CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION HAS BEEN MICROFILMED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

Canada

NL 339 (r. 86/09)

National Library of Canada
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

TC – 67435

ISBN 0-315-19527-4

CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE SERVICE – SERVICE DES THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

PERMISION TO MICROFILM – AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

• Please print or type – Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author – Nom complet de l'auteur

MOIRA FRASER JULIEBO

Date of Birth – Date de naissance

15 9 43

Canadian Citizen – Citoyen canadien

☐ Yes / Oui ☐ No / Non

Country of Birth – Lieu de naissance

Scotland U.K.

Permanent Address – Résidence fixe

4915 - 144 St

Title of Thesis – Titre de la thèse

THE LITERACY WORLD OF FIVE YOUNG CHILDREN

Degree for which thesis was presented
Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

Ph. D.

Year this degree conferred
Année d'obtention de ce grade

1985

University – Université

University of ALBERTA

Name of Supervisor – Nom du directeur de thèse

Dr. Grace Malicky

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to **microfilm** this thesis and to **lend** or **sell copies of the film.**

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de **microfilmer** cette thèse et de **prêter** ou de **vendre des exemplaires du film.**

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

ATTACH FORM TO THESIS – VEUILLEZ JOINDRE CE FORMULAIRE À LA THÈSE

Signature

Moira F Juliebo

Date

10th April, 1985

Canada

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE LITERACY WORLD OF FIVE YOUNG CHILDREN

by

MOIRA FRASER JULIEBÖ

©

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1985

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Literacy World of Five Young Children", submitted by Moira Fraser Juliebö in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Grace Bulick
Supervisor

W Egan

Mary M. Jones

Lorna Ennis Turner

Stan Grant

C Brown
External Examiner

Date March, 1985

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents and to David, Jeff, Michelle, Nadia and Wendy, who taught me so much about their literacy world.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to gain an understanding of the literacy development of five young children as it occurred in the natural settings of the home and kindergarten over a period of 15 months. The major focus was on interaction as it related to literacy development in these two social contexts.

Taking into account the complexity of the contexts, the dynamic interactions involved in literacy development and the purpose of the study, a qualitative research approach was dictated. The researcher in general adopted the role of passive participant (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1969).

In the first phase of the study the homes of two boys and three girls were visited a total of 40 times involving 129 hours of observation. The children ranged in age from 4 years 8 months to 5 years at the beginning of the study. In this setting most data were collected in the form of field notes mainly written on site. A tape recorder was used only by the parents to record bedtime or daytime story reading when the researcher was not present.

In the second phase 51 kindergarten visits were made involving 160 hours of observation. The main data were collected in the form of field notes and audio tapes. Throughout both phases parents kept a log of the children's literacy behavior which they observed when the researcher was not at the scene. Twelve home visits were also made during this phase.

From the data in phase one a portrait of each child was developed highlighting social, emotional and intellectual development with a focus on literacy development. Using Doake's (1981) categories each

child was placed at a particular level of development. The data from phase two described literacy experiences as they occurred during particular kindergarten activities. The data describing the nature of literacy experience in the two main settings were then compared.

Literacy experiences in the two settings differed mainly in terms of content and the nature of the interaction. In the home the "what" of literacy was very much a part of the child's life and was endowed with meaning. In contrast the "what" in kindergarten was carefully controlled and transmitted within a predetermined readiness model where activities were often not placed in a meaningful context in the child's life world and levels were not varied according to individual differences.

Parent/child interactions in the home often involved a mediated learning experience whereas those in the school setting were predominantly of the stimulus-response type where the teacher initiated, the child responded and the teacher evaluated.

The children who had progressed in their literacy development over the fifteen months of the study appeared to have done so more as a result of literacy activities in their home environments than in their school environment.

Implications for parents, teachers, teacher education, the theory of reading and further research were also presented.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Dr. Grace Malicky, my Supervisor, constantly inspired me both in class and tutorial. To her I offer sincere thanks for continual encouragement, academic exactitude and friendship.

Dr. William Fagan, supervisory committee member, guided me through course work which was the intellectual high point of my doctoral studies. I thank him for his patient reading and feedback during my writing.

Dr. Mamie Young, supervisory committee member, offered me just the right amount of help for this type of study and shared my highs and lows during the research adventure.

My gratitude is also extended to my examining committee, Dr. Loreen Everett-Turner and Dr. Fern Snart, for their ongoing interest in my research.

My external examiner, Dr. Carl Braun, offered me much food for thought during my oral and I am deeply grateful for his perceptive observations.

Heartfelt gratitude goes to the participants, David, Jeff, Michelle, Nadia and Wendy and their families, Mrs. McDonald and the staff of Alloway School who so generously welcomed me as a researcher.

Special thanks are also extended to my fellow doctoral students, Mary Sakari, Jan Coles, Ruth Hayden and Dr. Anne Brailsford, my typist and the staff of the Herbert T. Coutts Library.

This study was largely possible due to the loving support of my husband, Peter, and children, Ruth and Martin.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM	1
	Introduction	1
	Purpose of the Study	5
	Significance of the Study	7
II	REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH	9
	Introduction	9
	Early Reading Experiences: A Historical Perspective	9
	Thoughts on Literacy Development: The Last Two Decades	21
	The Human Context	21
	The Social Environment	21
	Self-Concept	25
	Transmitter/Receiver Roles	27
	The Literacy Context	28
	The Literacy Environment	28
	Literacy Knowledge	30
	Literacy as an Aspect of Language Development	31
	Literacy Learning through Book Experiences	32
	Stages of Emergent Literacy	36
	Literacy Learning in a Cultural Context	40
	Literacy Learning Through Writing	42
	Conclusion	51
	The Interaction Process Mediation	52

CHAPTER PAGE

Characteristics of a Mediated Learning Experience 52

The Role of Content and Modality in Mediated Interactions 58

Mediation in Relation to Literacy Development . 58

III METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN 63

Overview 63

Characteristics of Qualitative Research 63

Data Collection in This Study 65

Data Gathering Techniques and Sources 69

Discussion of the Research Sequence 70

Locating a Social Situation 70

Selecting Actors 72

Establishing Rapport 72

Maintaining Rapport 75

Data Interpretation 81

Validity of the Research Data 81

Reliability 84

Limitations and Delimitations 84

Making Cultural Inferences 85

Reporting the Results 85

The Research Cycle 86

The Research Schedule 88

IV PHASE ONE - LITERACY IN THE HOME ENVIRONMENT 89

Introduction 89

CHAPTER PAGE

A Portrait of Wendy 89

Wendy in her Social Setting 90

Early Reading Experience and Literacy Development 92

The Literacy Environment 92

Book Sharing and Book Knowledge 92

Writing 101

Environmental Print 105

Summary 106

A Portrait of David 108

David in his Social Setting 108

Early Reading Experience and Literacy Development 110

The Literacy Environment 110

Book Sharing and Book Knowledge 110

Writing 121

Environmental Print 125

Summary 128

A Portrait of Nadia 129

Nadia in her Social Setting 129

Early Reading Experience and Literacy Development 131

The Literacy Environment 131

Book Sharing and Book Knowledge 131

Writing 138

Environmental Print 141

Summary 143

CHAPTER PAGE

A Portrait of Jeff 144

Jeff in his Social Setting 144

Early Reading Experience and Literacy Development 146

The Literacy Environment 146

Book Sharing and Book Knowledge 147

Writing 153

Environmental Print 155

Summary 157

A Portrait of Michelle 158

Michelle in her Social Setting 158

Early Reading Experience and Literacy Development 159

The Literacy Environment 159

Book Sharing and Book Knowledge 159

Environmental Print 167

Writing 168

Literacy Set-ups 172

Summary 174

Summary of Phase One 175

Literacy Events in the Home Environment 175

The Literacy Environment 175

Literacy Interaction 176

Literacy Knowledge 178

V PHASE TWO - LITERACY IN BOTH THE KINDERGARTEN AND HOME ENVIRONMENTS 181

Introduction 181

CHAPTER PAGE

The School Setting 182
The Philosophy 182
Preparation of the Environment 183
Preparation of the Curriculum 183
Entry 185
The First Day 185
Orientation Days 186
The Large Group and the Program 189
The Children and the Program 191
Literacy Activities During Free Play and Art Activities 191
Michelle 192
David 198
Nadia 198
Jeff 200
Wendy 204
Literacy Activities During Circle Time 209
Literacy Activities During Work Time 217
Gym 225
Snack Time 226
Field Trips 227
Parent Interviews 229
Wendy's Interview 229
David's Interview 231
Jeff's Interview 232
Michelle's Interview 233

