the spring to see what types of reading behaviors they, and the moderate children, would show.

The teacher was discouraging about the children's growth in writing during the remaining half of the year. She predicted that Noreen would not be able to generate writing on her own and described her current writing achievement thus:

Well, we're working on, y'know, the formation of letters. I don't think she'll be at a point where she'll write on her own, copying, yes, but not writing on her own.

Similarly, as Cox wrote in her case study of Mike, the teacher

"predicted (he) would not be able to write even a sentence independently but probably would be able to copy one." Since neither children were being encouraged in school to write in the ways that children seem to develop without instruction, we were particularly interested in their writing in the spring.

In summary, the children's achievement in first grade appeared to continue at a rate consistent with their kindergarten estimates of emergent reading and writing, with the placement of Richard and Douglas continuing to be problematic. Additionally, the actual behaviors we called emergent reading and writing could still be detected, even in the basal reader selections. Children were using

either the same, or a slightly more conventional writing system.

Distinctions Between Oral and Written Language

(These sections are summaries of conference papers and articles.)

Storytelling and dictation. In Sulzby (1983), the children's storytelling and dictation samples from Studies II, IV, and VI were analyzed by taking comparable sections and making a master tape to use with judges who did not know the children. Two independent judges were asked to listen to paired samples and to judge whether or not the two sounded the same or different. The judges then had to identify which was storytelling and which was dictation, guessing if they were uncertain. They wrote a description of the basis they used for these judgments.

Children were found to increase over the studies in their ability to distinguish between the two modes, both in speed of speech and in wording. Study VI samples were judged last and the judges began to laugh at how obvious the judgments had become.

An additional confirmation of the distinction was gained by timing comparable segments of storytelling and story dictation. By first grade, dictation was much slower and the speed differences made by the lower children were more like those the high children had made previously.

These techniques were used to confirm the judgments by the researchers that differences in intonation and wording could be detected, even when children's storytelling is done as a practice for writing.

Cohesive use of reference. Cox (in press; Cox & Sulzby, 1983) analyzed children's use of pronominal reference. Children were found to produce stories that lacked sufficient text-style anaphoric reference to be appropriate to written language when judged by the strict standards of Halliday and Hasan (1976). However, when judged by the modified techniques of King and Rentel (1981), we found that the children's stories were not non-cohesive but were tied to the immediate context re-stated in the examiner's directions.

Children's use of pronominal reference varied by emergent reading level in kindergarten, as discussed in Chapter Eight; however, in December of first grade, the high children's level of cohesive reference fell below that of the moderate and low groups (see Figure 19, page 407).

Tinzmann, Cox, and Sulzby (in press) used a related analysis of specification of context. In specifying the who, what, when, where, why, and how of story content, again the high group fell below the two other groups (see Figure 20, page 410).

Three possible explanations were offered, either as alternates or joint influences. First, the children may have been becoming increasingly specific about their restriction of text-style anaphora and specification to the written mode. This explanation is further suggested by a second grade replication of Study IV conducted by Cox (Cox & Sulzby, 1983). Second, the drop in pronominal reference might be an effect of the basal readers using repeated nouns rather than pronouns; the drop in specification might be due to the picture-dependent and inference-dependent structure of the stories in the basal readers.

Finally, the effects may be a developmental drop in control of one function as newer functions or goals are added.

An examination of the stories of the high group suggests that the third explanation is certainly plausible. The three girls all seemed to be trying to create more complicated forms of stories. Getsy, in particular, seemed to be taking her old theme of her brother Randall and trying to fictionalize him in an interesting way; she seemed to work on this story across the modes. Her told story is closely tied to interesting actual features of her brother. She begins to add more details in the dictated version, closing with "The end." Her written story is contextualized but introduces her idea of her brother's fantasies.

Well, He want's three eyes

His nose is an inch

and a haf loge

and His Mouth is an inch

and a haf loge He's crasy

I like Him and He likes

me. He talk's all the

time. He thigks Hes

10000 the End

Randall

After his name at the end, she drew a picture of him, with funny chicken-like features.

The other two girls did not write in the genre of "story." Nicole wrote a description of herself and what she likes to do and Jodie wrote an explanation of what basal readers she had already completed, which one she was in currently, which ones she will have next. In contrast, most of the lower children stuck with the story genre. A few duplicated themes that were using in Studies II and IV. One of the most cohesive and specified stories was by Richard, who told, dictated, and wrote the Elves and the Shoemaker story.

Study VII

Study VII took place in two sessions. In the first, we gathered all of the children together in a vacant classroom and told them that we had enjoyed working with them for two years. Each child was asked by the examiner assigned to him or her to write a story that would help the adult remember the child. At the end of the writing, each child read the story to the examiner and gave it to her. The children waited until all were finished, continuing to write or reading a storybook.

When all of the children finished writing, one researcher told the children that we had a surprise for them, to help them remember us. She gathered the children around on a rug and read Sendak's Where the Wild Things Are. When the story was over, each examiner presented her three children with individual, inscribed copies of the book.

For session two, the children were asked about the book Where the Wild Things Are and were then asked to re-read it. After a brief interruption, the child was asked to re-tell the story. The same

procedure was then used with a story from the basal reader primer, a re-written version of Ira Sleeps Over by Weber.

Shift in Terminology and Analysis Techniques

Thus far I have refrained from using terminology and techniques used in schools, as much as possible, attempting to take a fresh look at the early reading and writing behaviors of young children. In the results section of this study, I use school-familiar language again and use techniques like the reading miscue inventory (Goodman & Burke, 1971; Pflaum, 1979 and personal communication).

The expectation in schools is that children of average intelligence will learn to read during first grade. In some schools, the expectation is that they will learn the mechanical skills of handwriting, copying, and some simple conventional spellings. Children are also expected to use these mechanical skills to compose simple sentences or write answers on exercise sheets. In other schools, children are also expected to become writers, in the sense of composing meaningful connected discourse, even "publishing" their own books as in the classrooms observed in the research by Graves (1982) and Gundlach, Litowitz, and Moses (1978, Gundlach, 1982).

The children in this study were of average intelligence, and at mid-year the teachers expressed the belief that even the two lowest children would be reading at the primer level. They predicted that the children would have mechanical writing skills, with the skills of the two lowest children being limited to copying but not composing simple sentences.

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Results

Writing. During the writing session, the children wrote industriously, even though not quietly. The time spent writing, which includes talking about the on-going story, re-reading to oneself or neighbors, and making silly noises, as Richard and Betsy did continually in between other "on-task" activities, ranged from 20 minutes for Jodie to a full hour for Douglas.

Even though these children were not being given instructional opportunities to compose stories and connected discourse, all nine of them wrote a readable composition and all but two read independently from their stories. The writing systems used were mixes of conventional and full invented spelling. Eight differentiated between telling the examiner about the story and reading the story. The range of "genre" was greater across the stories. All of the children wrote the story, seeming to plan beforehand as indicated in the cross-table talk. They illustrated their stories after they finished writing.

All of this without formal instruction.

Insert Figure 25 a, b, c about here

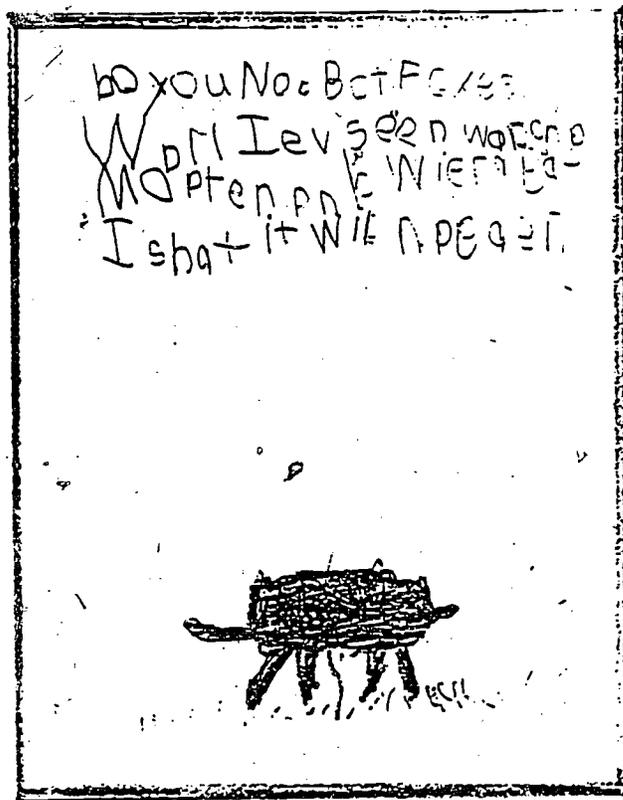
Figure 25 a:

Written Stories of Nine Case Study Children at End of First Grade

<p><u>The Three Birds</u></p> <p>Once there was a bird and his name was Harry. And he was with his girl friend Mary. They were very happy and they had many children. To the next day they had another three children. Then one day Mary had a bad cold. So Harry and the children were very sad. They named it Ooby.</p>  	<p>I like Spring. I am at Summer at new trees I took swimming last.</p>  
<p>one day I saw a ladybug making a house out of sticks and the ladybug had 2 dots then he took a twig and then he made a house for the rest of the when he was done</p>   	<p>There lived <u>The Three Little Pigs</u></p> <p>and a big wolf came and he ate the first pig and the other two pigs were his friends so the pig were sad</p> <p>The End</p>   

Figure 25 c:

Written Stories of Nine Case Study Children at End of First Grade



Expanded options in writing. As can be seen in the reproductions of the nine pieces of writing, the children had increased their options about the genre of writing they would do and had increased their artistry in doing it. Betsy's story, "The Three Bugs" has a wonderful turn of humor when the "happy couple," Harry and Marry not only legitimize their union but consummate it according to Marry's plan to have a baby. Little baby "bugy" is shown in his baby buggy with his mother or father carefully watching overhead. Not only is this story amusing, it presents a pleasing contrast to Betsy's struggles in December to create a fictionalized story about her baby brother who wishes to be 10,000 years old and have three eyes.

Jodie wrote a simple exposition about herself, taking few risks, as usual for her. In form, however, she is more accomplished in using readable invented spelling as she lets us know she is now taking lessons at the high school, New Trier. Contrast her first person narrative with Richard's. Needless to say, they were sitting at the same table, along with Betsy. In between Betsy's and Richard's jokes and funny noises, both of them re-read aloud and talked about what they were writing. While Jodie probably used Richard as the source of her topic, she wrote about her own experiences realistically.

Nicole wrote about the traditional tale, "The Three Little Pigs," transforming it into word play on the pig's names, Harry, Larry, and Cherry and the names of their wolf friend, Garry, with his girls friend Clerry. Like Betsy, Nicole furnished a title and added the formal closing, "The end."

Andrea decorated her written story after writing with the clouds from her illustration. She wrote an exposition about herself in first person. While reading her story indicates that the ladybug is male, when she re-read it she changed the pronouns.

Chad appeared to be using the basal reader story as a model once again. His reader series used dialogue exchanges with the names of characters off-set in the left margin. Most of the children ordinarily omitted these names and a few who were not reading independently added dialogue carriers. When Chad re-read his story, he added the carriers and also added a clause that he seemed to have intended but left out. I return to his re-reading below because he is the one child who was clearly not independently re-reading his own writing.

Chad's story reads: Can you do this, Bill?

Yes, I can, Bob/ Lift this

Okay, Bob.

It was not clear whether Bob ordered Bill to "lift this" or whether Bill interrupted his statement to Bob by inserting his name. Chad attempted to straighten out this confusion in his re-reading but it wasn't clear that he completely understood the problem.

Douglas' spelling from Study II through VII could be taken as a model for the development of invented spelling. While not all children develop through the same sequence, Douglas' spelling development was logical. In his version of the Three Little Pigs, he uses a mature mixture of conventional and invented spelling. Douglas

showed his typical characteristics of perserverence and willingness to try. He wrote for one whole hour, finishing last and reading his story triumphantly, even though he got confused in the middle section.

His story reads:

One day there was three little pigs.
One little pig made his house out of sticks.
The second pig mmade his house out of wood.
The third little pig (erased section, with new start.)
But the smart little pig made his house out of bricks.
The fox came to the first little pig's house
and he huffed and he blow his house.

