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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted to determine some of the effects of dyadic writing interactions on the writing of sixth graders, and specifically, to describe the effects of corresponding with pen pals who were students in a language arts methods course during their professional teacher education year. Twenty-seven sixth-grade students attended a school in a lower middle-class area close to the campus of the university where the teacher education students were enrolled. Each sixth grade student was paired with a teacher education student. Letters were exchanged weekly from September until December. The effect of writing to a real audience was gauged by comparing the first letters with later letters. Changes of the following kinds were most noticeable: length, syntactic complexity, paragraphing, and various communicative features (such as: openings and closings, questions, taking up topics, and expressions of appreciation). The education students found the correspondence personally rewarding and learned important things about the writing of sixth graders including an appropriate balance between formal matters and content. For the sixth-graders, the experience was rewarding both personally and as a learning experience as was evident in comments they made in their letter and in journal entries to their teacher. Both the students and their teacher considered writing to their pen pals a highly motivating activity. The sixth-graders were eager to adopt strategies that would help them communicate more clearly and effectively. (Seventeen references are attached.) (MG)

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SIXTH-GRADERS LEARN FROM LETTER WRITING

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SIXTH-GRADERS LEARN FROM LETTER WRITING

It has long been recognized that the audiences for whom we write and speak exert powerful influences on what we say and how we say it. Both classical and modern rhetorical theorists stress the importance of audience. Language Arts educators urge that children be encouraged to write for real or authentic audiences (e.g., Judy & Judy, 1981; Moffet & Wagner, 1976; Smith, 1983). Additional support for the importance of authentic audiences derive from sociocognitive views of language learning. Such views hold

. . .that all learning is socially based, that teaching is ultimately an interactive process, that cognitive behaviors are influenced by context, and that such behaviors, in turn affect the meanings that learners produce. (Langer, 1985)

The people and the purposes that we write for profoundly affect the writing we produce.

Research findings are rather skimpy as to how audience and context affect writing. A few studies have reported that students write more complex sentences when writing for older audiences (Crowhurst & Piche, 1979; Smith & Swan, 1978). Students have been found to use different language functions in compositions written for a best friend than they used when writing for a teacher (Craig, 1986). They used more controlling language (e.g., Let's ask the committee tomorrow, and we'll decide if we'll get a computer.) and more relational language (e.g., "Well who needs it, Pete?") when

writing for a friend and more of the theorizing function (e.g., drawing conclusions, recognizing causal relationships) when writing for their teacher.

Recent ethnographic research examining writing in home and classroom settings is adding to our knowledge about the influence of context, purpose, function, and audience on children's writing (e.g., Dyson 1983; 1984a,b; Farr 1985; Schieffelin & Gilmore, 1986; Teale & Sulzby, 1986; Heath & Branscombe, 1985). Heath and Branscombe, for example, involved a group of minority students--previously labeled as "learning disabled"--in writing, first, to older students in the school and, later, to ethnographer, Shirley Brice Heath, a more distant audience requiring a more formal tone. They were neither instructed in how to write nor graded on what they wrote. Their improvement was impressive. In the interactive, communicative environment established in their English class, these students were able

to acquire fundamental concepts and skills of proficient writers. . . to extract information from others, to share their personal opinions and emotions, and to step into the reader's place sufficiently to be able to "hear" their writing as their readers would. Through modeling their letters after those of their correspondents, the students left behind many of the mechanical errors of their early letters. . . (p. 25)

Drawing on theories of the social interactive nature of early oral language development, Heath and Branscombe suggest that "novice

writers have to learn through dyadic writing interactions the social--and consequently the linguistic--prerequisites of written language as communication" (p. 26).

The purpose of the present article is to describe some of the effects of "dyadic writing interactions" on the writing of sixth graders, specifically, to describe the effects of corresponding with pen pals who were students in a language arts methods course during their professional teacher education year.