CHAPTER PAGE

Nadia's Interview 234
The Home Setting 237
Wendy 237
David 238
Jeff 241
Michelle 243
Nadia 245
Kindergarten in the Second Term 249
A Final Look at Each Child 252
Michelle 252
Wendy 254
Jeff 257
Nadia 259
David 260
Literacy Events in Phase Two: A Summary 260
The Literacy Environment 260
Literacy Interaction 261
Literacy Knowledge 263

VI A COMPARISON OF PHASE ONE AND PHASE TWO 264
Introduction 264
The Literacy Environment 265
Literacy Interaction 266
Literacy Knowledge 277

VII SUMMARY, MAJOR CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS 284

CHAPTER PAGE

Introduction and Summary 284

Implications for Parents 291

Availability of Materials and Experiences . . . 292

The Interaction Process 293

Implications for Teachers 294

The Readiness Model 294

The Role of the Teacher/Transmitter 296

Literacy Related Activities in the Kindergarten - Some Suggestions 296

A Final Comment 299

Implications for Further Research 300

Implications for Teacher Education 303

A Look Back 304

BIBLIOGRAPHY 305

Bibliography of Children's Books Cited in Text . . 324

APPENDIX A. The Literacy Set 327

APPENDIX B. Distal and Proximal Etiologies of Differential Cognitive Development . . 329

APPENDIX C. A Sample of David's Log 331

APPENDIX D. A Sample of Wendy's Log 333

APPENDIX E. Names of Characters and Abbreviations Used in Transcripts 336

APPENDIX F. Floor Plan of Kindergarten 338

APPENDIX G. Form - Introducing my Child to his First Teacher 340

APPENDIX H. Centers Available 343

APPENDIX I. Types of Worksheets 347

CHAPTER PAGE

APPENDIX J. Samples of Worksheets 349

APPENDIX K. Edmonton Public School Board Spice Form 353

APPENDIX L. A Hierarchy of Developmental Reading Needs 358

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Subjects' Word Collections, 1984	251
2	Subjects' Book Borrowing Record, May 1984	252

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	The Social Situation	70
2	Selective Observation and Interpretation	83
3	Making Cultural Inferences	86
4	The Ethnographic Research Cycle	87
5	Wendy writes a card to her sister	101
6	Wendy writes a thankyou letter	102
7	Wendy's "real writing"	104
8	Wendy's favorite message	104
9	A playgroup worksheet	122
10	David writes his name	122
11	David writes in the journal	123
12	David writes his name and some letters	124
13	David draws a rainbow	124
14	Nadia imitates adult writing	138
15	Nadia copies words	139
16	Nadia writes in my journal	140
17	Nadia writes in my journal	140
18	Jeff writes his name	153
19	Jeff writes his "thesis"	154
20	Jill labels a drawing	168
21	Michelle tries to copy her name	169
22	Writing lessons	169
23	Michelle writes letter and number inventories	171
24	The recurring principle in Michelle's early writing	171

Figure		Page
25	Nadia writes her name at school.	187
26	Jeff writes his name at school	187
27	Michelle writes her name at school	187
28	Mrs. MacDonald labels Michelle's drawing	188
29	A sample of the teacher's daily plans.	189
30	Jeff completes a number worksheet.	191
31	Michelle writes on the blackboard.	194
32	Michelle writes in the journal	196
33	Michelle's Ewok.	196
34	Michelle writes "dotted mouth"	197
35	Michelle writes "mailbox".	197
36	Nadia "scribbles" in the journal	199
37	Jeff copies from his "Charlie Brown Dictionary".	200
38	Jeff do jobs for mom	203
39	Wendy writes a message to mom.	205
40	Wendy's writing is corrected	205
41	A message to Moira	206
42	Wendy writes to her sister	207
43	Wendy self corrects.	237
44	Wendy continues to write to her mom.	238
45	David writes to Grandpa and Grandma.	240
46	David's letter and number inventories.	240
47	Jeff repeats a small number of letters to generate words .	242
48	Jeff imitates adult cursive writing.	242
49	Jeff writes dictated words and copies others	242
50	Jeff types	242

Figure		Page
51	Michelle's crossword puzzle.	244
52	Nadia's "adult" writing.	245
53	Nadia copies words from a favorite book.	246
54	David writes "H" words	250
55	Michelle's word inventory.	253
56	Michelle copies environmental print.	253
57	Michelle labels a drawing.	253
58	New words are invented	253
59	Wendy writes a story	256
60	Jeff's letter inventory	258
61	Words are copied from books.	258
62	Jeff's mom spells and writes words for him	258

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

> What people become is largely a function of what they have had an opportunity to experience.
> (Eisner, 1981, p. 466)

Introduction

Like other animals, man inherits his capacity to learn as well as certain biological drives which may predispose him to various activities. An overwhelming preponderance of his behavior, however, can be accounted for only in terms of socially acquired, culturally determined and transmitted patterns of actions and thinking. Inherent instincts are constantly controlled and shaped by acquired habit systems. These acquired modes of behavior are a direct result of interaction with other human beings. The specific patterning of this interaction and the kinds of behavior allowed in any given society are all part of a person's culture. This behavior must be presented to the individual and he or she must, in turn, learn it. If any cultural mode is to be continued, each society must establish some means for the transmission of its customs, beliefs and knowledge. The means by which this is accomplished is known as enculturation and includes both formal and informal education.

Many anthropologists operate from a phenomenological perspective in their studies of education (Wolcott, 1973). The theoretical framework for their studies is the concept of culture. While anthropologists often disagree on the definition of culture, they all rely on it as a

theoretical framework to inform their work. In 1952, Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn published a review of the conceptions of culture and 164 reasonably distinct definitions emerged. Kroeber and Kluckhohn felt that these could be grouped into six major types and from all of them they distilled a definitional blend which claims that culture is "patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior, acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts" (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 357). Although this definition has received far from universal acceptance among anthropologists, it is quoted to serve as a bench-mark for consideration of some of the developments in the decades since their review was published. Most of the more recent definitions of culture, despite minor differences, fall into one or other of two major categories. One could be called the totalist view and the other the mentalist view.

Within the totalist view, culture is used to refer to the totality of a people's "way of life". Tyler (1971 in Vivelo, 1978) offers a classic definition of this as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (p. 16). Levine (1974) describes culture as being all we learn from other people or their works. This view emphasizes the importance of culture as an adaptive mechanism. This is a very useful way to look at culture because it focuses attention on the organization and function of a people's way of life rather than on the peculiar or curious nature of its customs.

A second less comprehensive way to view culture is represented in

the mentalist view in which culture is seen as an ideational or conceptual system; that is, as a system of rules or a pattern of behavior, rather than an observed pattern of behavior (Keesing and Keesing, 1971). In this view, culture includes only thoughts. Therefore, the mentalist viewpoint focuses on only part of the totalist view of culture. This study tends toward the totalist viewpoint.

It is this framework of culture which is the principle organizer or conceptual tool that characterizes ethnography. Geertz (1973) borrowed the term "thick description" from the philosopher, Gilbert Ryle, to describe the task of ethnography. The ethnographer, when culture is examined from this perspective, is faced with a series of interpretations of life and common-sense understandings which are complex and difficult to separate from each other. The ethnographer hopes to share in the meanings that cultural participants take for granted and then describe the new understanding for the reader and for outsiders.

Understanding is, according to Rosalie Wax (1971), not some "mysterious empathy" between people, rather it is a phenomenon of "shared meaning". The researcher begins as an outsider, literally in terms of social acceptance and figuratively in terms of understanding. Thus, a fieldworker who approaches a strange people, soon perceives that these people are saying and doing things which they understand but which he does not understand. One of the strangers may make a particular gesture, whereupon all the other strangers laugh. They share in the understanding of what that gesture means, but the fieldworker does not. When he does share, he begins to "understand". He perceives a part of the "insiders' view" (Wax, 1971, p. 11).

Education is one of the most important facets of any culture and

the development of language is a key component. Concepts are not mere words, but are loaded with value meanings. From an anthropological point of view, education is cultural transmission. According to Goodenough (1963), education "provides standards for deciding what is, standards for deciding what can be, standards for deciding how one feels about it, standards for deciding what to do about it and standards for deciding how to go about doing it" (p. 258-259).

One major aspect of cultural transmission in our society is the development of literacy, since literacy is a behavior which an individual must learn and practise to achieve minimum adaptation to our cultural milieu.

Consider a typical bus journey to the University Campus. The bus is crowded with undergraduates heading for nine o'clock classes. The observer can easily see many of the passengers engaged in a common form of cultural behavior: reading. An older man is somewhat hidden behind the Edmonton Journal. He briefly but intently looks at the small print and then noisily turns the pages. The girl on his left has a textbook balanced on top of her rucksack which is firmly planted on her knees. As she reads she uses a yellow Hi-Liter pen to mark special sections. Her head shifts slightly as she quickly scans the pages. Another young woman holds a paperback novel about twelve inches from her face. It takes but an instant to survey this scene where several people are engaged in the same kind of cultural behavior: reading.