By now Doug was running out of room and began to write very small on top of the previous lines and to use ellipsis to finish.

And he went to the second pig's house
and he went to the third pig's house
and he huffed and puffed
but he couldn't blow his house down
The end. May. 19, 1982 Doug

Richard's swimming exposition shows the greatest problem-solving about a convention of the writing system in this sample. He is trying to use the contracted "I'm" which he first renders as "I IM," then "IIM'" and finally plays around with at the end of the text with "Iay" with an M on top of it. Notice also his use of the period between May and 18. Richard's exposition also appears to have a title, "I am a swimmer," before the body of the piece begins, along with his formal "the End."

Noreen wrote a poignant third person story about a man living away from his little girls, making a cake (evidently all alone in his little house." From a child who was last writing with random letters,

this easily readable piece is a major accomplishment.

Both Noreen's and Mike's pieces of writing are far beyond the expectations of their teacher. Mike addressed the reader in a manner reminiscent of the young writers Graves (1982) studied. He has used "a lead" to hook the reader: "Do you know about foxes? Well, I've seen one on a mountain and with a gun I shot it with a gun." He wrote this piece a bit at a time, coming up to show it as he went. He appeared to try to edit, inserting the omitted thought "I shot it." Like other beginning writers, though, he added the omitted clause as a whole after the elliptical phrase he was clarifying. Mike's fox has a wound in its abdomen with blood trailing down on the grass. Did Mike copy this piece? We watched him write it bit by bit, asking rhetorical and real questions about spelling as he went along, rejecting any ideas that didn't sound right to him and writing most words with no help from another person. He appeared to have internalized questioning to direct his own writing and thinking. Additionally, when he showed off his composition, he told the story of the real hunt in storytelling intonation, embellishing the ideas in his draft. When he read it, he read the words as he had written them, in reading intonation, tracking the print.

Judging Reading As it Becomes More Conventional

Up until now, I have used analyses that estimate how close the child is to independent reading. With seven of the children, there was clear evidence that they were re-reading their own writing? re-reading during composition, making additions and changes during composition, and re-reading "word-perfectly," or making self-corrections, sometimes to become more accurate to what was written and sometimes to improve what was written. These children were tracking the print visually according to the observations of their examiners.

Another child, Chad, was clearly not reading his composition independently. He could easily be placed on the "Emergent Reading Abilities for Dictated and Handwritten Stories" scale as a five, consistent with his earlier performance.

Douglas is a borderline case. He is clearly reading his print but not easily. As he began to get confused with the crowded, over-written text, he switched from a sounding-out to a memory strategy in a laborious way, as if the two could not be maintained together. This is consistent with his performance as we move to the storybook and basal reader story. For that reason, I think strongly that we need more gradations of reading dictation and handwritten compositions as children approach independence. Douglas has not yet reached the ability to move in a flexible and coordinated fashion from one strategy to another to make sense of text.

Reading a Storybook and Basal Reader Tale

For Study VII, we wanted a comparison across children in which the materials would be held more nearly constant, affording us some more consistent evaluation at the end of first grade. The storybook Where the Wild Things Are was chosen because of its literary quality and because of children's tendency to remember its vivid almost poetic prose. The teachers had decided to end the first grade curriculum with the primer because they thought the series was more difficult than the previous one. We selected a tale that had been re-written in basal reader-ese from a storybook, Ira Sleeps Over by Weber.

Previously we had judged reading from such texts by oral reading along, using judgments about how much the children's speech approximated written language, the actual text, and when they began to attend to print. Such judgments did not penalize children for errors or miscues at the word level until the child neared independence. At the end of first grade, we used a technique used by classroom teachers as well as researchers, the reading miscue inventory. This tool compares the words of the child with the words of the text, making judgments about the cuing systems that the child is using and relationship between those systems. It also uses a retelling technique to estimate comprehension. The form we used for oral reading is an adaptation by Pflaum (1979) which has some reported standards of reliability. Retelling was judged by checking of clauses with the same semantic content of the original text.

The use of the miscue techniques with the same text for children of differing abilities is an adaptation that will results in some

children being judged as having too few miscues to analyze. Since we were concerned with finding independence but not quantifying it, this use was an appropriate exploratory one; however, it results in percentages of agreement changing irregularly from child to child.

Children were asked to re-read and re-tell each of the two texts with a short interruption task between re-reading and re-telling. Two independent judges coded the child's reading onto a copy of the text and then compared the miscue heard. Initial agreement was quite low, around 75%. The two judges re-listened to all questional miscues and came to agreement at the 95% level or better, calling in a third judge to make final decisions. The same technique was used for coding the miscues that were reliably heard on the audiotape, following Pflaum's system.

The results indicated that most of the children had too few miscues to analyze for both text types. Two children read aspectually from the storybook, making their reading attempts more legitimate to classify by the emergent reading techniques than the miscue inventory. These results are presented by child.

Four children, the high girls, Betsy, Jodie, and Nicole, and the low boy, Richard, were judged to be independent in all three text types. Nicole had more trouble with the storybook but gave an overall high performance. She made a number of self-corrections, reducing her miscues to 12 out of 338 words, all high level, and her re-telling was quite high.

The moderate girl, Andrea, had difficulty with retelling for both

the storybook and the primer story, even though her miscues were too few to analyze and high level. Given her history of reticence in all conversational situations, we tentatively place her as instructional for these text-types.

Mike and Doug were both judged to be "aspectual" with the storybook. Both were judged to be between instructional and frustration level with the primer story, using the miscue inventory standards combined with informal reading inventory standards for judging percentage of errors (miscues minus self-corrections), degree of comprehension (here judged by clauses recalled), and observed characteristics of ease or discomfort during reading).

Chad, who had been judged not yet independent in reading his own composition, was judged to be at frustration level with the storybook, but able to be analyzed by miscue inventory rather than falling into emergent reading categories. He was independent with the primer story, having only nine uncorrected and high level miscues, and giving a good retelling.

Noreen, who had such dire prediction of success, was judged to be independent at reading her own writing; frustrated with the storybook, with a high number of miscues and scanty re-telling; and probably instructional with the primer. While her retelling was just adequate she had too few miscues to analyze, five in all, three of which were self-corrected.

In conclusion, children do appear to make different degrees of progress in reading different text-types in first grade. Of the four

children reading independently from all three types in this study, three showed differences earlier in time. Second, not all children of average intelligence can be said to be reading independently from these forms as the end of first grade. Nor can any of these children be judged "not reading," in some types of reading material.

Finally, even at the end of first grade, the analyses of emergent reading and writing add to our understanding of children's performances in a way that existing measures tests of conventional literacy do not. Next I compare the emergent literacy judgments to an existing readiness test.

Measures of Emergent Literacy and Reading Readiness Tests

Reading readiness tests are constructed from a different theory of literacy acquisition from analyses of emergent literacy. Nevertheless, it is expected that there are commonalities between them. Previous analyses, for example, showed a significant correlation between the fall Metropolitan Readiness Test and emergent reading ability judgments for dictated and handwritten stories. At the end of first grade, both the fall and spring Metropolitan Readiness Test scores were available to us. The rank orderings of the children in the fall of kindergarten year, the two readiness test scores, and ranking of the results of Study VII were compared. All rank order correlations are statistically significant.

Insert Table 12 about here

Table 12:

Rank Order Correlations Among Measures of Emergent Literacy
and Reading Readiness

Kindergarten Emergent Literacy (1)	Fall Pre- Reading Composite (2)	Spring Pre- Reading Composite (3)	First Grade Rankings (4)
(1)	.63*	.78**	.77*
(2)		.87**	.68*
(3)			.62*

* $p < .05$, Spearman rank order correlations (ρ)

** $p < .01$

- (1) Emergent reading ability judgments by researchers based on Study I, General Knowledges About Written Language
- (2) Metropolitan Readiness Tests, Fall of kindergarten
- (3) Metropolitan Readiness Tests, Spring of kindergarten
- (4) Rankings drawn from end of first grade estimates of interface between emergent literacy and independent reading of handwritten compositions, commercial story-book, and primer basal reader story.

The two types of measures used in Table 12 were based not only on different theories of reading development, they were developed for different purposes. The emergent literacy measures (including others reported in this document) were devised to describe development as it occurs over time with very young children. The reading readiness tests were devised to predict achievement at a future point in time, like the end of first grade. Both types of measures predict the rank ordering of children's reading achievement found in Study VII at the end of first grade.

Caution should be used in interpreting these results given the small number of subjects and the exploratory nature of the studies in first grade. Nevertheless, it appears that the interface between emergent literacy and formal instruction sheds light on both ways in which children learn. Further research can now be designed to test these relationships more systematically.

Conclusions After Two Years

After studying nine children, their classmates, and kindergarten teachers, along with studying theoretical and empirical writings about literacy development, what have we learned? Centrally, we have learned that literacy does develop prior to the time children are writing and reading conventionally. This development reflects distinctions that children are making between oral and written language forms and functions. Furthermore, the study casts new light on the organization of reading and writing processes for young children. Processes that have been called high level for fluent readers like prediction, use of prior knowledge, or "comprehension" generally are used by young children prior to reading and writing conventional print. Thus high level processes do not mean they are at the apex of a developmental sequence; rather, they develop alongside other processes. So-called low level processes require high level intellectual processing from young children and may temporarily be the focus of a child's theory of how writing or reading work.

We have found that there are developmental patterns in both writing and reading but that there is no one sequence that all children go through. Of particular theoretical importance is the finding that children may fall back to a less mature behavior (like scribbling or letter strings as a writing system) in order to do more complex tasks. Such seeming regressions shed more light upon the developmental patterns and the reorganization of children's knowledge as they enter conventional literacy.

We have found that the teacher's model of literacy and learning may be quite complex and not easily detectable from brief discussions and observations. We have also found that the teacher's model has important implications for children's development; we have even more questions about what these implications are but we are in better position to ask those questions.

From following the children into first grade, we have found that children continue to show the early developmental patterns after formal instruction has begun and that there is some evidence that formal instructional may disrupt the earlier patterns. Again, this tentative finding needs further investigation. We also found that children of average intelligence may appear to their teachers to be reading independently when techniques of emergent literacy would indicate that they are not.

We found, as have other researchers, that writing and reading are not mirror images of each other. Rather, I hold that they are importantly related aspects of literacy, with each contributing to the other and to the child's internalized model of the reader-writer relationship. These findings seem to be consistent with that claim. It is important to note that writing continues to develop even when there is no emphasis on writing as composition in formal instruction. Caution must be used in interpreting these findings because we did not assess the kind of writing that was stressed in the first grade classrooms.

This study has a number of limitations. Its scope was wide and

the observations detailed; some parts of the analyses have been more carefully carried out than others. I have tried to report the study in sufficient detail that other researchers could verify the findings, if not through exact replication through similar reasoning.

Second, the sample size was small, limited to middle class children, and shows an unusual distribution between boys and girls. We guarded against the dangers of small sample size by using samples from the entire classroom population at strategic points through the kindergarten year, through matching individual interviews with classroom observations, through replicating a previous larger-scale study, and through the use of repeated-measures designs whenever possible.

I defend the use of middle class subjects from the viewpoint of wanting a clear picture of optimal development before I began to extend these techniques to children from different socioeconomical background. Teachers and researchers working with children from different backgrounds have reported that the techniques and findings are applicable to their children, but at an older age. I have begun preliminary work with poorer children from more diverse backgrounds and will be comparing those results to the data base reported herein.

The distribution of high girls and low boys appears to be a fluke, limited to this particular class group. In previous research done in the same classroom, there were boys who were as high or higher than the girls and in the teacher's afternoon class the same year, there was a more normal distribution between boys and girls.

Examining the personal characteristics of the boys and girls reveals a spread of social-emotional behaviors across the two sexes

While there was no intent to intervene in the teacher's techniques, there was no observable change during the kindergarten year except in the teacher's growing awareness of what we were doing. However, during the year we followed the children into first grade, the teacher asked the principal investigator to come and work with her in getting the children to write. That year and up to the current time, the teacher has increased the opportunities for the children to write and to read in whatever ways they can. Furthermore, she is sharing her knowledge with other teachers. Thus, the side effect of this study was what I judge to be an improvement in classroom instruction.