The Study Described

Participants

The 27 sixth-grade students were enrolled in a school in a lower middle-class area a few miles from the campus of the university where the teacher education students attended school. Thirteen of the sixth-graders were girls and 14 were boys. Their average age was 11.7. All students were fluent in English, but several had learned English as a second language and were less fluent in written English than some of their peers whose mother tongue was English.

The sixth-graders' teacher was enrolled in an upper level education course at the university. She attended classes weekly on a Tuesday evening. During the first week of classes in September when the investigator visited her university class seeking a teacher of upper elementary students who would be willing for her students to establish pen-friend relationships with pre-service teacher education students, she volunteered enthusiastically.

The 25 teacher education students were enrolled in a general methods course in the teaching of the Language Arts. The class met twice weekly from September through the end of March with two breaks for student teaching--three weeks in October, and four weeks in February. Five of the students were males and 20 were females. The average age was 26.6 with a range from 22 to 41 years. Five of the student teachers had children of their own.

The Letter Exchanges

Each sixth-grade student was paired with a teacher education student. Two of the latter volunteered to correspond with two sixth graders so that each sixth grader would have a correspondent. Letters were exchanged weekly from the second week in September until the first week in December except for the three-week period when the teacher-education students were engaged in practice teaching. In a few cases, correspondence continued into the new year. Occasionally, a sixth-grader was absent and missed a letter. The total number of letters written by sixth graders varied from 8 to 13. No teacher education students missed sending their weekly letter to their correspondents. The sixth-grade teacher dropped off the letters each Tuesday evening when she came to her class, and collected the letters which the education students had turned in at their class earlier in the day.

On the first letter-writing day, the sixth-grade teacher wrote on the board the form for the inside address of a letter, and explained to students that they were going to begin corresponding with pen pals who were training to be teachers.

She told them to write their first letter telling their pen pal something about themselves. She gave them no further assistance with letter writing either on that day or on any future day. She did not read their letters, but did give some class time each week for reading and writing letters.

Student teachers were told to try to establish a communicative relationship with their pen pal. They were encouraged to adopt the role not of teacher but of older friend. Since these sixth-graders were in a school where none of the student teachers would be teaching during their practicum, it seemed appropriate for them to initiate a first-name, friendly relationship, rather than the more distant, more formal tone that would probably characterize a teacher-student correspondence.

From the point of view of the sixth-grade teacher, the purpose of the activity was to involve her students in regular writing for a real purpose--writing which she did not need to mark or even read. From the point of view of the education students' instructor, the correspondence was expected to achieve several objectives. The student teachers would have first-hand experience with the writing of a sixth-grader. Each of them was ultimately to complete an assignment based on the writing of his or her own pen pal and the writing of one other sixth-grader, but their primary responsibility in the correspondence was to establish a responsive, communicative exchange. It was hoped that they would be able to make the important distinction between formal matters such as spelling and sentence structure, on the one hand, and

communicative effectiveness, on the other.

Audience Effects on Writing

The effect of writing to a real audience was gauged by comparing the first letter with later letters. When writing the first letter, sixth-graders had not yet received a letter and did not even know their pen pal's name. The first letter, then, was very similar to the kind of school writing assignment that asks students to write a letter to some imagined person. The second letter was a response to the first letter from their pen pal and might be expected to show some influence of responding to a real audience. However, the development of a communicative relationship occurred over time. Some sixth-graders showed effects quickly; others were slower to do so. Changes of the following kinds were most noticeable: length, syntactic complexity, paragraphing, various communicative features. Where numerical comparisons are made in the following description (as for word length or t-unit length, for example), the first letter is compared with the average of the next seven letters.

Length

One of the most obvious, most quickly observed changes was the increase in length of letters once the sixth-graders were responding to their pen pals' letters. The average length of first letters (excluding address, date, salutation and signature) was 67 words. Only six students wrote more than 100 words. The average length of the other 19 students' letters was 55 words.

The average length of the next seven letters was 160 words.