This common activity in our culture depends on a great many cultural artifacts, the things people shape or make from natural resources. These would include books, notices, newspapers, billboards, signs and black marks arranged in intricate patterns on materials made

from wood, steel, dyes, glue, etc. Although we can easily see artifacts and behavior they represent only the thin surface of a deep lake. Beneath this surface lies cultural knowledge. The reader's knowledge includes grammatical rules of the language, the identity of print, correct eye movements (culturally determined), what kind of messages are intended by whoever wrote what is read, how to read in public and appropriate emotional reactions to what is being read. Our culture has a large body of shared knowledge that people learn to use when they are engaged in the process of reading. Culture is a conceptual abstraction which helps one analyze individual human behavior as that behavior is shared among groups. Cultural transmission includes transmission of tradition from one generation to another plus transmission of new knowledge or patterns from anyone who knows to anyone who does not. In the final analysis, what is presented depends not only on the elements in the cultural base, but also on who is available to present these elements. The who, therefore, is a crucial figure responsible for selecting, modifying and interpreting cultural content. For the transmission of "literacy" culture human describers are needed. In this study the describers were in general proficient members of the "literacy" culture, whilst the apprentices were young children. Some children were, however, observed playing the role of describers (Brailsford, 1984).

Purpose of This Study

This study was constructed to provide data to describe the literacy world of five children, firstly in their home environment and then in their kindergarten. It focused on interaction as it related to

literacy development in these two social contexts. Observations were made as to how the child directed his/her literacy development as he/she adapted to each environment. With culture viewed as an adaptive mechanism, the child was viewed, as John Dewey (1956) indicated, as living, not preparing to live, as he/she progressed in the development of literacy.

Data were sought to describe the intentions of the caregiver in the home and the kindergarten, his/her interactions with the learner and the changes in the learner's behavior. Furthermore, the meanings which participants attached to their participation in literacy development were sought.

Education is unquestionably a cultural process. It is one of the instruments by which cultures survive and develop. In terms of literacy development, this study describes what is presented, who presents it, how it is presented, who learns it and what is learned, both in the home and in the kindergarten within the wider cultural context.

This study is based on the premise that the child may become our teacher if we, as educators, systematically study what the curious young reader is trying to do. For this study the naturalistic paradigm for inquiry was chosen as this paradigm's assumptions are best met by the phenomenon being investigated. This paradigm allowed multiple realities to be involved and inquiry diverged rather than converged as more and more was known. All parts of reality were considered to be interrelated so that the study of any one part necessarily influenced all other parts. The purpose of this study and the context dictated a qualitative research approach.

The first phase of the study described the distinctive features of

the interactive process between the child and the main caregiver(s) in the home as the child engaged in the process of emergent literacy. Observations were made from May to September, 1983. Five children were observed to describe the interaction process, the social and literacy environment of the children, and the emergent literacy behavior of the children.

The second phase of the study was from September, 1983, to June, 1984, and involved observation of the same children as they interacted both in the kindergarten and home settings. The nature of the interaction, the characteristics of the environment and emergent literacy, were again described. Data from phases one and two were then compared and discussed.

Significance of the Study

The importance of qualitative research "... is not the discovery of some particular practical manipulation but the questions it raises." If we can develop new understandings of the distinctive meanings and uses of literacy in the lives of children, we may begin to question the underlying assumptions which form "the basis of our present pedagogies of reading and writing" (Taylor, 1983, p. 89). There is nothing in the literature to suggest children who learn to read and write are formally taught by their parents. Mediation is an important focus of this study. This is a first attempt in the literature to use a theory of mediation to describe emergent literacy.

This study was both to provide more information on the contexts for literacy development and also to help determine whether reading and writing, which are part of the very "fabric of family life", should be

introduced in such a way that they are a meaningful part of a child's life. It also provides data on whether "relational contexts" are required so that children can learn reading and writing as an important feature of their culture (Taylor, 1983).

An enormous amount of effort on the part of teachers, reading specialists, parents and psychologists has been expended on children who find reading an extremely difficult task, often with very little positive results. In general, few satisfying answers have been found to this puzzling question. By systematically studying what the young child does as he/she engages in literacy behavior in his/her social environment, the resulting rich description provides insights to guide early intervention programs both in the home and the school.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

Introduction

This chapter will review the literature relevant to this investigation of the literacy world of five young children. The chapter is essentially divided into three main sections. As in the Brailsford (1983) paper, the first section will provide a historical perspective of the literature and research specifically related to this study, both from the viewpoint of the describer and the learner of literacy. The second section will examine the movement towards understanding the complexities of literacy development in today's world. The final section will discuss Reuven Feuerstein's (1980) theoretical model for interaction and learning in terms of mediated interactions in literacy development.

Early Reading Experiences: A Historical Perspective

The problem of how a child can best be taught to read is widely discussed and increasingly investigated. Available records allow one to look back in time and examine this process over the last 450 years.

The ABC method of learning to read became general among the Greeks and Romans and persisted to recent times in the Western World. First the student learned the names of letters, then he/she learned letter sounds through work on vowel-consonants, consonant-vowel combinations and syllables. When enough drill of this type had been engaged in the student was considered to be ready to read words and connected text.

Difficulties were encountered both by teachers and pupils at every step in this process. Although teachers used various means, gingerbread letters for example, to make the letters easy and enjoyable, pupils often learned only with the greatest difficulty. Apart from the very young age of the children, a major obstacle was that the letters of the alphabet did not serve as reliable indicators of sounds. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries many teachers thought of the letter names in the sense of speech sounds and drilled their charges on the names of the ABC's thinking that the names of the letters were their sounds. The confusion of letter names with letter sounds lasted for a long time and even now sometimes occurs.

These difficulties in connection with reading aroused exceptional interest through a century and a half, extending roughly from 1511 to 1658 (Matthews, 1966). Proposals which sought to smoothe the way for those learning to read by providing them with a new and greatly modified alphabet failed (Matthews, 1966). However, teachers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not swerve from the ancient classical method of having the child start with a mastery of letters, then of syllables and finally of words and sentences. Learning to read and teaching reading must have been a wearisome gloomy task both for the teacher and the student. The transmission of religious and moral concepts was considered to be the supreme purpose (Smith, 1965). Manuals published at this time focused on the needs of the teacher and almost ignored the needs of the learner.

As educators debated methodology the "Age of Enlightenment" was coming (Matthews, 1966). Great progress was made in learning about the physical world and a remarkable philosophical explanation was found for

the difficulty of teaching reading - teachers were against Nature. The first to make use of this philosophical concept of "naturalness" was Friedrich Gedike (1754-1803). He focused his attention on the child rather than the methodology and as a result proposed that through skillful guidance the young child should live through his cultural inheritance. He/she should learn about numbers, listen to stories and be encouraged to express him/herself, draw pictures and exercise his/her imagination. By the time he/she was ten or twelve he/she should be ready to learn to read and the book was the logical whole with which the child should begin reading (Kern and Kern, 1937 in Matthews, 1966). His system did not, however, make a favorable impression on school teachers of his day (Matthews, 1966). Also at this time Ernest Christian Trapp experimented with providing the child with labels on well-known objects. The receiver's task was to match other labels with those on the objects. This whole word approach was never, however, in wide use at this time.

Around 1823 Jean Joseph Jacontort, the French scholar and educator, advocated the deductive approach to reading. With this method the first step for the transmitter was to read a book in its entirety to the students, then little by little with the teacher's help the students would dismantle the parts of the book and learn about letters, sentences, words and sounds.

When Horace Mann visited Germany in 1843 he saw a class of beginners being taught skillfully by the "Normal Words" method and he became very enthusiastic about this method, which involved using words to teach letters and the sounds they stood for.

Writers of this time also proposed that learning to read could be

divided into four stages, the first being mechanical reading where correct pronunciation and not meaning or understanding was the focus. This stage was followed by one where mechanical fluency was achieved with no hesitation or stopping. The final stages were those of logical precision and euphoniously beautiful oral delivery. However, Karl Kehr (1895) solemnly warned about reading too fast too soon when he said, "One does not learn to read well through reading fast, but through reading well, he learns to read fast" (Matthews, 1966, p. 51). The aim then of reading instruction was excellent oral presentation.

What was being done abroad, particularly in Germany, had a profound impact on North America. Early nineteenth century journals, heavily laden with articles describing European experiments in education, particularly in reading, concentrated their attentions on ways to improve the teaching of ABC's. Most children of age five who were admitted to the schools were considered to be ignorant of the alphabet. The method of teaching children letters through words spread widely and delighted both teachers and students. Horace Mann was by far the most eloquent advocate of the orthodox "look and say" method of teaching reading. One of his earliest and most noted lectures on education was "On the Best Mode of Preparing and Using Spelling Books" (Boston, 1884). He utterly condemned the method of starting the child with letters (Matthews, 1966). Teachers continued to teach the letters only they now taught them through whole words. The number of words introduced was controlled until after the child had mastered the letters. The ABC method therefore continued in its old form or was slightly modified by those who taught letters by the means of simple words. The focus continued to be on the "banking" of literacy knowledge (Freire, 1970).