We do not know enough about young children's development as writers and readers. But we now know more. The tasks remain of continuing to study development in research and to communicate this research to policy-makers, parents, and classroom teachers.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Chad: Writing Interview

Chad (age 5-11):

1. What can you write?

Child: Well, I can write my name and my middle name and stuff.

(Chad stood up to write, holding pencil between middle and fourth fingers.)

2. Show me.

Child: But I can just write part of it, the T--or I--

Adult: Fine. Go ahead, show me.

Child: Right here? (Indicating paper.)

Adult: Sure. You can write it there.

(Chad wrote on paper and when finished he said, "There.")

3. What's that?

Child: It's my name, first of my name.

4. How did you know what that was?

Child: What?

Adult: How did you know what that was?

Child: Cause I already--read, um, I can recognize this letter (C) and I can recognize all these letter.

5. How did you learn that?

Child: Well, see, one time my mom was teaching me to write my name and when she wasn't there, she was doing some housework outside--

Adult: Uhm.

Child: --and she was raking the leaves and I wrote my name to a letter cause it was somebody's birthday--

Adult: Uh-huh.

Child: --and I went outside and to my mother and I said,
"Hey, Mom, I writted my name." (Chad laughed and adult
began to laugh, too.)

Adult: Oh, wow, I bet she was impressed, huh? (Laughed) So you
put it on a letter going to someone else for their birthday?

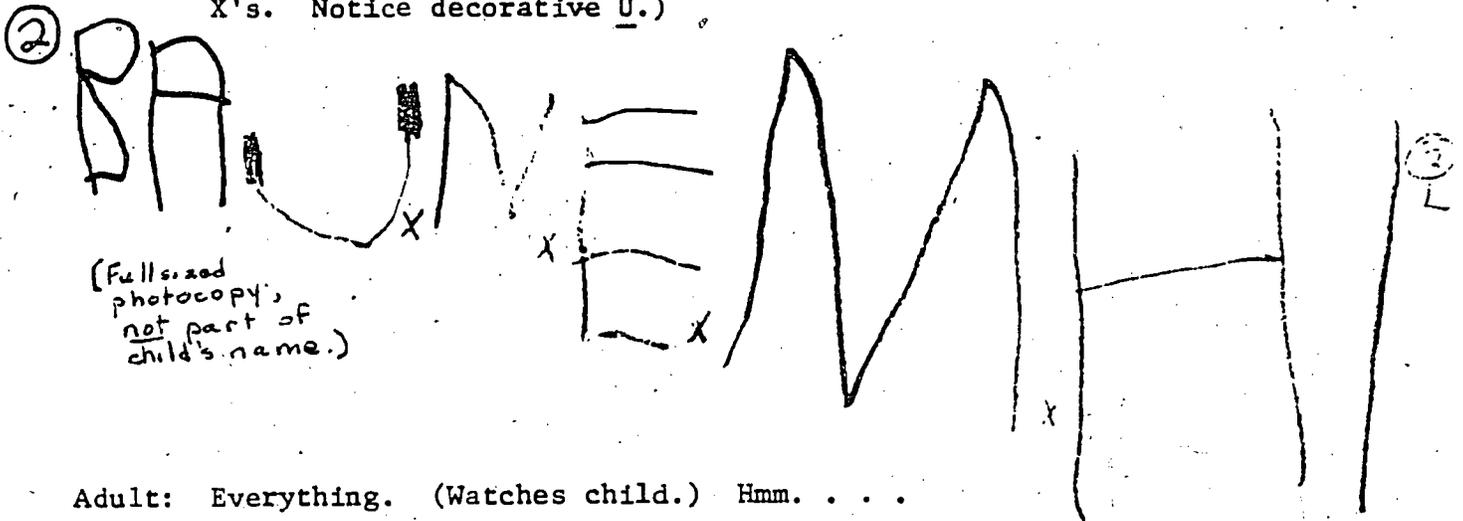
Child: Yeah.

6. What else can you write?

Child: Like, almost every--the alphabet and stuff--all kinds--

7. Show me; write everything you can write.

Child: And--like some letters? (Chad wrote line of letters with
spaces, pausing as if thinking at places marked with tiny
X's. Notice decorative U.)



Adult: Everything. (Watches child.) Hmm. . . .

8. What's that?

Child: That's all I can do.

Adult: OK. What is that?

Child: (Slowly.) B-O-A-U-R--what's this?

Adult: That one?

Child: I don't know.

Adult: Don't know that one?

Child: It's at the last of my name.

Adult: Uh-huh, what is it? (Pause) You know it?

Child: Yeah (pause), M?

Adult: OK, that's close. It's an N.

Child: Oh, yeah.

Adult: OK:

Child: N, U, and E-M-H-I.

9. How did you know what that was?

Child: Because I can look at the letters.

10. How did you learn that?

Child: Well, see, I think it was snow time and I was writing some things, and, um, I was about--four, and I didn't know how to write all of these letters--

Adult: Uh-huh.

Child: And, so,, I started to write all of these letters and, um, I walked up to my mom and said, "Hey, Mom!" and then she said, "What, what, what?"

Adult: Hmm. (Laughs.)

Child: And she--came and looked at my paper, and she said, "How'd you do that?" and I said, "I put it down myself!"

Adult: Oh, yeah. So how did you do it?

Child: Well, see, I was just writing some letters and I didn't know, know I was writing those different words.

Adult: Uh-huh.

Child: I didn't know, well, so--

Adult: Wow, OK, you really do know a lot about writing.

Appendix B

Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks

Introduction. The scale that is presented here is based upon data reported in Sulzby, 1981c, and refined with data collected in the 1980-1981 leg of the BRDKAWL project sponsored by NIE. The scale is to be used with children's independent re-enactments of favorite storybooks and not with re-enactments in which the child and adult engage in interactive reading attempts.

Procedures. The child is asked to select a favorite storybook. Then the child is asked to read the book. If the child says that s/he cannot read, the child is urged to try, to "do it your way." A second level of prompting may be used which involves asking the child to "pretend" or "pretend-read" the book. Other levels of encouragement were also used in the previous studies and in work in progress with 2½ to 4½ year old children; however, this version of the scale only applies to independent attempts. Dependent re-enactments may also reveal developmental patterns but they are not incorporated herein.

The descriptions which follow usually characterize the majority of the speech utterances by the child in response to the book; however, occasionally a child's behavior fluctuates between levels. The lower levels of the scale will probably be expanded to describe the behaviors of younger children in greater detail. Cautions are inserted into the narrative and should be noted.

A. ATTEMPTS WHICH ARE GOVERNED BY PRINT

1. Holistic attempts. Here the child creates a version almost exactly like the written version.
 - (a) Independent reading. The child is actually reading the print independently, using comprehension, letter-sound knowledge, and known words in a coordinated fashion in re-creating the text. Child may not read "word perfectly," but makes miscues showing all aspects of independent reading.
 - (b) Strategy-dependent. Here the child seems to be reading independently by creating a print-governed version of the text, but the child shows definite strategies keyed to "aspectual" nature of reading attempts. In other words, the child's reading process does not seem to be fully "balanced" or integrated. Additionally, the child does not seem to be confident of independent control of the process. For example,

the child may tend to omit unknown words excessively, substitute "whole words," or to sound-out to nonsense syllables excessively.

2. Aspectual attempts. In this category, the child focuses upon one or two aspects of reading. (See Sulzby, 1981c, for discussion of "aspects" which get integrated into independent reading.) This category is distinguished from strategy-dependent attempts because in these attempts the parts are not integrated rather than simply being unequally balanced. The following examples highlight each aspect separately; however, the child may show different combinations of behavior. The descriptions that follow do not imply order of acquisition.

--LETTER/SOUND ASPECT. The child may treat reading as a sounding-out task. Child will laboriously try to sound-out words with varying degrees of success. The task is so laborious that the child may give up and not be able to read long stretches of text; nevertheless, the child will be very aware that the whole book has not been read. The child may refuse to go on or may revert to "pretend-reading," depending upon memory for text with or without attention to print.

--KNOWN WORD ASPECT. The child will go through meaningful text reading only words that s/he knows. Occasionally, the child may read phrases but s/he seems to be governed by a principle like, "Say the words if you know them; if not, skip them." As with letter/sound aspect, the child may give up or revert to other behaviors.

--COMPREHENSION ASPECT. Comprehension here is "memory for text," rather than anticipated meaning. The child recites the actual text almost verbatim, if not in full, in many parts. Here the child looks at print a great deal of the time and clearly indicates that it is the print that is read, but actual tracking of print seems to interfere with memory for text and the wording deteriorates. Child may give up looking at print and memory may seem more precise or child may switch to dependence on other aspects such as letter/sound relationships.

3. Print-governed refusal. Here the child refuses to read and refuses to "pretend-read," insisting that print is what gets read and that s/he cannot read. This category often needs to be compared with earlier or later attempts to be distinguished by less mature refusals.

- B. ATTEMPTS WHICH ARE GOVERNED BY PICTURES AND STORIES ARE FORMED.
(This category has two major divisions, based upon whether the child's language sounds like written or oral language; like "reading" or "storytelling.")

1. Written language-like attempts.

- (a) Verbatim-like attempts. Child recites story that is close to verbatim and uses written language phrases when departing from verbatim; very similar to COMPREHENSION ASPECTUAL reading attempt except that child is "reading" the pictures rather than attending to print. Child uses self-correction behaviors as if attempting to retrieve exact wording of original. (Judgment of attempt is made by child's inferred intention, not accuracy.)
- (b) Similar to written text. Child renders story that is similar to the original but not close to verbatim. Child creates patterns that are written language-like but not contained in the original. Child "reads" with "reading intonation" much of the time and the wording is like written language. The story created is a decontextualized, coherent whole.
- (c) Created story, written influence. Child renders story that departs from actual text in sequence of match of content to pages or in actual content itself; nevertheless, child creates a whole story with clear signals of sense of audience. The story is primarily decontextualized. The wording and intonation can be a mixture of oral language-like speech and written language-like. (Beware here of the child who may be attempting to read a story with which s/he is not very familiar; this lack of familiarity could result in placing the child's abilities here rather than in higher categories.)

2. Oral language-like attempts.*

- (a) Story told for audience. Child tells the story from the pictures as if for an audience. The story forms a coherent whole and the child's intonation sounds like "storytelling" rather than reading. Sentence syntax and phrasing sound like speech.
- (b) Disconnected oral dramatic dialogue and/or interactive conversational comments. As distinct from C1, action-governed attempts, at this level the child's speech forms a story of sorts; the overall attempt is disconnected but a story-like sequence can be inferred. Many behaviors appear to be

associated with this level. The child may create dialogue to go along with the pictures, often depending upon "voices" for characters. Child may also give sentential comments that sound interactive rather than narrative. Child does not link dialogue with narrative nor give needed exposition but there is some evidence of audience needs. Mixture of present, present progressive, and past tenses add to judgment that attempt is disjointed in contrast with B2a which is coherent.

C. ATTEMPTS WHICH ARE GOVERNED BY PICTURES BUT STORIES ARE NOT FORMED.*

These attempts are distinguished as "reading" in part by the fact that the child reverts to a less mature speech form than s/he uses in normal conversation. This is in contrast with the B1 and A attempts in which the child's speech forms sound more formal and "mature" than s/he normally uses for conversation.

1. Action-governed attempts. The child's comments sound as if s/he thinks the action in the picture is almost taking place here-and-now. Verb forms are usually present or present progressive; future-sounding statements, like "He's gonna catch him," can be inferred from the picture being examined. At times, the comments and the child's pointing almost seem to be comments to self instead of to an audience; at other times, the child directs the adult with comments like, "Lookit. He's running." The child may skip parts of the book or re-cycle in varying orders.
2. Labelling and commenting attempts. The child comments on pictures to adult, naming items or parts or commenting on parts for the adult, e.g., "This is X," "Doggie," "Brush him teefs," etc. No coherent story is formed. Very young children skip many parts of the book and/or re-cycle in varying orders.