Letters of 200 words and more were common. Some students wrote several letters over 300 words in length, the two longest being 1337 and 1485 words. In some cases, students letters were written on more than one day. For example, Ivan's fifth letter was actually a set of five letters written, daily, over a period of five days, and totalling 431 words--a remarkable effort for a boy who wrote only 36 words in his first letter.

In addition to the text of their letters, students often included other material in later letters: poems, jokes, stories, illustrations, individually-made birthday cards, letters in elaborate, decorated folders. Sandra and her student-teacher pen pal composed a story together over several weeks, taking turns to add to the story each week.

Syntactic complexity

Later letters were syntactically more interesting than first letters. Mean t-unit length for first letters was 7.46; mean t-unit length for letters 2 through 8 was 8.36. First letters were commonly composed of short, choppy sentences. Later letters commonly included more adverbials and more embedded clauses. The point is well illustrated by the following pairs of letters by Eric and Trevor:

September 15

Dear Pen Pal,

My name is Eric. I go to General Gordon School. I'm a Grade 6 student. My teacher's name is Miss X. The things I like are rock music, sports and science. I'm

hoping to be a lawyer when I grow up so I can make lots of money.

Your Pen Pal

Eric

November 5

Dear T,

I sure have a lot to write after all those weeks. I guess I should start asking questions about your teaching. How was it? Do you have a good class? What grade are you teaching? Is it a lot of work teaching? Well that's all I have to say about you.

I have lots of things to tell you about me. I really had a good time at Halloween. I got lots of candy. I lit lots of fireworks and firecrackers with my dad at night, then I went to the Kits Community Centre at the dance. It was realley fun and at the end I was so tired I almost fell asleep. When I went home, I couldn't catch T.V. because every channel I changed, all the movies were gorey. After Halloween it was time for school again and we sure had a lot of tests coming up, so I didnt have very much time to play with my friends because I had to get good marks for the tests.

I really liked your last letter you wrote me and all the places you visited at Greece and I really liked the drawing you drew of your hut you made with your sister on the island. It was pretty well thought out and I

liked the inside a lot. It must of bin really fun living in a nice place that you've made. What did you do with it when you left? Did you leave it there?

Love from your
friend, Eric.

September 15

Dear Pen Pal,

Hi. My name is Trevor. You think you'll like it, being a teacher. This summer I went to Osoyoos and I had a very good (time). I hope you had a good time if you went anywhere. Do you have any hobbies I have, I collect hockey cards and baseball cards and I like making models!!

Your friend,
Trevor.

November 15

Dear B,

Hi, nice to write to you again B. In school this week we did lots of work in class we did tons of socials and science after we finished all the science work we had a test I don't think I got a good mark because I didn't study enough. In the socials test I got a good mark 43 out of 45, I think I'm going to get good grades on this term because I'm enjoying school and when I enjoy something I give it my best shot.

On the weekend my dad and I worked on they upstairs

of my house because in a couple of years I'm going to be moving upstairs. I'm going to have my Commodore 64 computer and a T.V. and a sterio and my Caleco Vision. I guarantee you I'm going to have a good time.

Your penpal,

Trevor

What was true for these boys was true for many others in the class; these letters were chosen because they not only illustrate the point, but are short enough to include.

Paragraphing

The most common format feature adopted by the sixth-graders in later letters was paragraphing. Six of the 27 students wrote in paragraphs in the first letter and in all or most subsequent letters as well. But most students' early letters were written in one solid paragraph. Indeed, 9 of the 27 paragraphed none of their letters. However, there were 12 students who failed to paragraph in the first letter but introduced paragraphing in some subsequent letter. Once paragraphing appeared, it tended to appear in all or most subsequent letters.

Two students failed to paragraph in letter #1, but paragraphed in letter #2 and all subsequent letters. For them, it seems likely that the ability to paragraph was well developed, and that the omission in the first letter was an oversight. For the others, however, the first instance of paragraphing occurred in letter #4, or #6, or #11. It seems likely that these students were influenced by their correspondents' letters.