At the close of the nineteenth century naturalistic thinkers who were the disciples of Rousseau, Froebel and Pestalozzi proposed that reading should be closely connected with and embedded (Donaldson, 1978) in the child's own lifeworld. Indeed reading was considered to be just one part of the child's growth. Learning should be nurtured from within the child. "Come, let us live with our children" (Priestman, 1960, p. 28) is perhaps one of Froebel's most frequently quoted sayings. He saw true learning as coming from a shared experience between the receiver and the transmitter where the child and the teacher are viewed as being both learning and learned. "Child and teacher were viewed, therefore, as equally key variables in the learning process" (Brailsford, 1983, p. 25).

Writing in 1930, John Dewey said that Francis Parker (1837-1902) "more nearly than any other one person was the father of the progressive educational movement" (in Matthews, 1966, p. 104). Reading was merely one aspect of the revolution which Parker headed in elementary education in 1875. He enlarged the curriculum to such an extent that the "3 R's" shrank tremendously in relative importance. In Parker's system, after the children had been in school for about six weeks and had been treated with unfailing kindness, they began to memorize words that the teacher wrote on the blackboard (150-200 words). At some time in this process the sounds of the letters were taught by slow pronunciation of easy words. The letters names were withheld for the first two years. Those who taught in Quincy schools were given a philosophy in which Parker attempted to define what he considered the fundamental nature of the reading process. He defined reading as the

act of the mind in getting thought by means of written or printed words arranged in sentences. Sight words were taught to recall ideas and understanding was vital. These experiments at Quincy passed into history with the departure of Parker who was destined to attain his greatest fame elsewhere. Underlying these new innovations, however, was a deep concern that children who did not learn the alphabet would be poor spellers (Matthews, 1966).

In 1881 George L. Farnham, superintendent of schools in New York, brought out a small manual for teachers called The Sentence Method of Teaching Reading (Matthews, 1966). He believed that the first principle to be observed in teaching written language was that things were cognized as wholes and he defined reading as gaining the thoughts of another from written or printed language. This "whole sentence" method gained some popularity in Britain largely as a reaction to "the mechanical tyranny that phonetic teaching had imposed" (Jagger, 1929, p. 5).

As the nineteenth century closed Colonel Parker and some of his teachers came to the University of Chicago's new School of Education. Although an excellent practitioner, Parker had difficulties making logical, coherent presentations of the principles he believed in. At Chicago he became friends with John Dewey who was the head of the Departments of Philosophy, Psychology and Pedagogy. Dewey was as articulate as Parker was not and the talents of each supplemented those of the other. With the opening of this school a new day had dawned for the child. Dewey viewed real learning as dealing with objective facts and realities. As far as reading is concerned there is no evidence that he was ever interested in working out a methodology of teaching a

child to read. However, Parker's word method suited the New Education and was used in Dewey's school. The University of Chicago drew students from all over North America and from abroad, and wherever these trained teachers went the word method went with them. In this way the method of reading initiated in Germany by Gedike and in North America by Keagy (1824 in Matthews, 1966) and others came to occupy a prominent place in the new "Progressive" system of education throughout the Western World. Education was to be centered around the young child whose wishes were of paramount concern. Hence the focus moved from reading, to the education of the whole child involved in an interactive process of learning with an educator.

Another writer who supported the naturalistic philosophy was Huey (1908). He felt that the young child should not be taught to read till about age eight. This viewpoint is of course still supported by some educators today. He also maintained that learning to speak and learning to read had strong similarities.

When are children ready to begin to learn to read? For decades how to begin, when to begin and what methodology and teaching strategies to use has been and still is intensely debated both by laymen and educators. Indeed if we read selections from the literature from past decades we may think we are reading current reports. From 1900 to 1920 the literature was relatively quiet on the "when" of teaching reading and was mainly concerned with the "how". This was to change, however, with the rapid increase and interest in child development. Within the field of child psychology, one of the most important, though indirect causes of a change in this "how" focus, was the testing movement in the 1920's and 1930's (Hagen and Thorndike,

1955). Educators became interested in the scientific measurement of a child's behavior and achievements, and an unusually large number of tests were developed. From school surveys large numbers of children were found to be failing first grade most often because of insufficient achievement in reading. Common-sense causes such as inadequate teacher preparation, poor instruction, inappropriate materials, low I.Q.'s, lack of motivation and large classes were largely ignored and the "when" of reading became the preoccupation of psychologists and educators (Durkin, 1978).

Stanley Hall's (1951) emphasis on the unique importance of heredity and recapitulation had a pronounced effect on his students, Arnold Gesell in particular. As Gesell (1925) tried to account for developmental stages in children he detoured away from factors like practice and learning and gave credit to "intrinsic growth", "neural ripening" and "automatic unfolding behavior". With such a psychological climate it is easy to see how first grade reading problems were explained with reference to a lack of readiness. Not surprisingly efforts were soon made to precisely define when this stage of readiness occurred (Durkin, 1973). This preoccupation with readiness was consolidated in an article by Mabel Morphett and Carleton Washbourne in 1931 and is still with us today. The authors concluded;

> It seems safe to state that, by postponing the teaching of reading until children reach a mental age of six and a half years, teachers can greatly decrease the chances of failure and discouragement and can correspondingly increase their efficiency. (p. 503)

Textbooks published in the 1960's were still taking this concept seriously. Despite the findings of Gates in 1937 that improvement in

instruction was closely linked to achievement in reading, the mental age concept dominated educational writings. Referring to success in teaching low achievers he stated:

> The optimum time of beginning reading is not entirely dependent upon the nature of the child himself, but it is to a large measure determined by the nature of the reading program. (p. 508)

This research should indeed have made a difference (Singer, 1970), but it in fact did not have an influence on reading instruction because, "as Chall (1983) explains the study with its environmental emphasis went against the 'conventional wisdom' of its day, which Durkin (1968) points out had a maturational bias" (Singer, 1970, p. 29).

Now we indeed see a change of focus in the literature on the role of the teacher and the learner. No longer did the transmitter have the foremost place in the transmission of literacy. The receiver now became central to the transmission and success or failure was viewed as depending largely on within-child factors (Brailsford, 1983).

As early as 1927 references to reading readiness tests appear in the literature. Since these tests continue to be used by a large number of schools they will be discussed in some detail. These tests were group pencil and paper tests made up of various combinations of sub-tests. All such combinations typically included items dealing with vocabulary development and visual and auditory discrimination. Those who constructed the tests assumed that sooner or later the children would be taught phonics. This is suggested by the frequent inclusion of sub-tests of auditory discrimination focusing mainly on rhyme. Almost without exception manuals suggested these tests should be used diagnostically. What happened in practice, though, was that scores

were used to make global judgments, that is ready or unready.

Now that it was generally agreed that most first graders were not ready to read what was to be done meanwhile? The reading readiness workbook appeared and is still found today in many North American schools. In practice a readiness test was administered and all children ready or not were given readiness programs. Support for such views continued to feed in from child psychologists, particularly from Willard Olson and Robert Havinghurst in the 1940's and 1950's.

The launching of Sputnik I in October, 1957, inaugurated what promised to be a new era in North American education. Studies of child development began to focus on the interaction between hereditary, motivational and environmental factors (Bruner, 1966; Piaget, 1973, English version). Learning also came to be viewed as the result of an interaction between the child's abilities and the task's demands (Au[illegible]). Attempts to find suitable intervention strategies beg[illegible]asm was rapidly dampened with the findings that early inte[illegible]ailed to lead to long term significant gains (Jensen, 1969). [illegible]ds and materials remained largely unchanged.

I[illegible]8, Durkin had some success in gaining popularity for a revised [illegible]cept of readiness which used the interactionist perspective. Readin[illegible] viewed as the result of both maturation and experience, was necessa[illegible]y teachable in some measure. The emphasis on the relation between [illegible]e child's competence and the task's demands had two consequen[illegible]es. First, instructional decisions had to be individualized and second, va[illegible]ations in methodology were called for. The profound change that occurred was that "readiness instruction ... was viewed as reading instruction in its earliest stages" (Durkin, 1978, p. 64).

Reading was viewed as the cumulative acquisition of its component skills, rather than as being discontinuous with readiness (Durkin, 1978).

Several aspects of Durkin's position distinguish it from the orientation which was to follow and which will be discussed in a subsequent section on emergent literacy. Firstly, her position accepted the fundamental importance of readiness; secondly, the focus remained on visual discrimination, auditory discrimination and vocabulary development; and finally, the assumption was made that early reading begins with early instruction. The emphasis was on instruction, however, rather than learning.