*Omitted from this version of the scale are refusals that lead to dependent re-enactments; interactive readings; and non-verbal behaviors such as looking all the way through the book without talking. Currently, all "low-level refusals" such as these are scored as the lowest level of the scale because they do not result in independent attempts. Analysis of data with younger children (Sulzby, 1983b) showed that children who give these kinds of attempts typically score in the C range when they do make an independent attempt.

Appendix C

Daniel R.: Re-Enactment of
My Cat Likes to Hide in Boxes

- 203 Child: Uh, the cat from France liked to sing and dance.
- 204 Adult: Wow! (Laughed.)
- 204 Child: But my cat (pause) likes to hide boxes.
- 206 Adult: Nifty. (laughing)
- 208 Child: The cat from (pause) /Sp-ain/ drived a plane.
(slightly elongated).
- 209 Adult: (Chuckled.)
- 210 Child: But my cat likes to hide in boxes. (Rapidly and
run together slightly.) I think.
- 211 Child: And the cat from Norway got stuck in the doorway.
- 212 Both: (Giggled)
- 213 Child: But my cat likes to hide in boxes.
- 214 Child: And the cat from Greece joined the police. But my
cat likes to hide in boxes.
- 216 Adult: (Laughed)
- 217 Child: Hmm. (pause) forget (or I forget) this little.
- 220 Adult: Yeah?
- 221 Child: (pause) Hmm. (Then louder) Oh, I f
(Indecipherable). I'll go back to the beginning.
(Turned back to first text page and began again.)
- 224 The cat--the cat from Spain--hmm, hmm, umm. I can't
get this word.
- 226 Adult: Umm.
- 226 Adult: That's what you said first time.
- 230 Child: The cat from France (sounds more like Phoenix on
tape!) likes to sing and dance. (pause) But my

(elongated, then run-on to cat: like /mi
icat/) cat likes to hide in boxes.

233 Child: Cat from 'pain flies an airplane and, uh, the cat
from, from, cat from, cat f--and the cat from, uh,
cat from (pause) um--I forget it. From--the cat
(pause) from, from (pause) umm, from (pause) hmm
(pause) (Both chuckle lowly, then:)

252 Adult: You were--(simultaneous with child.)

252 Child: This one--

252 Adult: --right--you were right.

252 Child: (indecipherable: sounds like: where's--daddy
long legs?)

253 Adult: OK. All right.

254 Child: But my cat likes to hide boxes. (rapidly)

254 Child: Is that--cat--cat 'n--pain--cat in--
(the mouse?) pain! (Not sure what this was sup-
posed to say but child was still trying to remem-
ber the text for this page. He continued not
looking at print.)

257 Cat--in Norway got stuck in the doorway--rapidly
now)

258 Adult: (Chuckled)

258 Child: --and--and, umm, (pause) the cat from Spain liked
to drive an airplane (pause) and (pause) the cat
from (pause) Nor! (said emphatically then he
seemed to decide to skip it and go on.)

264 --but my cat likes to hide in boxes!

265 The cat from Greece joined the police. (This
couplet said clearly and forcefully as compared
with tentative tone in previous sections, 217-263.)

267 And the cat in Norway--got' stuck in the doorway.
and, um, uh, the cat, oh, and the cat in _____
(indecipherable: /painlito/ as if he ran "Spain
liked to" together) drive an airplane.

267 And the cat in Norway--got stuck in the doorway.
and, um, uh, the cat, oh, and the cat in _____

- (indecipherable: /painlito/ as if he ran
"Spain liked to" together) drive an airplane.
- 272 But my can likes to hide in boxes. (Rapidly, run
together.)
- 275 Child: Forget this one!
- 277 Adult: Can I help?
- 277 Child: Yeah;
- 277 Adult: What do you want me to do?
- 278 Child: (Dropped book forward.) Help me with this one--I
forgot this one.
- 279 Adult: What am I 'sposed to do?
- 279 Child: And read this _____ (indecipherable: much?)--
'cause I forget that.
- 280 Adult: Read the page--OK. The cat from Brazil caught a
very bad chill.
- 282 Child: (Began voluntarily) Oh--and the cat from Greece
joined the police. Umm, um, and the cat from
Norway (saying this part rapidly) got stuck in the
the doorway and, um, the cat, and the cat from
Spain, umm, um, drives a airplane.
- 287 Adult: (low chuckle.)
- 288 Child: My cat likes to hide in boxes.
- 288 Adult: (Chuckle.)
- 290 Child: The cat from (pause) what's this word?
- 295 Adult: Want me to help?
- 295 Child: OK.
- 295 Adult: Show me. (Here he showed me the print but he had
not been looking at print. He pointed generally to
print, bottom half of page.)
- 296 Child: Umm, right--mm, here--I forget.
- 298 Adult: The cat from Berlin played the violin

299 Child: And the cat from--uh--cat from (pause), from
(pause) would you do that one again? (Said
rapidly and run-together.)

304 Adult: Berlin--played the violin.

305 Child: Umm--(pause)

306 Adult: The cat from Berlin played the violin.

307 Child: And, and--
307 Adult: --the cat from Brazil

308 Child: --caught a very bad chill. (Notice he remem-
bered the full line.)

309 And the cat from Greece joined the police

310 And, umm, uh,--
310 Adult: Cat from Norway--
310 Child: --Norway got stuck in the doorway

313 and the cat from Spain drove an airplane

315 My cat liked to hide boxes. (Last parts said
rapidly and sing-song.)

316 Adult: (low chuckle.)

317 Child: The cat from, uh, (pause) the cat from--

319 Adult: Japan.
319 Child: Japan. Had a fan?

321 Adult: Uh-huh. Yeah.
321 Child: And the cat--from--and--

323 Adult: Berlin.

324 Child: Berlin--umm--played a violin and--um--and the cat
from--can't forget that! (said in a high
squeaky voice)

326 Adult: --Brazil

- 327 Child: Brazil--caught _____ (one syllable indeci-
pherable; sounded like /me/) a chill and--uhh--
cat from Greece joined the police and, um, the
cat from Norway got stuck in the doorway and--
um (pause) and the cat from, uh (pause) cat fro-
(pause)--and the cat /him/ Spain! drived a air-
plane and that's all.
- 340 Adult: Wow! You really used that. Ohh. What about that
last page? (Note: examiner should not have
introduced term page.)
- 344 Child: Last page.
344 Adult: Uh-huh.
- 346 Child: I couldn't see any words on the last page.
- 348 Adult: I couldn't see it.
348 Child: (Turned to page) There!
- 349 Adult: On, yeah.
- 350 Child: I don't know what that says.
- 351 Adult: Umm. Would you like me to read it to you? (This
section departed from the established pattern a
bit.)
- 351 Child: Yeah.
351 Adult: OK. "Look at all these clever cats. Cats from
(pause to see if child was attending to print.
He didn't respond)--Spain. Brazil and--"
351 Child: --Norway--
- 355 Adult: "--France. Cats from Greece, Japan, and--"
- 358 Child: --and (pause) Norway
358 Adult: "Norway! (Laughed) Cats who sing and fly and
dance." (pause) How nice. How really nice.

Appendix D

Beverly Cox (12-28-80)

Holistic Rankings from Study I (General Knowledges About Written Language)

1. Holistic ranking
2. Rationale from initial criteria
3. Verification
4. Suggested final ranking

Ariadne

Holistic Placement: 1

- Rationale:
1. Shy, apparent lack of oral facility
 2. Later, oral exchange was satisfactory
 3. Wrote words and re-read them
 4. Used meaning and l/s relationships to decode;
emphasis on meaning
 5. Commented on pictures, but used text for reading
 6. Stated some inferences from the text and pictures
 7. Used word-by-word matching and sweep
 8. Read with good intonation
 9. Exhibited good knowledge of words, stories, and reading

Verification:

1. Though initially shy and apparently lacking oral language facility Ariadne later produced very strong reproductions of text and carried on satisfactory oral exchanges.
2. She wrote 26 words and re-read all of them. She was very committed

to accuracy, however, and insisted on skimming text material to find the words she knew. Then she copied them. On re-reading she phrased some together appropriately.

3. During reading she used the text consistently. She used meaning to make predictions of unknown words, but also used l/s knowledge.

Her l/s knowledge usually relied on the initial consonant. Word stability was recognized in that miscue words were typically repeated as the same miscue.

4. Commented on the pictures as extensions of the text rather than as information sources.

5. Sing-song reading of "Happy Birthday" message on cake in window (picture) which implied the cake's use.

6. Followed print accurately with some finger-pointing and some L-R sweep.

7. Skipped unknown words without hesitating lengthily, but kept story line intact.

8. Read with correct intonation and little hesitancy, much like a mature reading style.

9. Stated pictures could help decode words and that the letters helped also.

Final Placement: 1

Betsy

Holistic Placement: 2

Rationale: 1. Oral language fluent, cohesive, and meaningful. Relaxed

attitude

2. Wrote words and re-read them
3. Wrote phrases and re-read them
4. Used l/s relationships to decode -- at first quite tied to text to decode unknown words
5. Used text for reading, little reference to pictures
6. Used word-by-word matching, little, if any, sweep

Verification:

1. Conversation was very fluent and largely cohesive. Betsy introduced new topics and elaborated topics.
2. Writing was clear, well-formed, and appropriately spaced in the paper. L-R directionality is well developed.
3. She wrote some phrases and used a period correctly. She identified the use of a question mark but made it backwards, placing it first on the line before the phrase.
4. Betsy used invented spelling on part of her writing. (See the back of the sample.)
5. She re-read all that she wrote and used phrasing when appropriate to set items apart. She spontaneously re-read parts.
6. She has a good understanding of reading, books, parts of books, and meta-linguistic labels.
7. Betsy read her whole storybook, attending to print. She tended to use a word-by-word delivery and appeared somewhat tied to decoding accurately. However, she did not let it stop her, but at times her

substitutions relied more on the L-S relationships than on meaning.

8. Once or twice she used the pictures as cues to unknown words. Most of the time she seemed to be reading with meaning.

Final Placement: 2

Kimberly

Holistic Placement: 3

- Rationale:
1. Oral language fluent, cohesive, meaningful, and very abundant
 2. Relaxed attitude
 3. Oral language very responsive to interaction cues
 4. Referred to pictures rather than text for story line
 5. Made no attempt at word-by-word matching or word identification
 6. Considerable knowledge about words, stories, and books
 7. Wrote and read words
 8. L-R directionality not well developed in writing

Verification:

1. Conversation was fluent and interactive. Meaningful exchanges throughout. Where exchanges appear to jump radically, the shift was accomplished logically in the conversation but was indecipherable on the tape. Kimberly also introduced new topics to the conversation and expanded on them in a mature style.
2. Writing began in the middle of the page and words were added at the top later. Directionality on letters and words were sometimes confused.

Placing of words on paper appeared random.

3. She re-read all words accurately.
4. In reading, Kimberly attended only to the pictures. She paid no attention to the print. Her story was a real story and quite elaborate. She did match story sections to pictures and pages, thus leafing through the whole book, page by page.
5. She knew what a cover, title page, and print were for and could express functions easily.
6. Had numerous ideas for stories, though many were borrowed from stories she knew.

Final Placement: 4

Virginia

Holistic Placement: 4

- Rationale:
1. Oral language fluent, cohesive, meaningful, and interactive
 2. Relaxed attitude
 3. Wrote words and re-read them
 4. Referred to pictures rather than text for story line

Verification:

1. Conversation was exceptionally free-flowing and interactive. Virginia used exaggeration, which she self-corrected when adult questioned it indirectly. She also used image-provoking words such as "plop." She corrected "race" to be more specific and accurate. She elongated the vowel in "slide" consistently, another image provoking device.

She used several analogies to help explain difficult concepts.

(Examples - "ball" and "tree roots" when describing the jungle gym.)