Paragraphing did not appear to be related to letter length. Trevor, for example, used paragraphs in letter #3 but not in letter #2 which was nearly twice as long as #3. The same was true for Kelly who did not paragraph in letter #2 even though it was 290 words long. In her third letter, she made specific reference to the fact that she was going to try to use paragraphs:

I do not know how to paragraph very well and I'm going to try for my first time, so please excuse me if I make a mistake.

All future letters were appropriately paragraphed.

Communicative Features

One of the most striking features of later letters as compared with first letters was a change in tone. Letters became more interactively communicative over time. Five items in particular contributed to this: openings, closings, questions, taking up topics, and personal expressions of appreciation.

Openings and Closings. Young writers have problems with openings and closings in a variety of kinds of writing (Langer, 1986; Crowhurst 1990, in press). Beginnings and endings are often stereotyped--"Once upon a time. . ." and "The End" for stories (Langer, 1986); appeals ("So please think about it.") or variants of "So that's my opinion" in persuasive writing (Crowhurst, in press). Reports and persuasive pieces often end abruptly without any kind of conclusion at all (Langer, 1986; Crowhurst, in press). Many of the sixth graders in the study here reported showed initial

awkwardness in their openings and closings. Openings and closings showed considerable modification as letter-writing proceeded becoming less abrupt and more communicative. Openings/closings were considered to be "communicative" if they focused in some way on their pen pal or referred to the last letter.

Some sixth-graders showed considerable maturity from the first letter in using "communicative" openings (8 out of 27) and closings (20 out of 27). But most first letters began by plunging immediately into the first topic, and many ended abruptly once they had dealt with their last topic. The following examples illustrate typical early openings:

-I enjoy listining to music staying up allnight and talking on the phone. (letter #1)

-I am eleven years old I like sports and rock mostly the Beastie Boys. (letter #1)

-I got quite a lot of presents for my birthday. (letter #3)

Examples of communicative openings were:

-Nice writing to you again.

-I hope that you had a good time when you went camping.

-I found out that some time in January we'll be able to meet each other. Isn't that great?

-I haven't been feeling my best lightly (lately) and your letter realy cheared me up.

While only 8 had communicative openings in letter #1, all but 2 had communicative openings in letter #2 and in most subsequent letters.

The influence of their correspondents' letters was clearly evident. In some cases, openings or closings were adopted verbatim; in other cases, ideas were adopted though wording might be different. Ellen's openings reflect both the form and content of her pen pal's openings. Letter #2 and several subsequent letters begin "Hi!" as her pen pal's letters do. Her pen pal's second letter opens: "Hi. Thank you for your letter. I really enjoyed your letter, especially . . ." Ellen's next letter (#3) begins: "Hi, thanks for your letter. I really liked reading it."

Examples of similar adoption of either form or content or both were common. Jeremy began letter #4 "I got your letter. I enjoyed it alot" after two letters from his pen pal beginning as follows: "Thanks for your letter. It was fun to hear from you" and "Thanks so much for your letter, it was an excellent letter, extremely interesting."

While some students clearly copied opening strategies from their correspondents, as illustrated above, the ready introduction of communicative openings as early as letter #2 by most students indicates, I believe, not new learning but the effect of writing to a real correspondent. The flat, sterile tone of most first-letter openings (and, indeed, of most first letters in their entirety) is characteristic of school letter-writing assignments to make-believe recipients. Students have a considerable amount of knowledge about communicating with others, knowledge that is not activated by dummy-run assignments, but that was quickly manifested once they were responding to a real correspondent, and once they

were prompted by their correspondents' communicative opening strategies.

Many students (20 out of 27) included some form of terminating statement in their first letter. In almost all cases, terminating statements were routine statements of the following kinds:

- This is all I have to say for now.
- Well I better go.
- Well, I hope to hear from you soon.