Research during the 1960's and 1970's focused on several issues related to early reading. Questions continued to be raised regarding whether young children should learn to read early (Durkin, 1963; Pines, 1963; Van Wie and Hammers, 1962), and also about the best way of teaching early reading (Brzeinski and Howard, 1972; Durkin, 1974; Ollila, 1972).

Reading readiness tests declined in popularity (MacGinitie, 1969), but readiness activities became more and more popular. Tests were found to be unreliable predictors (Downing and Thackray, 1971; Durkin, 1978). Coltheart (1979) also criticized them for their "excessive emphasis on factors intrinsic to the child" (p. 25).

The focus of research for the 1960's and 1970's continued to be on within-child factors with particular emphasis on examining the concept of linguistic awareness as it related to learning to read. Researchers concentrated their attention on children's understanding of the specific terms that teachers use during reading instruction (e.g. word, letter, sound of letter, first and last letter of a word), on children's

knowledge of the conventions of print (e.g. directionality, matching word-space-word, upper and lower case letters, punctuation), and on the relationship between the children's acquisition of these understandings and skills and their progress in learning to read.

One of the first studies aimed at examining children's understanding of some of the language of reading instruction was Reid's (1966) much quoted investigation of five-year-old Scottish children who had just entered school. She found that the children lacked any specific expectations of what reading was going to be like and what its purpose was. She also found that the children were in a state of confusion over the concepts of a "word" and a "letter", calling letters "numbers" and words "names". Research by several others (Downing, 1970a, b; 1971-72; Francis, 1973; Johns, 1979) provided evidence to support her premise that cognitive confusion (Vernon, 1957) in learning to read was a typical, universal phenomenon, and children who remained in this state of cognitive confusion would not progress satisfactorily in reading.

The results of the 1973 study by Francis indicated that children learned the concept letter before word and word before sentence and that these terms were almost always related to spelling, reading, and writing. These studies had a considerable impact on North American teaching of reading and confirmed beliefs that children learned to read in a developmental manner from simple (letter) to complex (sentence). This model is still adhered to today by many researchers (Chall, 1983; Mason, 1980) and teachers.

From the mid-seventies to the late-seventies written language began to be considered similar to oral language in that it served meaningful uses within social contexts (Smith, 1977). The emerging

literature suggested that young children attempt to give meaning to print using cues from the environment to assist them in this process (Bennett, 1972; Goodman and Goodman, 1979; Hiebert, 1978; Smith, 1977). Although concept development was being considered in context, however, the interaction process itself was not the main focus.

Looking at literacy transmission in its cultural setting in history, we saw that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries writing focused on the role of the teacher (transmitter) and was deeply concerned with the moral and religious nature of the content being read. However, during the first decades of the twentieth century a major change of focus was noted. Aided by the writings of philosophers and psychologists, the literature reflected an increasing convergence of interest on the learner. Rosenblatt's (1978) view of literacy learning as a transactive process has close links with the Freire (1970) insistence that the manner in which literacy is initially acquired cannot be dichotomized from the manner in which it is transmitted.

Thoughts on Literacy Development: The Last Two Decades

This section will examine more recent research and literature which highlights the human context, the literacy context and literacy knowledge in the developing child.

The Human Context

The Social Environment. Although formal education begins when children are 3, 4 and 5 years old, their "educational career" begins at home with their parents and others as teachers. All those who come in contact with the child contribute, consciously or not, to the child's

information about his/her world. Socialization refers to the various ways people learn what is approved or disapproved by their culture.

Literature, in the social sciences, gave impetus to studies that emphasized children's families, socio-economic status, and parents' backgrounds. McCandless (1968) called attention to certain complexities in the family situation that affected children's socialization. He stated that children from high density families had social experiences that were very different from the child who was one of two or three siblings. The child may "be verbally short-changed, given less adult attention, perhaps less love and affection, experience less care-taking ..." (p. 807). He indicated that a child from an "all-boy family" had experiences which were very different from a child in an "all-girl family" (p. 807).

It is obvious that family variations could be described ad infinitum. The eldest child, the one in the middle, or the youngest all experience different socialization processes. Those also relate to the time in the parents' lives when the child is born, the number of siblings, the economic well-being, and the general attitudes that the parents show towards the child as a personality in him or herself. The family constellation presents a picture of sibling interrelationships. The position of the child in the family and the way he/she views that position influence the way he/she views his/her world and him/herself. There are, of course, exceptions to any generalizations but the classical descriptions of ordinal positions are presented as follows:

a) The eldest child constantly strives to protect his/her position as eldest.
b) The second child may come to feel inferior as he/she cannot keep up with the elder child.
c) The middle child has neither the rights of the oldest or the privileges of the youngest. He

or she may feel squeezed out.
d) The youngest may find a special place for him/herself by being the cutest, the most charming, the weakest or the most helpless.
e) The only child spends his/her formative years among persons who are all bigger and more capable and soon has to develop skills that assure him/her the attention and help of adults. (Dinkmeyer and Dreikurs, 1963, p. 22)

The important aspect of the family constellation is not the child's position per se, but how the child views that position. Knowing the child's position in a family does not predict behavior but supplies hypotheses which can be tested.

Added to this is the factor that each culture defines such traits as masculinity and femininity that also change with time. Each parent will translate these impressions in a myriad of ways as far as their expectations for their children are concerned. Through his/her interaction with the environment, the child gains a sense of identity that is in part similar to others and yet distinct (Inkeles, 1968).

A fair amount is known about the general characteristics of families in which children do well intellectually and academically. Freeberg and Payne (1967) concluded,

> Children of superior intellectual ability came from homes where parental interest in their intellectual development is evidenced by pressure to succeed and assistance in doing so, particularly in the child's verbal skills. (p. 71)

More basic questions remain unanswered. What do parents do with their children on a day-to-day basis that affects fairly consistent differences? Are there social or cultural differences in these interactions? Which specific features of parental behavior are really crucial? How do these behaviors have their effect on the child? If we believe that intelligence emerges from an interaction between an

individual's own genetic endowment and his/her resulting environment (Hunt, 1961), we need to understand the processes through which the impact of the environment is transmitted.

Hess and Shipman (1969) found significant relations between mother's teaching strategies and a child's cognitive functioning. The "middle class" strategies of giving rationales with instructions, using more praise, orienting the child to the task with more care and giving more feedback produced the most successful children across classes. Hess and Shipman conclude that the mother's teaching style is just as good, if not a better, predictor of the child's school performance and intellectual functioning than his/her social class or his/her mother's I.Q.

In the preschool years, differences in the learning environments of children have been shown to be related to their cognitive functioning and motivational characteristics but we do not know whether we have really measured the critical aspects of the mother/child interaction, and to what extent these two sets of behaviors are causally related.

The roles children learn as they leave the family setting become even more complicated and multifaceted. The classroom and its environs become another area for the child in which he must make his own way. Leaving the familiarity of parental support the child may find a tremendous burden of new responsibilities. Kindergarten teachers often see children who are so anxious and tense that they cannot become involved in the materials or activities available to them.

Children who have grown up in a large city (100,000 and over) learn certain aspects of life that others do not. Their schooling experiences and preparation for life and knowledge about people occur

in slightly different styles from the children living in less populated areas (Bertrand, 1972). In terms of sheer numbers of people, places, buildings, and the frequency of contacts made daily with other people, the city differs from less crowded areas. Differences lie in the typically high frequency of contacts with people whom the child does not know from his/her own neighborhood. More functions, activities and public events are available within relatively accessible transportation distances.

In our society many preschool children are experiencing a structured educational program outside their homes long before kindergarten. Day-care centers, which have not typically been part of the educational structure, are now considered part of a legitimate area of concern for children's education rather than only for custodial purposes. Nursery schools are also now part of the broad scope of early childhood education.

Self-Concept. A very important factor affecting behavior is self-concept. While situations may change from moment to moment or place to place, the beliefs that people have of themselves are always present factors in determining their behavior. Combs, Avila and Purkey (1978) define self-concept as:

> that organization of perceptions about self which seems to the individual to be who he is. It is composed of thousands of perceptions varying in clarity, precision and importance in the person's peculiar economy. (p. 39)

The self-concept is then the product and the producer of experience and may be situationally dependent. Although self-concept is not a thing but an organization of ideas (an abstraction), these ideas are terribly important for the person who holds them. Its very existence

determines what a child may perceive. It has a selective effect on perceptions. Once established it provides a screen through which everything else is seen, heard and evaluated and understood. The selective effect of the self-concept has another important result. It corroborates and supports already existing beliefs about self and so tends to maintain and reinforce its own existence. Take the case of reading - it now seems clear that many children who cannot read are unable largely because they believe they cannot read (Combs, Avila and Purkey, 1978).