2. She wrote six words beginning at the top of the page and placing one beneath the other in a column. Most letters were accurately made, though J was reversed. L-R directionality was observed.
3. She attempted writing in script and joined all letters together producing a relatively legible word.
4. She was cognizant of letter names, repeating each one as she wrote it.
5. She had trouble pronouncing her surname correctly even though she spelled it with a fair degree of accuracy.
6. She reversed the letters of "Stop" in oral spelling. On stating what else she could read, she said, "P-O-S, Stop," so L-R directionality is still incomplete to some degree.
- *7. When reading, she showed knowledge that the print should be read. At first, she tried to decode it, but then gave up and told a real story (with a beginning, middle, and end) to accompany the pictures. (This item is the main reason I reversed my initial ranking of Virginia and Kimberly.)
8. Virginia made letter-by-letter comparison of title on cover and title page, accurately noting their identity. She also noted that the one on the cover was all on one line while on the title page two lines were used. She noted how many and which words had been changed.
9. Exhibited knowledge about relation of print and picture. On p. 16 (#8) she commented about the picture at first. Then when re-directed

to the print, she identified it as words and said, "You can read it."

She continued with an example, "I sky (picture content) something."

10. Produced numerous story ideas.

Final Placement: 3

Daniel B.

Holistic Placement: 5

Rationale:

1. Oral language cohesive and meaningful, many repetitions
2. Relaxed attitude
3. Wrote words and re-read them
4. L-R directionality
5. Word boundaries not always observed
6. "Read" by commenting on pictures, but did not tell a story

Verification:

1. Conversation was fluent in content but interrupted by numerous self-corrections or repetitions as Daniel B. sought to explain difficult concepts.
2. He did succeed in explaining the concepts.
3. He introduced new topics and expanded on them. He showed knowledge of "news" topics and used logic in explaining things to the adult (see p. 4, 053-054).
4. In writing, he began on lower half of paper, but spaced words and proceeded L-R on first line. He placed the second line above the first and wrote the words R-L and did not use spacing between the words.

5. When he re-read he did so in L-R directionality, then moving up and reading the word on the R side. He omitted the last word written which was also the one without boundaries. When the adult called his attention to the omitted word he read it.
6. In reading book, Daniel did not tell a story. He attended only to the pictures and made comments on them, like "Look at that." A few comments referred to picture content. He paid no attention to the print.
7. He knew one function of the cover and title page, that of telling what the book is about. He knew the print was for reading.
8. Very, very few story ideas.

Final Placement: 5

Shawn

Holistic Placement: 6

- Rationale:
1. Oral language in English, while very limited in amount, was contextually appropriate
 2. Oral language in one section was interactive and explanatory
 3. Fairly relaxed attitude
 4. No attempt at reading or writing

Verification

1. Conversational responses were usually appropriate to the question even though very limited in content.

2. While most responses were one word and therefore did not exhibit much syntactical knowledge, two sections of conversation (p. 2, #031 to 038, #043 to 044) showed a fair degree of syntactical competence.
3. Refused to write or read anything.
4. Expressed a dislike of reading and writing that may be a defensive mechanism.
5. English is a second language for Shawn.

Final Placement: 7

Comments: I questioned placing Shawn before Mike. Mike certainly produced a greater quantity of oral language, but the disjointedness of it and the frequent lack of "logic" concerned me.

However, Mike made some verbal responses to pictures and did attend considerably more to the pictures than Shawn did.

Mike also did pick up a writing tool, while Shawn did not. Both boys seemed disinterested in the reading/writing tasks. Shawn could only contribute a few story suggestions, while Mike produced several more. Shawn's contributions are probably under-elicited because his English is still limited.

Michael (Mike)

Holistic Placement: 7

Rationale: 1. Amount of oral language was high but frequently lacked cohesion, logic, and direct response to adult

2. No attempt at reading or writing *
3. Did pick up the crayons

Verification:

1. Michael produced ample oral language but it did not always make sense. Especially in the later portions of conversation, Mike produced some disjointed as well as some bizarre ideas.
2. Mike appeared disinterested in reading and writing, and his attention often wandered.
3. Mike selected crayons as a writing tool but refused to make any intentional marks with them.
4. He insisted he knew little about grown-ups or his older sister. (See p. 15, #19 and p. 19, #11.)
5. His reading consisted of non-storylike comments on the characters in the pictures, comparing who was there, where a missing character was in another picture. Comments upon actions were also common. Most comments seemed to involve more of a one-to-one matching component, though some hinted at awareness of a story line.*
6. Directionality used on pointing to a series of pictures on one page was erroneous for a print orientation. (While there is no reason to expect that a child would point to pictures in a L-R, T-B or r ordinarily, Mike was supposed to be "reading.")

Final Placement: 3

(*This is an example of an inconsistency.)

Tanya

Holistic Placement: 8

- Rationale:
1. Oral English is not yet communicative
 2. No reading or writing attempt
 3. Did turn pages of book

Verification:

1. Conversation was one word responses of "I don't know."
2. Tanya's answers were frequently related to one key word in the adult's question rather than to the entire semantic content of the phrase, resulting in an inappropriate answer.
3. She would take one word from a phrase and pursue it as an extension of the topic which was inappropriate.
4. Tanya seemed very tense throughout, sitting with eyes downcast and little eye contact or facial expression.
5. She refused to write. She did not even pick up a tool.
6. In reading of book, Tanya turned the first 2-3 pages and then closed it without comment. On a re-request she leafed through the entire book page by page, indicating some knowledge of the reading act. No verbalization.
7. Some developing knowledge of English syntax. (See p. 10, #6.)
The question "What's it for" appeared to cause Tanya to integrate her previous response "Bear" to "Boy" with some semantic intent as an answer to the question.
8. English too limited to judge literacy knowledge through these procedures.

Final Placement: 8

Children Eligible for Case Study

(Alphabetically Within Emergent Reading Category)

Category::	Child's Code Name:	Age: (12-31-80)	Sex:
<u>High</u>	Ariadne	5 - 6	Female
	Betsy	5 - 9	Female
	Nicole	5 - 9	Female
	Jodie	5 - 9	Female
<u>Moderate</u>	Andrea	5 - 7	Female
	Chad	6 - 1	Male
	Daniel R.	5 - 9	Male
	Kimberly	5 - 1	Female
	Maureen	5 - 11	Female
	*Richard	5 - 1	Male
	Virginia	5 - 8	Female
<u>Low</u>	Daniel B.	6 - 1	Male
	*Douglas	5 - 4	Male
	Michael	5 - 8	Male
	Noreen	5 - 3	Female
	Robert	5 - 11	Male

* Order reversed in teacher's judgments (Douglas, Moderate, and Richard, Low)

Appendix F

Examiner's Manual
Study II, Real and Make-Believe Topic (Revised)
Beginning Readers' Developing Knowledges
About Written Language
Sulzby, 1980-82; NIE-G-80-0176

The purpose of this manual is to give procedures for the first and second session of a six-session case study of selected children chosen from Study I, "General Knowledges About Reading and Writing." The procedures are adapted from a larger-scale study done in 1979 (Sulzby, in progress). This study differs from the 1979 study in that the procedures for the case study fit a more real-life sequence of telling, dictation (with re-reading and editing) and writing (with re-reading and editing), rather than varying the order of tasks. Additionally, in this study, all children will compose the "real" story first, then will compose the "make-believe" story.

In Session 1 the topic is real; those directions are given on pages 1-14. In Session 2 the topic is make-believe and those directions are given on pages 15-19.

GENERAL DIRECTIONS:

1. Study the transcript for your child from Study I, General Knowledges About Reading and Writing. Use information from that session to help establish rapport with the child. Notice in particular whether your child conversed about learning to ride a big wheel. If the child remembers learning to ride a big wheel, use **BIG WHEEL** in your directions. IF NOT, use the vehicle that the child discussed (bicycle, mini-bike, etc.).
2. Build rapport with the child after you leave the classroom. Remind the child that s/he has helped you before and that you would like him/her to help you again.
3. Follow the script carefully, but at a brisk pace. These directions are lengthy and include repetitions. Be animated but businesslike in your administration and give positive verbal and non-verbal feedback. **DIRECTIONS TO THE CHILD** are given in **BOLD-FACE** type. Directions to the examiner are given in small type.
4. Sessions begin with the examiner and child sitting facing each other in front of the desk.

S E S S I O N 1:

TODAY I WANT YOU TO DO SOMETHING VERY SPECIAL. I WANT YOU TO WRITE A STORY FOR ME. (Pause for reaction.)

I KNOW YOU DON'T REALLY KNOW HOW TO WRITE A STORY LIKE A GROWN-UP YET, BUT I ALREADY KNOW YOU KNOW A LOT ABOUT READING, WRITING, AND STORIES. AND I WILL HELP YOU.

I WANT YOU TO WRITE A STORY FOR ME, BUT WE WILL DO IT A LITTLE BIT AT A TIME. WE WILL DO THREE THINGS TO HELP YOU WRITE YOUR STORY.

FIRST YOU CAN TELL THE STORY TO ME AND I WILL LISTEN. THEN YOU CAN DICTATE THE STORY TO ME AND I WILL WRITE IT DOWN FOR YOU. THEN LAST OF ALL YOU CAN WRITE IT YOURSELF. DON'T FORGET—I WILL HELP YOU.

HERE'S WHAT YOUR STORY SHOULD BE ABOUT--IT SHOULD BE A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU AND HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE YOUR BIG WHEEL (BICYCLE, ETC.). LET ME TELL YOU MORE ABOUT IT.

(EXaminer remains facing the child throughout TELLING, looking into child's face when child begins telling story. You should look interested, as if you were listening to someone telling a story from a stage but as if you are not close enough to interrupt. You should not interrupt while the child is telling the story. Avoid any obvious nodding. See directions after TELLING for allowable prompting behaviors at conclusion of story.)

T E L L I N G:

ONE OF THE THINGS THAT PEOPLE DO WHEN THEY GET READY TO WRITE A STORY IS TO TELL THE STORY TO SOMEONE FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE END. THEY TELL THE STORY TO BE SURE THAT THEY HAVE THE STORY JUST THE WAY THEY WANT IT TO BE. IT HELPS YOU WRITE A STORY IF SOMEONE LISTENS TO YOU TELL YOUR STORY.

I WANT YOU TO TELL ME YOUR STORY AND IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU. THE STORY IS ABOUT HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL (BICYCLE, ETC.). PUT IN EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO MAKE THIS A GOOD STORY, A GOOD STORY ABOUT YOU AND HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL.

YOU CAN TELL WHAT MADE YOU WANT TO DO IT, WHERE YOU WERE, WHO WAS WITH YOU, WHEN IT HAPPENED, AND EVEN HOW YOU FELT. TELL EVERYTHING ABOUT IT. THAT WILL BE A GOOD STORY.

NOW TELL ME YOUR STORY AND I WILL LISTEN. REMEMBER IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU.

(Listen to the child's story without interruption. Follow these guidelines for prompting:

If the child seems to be finished: after the child has stopped for a 5-second pause with sentence final intonation, has said "the end," "that's all," or given some other sign that the story is completed, the examiner asks once and once only

ANYTHING ELSE?

If the child seems to be stalled: after the child has stopped for a 5-second pause without sentence final intonation or other indication that s/he is finished, the examiner first looks questioningly at the child. If the child still doesn't say anything after 3 seconds, the examiner says, "Hmm?" If the child still doesn't say anything after 3 seconds, the examiner says: "ANYTHING ELSE?"

If the stalled behavior repeats, the examiner can ask "anything else?" at 3-second intervals two more times. At that point, stop prompting and assume child is finished and praise him/her for a good story.)

D I C T A T I N G:

(The examiner will take dictation on plain paper on a clipboard, sitting side-by-side with the child. Keep a piece of carbon paper underneath the paper you are writing on and make a carbon of each sheet. This carbon copy will be used during the re-reading and editing. Hold the clipboard flat on the table at a comfortable angle for your writing but positioned so that child can look on while you write. (Pay attention to match of "handedness.")

Examiner should make mental note of whether the child is watching during the writing, etc. Examiner should print carefully with pencil darkly at normal manuscript speed "like a first grade teacher taking a language-experience story." The examiner must make NO COMMENTS while writing.

If the child goes too fast: a set procedure is followed. The first time this happens, the examiner says:

WAIT A MINUTE. I CAN'T KEEP UP WITH YOU. HERE'S WHERE I AM:
. . . (and re-reads final complete sentence and any following partial sentence up to the point where the place was lost).

Record on handwritten copy only what the child says after this statement, placing an * dimly at that point for later reference. Corrections will be inserted later from the transcript so that we will have a record of the child's original statement and any subsequent changes.