Seven students had no terminating statement at all, but ended abruptly with some final piece of information about themselves:

- Some things I don't like are liver, homework, Mondays and math.
- I like eating at Uncle Willy's.
- I would like to get married and have four children.

As in the case of openings, closings were substantially modified in the course of correspondence. Variants of routine endings remained common, but to those routine endings were added questions (e.g., "Do you watch those shows? Do you like them?"), requests for information (e.g., "In your next letter please tell me if you will be working at the park"), hopes (e.g., "Well that's all I have to say and I hope I can meet you some day"), and warm, personal comments (e.g., "I don't really know what else to write. But I can't wait to read your letter. Well, Bye."). In a number of cases, there was clear evidence that sixth-graders picked up closing strategies from their pen pals. Charles ended letter #7 with "Au revoir" after his francophone pen pal had done so in

several of his letters. Josh ended letter #6 with "I'm looking forward to your next letter" after his pen pal had ended letter #5 with "I look forward to reading your next letter." Neil ended letter #3 with "I really like your letters" after his pen pal had written "Keep those letters coming. I really enjoy them." Mandy ended Letter #8 "Sorry about not wrighting that long" after her pen pal had apologized for a very short letter because a heavily bandaged hand made it difficult for her to write.

Questions. There was a notable increase in the use of questions by sixth graders. Only six of them asked a question in the first letter, but questions were frequently asked in subsequent letters by all but one sixth grader. Neil, for example, used questions as a communicative technique in letter #3 and frequently thereafter. He would tell his pen pal about himself or about some event or activity in which he had engaged, and then ask her a question, or, alternatively, ask and then tell, for example:

-Carolyn how old are you? I am eleven years old.

-What hobbys do you like? I like stamp collecting. I have about three hundred stamps.

-(After describing watching Saturday night wrestling on television) Did your brother watch it. Does your brother like wrestling, if he does whose his faveret wrestler. By the way how old is your brother.

-(After telling about his weekend) How was your weekend?
(letter #3)

The number of questions used by all students increased from an

average of 0.6 for letter #1 to an average of 1.6 for all subsequent letters.

Taking up topics. A few competent writers showed considerable skill and facility in taking up topics even in their earliest letters. Kelly, for example, started letter #2 this way:

I have received the letter that you sent to me and it was fun reading it. I think we have some things in common. I like reading all kinds of books but my favorite kind is mysterys. Do you like mystery books?"

This introduction shows that Kelly knows many things about the kind of communicative interaction that is appropriate for letter-writing. She manages this interaction with a deft touch. She builds "we-ness" by acknowledging her pen pal's letter with appreciation, and by her "things-in-common" reference. Her information about her reading interests--an example of a common interest--is a clear but light-handed reference to her pen pal's comment about her own enjoyment of reading. Information is followed by a question that invites her pen pal to keep the topic going in her next letter.

Most sixth graders were not as adept at taking up topics. Sometimes information was given without any reference at all to the questions that prompted the information as in this excerpt from Neil's letter #2 in response to two questions from his pen pal:

Im not in a hockey team I just play hockey with my little

brother outside (in) my yard. I always win. This summer in Greece I went to see my relatives.

It was interesting to note how often awkwardness in taking up topics gave way to greater facility as the correspondence progressed. By letter #5, Neil is quite adept at questions and comments, interspersed, to respond to his pen pal's letters, to ask for more information, and to introduce a related topic of his own, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

How was the class (i.e., where Carolyn has been practice teaching)? From your letters it didn't look like they were good at Ginn reading. Is the school good? Whats the schools name? Do they have French Imersion? Our school does. i dont like french that much so I don't go to French Imersion.

In early letters, Ezra introduces topics as follows:

-You said you wanted to know about my summer. Well now you will find out about my summer. (letter #2)

-You asked what I like to do in art. Well, what I like doing in art is drawing. (letter #3)

In later letters he is much smoother in taking up topics:

-How was thanksgiving? Yesterday we had 18 people at our thanksgiving party. We had turkey, potatoes. . . .and milk. For dessert we had peach cake, pumpkin pie, and apple pie. What did you have to eat? (letter #5)

-I would like to know what you were for Hallowe'en. I was a zombie for Hallowe'en. I had a black cloak with

a hood, and. . .