Because it exists inside the person, the self-concept is not open to direct examination by any means currently known. It can, however, be understood indirectly through a process of inference from some form of observed behavior. What a person has to say about himself is valuable, observable data. Self-reporting employed as behavioral data may provide valuable clues as to the nature of the self-concept which produced it when subjected to the process of inference (Combs, Avila and Purkey, 1978).

J. W. Staines (1958) found marked differences in the sensitivities of teachers to the self-concepts of children.

> The educational significance of the self is reaffirmed when it is realized that changes in the self-picture are an inevitable part of both outcomes and conditions of learning in every classroom, whether or not the teacher is aware of them or aiming for them. (p. 109)

An investigation of the relationship between children's perceptions of themselves and their world while in kindergarten and their subsequent achievement in reading in the first grade found that these perceptions, obtained from inferences made by trained observers, gave as good a prediction of later reading achievement as intelligence test scores (Lamy, 1965). Lamy suggests that the perceptions a child

has about himself and his world are not only related to but in fact may be causal factors in his subsequent reading achievement" (p. 252).

Transmitter/Receiver Roles. In this study the terms transmitter and receiver do not imply a one-way flow of information, rather transmission is viewed as an interactive process between transmitter and receiver. In home environments if parents value literacy, and most do in our culture, then they feel that it is extremely important that their children become literate. Although parents may consciously view this as one of the main tasks of schooling, unintentionally they themselves may be actively involved in literacy education of their preschool children. When Clark studied her early readers in 1976, she found that their parents valued education and wanted their children to have what they had experienced or had missed out on. The parents do not simply wish their children to learn, they become actively engaged with them to ensure that they learn. They do this by modelling literate behavior, providing literacy materials, initiating literacy events and offering unconditional help when asked (Clark, 1976; Cohn, 1981; Doake, 1981; Durkin, 1963; Forester, 1977; Goodman, 1980; Lass, 1982; Teale, 1978; Torrey, 1969).

Clark reported that her early readers "seemed generally to be self-sufficient" (p. 54) and that they were "assisted to make choices rather than have choices made for them" (p. 55). Again we see the initiative of the young reader emphasized. Durkin (1966) described young readers as persistent, perfectionistic and very eager. This of course is not only characteristic for literacy but could be said to reflect the nature of language learning both oral and written. The young human appears from birth to be constantly striving to make sense of his/her

world. I feel that Yetta Goodman (1980) synthesized the significant elements in cultural transmission of literacy when she wrote:

> In a print oriented society, every child's literacy is fed by the nutrients of the environment in which he or she grows. I won't focus on the nutrients in this paper, but in order to explain the development of the roots themselves, we must keep in mind that all the child's personal experiences:
>
> 1) the degree of literacy in the environment;
> 2) the oral language of the child;
> 3) the attitudes about written language expressed through oral language by adults;
> 4) the values expressed about language by various significant others towards literacy;
> 5) the child's degree of awareness of how symbols can be represented in art, music and dance -
>
> all these experiences and no doubt many more nourish the roots of literacy. (p. 4)

The Literacy Context

The Literacy Environment

In our technological culture print exists in every corner of the child's world - in shopping centers, on toys, on signposts, on television and on foodstuffs. Clark made this point in 1976 when she wrote:

> Although these early reading experiences for some of the children were in books from which they had enjoyed stories, for some children the print in their immediate environment played an important role! This was particularly true of the boys who showed interest in signposts, car names, captions on television and names on products at the supermarket. (p. 51)

Yetta Goodman (1980) has been investigating the role of environmental print in the development of literacy in young children. She sees this type of written language playing a very important role.

> It is in these interactions between the learner and his or her world that we must look for the origins of literacy. (p. 2)

Smith (1977) endorsed this viewpoint but pointed out that mere availability does not explain the importance of printed materials. The child must come to realize the importance and significance of print in the environment (Smith, 1977). To evoke and maintain the interest of a child, the material must tell the child something. Smith argues that the basic way this is achieved is by the child reading/responding meaningfully to environmental print.

Television is also an important feature of the environment. Many programs for young children, for example Sesame Street, Mr. Rogers and Electric Company, incorporate reading. All but two of the children in Clark's (1976) study watched television and only five of the parents felt that the child had learned nothing from watching. In many instances, the children themselves selected programs after consulting the day's viewing details. Indeed encouragement in the development of selectivity by the child was a striking feature in many aspects of the lives of the families of the early readers. Children were assisted to make choices rather than have choices made for them. Gardner (1970) found that for his young readers, "The T.V. Times and the Radio Times figured largely in the early reading diet. These children were fascinated by identifying television programmes in print" (p. 21). Advertisements also appeal to young children who enjoy the play on words and often sing of speak along with the broadcast. Other studies support that early readers learned to read words from television (Plessas and Oakes, 1964).

Other research has focused on the importance of availability and

range of printed materials in the home as part of the literacy environment, for example books, magazines, newspapers, games, toys, etc. (Clark, 1976; Doake, 1981; Durkin, 1959; 1963; King and Friesen, 1972). King and Friesen (1972), commenting on their subjects, said, "Almost all the children had access to easy reading material in the home. Some parents mentioned having extensive book collections for children" (p. 152). Availability is not determined merely by the number of books owned by the family. Clark (1976) found extensive use of the local library to be a source of reading material for children in her study.

Commenting on the importance of books in a child's experience, White (1956) observed that an understanding of books presupposes contact with life outside books. This is implicit in Mrs. White's diary as she writes:

> The experience makes the book richer and the book enriches the personal experience at this level. I am astonished at the early age the backward and forward flow between books and life takes place. (p. 11)

Even if the child does not come from an environment containing numerous books he/she may teach him/herself to read through watching television (Torrey, 1979).

This research although noting the nature of the environment both in the home and kindergarten setting, has as its main focus the nature of the interaction between those who are literate and those who are in the process of becoming literate.

Literacy Knowledge

There is currently considerable interest in early literacy development. This section will organize the research around the

following topics:

Literacy as an Aspect of Language Development

Literacy Learning through Book Experience

Stages of Emergent Literacy

Literacy Learning in a Cultural Context

Literacy Learning through Writing

Literacy as an Aspect of Language Development. "Learning to read and write ought to be one of the most joyful and successful of human undertakings" (Holdaway, 1979, p. 11). Reading and writing cannot be viewed as discrete subjects "isolated from the world of language and spoken culture" (p. 12). Indeed, "anything that can be said of human language and language learning has some vital bearing upon the process of literacy" (p. 13). "The way a person functions linguistically is such an integral part of the self that it cannot be separated from the health and well-being of the person" (p. 14).

Before they enter school most children make considerable progress in acquiring a language system which is more or less complete. "Strongly motivated by the need to communicate, children make continuous adjustments to their grammatical and phonological systems" (Wardhaugh, 1971, p. 160). They are also involved in constant interaction with skilled users of their language. Holdaway (1979) argues that "literacy skills develop in the same way as spoken language when the conditions for learning are comparable" (p. 20). He suggests, also, that there is a strong case for looking at initial language learning as a suggestive model for literacy learning. "Developmental learning, of which the acquisition of spoken language is a special case, would seem to have the following major characteristics" (p. 23):

1. Learning begins with immersion in an environment in which the skill is [illegible]ed in a purposeful way.
2. The env[illegible]emulative rather than instructive and the d[illegible]ired [illegible] shaped by modelling and reinforcement.
3. [illegible]xim[illegible]s reinforced.
4. E[illegible] ar[illegible] reinforced.
5. Th[illegible]ce[illegible] determined by the learner. Practice occurs without the[illegible]
6. Deve[illegible]t proceeds continuously with marked differences betwe[illegible]ndividuals.

Read ([illegible]) and others, while exploring children's development of phonological[illegible]ies by examining their spontaneous writing, substantiated a basic princ[illegible]le of language development; that young children prior to instruction are in control of their own learning. Read's research suggests stron[illegible]that preschoolers categorize speech sounds to invent their own sp[illegible]s.

If the acquisition of literacy is, as Goodman and Goodman (1978) suggest, "an extension of natural language learning for all children" (p. 2), research must seek to describe the conditions which facilitate such learning.

Literacy Learning through Book Experiences. While the environment undoubtedly plays an important role in the preschool child's experience with written language, many parents in our culture read regularly to their preschool children and supply them with materials to explore literacy. Reference has been made in the literature over many years as to the values of a child being read to from a very early age. Huey (1908) wrote, "The secret of it all lies in parents reading aloud to and with

the child" (p. 332). There is no shortage of studies which have reported a positive relationship between children being read to during their preschool years and their success in learning to read (Doake, 1981; Heath, 1982; Lass, 1982; Schickedanz, 1978; Smith, 1965; Teale, 1982).