The second time the child dictates too fast for the examiner to keep up, follow exact procedure as above; if the child does this a third time DO NOT interrupt again--simply write down enough to finish writing approximately 2 seconds after child stops dictating.)

(Directions begin on p. 5.)

Directions to the child: (Dictating)

YOU DID A GOOD JOB TELLING YOUR STORY FOR ME. THIS TIME WE WILL DO ANOTHER THING THAT PEOPLE DO TO WRITE A STORY. ONE OF THE THINGS THAT PEOPLE DO TO WRITE A STORY IS TO LET SOMEONE ELSE WRITE IT DOWN FOR THEM. THAT'S LIKE HAVING YOUR VERY OWN SECRETARY. WE CALL IT DICTATING WHEN YOU TELL YOUR STORY AND SOMEONE ELSE WRITES IT DOWN FOR YOU. IT'S LIKE WHEN YOU TELL MRS. WHAT TO WRITE DOWN FOR YOU IN THE CLASSROOM.

I WANT YOU TO DICTATE YOUR WHOLE STORY TO ME, JUST THE WAY YOU WANT IT TO BE FROM BEGINNING TO END. IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE JUST LIKE YOU TOLD IT--YOU MAY WANT TO MAKE SOME THINGS DIFFERENT NOW THAT YOU'RE DICTATING THIS STORY, BUT IT'S STILL THE REAL STORY ABOUT YOU AND HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE YOUR BIG WHEEL (BICYCLE, ETC.).

LET ME TELL YOU THE DIRECTIONS AGAIN:

I WANT YOU TO DICTATE YOUR STORY AND IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU. THE STORY IS ABOUT HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL (BICYCLE, ETC.). PUT IN EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO MAKE THIS A GOOD STORY, A GOOD STORY ABOUT YOU AND HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL.

YOU CAN TELL WHAT MADE YOU WANT TO DO IT, WHERE YOU WERE, WHO WAS WITH YOU, WHEN IT HAPPENED, AND EVEN HOW YOU FELT--EVERYTHING ABOUT IT.. THAT WILL BE A GOOD STORY.

NOW DICTATE YOUR STORY AND I WILL WRITE IT DOWN AND REMEMBER IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU.

(Follow prompting procedures as for telling. Note any indication that the child is "over-adapting" to the constraints of handwriting by pausing exaggeratedly but do not urge him/her to "go on." After the legitimate prompting, move briskly into re-reading and editing.)

RE - READING OF DICTATION:

YOU REALLY DID A GOOD JOB DICTATING YOUR STORY TO ME. NOW READ YOUR STORY TO SEE IF IT IS JUST THE WAY YOU WANT IT TO BE.

(Given the child the original sheet and you keep the carbon. Record the child's attempts as fully as possible, particularly non-verbal behaviors. Note any important signs such as repeated re-reading of sections to match voice to print, any sounding-out of words, any use of memory for story while gazing off in space, then returning to print.

After the child has "read" the story, if the child is in category a, b, or c, ask the child to re-read and point while reading.)

As we know, children's re-reading attempts vary greatly. Follow guidelines from research sessions. Here are the major categories from the 1979 study:

- a. Child says s/he cannot re-read: Examiner encourages—
- 1) first level of encouragement: "try," "do your best," "give it a try."
 - 2) second level of encouragement: "pretend," "pretend-read it."
 - 3) third level of encouragement: "I can help you—what do you want me to do?"
 - 4) fourth level of encouragement: "I can help you—let's read it together."

This final level of encouragement is choral-reading and furnishes the child the most examiner support. Begin reading with the child, then gradually fade out first at predictable words or phrases and then for longer stretches. Go back to full choral-reading if the child cannot respond to the fadeouts.

- b. Child tells story but does not attend to print, except occasionally. Write narrative comments about where the child is looking, intonation patterns, etc. Transcript will provide words (as in a, above).
- c. Child tells story, looking at print but not matching voice to-print nor pointing. Describe in writing as in b.

- d. Child reads or approximates reading story, pointing at least part of time. Write down what the child says directly above your story copy, matching words to space as well as you can. (See samples in appendix and consult notes.) If the child has a very long story, record an accurate re-reading for first two sentences, then summarize description of remaining reading.

At the conclusion of re-reading, if you are not certain whether the child considers himself or herself to be reading or pretending ask: WAS THIS READING OR PRETEND-READING?

If the child says s/he was pretending, ask: ALL OF IT?

If yes, do not ask child to edit. If child seems to consider himself/herself to be reading, even if only a little bit, ask child to edit.

(EDITING OF DICTATION CONTINUED)

3. Knowledge of letter-sound relationships:

Use the same two words and ask the child to choose and write a substitution for each.

FIND (the noun) FOR ME AGAIN. TELL ME SOMETHING YOU COULD PUT INSTEAD OF _____. DO IT. YOU WRITE IT.

HOW DID YOU KNOW HOW TO DO THAT?

FIND (the verb) FOR ME AGAIN. TELL ME SOMETHING YOU COULD PUT INSTEAD OF _____. DO IT. YOU WRITE IT.

HOW DID YOU KNOW HOW TO DO THAT?

At end of this section, praise the child for his/her good work and ask him/her to take a bathroom break. During this time, make notes on behaviors you want to remember that you were not able to record during the session.

Then clear the desk of everything except plain paper, pencils and crayons, and tape-recorder. Prepare for the writing task. Pencils and crayons should sit on top middle of plain paper placed lengthwise parallel with front of desk.

The clipboard is to be held in your lap during the writing task. Keep this examiner's manual on top of clipboard but not clipped in. Have pencil with clipboard.

WRITING:

(The examiner will take notes while the child is writing. Sit slightly back from the child and use your clipboard on your lap. Record what the child is voicing in case it is not transcribable, especially when the child is whispering. If you cannot get accurate phonetic transcription, describe what the child is doing in words (i.e., child was whispering sounds and letter names while writing the part "learned to ride," then began to humm; or, child was trying to sound out big and made repeated attempts, changing from a /g/ sound to something like a /j/ or /jɛ/).)

(Record the child's choice of writing instruments, how held, etc. Write down what the child says s/he is writing or what you can see. This copy will be used during re-reading and editing as was the carbon copy during dictating.)

(Anytime child protests s/he cannot write, encourage. If child wrote during Study I, remind child, "you wrote for me last time and did a good job." Other encouragements are "try," "do the best you can," "do it your way." Do not badger the child; if you think the child really cannot attempt the task or really will not then say, "Oh, I wish you would try—maybe the next time I come you will. Anyway, you have done a good job with lots of things today. Thank you for helping me today."

(Directions on next page.)

(Directions For Writing)

YOU DID A GOOD JOB DICTATING YOUR STORY FOR ME. THIS TIME WE WILL DO ANOTHER THING THAT PEOPLE DO TO WRITE A STORY. ONE OF THE THINGS PEOPLE DO TO WRITE A STORY IS TO ACTUALLY WRITE DOWN THE STORY THEMSELVES. REMEMBER WHEN YOU WROTE FOR ME WHEN I CAME A LONG TIME AGO? IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE JUST LIKE GROWN-UP WRITING. YOU CAN JUST DO IT YOUR OWN WAY.

I WANT YOU TO WRITE YOUR STORY FOR ME, JUST THE WAY YOU WANT IT TO BE FROM BEGINNING TO END. IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE JUST LIKE YOU TOLD IT OR DICTATED IT--YOU MAY WANT TO MAKE SOME THINGS DIFFERENT NOW THAT YOU ARE WRITING THIS STORY, BUT IT'S STILL THE REAL STORY ABOUT YOU AND HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE YOUR BIG WHEEL (BICYCLE).

LET ME TELL YOU THE DIRECTIONS AGAIN:
I WANT YOU TO WRITE YOUR STORY AND IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU. THE STORY IS ABOUT HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL (BICYCLE). PUT IN EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO MAKE THIS A GOOD STORY, A GOOD STORY ABOUT YOU AND HOW YOU LEARNED TO RIDE A BIG WHEEL.

YOU CAN TELL WHAT MADE YOU WANT TO DO IT, WHERE YOU WERE, WHO WAS WITH YOU, WHEN IT HAPPENED, AND EVEN HOW YOU FELT--EVERYTHING ABOUT IT. THAT WILL BE A GOOD STORY.

NOW WRITE YOUR STORY AND REMEMBER IT'S A REAL STORY ABOUT YOU.

(The child will probably protest that s/he can't write or can't write that much. Encourage, using general encouragements like "try," "do it your way," etc. The first encouragement to give in this case, however, is:

DO AS MUCH AS YOU CAN. I KNOW IT'S A BIG JOB. DO AS MUCH AS YOU CAN.

Few kindergarten children write more than one sentence for this task. Allow them to stop when they say they have done all they can after you have encouraged.

(Re-reading and editing of writing will be somewhat shorter than for dictating since the writing is typically shorter. Also it should be more flexibly governed by the examiner's curiosity about the child's writing attempts.)

RE - READING OF WRITING:

YOU REALLY DID A GOOD JOB WRITING YOUR STORY FOR ME.
NOW READ YOUR STORY TO SEE IF IT IS JUST THE WAY YOU WANT
IT TO BE.

(The child reads from his/her copy and the examiner records any re-reading on the copy. Also record the child's attempts as fully as possible, including non-verbal behaviors.

The procedures are just as for re-reading from dictation. The child will almost always be able to match voice to print to some degree if s/he wrote. One variation is that the child may have done pretend-writing or may have used letters or symbols to stand for words. Ask the child to read again pointing if the child does not point but matches voice to print. Describe what you think the child is doing in words whenever the writing-over system does not work.)

EDITING OF WRITING:

YOU DID A GOOD JOB OF RE-READING YOUR STORY. YOU RE-READ IT AND NOW YOU CAN CHANGE ANY PART OF IT YOU WANT TO.

(First the examiner calls for voluntary editing.)

ANYTHING YOU WANT TO CHANGE? (WHAT? SHOW ME. DO IT.)

(Next sample the three aspects of reading. This time you may have only one sentence or sentence part to sample. Again sample two words, but they may be any two words that the examiner feels it would be helpful to investigate. Use the two words first for location and second for substitution.)

1. Comprehension

Select a sentence or sentence part and ask the child to re-read it, referring to it as "this part."

READ THIS PART AGAIN FOR ME. COULD YOU SAY THAT ANY OTHER WAY? HOW? SAY IT ANOTHER WAY FOR ME.

2. Stability of word unit.

FIND _____ FOR ME. POINT TO IT. DRAW A LINE UNDER IT.

IS _____ ANY PLACE ELSE IN THE STORY? (FIND IT. POINT TO IT. DRAW A LINE UNDER IT.)

HOW DID YOU KNOW _____?

FIND _____ FOR ME. POINT TO IT. DRAW A LINE UNDER IT.

IS _____ ANY PLACE ELSE IN THE STORY? (FIND IT. POINT TO IT. DRAW A LINE UNDER IT.)

HOW DID YOU KNOW _____?

3. Knowledge of letter-sound relationships:

Use the same two words and ask the child to choose and write a substitute for each.

FIND _____ FOR ME AGAIN. TELL ME SOMETHING YOU COULD PUT INSTEAD OF _____. DO IT. YOU WRITE IT.

HOW DID YOU KNOW HOW TO DO THAT?

FIND _____ FOR ME AGAIN. TELL ME SOMETHING YOU COULD PUT INSTEAD OF _____. DO IT. YOU WRITE IT.

HOW DID YOU KNOW HOW TO DO THAT?

At end of this section, praise the child warmly in your own words appropriate to what has been done.

Tell the child that you really like the story (if one was attempted) and would like to take a copy with you. Tell him/her that you will go to the office and make a copy then bring it right back.*

Also tell the child that if s/he does anything else to the story that you would like to see it when you come back and that you would like to see other things that s/he writes.

Set up the expectation that you will be back and that the tasks will be fun.

*Examiners were able to take child to office and each child made his/her own copies with photocopy machine and chose whether to keep original or copy.