Expressions of Appreciation. A factor which made a great contribution to the increased warmth of tone of later letters as against early letters was the inclusion by virtually all student of warm personal expressions of appreciation. The point is made clear by a few examples:

-I can't wait until I read your letter tommorow.

-I think writing to each other is fun. Do you? At first I didn't want to do it because I thought it was dumb and now I like it.

-I just can't wait to meet you we've become good friends (at least I think so)!

-How are you? I mis you how was your trip. I have bin counting days since you left.

-I'm having a good time because I'm writeing the letter I like writeing letters to you B----, to tell you the truth I never liked writeing letters until I met you.

As my student, B-----, said, referring to the last comment, "Just (that comment) made the entire letter writing worthwhile."

Conclusion

The experiment in letter writing was successful from all points of view. The education students profited greatly from their correspondence with their sixth-grade pen pals. They found the correspondence personally rewarding and also learned important things about the writing of sixth graders. In

particular, they learned about an appropriate balance between concern for formal matters and content. They accurately diagnosed such problems as spelling, punctuation, paragraphing, unduly simple sentence structure; but they also recognized and appreciated students' developing ability to communicate. As one of them said in her paper:

I have always believed that spelling, mechanics, vocabulary, syntax and usage are an integral part of writing. . . I now realize that the structure of writing is important but . . . the child's ability to communicate is far more important. Every Thursday morning when we received our letters from our pen pals, the first thing I looked for was a response to my previous questions. I didn't even look at the spelling and punctuation errors because they were trivial in comparison with the efforts to communicate.

For the sixth-graders, the experience was rewarding both personally and as a learning experience as was evident both in comments they made in their letters, and in journal entries to their teacher:

- I liked having a pen pal because you can write out your feelings and let someone read it. If your having any problems you can ask them if they know what to do and they'll answer.
- What I like . . . is you get new ideas and learn how (to) write letters to other people.
- When it was the first time I was writting a letter I was

nervous and didn't know what to write next, but afterwards I got the hang of it, and I couldn't wait to see my pen pal.

-When I write to my pen pal I feel a tingle in my stomach I don't know why, but I feel that way. Ever since I've been writing to my pen pal I'm not shy to write to other people. I think that is good because I used to be shy to write to other people.

-I like having a pen pal because she is like a best friend to me.

Clearly, the sixth graders enjoyed the experience. It is also clear that they believed it helped them learn.

Their teacher found the letter exchanges

. . . a wonderful "eye-opener"! I have seen students write 2-3 page letters to their pen pals who, prior to this, had been difficult to encourage to write one paragraph. . . As the letter writing progressed through the months I noticed that the students became more particular about how neat their writing was and how clearly written their letters were. A number of students expressed the fact that they wanted to be sure that their pen pals could understand clearly what they had written about in the letters. . . The fact that for some students it was the first time they had ever written letters or found a real purpose for writing (or so they believed!) was reason enough to declare it a great success.

Part of the learning of the sixth-graders resulted directly

from the models of their pen pals. Many of them adopted from their pen pals questioning strategies, strategies for opening and closing, for taking up topics. Some of them adopted vocabulary items. They received ideas for subjects to write about from the topics raised by their pen pals; as one of them said: "I will be waiting to get your letter you usuly give me ides. Thanks."

The value of such borrowing is not to be underestimated. At the same time, "They saw it; therefore they copied it" is too simple an explanation for the quite remarkable change that occurred in the letters of the sixth-graders over time. It is clear from comments by both the students and their teacher that writing to their pen pals was a highly motivating activity. They were set to learn. They were eager adopt strategies that would help them communicate more clearly and effectively, to learn from their correspondents' letters the socially appropriate characteristics of written letters.

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