The Bullock Report (1975) recommended that,

> The best way to prepare the very young child for reading is to hold him on your lap and read aloud to him stories that he likes to hear over and over again ... parents should cradle the child with words. (p. 249)

Keshian (1963), on the examination of 72 children who learned to read easily, found that "all the children were read to by their parents on a regular sustained basis, throughout their early childhood" (p. 616). Teale (1978) noted that, "of all the facets of the environment mentioned in the studies of early reading, reading to children is probably the most cited" (p. 928). Schickedanz (1978), commenting on the positive aspect of the bedtime story, wrote, "a situation that is loaded with positive effect is the situation that is loaded with information for the child" (p. 54).

Doake (1981) observed, and recorded on a regular basis, preschool children being read to by one of their parents in the naturalistic setting of their home. His results provide considerable insight into the shared book experience and reading-like behavior. Doake saw the book experience situation as being able to provide the avenue through which "self-initiated literacy learning" can begin in preschool children.

Doake found that by constantly listening to stories, children developed a story schema which they used to "read" their own familiar stories. Some children learned reading-like behavior by essentially silent covert processes while others were active and overt as indicated below.

1. "Mumble reading was a strategy all the children in his study used to participate actively in the repeated reading of a story" (p. 426). Mumble reading was used as a stepping stone to develop more control over stories. It was seen to have two distinct features. The first was the approximation of a word being read using an indecipherable mumble fractionally after the reader had commenced saying the word. The second feature developed from the initial mumbling efforts. Actual words were said fractionally behind the reader.

2. Completion reading was found by Doake to be "the most predominant method used by parents and their children in his study to aid in the development of more comprehensive reading-like behavior". "This technique appeared whenever the reader paused at a point in the story and appropriate words were able to be given by the children to complete the phrase or sentence" (p. 428).

3. Echo reading occurred when the children repeated something that had been read to them immediately after they heard it. This technique was used to gain more systematic control over stories.

4. Co-operative reading involved the sharing of the reading of the story by both participants. The children often "'read along' with the reader, participating as much as they could" (p. 447). This activity "provided the children with the opportunity to take an active role in the story-time reading." They "could 'read' their favorite stories with as much or as little help as they needed" (p. 475).

"The most outstanding characteristic of the children's reading-like behavior when recovering their favorite story was their constant striving to reproduce meaning" (p. 466). They used their own language to reconstruct the meaning of their story.

Doake saw "the children, on occasions, switching to a much more measured reading-like behavior, where they began to match eye, ear and voice with the print on the page" (p. 511). That is, they began to take more notice of the graphic information available on the page thus learning a great deal more about the process of reading.

> Reading-like behavior involving matching eye, ear and voice, provided the children with the opportunity to gain a sophisticated level of control over the eye movements necessary for skilled reading. It enabled them to begin the complex task of learning to match sound-to-letter, to identify significant features of words and parts of words, and to eventually develop a repertoire of letter-to-sound correspondences. (p. 512)

Holdaway (1979) maintained that "children with a background of book experience since infancy developed a complex range of attitudes, concepts and skills predisposing them to literacy" (p. 49). They had high expectations of print, had oral models for the language of books and were familiar with written symbols as signs, and had begun to experiment with writing. They could listen for long periods to continuous language and had begun to understand the "complex conventions of direction and position in print" (p. 49). They responded imaginatively and had developed a strong literacy set which enabled them to operate immediately and automatically in appropriate ways when faced with print. Doake also pointed to the importance of the quality of the interaction between parent and child. He found that pausing during reading to allow for dialogue or prediction on the part of the child was evident and that the whole process was characterized by a warm, supportive atmosphere. This confirms Flood's (1977) contention that what is beneficial to the child is a reading style which fosters verbal interaction between reader and listener.

Holdaway (1979) feels that, "The most complex aspect of the children's behavior involves process: they are learning much more than simple linguistic items and are mastering ways of operating and strategies for generating language from meaning" (p. 53), and "The vital learnings of this emergent stage of literacy development center around the tasks of creating a healthy literacy set" (p. 57). Although research is only beginning to identify the dimensions of this literacy set, Holdaway's conception (Appendix A) provides a beginning point for further research.

Stages of Emergent Literacy. Currently there is also considerable interest in identifying stages of emergent literacy (Doake, 1981; Hiebert, 1981; Mason, 1980; Sulzby, 1981). It should be noted, however, that as early as 1966 Durkin was showing an awareness of the evolutionary aspect of reading. She noted at least two major stages, the first being the holistic interpretation of print and the second the acknowledgment of the alphabetic nature of print and the internal composition of words. In the field of writing the following people have been prominent - Clay, 1975; Dyson and Genishi, 1982; Ferreiro and Teberosky, 1982; Graves, 1982; Harste, Burke and Woodward, 1981; and Lavine, 1972.

Support for a unified approach to literacy learning from everyday meaningful experiences with print has come from Goodman and Goodman (1979) and Smith (1976). A unified approach, however, does not preclude the existence of some general stages in the progression of children's learning about print. For example, Mason (1980) hypothesized three general stages in children's acquisition of word recognition strategies. She saw the first stage being where the child is able to

associate meaning to environmental labels and signs and usually shows some letter recognition due to home and media teaching. The second stage reflects the ability to decontextualize words and recognize them "as unique visual patterns" (p. 22). Finally, the child is able to use sound-letter and sound-word associations in a decontextualized way.

Sulzby (1981) described aspects of the learner's knowledge which she takes to be necessary for the development of an ability to read independently.

> Independent reading in my view, is the child's consistent, orchestrated, and self-regulated use of three aspects of print knowledge, each of which can and usually does develop somewhat separately. (p. 13)

Her three components are comprehension, word knowledge and letter-sound knowledge. Sulzby, therefore, describes literacy as developing in a continuum based on making sense of the environment.

In contrast to Mason and Sulzby who focus mainly on literacy development in the school setting, Doake's (1981) study was designed to facilitate careful exploration and description of the emergent reading behavior of preschool children occurring in the naturalistic setting of their homes. As a result of this study he formulated a hierarchy of developmental reading needs. Perhaps the most important implication arising from his results is "that learning to read was seen to be a true developmental process, just like other learning tasks such as talking" (p. 571). It was the product of the child's learning ability and his/her experience. The other important features were the stages through which learning to read appears to progress. Doake postulated that these stages "may well function in a similar manner to Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs" (p. 571). "According to Maslow, as experiences contribute to a particular level of need, not only is that

need being fulfilled but these experiences are also laying the foundations for the next level of development." "As a level of need is satisfied, the learner enters a state of disequilibrium" with regard to books and begins "to learn new strategies to gain further control" over the environment (p. 572). The first three levels of developmental reading needs that Doake was able to identify as a result of his study are as follows:

1. The first stage identified is the development of a positive powerful attitude towards books and learning to read. Doake found that contributing factors included parents exhibiting and conveying strong positive feelings of enjoyment of books and reading, parents reading to their children frequently from a very early age and an adequate supply of good books easily accessible to the children. Children who lived in this type of environment "developed very high expectations for books" (p. 575). The foundations were laid for them to want to read themselves. Thus they moved into a state of disequilibrium with respect to their books. As they listened to predictable stories they were able to read using "their remarkable language learning capacities" and so began to absorb the patterns of written language and story schema (Applebee, 1979). This formed the basis to move on to satisfy the next need, "that of gaining control over the oral dimensions of written language" (p. 576).

2. The second stage identified by Doake involved the development of the syntactic, semantic and intonational dimensions of written language. As the children gradually became more accurate in their reproduction of favorite books, they learned to use "a great range of written language structures" frequently found in stories. "Throughout the whole process they could be seen to be directing and regulating their own learning" (p. 578). They self-corrected miscues which did not sound right or did

not make sense thus demonstrating their central concern with meaning. By making "appropriate substitutions," they illustrated "how well they could use the strategy of prediction." "Their future development as fluent, expressive readers, concerned with meaning", was being established at this stage (p. 578).

Despite a lack of conscious awareness of print at this stage, all the children made remarkable progress in developing control over the conventions and concepts of print. "The foundations were being laid for a move to the third level of development where they would strive to gain control over the visual dimensions of written language" (p. 580).

3. "By mastering the range of ways written language could be used to convey meaning, the children could now focus their attention on how the language was put together in a visual sense" (p. 581). They moved from fluent reading-like behavior to the "arhythmical" or "voice pointing" type. One girl "was able to use her non-visual sources of information to predict what was on the page and begin to learn to confirm her predictions by using her developing knowledge of sound-to-letter relationships" (p. 582). By finally mastering exact matching she was able to go from the known sound of a word to its representation in print. Doake hypothesized that as she "developed control over the visual dimensions of written language which would cause her to read arhythmically, she would enter the third stage of disequilibrium where she would be seeking to regain her earlier fluency" by integrating "the use of her visual and non-visual strategies to gain the desired fluency" (p. 583) (Appendix L).