** This appendix does not include Make-Believe directions; full manual is available upon request from author.

Appendix G
Examples of Children's Use of Reference*

Major Divisions of Reference

Exophoric Reference (Exophora): the reference item refers to a meaning source that is outside the text itself.
Example: (two speakers are talking)
"Where did you get that?" (pointing to object)
"Well, my dad bought it for me."
The meaning of "that, my, it, and me" can all be determined from the situation rather than the language.

Endophoric Reference (Endophora): the reference item refers to a meaning source that is within the text itself.
Example: (Andrea, Study II, Real)
"My dad he helped me. He pushed me."

Subcategories of Reference

Kind

Example

Exophoric

*Instancial Exophora
(meaning is in the immediate situation)

- Examiner's Directions: "--tell me your story and it's a real story about you. The story is about how you learned to ride a big wheel (bicycle)
Mike (Study II, Real): "When I was four and a half I knew how to ride one."
- Examiner's Directions: "--tell me your story and it's a pretend story about Little Prince/Princess Charming. The story is about how Little Prince/Princess Charming learned to ride a big wheel (bicycle)."
Betsy (Study II, Make-believe) "What happened first was she got her tricycle and she wanted to ride it."
- An author's use of "I" to tell a story.

Restricted Exophora
(meaning is not in the immediate situation but must be derived from past shared knowledge)

- Richard (Study VI) decided to re-tell "The Elves and the Shoemaker" as his story. He introduced the shoemaker specifically and referred to him as "he." He never introduced the shoemaker's wife. Mid-story Richard said "They went by the door." (to watch the elves with "they" referring to the shoemaker and his wife).

Endophoric

Anaphoric (anaphora)
(referente item refers to preceding text for meaning)

- Jodie (Study IV) "Randall got a helicopter but it doesn't fly. It has wheels."

* These examples were selected by Beverly Cox and used as illustrations for her talk at the National Reading Conference, Clearwater Beach, December 1982 (NRC Yearbook, in press).

Cataphoric (cataphora)
(reference item refers
to following text for
meaning)

Immediate Ties
(reference item and
the meaning source
are in contiguous
clauses)

Mediated Ties
(reference item and
its meaning source are
separated by one or
more intervening
clauses, but the mean-
ing is maintained by
reinstatement through-
out the intervening
clauses)

Non-Mediated Ties
(reference item and
its meaning source are
separated by one or
more intervening
clauses, but the mean-
ing is not maintained by
reinstatement through-
out the intervening
clauses)

-Betsy (Study IV) "I looked at it and it was
number four." (It in first clause refers to
number four, in second clause.)

-Nicole (Study IV) "one day there was a little boy
and his friend and they were planning a race so
they put down some tape"

-Chad (Study II, Real)
"—and then you like ask a boy
and then just like ask him, 'What is your name?'
and he'll help you
and if he can't do it well he'll ask more kids to do it"
-Richard (Study V)
"—and first I got my spider going
and it went in everybody's lane
then I got it back
and then I started it again"

-Richard (Study VI)
"—and when the shoemaker came to work there was a nice
pair of shoes all done
and then one man came in
and he bought 'em
and he (said) 'How much does it cost?'
'One gold coin,' he said
'No, I'll give you two.'
and then next day he bought two pairs of leather"
-Betsy (Study II, Real)
"—and now I rode a bike and not a dumb old tricycle
I used to have a blue
but it wasn't as big as my red tricycle
and I turned the handle somewhere
and the handles broke off
and then my dad put some other handles on
and now it's my brother's tricycle 'cause it's much
too small for a five-year old"

Appendix H

Completeness of Context Scoring System

- WHO: 0 = No mention of participants
1 = Indefinite pronouns or other indefinite reference
2 = Participants adequately specified
3 = Full specification; participants embedded in their relations to other participants
- WHERE: 0 = Absence of location
1 = Presence of location
- WHAT: 0 = No objects mentioned
1 = Indefinite reference to main object
2 = Main object mentioned; or two other objects named
3 = Main object plus at least one other object named
- WHEN: 0 = No time reference
1 = General time reference
2 = Specific time reference or literary conventional reference to time
- WHY: 0 = Absence of causal relations
1 = Presence of causal relations
- HOW: (Action of the story; how events occurred)
0 = Confused, or action is totally missing
1 = Incomplete; important action information missing; or complete action presented confusingly
2 = Goal, actions, and outcome are included

*Adapted from Menig-Peterson & McCabe (1978) by Sulzby (1981).

Appendix I

Emergent Reading Ability Judgments
for Dictated and Handwritten Stories, Revised

Score assigned	Behaviors observed
(For 1-2, any production cannot be called a story of composition either by intention or by characteristics of the product.)	
1	No dictated nor handwritten stories; hence, no attempt to re-read. Child refuses to pretend-write.
2	In response to request to handwrite a story, no "story" is produced but there is some primitive evidence of reading and writing. In response to request to dictate a story, child says something that does not seem to be treated as a composed unit; it may consist of conversational characteristics either in wording or in turn-taking. It is either not re-read or re-reading attempt is very primitive.
(For 3-7, stories or their equivalent are produced.)	
3	While stories are produced, child refuses to re-read. For own writing, child may say that the story "doesn't say anything," or, for dictation, "I can't read."
4	Child attempts to re-read but eyes are not on print.* Story recited is similar to original but not stable.
5	This seems to be a period during which the child cannot simultaneously maintain eyes on print and recite stable story. "Score 5" either if (a) child's eyes are on print but story recited is similar but not stable* or (2) child's eyes are not on print but story recited is stable.*
6	Eyes are on print but child is not tracking print. Story recited is stable.* For handwritten story, print may still be pretend-cursive or other writing system if the story accompanied the composition, either as shown by voicing during composition or by other evidence such as mixture of invention or reference to units by intention.
7	Child's eyes are tracking print, matching voice to print, "actually reading," independently, with attention to meaning. To be rated as a "7" story must consist of more than one complete clause; if less, then rank "6". Print can have mature forms of invented spelling or of combinations of other writing units as long as child treats individual units as stable.

*Stable in reference to re-reading stories means that no clause-level units have been added, omitted, or placed out of composed sequence.

Examples of Children's Emergent Reading Abilities
for Favorite Storybooks

Example 1
Labelling and Commenting
(C2)

Daniel B., re-enactment of Professor Wormbug in Search for the Zipperump-A-Zoo by Mayer (1976)

In this re-enactment, the child attends only to pictures and points to the items in the pictures as he names or comments. His comments are tied to the picture in view at the moment. His use of "the" in front of Zipperump-A-Zoo sounds more advanced, particularly since "Zipperump-A-Zoo" is the character's name but other children re-enacting at this level will refer to a character in sight as "the bunny" even when they appear to be using a general rather than a specific label.

Child: The Zipperump-A-Zoo. And that's a _____ (indecipherable).
The Zipperump-A-Zoo. (Turns pages and repeats this, with pointing.)
(Labelling)

Child: He took it out. (Commenting)

Adult: He took it out and look what it was.

Child: Oh, yeah--I like this! (Meta-statement about reaction)

Adult: Oh, yeah.

Child: Oh--and here! _____ (indecipherable syllable) (Probably label)
(Turning pages)
Ew, yeah! Here's all the new hats. Here. (Commenting)

Adult: Um-huh.

Child: Here comes Zipperump-A-Zoo. (Commenting, perhaps action-governed)
That's it! (Closing book) (Meta-statement about activity)

Example 2.
Action-Governed
(C1)

Mike, re-enactment of Professor Wormbug in Search for the Zipperump-A-Zoo
by Mayer (1976)

In this re-enactment, Mike begins by initiating a long interactive conversation with the adult. The adult finally re-instated the request for Mike to read or pretend-read. In the section that follows, much of what Mike said was indecipherable but the majority of his speech is about the picture in current view and is worded as if the action is currently going on. Note the use of "look at that," and the use of present and present progressive tenses. Adult mimics his usage here:

Child: Lookit, lookit.

Adult: Uh-huh! What's that? (Pause) What's happening there?

Child: (Points)

Adult: Ooew--look at that.

Child: (Interrupting)--A _____ (indecipherable)
tree--

Adult: Uh-huh.

Child: --and grass--

Adult: --Uh-huh. Look at that.

Child: Watch. This thing is still following him, watch.

Adult: The thing's still following him?

Child: See. There.

Adult: Oh, yeah. Look.

Child: _____ (indecipherable)

Adult: Hiding right behind there. (Repetition of part of child's speech.)

Child: Whoops!

Adult: Whoops! (Laughing) Oh--what happened now!

Child: He fell asleep. _____ (indecipherable). Look at it,
he's bigger than (pause) _____ (indecipherable)

Example 3
Lower-level Oral Language, Attending to Pictures
(B2b)

Noreen, re-enactment of Plum Pudding for Christmas by Kahl (1956).

The re-enactment began with the labelling behavior shown on example . Then she continued with this section which was told as she turned the pages of Plum Pudding for Christmas by Kahl (1956) in reverse order. In this section her speech becomes more and more rapid, with a storytelling intonation, and dissipation into contextualized comments at the end, during which time she is indicating parts of the pictures to the examiner

Child: The (pause) children are looking for--
for the other children--(turns page)
for one more children.
And (pause) they looked all over the place
(pause) for that little children. (turns page)
And--wait--(turns page)
He went off to the (indecipherable word):
(turns page)
He writted a note to--to the king--
and they, uh--(long pause)
Adult: They wrote a note to the king and then--
Child: Then--they would.
Then the, um, boy bring the note to the king
then he said to bring it back to her.
Adult: Hmmm. OK.
Child: (turns page) (pause)
And then the little girl got peanuts
and threw it at everybody--
Adult: --Oh, oh--
Child: --And, then they're making stuff. And that,
and that (two syllables indecipherable)--
Adult: --Oh--
Child: --pushed her into the peanuts.
And so (turns page) he said take that
to your mommy. (turns page)
Adult: Oh.
Child: _____ (indecipherable phrase said
in very low volume)
look at him, look in the book,
look under the book. In the
boy. (Latter speech seemed almost to be addressed
to the pictured characters and following speech
appeared to shift back to description of "them.")
And they looked everywhere for them.
That's all I can read.

(With encouragement, she continued the re-enactment with the same kinds of behaviors.)

Example 4
Higher-level Oral Language, Attending to Pictures
(B2a)

Don, re-enactment of Henry Explores the Mountains by Taylor (1975).

The re-enactment begins with contextualized language and the child makes continued reference to the pictured content. The book is Henry Explores the Mountains by Taylor (1975). The boy, Henry, is never introduced and his dog, Angus, is only identified in direct speech about which the child makes an interactive remark to the adult.

Child: This is his house and he is going to sleep. He was reading a book. And he was going to bed and then after he was reading the book he saw pictures of the mountains up here. Here (pause) there's some pictures, here, and then he thought he going exploring the mountains, he's going to, oh yeah, about the mountains and he thought I'm going to explore the mountains tomorrow. And then he asked his daddy, I think I missed some pages here (turns pages back). No. Then he was asking his daddy, exploring, then he got in again, he ate his breakfast and then after he was finished he maked his bed. Then he got out of his gate and he saw the mailman coming on the street. And then he went, (pause) and then he went _____ (indecipherable) and then he said to him, (pause) Angus, Angus, (referring to dog) cause that's his name. I know. After this we're gonna come to the mountains (pause) and then he got one of his, and then he stuck one flag in there and then this is gonna be his tree. And then they were by the mountain, (pause) and then, hum, I think I missed some here. I'll have to look this book again, (turns back pages) to start again here.

Adult: OK.

Child: I didn't do something here right. I think I took (pause) some pages with me. (pause, pages turning) Then they went by the mountain. And then he puts his rope on there and then he climbs up. And then he took him up. There was a fox right there and he was, jumped on him. Then they found a wolf. And then the man came out and there was just a dog. And the man said, I call him wolf, because he's a good hunting dog. They got up on the mountain again. And then he put a flag on the mountain. And then (pause) it was his mountain.

Adult: Uh-huh.

Child: And then, (turns pages), and then they ran over there and saw a forest fire, there was rock fall coming down, and Angus began to fall down sliding. Here. (pause) And then he went to wake him up. And couldn't he was /stuck/. And no he was falling to sleep. And then he went to the man he saw before

and (pause) _____ (indecipherable), what's this up here? It kinda looks like a dinosaur (child and examiner laugh). No. And then he ran down to the man, then man called heli-- helicopter and, and the, then the fire engines, there was a forest fire. And then here it is. (pause) And then comes the helicopter and there's the fire engines. Is this the police? Huh? Is that a police?

Adult: I think they're just firemen. Or forest rangers.

Child: Yeah.

Adult: The forest rangers are just about like police.

Child: What?

Adult: The forest rangers are just about like policemen. Only they just stay in the forest.

Child: And there comes the _____ (indecipherable). And here comes a man up with him (the dog) on his shoulders and he's coming up the rope. And then (pause) they got in the helicopter and they are going in the helicopter home. And first he was watching (pause) and there they go! Home. And there the forest fire's finished. And then when they come out, there were _____ (indecipherable) walking first, they come to meet the helicopter and then he comes home and he eats some cake and they have some coffee. And then it's finished.

Example 5
 Lowest-Level Written Language (Written/Oral Mixture),
 Attending to Pictures (Blc)

Howie, re-enactment of Henry Explores the Mountains by Taylor (1975)

In this attempt, Howie uses speech that varies from being written language-like and being oral language-like. He "read" from the pictures; however, he occasionally skipped a page because, as he put it, he didn't know what it "said."

The transcript is arranged so that the rationale for classifying parts of Howie's speech as oral or written can be examined.

<u>Re-enactment:</u>	<u>Behavior-type:</u>	<u>Classification:</u>
Child: Called the explorer goes to the jungle.	Giving a "title"	Written language
Adult: Who?	(Child's speech unclear)	
Child: The explorer.		
Adult: OK.		
Child: (Pause) Um. (pause) He's playin--he's painting his H's.	Reference to picture	Oral language
(pause) He, uh, he likes jungles, and he, and so does the dog.	Present and present progressive	
And (pause), uh, he's going into the jungle, (indecipherable phrase)	"And, uh" conjunctions	
And the mom said, "Don't run into any tigers. (pause) And here's your lunch."		Perhaps written in part.
Adult: And he what?	(Child's speech unclear)	
Child: And here's your lunch the mom said.	Inversion	Written language re-wording
Adult: OK--		
Child: And, he, he was walking out, <u>seeing the mailman coming by.</u>	Postposed participle	Written language
Um (pause) um, I don't know what that says.	Reference to page	Awareness of print; written
Adult: OK.		
Child: Um. (turns page) He was pretending he was shooting them.	Reference to pictured cows	Oral language

Remainder of re-enactment shows similar behaviors.

Example 6
Higher-level Written Language (Similar but Not Close
to Verbatim to Written Text), Attending to Pictures
(Bib)

Douglas, re-enactment of The Carrot Seed by Krauss (1945).

In this re-enactment, Douglas matches the story closely, page by page, even though his wording is not verbatim. He is looking at the pictures but his intonation is like an expressive oral reading, with slowed prosody and much use of expressive stress. The text is provided for ease of comparison.

Text:

p. 1
A little boy planted
a carrot seed.

p. 2
His mother said, "I'm afraid
it won't come up."

p. 4
His father said, "I'm afraid
it won't come up."

p. 6
And his big brother said,
"It won't come up."

p. 8
Every day the little boy
pulled up the weeds around the seed
and sprinkled the ground with water.

p. 10
But nothing came up.

p. 12
And nothing came up.

p. 14
Everyone kept saying
it wouldn't come up.

Child:

Once a little boy planted
a carrot seed.

And his mom said, said to him,
"That will never grow. Needs
water." So one day he watered it.

Then his dad said, "Nothing's
gonna grow--ow."

And then his brother came and
said, "Nothing's gonna grow."

And then one day--he pulled out,
the weeds--and watered it.
(Sing-song speech)

And it still didn't grow.

And then--he kept on doing it and
nothing happened.

And then--his whole family said,
'said, it's never gonna grow.
(Run together speech)

Text:

p. 16

But he still pulled up
the weeds around it every day
and sprinkled the ground with water.

p. 18

And then, one day,

p. 20

a carrot came up

p. 22

just as the little boy
had known it would.

Child:

Then he, but he didn't give up.
He kept on watering it--and
taking care of it.

The one day

he saw something come up

And he, then he saw--a big sprout?
with _____ on it--and it's a
big giant carrot. The end.

Adult: Oh, how nice. (Both laugh)

Example 7
Highest-level Written Language (Verbatim-Like),
Attending to Pictures (Bla)

Daniel R., re-enactment of My Cat Likes to Hide in Boxes by Sutton
(undated).

In this re-enactment, Daniel's words are close to verbatim and he attempts to retrieve the verbatim wording by asking the adult for help. Evidence of his attempts to retrieve the exact wording are his hesitations, his verbal fillers (umm's and uh's), his questions asking for the adult's confirmation ("Is that . . . ?") and his requests for the adult to "help me," "read this."

Notice that he is not attending to print but he indicates that the adult should read the print, to give him the help he wants. Also notice that "memory for text" even when it is almost verbatim is an intellectually high-level process and not the running off of a rote "tape." The child seems to treat the text as a stable, memorable unit of discourse and then to try to retrieve or reconstruct the exact text.

Since Daniel's re-enactment is so close to verbatim, the basic format of the book is presented first. The reader will be able to understand the added patterns from Daniel's re-enactment, only part of which is included here.

Book format:

The cat from France

liked to sing and dance

But MY cat likes to hide in boxes.

The cat from Spain

Flew an aeroplane.

The cat from France

liked to sing and dance.

But MY cat likes to hide in boxes.

Child's re-enactment (with tape-recorder counter numbers for aid in referring to parts of the exchange).

254 Child: But my cat likes to hide boxes. (Said rapidly.)

254 Child: Is that--cat--cat'n--pain--cat in--(indecipherable
pain!

257 Child: Cat--in Norway got stuck in the doorway--(said rapidly).

258 Adult: (Chuckled.)

258 Child: --and--and, umm (pause), the cat from Spain liked
to drive an airplane (pause) and (pause)
the cat from (pause) Nor! (Nor said emphatically then
he seemed to decide to skip it and go on.)

264 Child: --but my cat likes to hide in boxes!

265 The cat from Greece joined the police. (This couplet
was said clearly and forcefully as compared with
the tentative tone-used in earlier utterances.)

267 And the cat in Norway--got stuck in the doorway.
And, um, uh, the cat, oh, and the cat in
(undecipherable, but sounds as if he ran "Spainliked to"
together) drive an airplane.

272 But my cat likes to hide in boxes. (Rapidly,
words running together.)

275 Child: Forget this one! (Child's voice takes on a
whining tone but his affect did not seem to support
that interpretation.)

277 Adult: Can I help?

277 Child: Yeah.

- 277 Adult: Whataya want me to do?
- 278 Child: (Dropped book forward.) Help me with this one--
I forget this one.
- 279 Adult: What am I 'sposed to do?
- 279 Child: And read this page--cause I forget that.
- 280 Adult: Read the page--OK.
The cat from Brazil caught a very bad chill.
- 282 Child: (Began without hesitation.)
Oh--and the cat from Greece joined the police.
Umm, um, and the cat from Norway (said rapidly)
got stuck in the doorway
and, um, the cat, and the cat from Spain,
umm, umm, drives a airplane.
- 287 Adult: (Low chuckle.)
- 288 Child: My cat likes to hide in boxes.
- 288 Adult: (Chuckle.)

Example 8
Aspectual, Attending to Print *
(A2)

Richard, re-enactment of Henry Explores the Mountains by Taylor (1975).

This attempt, like most of the aspectual attempts to read from print, does not cover much of the text. Richard began laboriously trying to read from the print and then was encouraged to "pretend." Instead, he continued trying to decipher the print, depending upon cues about letter-sound relationships and occasional enquiries and guesses at the word level. He made some predictions that are syntactically and semantically relevant but he seemed to abandon his memory for the story as a whole. Some of his word-level predictions aided him to predict Henry (the boy's name) for Henry and Angus (the dog's name) for a self-correction/ to his erroneous prediction of fox for dog.

The re-enactment is presented from page 7, the third page of text the child attempted. He stopped at the end of the first clause and, after a brief discussion with the adult, turned on to pages 8-9, ignored the text on page 8 and began to try to read page 9, using similar strategies. In all he attempted to read six pages using the same strategy, in spite of the adult's attempts to get him to abandon the strategy and use a different one.

Text (page 7):

"It was a bright morning as they started out."

Child: (pause) It ↑ (pause) it → um,
this is—

Adult: What?

Child: A--it--was--A--big--uh, in?

Adult: Autumn. ↓

Child: Autumn → (pause) /m/, /m/?
/max/! /max/?

Adult: No. Morning.

Child: Um--morning.

Both: (Laugh)

Child: A--is A?

*Remember that aspectual attempts can also focus on comprehension, or memory for text, as well as other combinations of letter-sound relationships, memory for text, and word knowledge.

Child's tracking of print* (page 7):

Child: ✓it ○ ✓a ✓big ^②autumn (AS)
 ✓in?
Text: It was a bright autumn

Child: ^①morning (AS)
 ^②max! max?
 ✓/m/, /m/ ✓/ey/? ○ ○ ○
Text: morning as they started out.

*Coding:

✓ = finger-point

○ = word omitted

// = phonetic transcription of attempt

(AS) = adult supplied

Circled numbers indicate order of attempts. (Repetition is not marked.)

Example '9
Holistic, Strategy-dependent, Attending to Print
(Alb)

Tanya, re-enactment of No Roses for Harry by Zion (1958)

In this re-enactment Tanya is reading from print. Her reading is classified as strategy-dependent because, while she can use information from letter-sound relationships, words that she knows, and monitoring her comprehension, she does not seem to have all of the aspects of reading in balance.

In the section below, she read the first page silently and then complained that it was too difficult. When encouraged to read just a little bit, she began with the second page. On the next two pages shown here, she is highly dependent upon asking the examiner for words or upon a mix of sound-letter cues and "nonsense word" attempts which she rejects through asking the examiner, "What does this say?" On the third page, however, she holds the attempt together to re-enact without asking for aid. She allows her only miscue (dark for big) to stand without correction or adult help, a wise choice since it is syntactically and semantically appropriate and not necessary to further interpretation. The remainder of the re-enactment is similar. In spite of her disclaimer that she could only read a little bit, she read the entire book.

Child's Reading

Actual Text

Child: (reads to herself)
Adult: Read, read your book out loud to me.
Child: (groans) I can't read so many (pause) but little bit. When he—
Adult: (interrupts) OK, just read me a little bit. Read me what you can.

Harry was a white dog with black spots. On his birthday, he got a present from Grandma. It was a woolen sweater with roses on it. Harry didn't like it the moment he saw it. He didn't like the roses.

Child: When he, what's this they say?
Adult: Tried.
Child: When he tried it on, he flat? flat kersey, what's this say?
Adult: Cosy.
Child: Cosy and snug.
Adult: Uh-hmm.
Child: But he still didn't like the roses. He—he, what's that? (whispered)
Adult: Thought.
Child: Thought it was the slast, (pause)
Adult: silliest.

When he tried it on, he felt cosy and snug. But he still didn't like the roses. He thought it was the silliest sweater he'd ever seen.

Child's Reading

Actual Text

Child: Silliest sweater he, he did, he'd ever seen.

Adult: Oh, that's good. Can you point to the words when you read them?

Child: Um-hmm.

Adult: OK.

Child: The next day when Harry went downtown with the children, he wore, wear hi, his new sweater. When purple?

Adult: People.

Child: people saw it, they liked?

Adult: They laughed.

Child: laughed. When dogs saw it, they braked? Harry met?

Adult: Made.

Child: made up his mend then and there to lo-lost Grandma's present.

Adult: (laughs)

Child: When they went into a dark store to shop, the children took off his sweater and let him carry it. Thi, this was just what Harry (pause) wanted.

The next day when Harry went downtown with the children; he wore his new sweater. When people saw it, they laughed. When dogs saw it, they barked. Harry made up his mind then and there to lose Grandma's present.

When they went into a big store to shop, the children took off his sweater and let him carry it. This was just what Harry wanted.