Despite their differences in describing the growth of literacy, Mason (1980), Sulzby (1981) and Doake (1981) share the view that reading begins when children respond to printed symbols in their efforts to understand

the world. They use their knowledge of oral language to predict print and gradually ask for meanings of words and become acquainted with the conventions of print. This view of reading as the beginning of a continuous evolution has implications regarding first, the interrelation of cognitive and linguistic functions, and second, the need for continuity of the child's knowledge and the programs he/she is offered at school.

Literacy Learning in a Cultural Context. Recent research has begun to look at literacy development in a cultural context instead of merely acknowledging the importance of culture. Studies focus on the context for literacy growth, the literacy interaction and literacy knowledge (Burke, Harste and Woodward, 1981; Doake, 1981; Heath, 1980; Schickedanz and Sullivan, 1984; Taylor, 1983).

The major purpose of the 1981 Burke, Harste and Woodward study was "to identify early and universal language strategies for the purpose of furthering our understanding of written language growth and development" (p. 272). The data provided exciting insights into the socio-psycho-linguistic processes of language development and enriched conceptualization for the exploration of written language literacy. The findings are summarized in four clusters with each cluster representing an identified written language strategy.

1. Strategy of Semantic Intent,

   All children expect print to be meaningful.

2. Strategy of Negotiability.

   Young children utilize all they have learned in order to make sense of print.

3. Strategy of Hypothesis Testing.

   Children constantly display hypothesis testing. This is also

where we see the language learner risk taking.

4. Strategy of Fine Tuning Language with Language.

Children access cue systems showing the interrelationship between oral and written language.

They conclude that strategies operate in a complementary and synergistic manner (p. 123) and that strategies are universal. The writers refer to written language growth as being a "natural" process (p. 105), which "is learned naturally from ongoing natural encounters with print" (p. 108). At no time, however, is the word "natural" precisely defined and the role of the adult in this "natural" process is not described.

Schickedanz and Sullivan (1984) agree with Teale (1982) when they say the use of the term "natural" for home learning is unfortunate. It implies that literacy events flow naturally from within the child, that is they happen despite what we do. On the contrary they found that children do what they do with literacy at home because of, not in spite of, what their parents do. They conclude by saying, "the home rather than the nursery school spawns literacy events" (p. 13). We are, however, not clear as to how this "spawning" takes place.

Denny Taylor (1983), rather than stating that children expect print to be meaningful, describes print as one medium through which children are learning to master their surroundings. In her study, children actively constructed the functions of literate language from a very young age. The following example serves to illustrate how print was used to convey feelings about a sibling.

> Dear mummy and daddy, I hate to tattletale but I just couldn't help it! BENJAMIN put AIM tooth paste on the off wite Rug in the hall so people will step on it! It is one in and 3 senameters! I almost steped in it.

It felt guee! It is near the green rug.
you daughter Louise Taylor. (p. 38)

Perhaps the child thought that print was the most powerful medium to use to deliver this message.

Taylor rewrites the Goodman and Burke (1978) proposition. They write of children learning "to organize their environment through print" (p. 15). She re-phrases their proposition and writes, "the focus of their (the children's) attention is not the print per se, but the social organization of their everyday lives. Print is one means of accomplishing this" (p. 54). Surrounded by the literate activities of their parents the children use print themselves to construct literate language to use in the mediation of their experiences of one another. Print is used to say, "Hello", "I love you", "I hope you are better", "You are the best mum" and "I hate you". It is used to mediate feelings with family and friends. Another use is to learn about different social practices. Playing at school involves writing lessons and reports to parents; playing at restaurants involves writing menus and bills. She postulates that print is "embedded in the social practices that children explore" (p. 54).

Generally speaking there is a dearth of research which looks at literacy development in terms of how events "kick into action" (Schickedanz and Sullivan, 1984, p. 14) and what course they take in the kindergarten context.

Literacy Learning through Writing. Up to this point the main focus of this chapter has been on the reading aspect of literacy. Writing as an aspect of language development will be discussed in three main sections; stages in the development of writing, reading/writing relationships, and the interactive role of the transmitter.

Until very recently, the task of learning about writing was

described quite simply as requiring the initial realisation that print is "talk written down" (Britton, 1970). Within the last decade this concept has changed dramatically with the acquisition of written language assuming all the complexities of the acquisition of oral language, involving learning at several levels all at once.

Doake (1981), Goodman (1980), Holdaway (1979) and Smith (1971) suggest that to some extent learning to talk and to write follow similar dynamics. They suggest that the learning of written language and the learning of spoken language have several points in common. Temple, Nathan and Burris (1982) summarize these as follows:

1. Children must be surrounded by language used in meaningful ways if they are to learn to talk and the same is true of written language if they are to learn to write.
2. "Children normally take a great deal of initiative both in learning to talk and in learning to write" (p. 9).
3. As children learn to talk they form "tentative rules about the way language works" (p. 9), trying out these rules and revising them. Mistakes are gradually corrected. In writing we see errors give way to other errors before correct forms are arrived at.
4. Speech forms change gradually, and not, often, as a result of direct teaching. In writing, too, spelling and composition improve by "gradual conceptual learning that is controlled by the child as much as by the teacher" (p. 10).
5. "Children learn to talk to meet a range of personal needs" (p. 10). Language use varies as needs and purposes change and as opportunities arise to use language functionally. Writing, too, serves different purposes and children need opportunities to use

writing meaningfully "in order to develop complete literacy" (p. 10).

6. Children learn language on a working level and this does not enable them to explain their knowledge to others. No one understands writing well enough to explain to someone else how to write unless that other person exerts his/her powers to learn for him/herself.

"Writing, the act of expressing, creating and affirming thoughts by means of written symbols, is a mysterious process" (Temple, Nathan and Burris, 1982, p. 1). As of yet it is not exactly known how humans learn to do it, but it does, however, appear that they learn to write at least as much by discovery as by being formally taught. If this act of discovery was unique for each child then there would be as many research projects on writing as there are children. Research, however, and the experience of teaching and parenting have shown that even when children are not formally taught about writing, most of them in our culture make essentially the same discoveries about it in essentially the same order (Ferreiro, 1982; Gibson, 1969; Graves, 1975; Temple, Nathan and Burris, 1982).

The theme of Clay's (1975) work on children's writing was "the child's gradual development of a perceptual awareness of arbitrary customs used in written English" (p. 2). She felt that although there was no fixed sequence of learning through which children must pass, they had, however, to learn a certain number of things about language before they could write. These included: print talks, how to form letters, memorizing common words, using words to write messages, learning punctuation and the rules of English language and increasing the number of sentences used. She hypothesized that two main principles were involved. The first was that initial learnings are later refined, and second, in learning something new, knowledge is very specific to a

context. These principles were later confirmed by Donaldson (1978), Dyson (1982), Burke, Harste and Woodward (1982) and Wells (1981).

Clay (1975) also identified a series of principles that were evident in the writing samples she looked at:

1. The Recurring Principle, where a great deal of satisfaction is derived from filling whole lines with linear mock writing.
2. The Generative Principle, where limitless amounts of writing can be generated by using a small set of letters providing they are combined in different ways.
3. The Sign Concept and the Flexibility Principle, where the child understands that writing uses graphic displays to stand for something else. As the child experiments with writing he/she is surprised to find that known letters can be varied to produce new letters.
4. With Linear Principles and Principles of Page Arrangement the young child's habits are amazingly fluid. A beginning writer appears to be able to change from left/right to right/left with little difficulty.

Lavine's (1972) research supported Gibson's (1969) findings that children appear to be using features of a writing system and not just an inventory of known letters. These features were used to make "judgements as to whether or not a display can be called writing" (Temple, Nathan and Burris, 1982, p. 22). Lavine reasoned from her experiments that features considered distinctive by even the youngest subjects were: nonpictoriality, linearity and variety and multiplicity. Features used by older subjects appeared to be: Roman likeness and being Roman letters themselves. An important difference between Clay's and Lavine's work is that Lavine

associated certain features with grade levels of maturity in writing development, whereas "Clay made no such distinction but rather suggested that, as more early graphic principles showed up in a child's writing, the more mature he/she was likely to be as a writer" (Temple, Nathan and Burris, 1982, p. 41).

Some of the most interesting research into the question of how young children think writing might represent things has been performed by Ferreiro and Teberosky (1982). In Argentina they found one little boy called Javier who wrote cat as OIA while kittens was written OAIOAIOAI. Many children appeared to think that "there might be a concrete relation between written marks and the things they stood for" (Temple, Nathan and Burris, 1982, p. 44). Ferreiro and Teberosky "suggested that there may be a developmental continuum that would have children looking first at concrete relations between graphic characters and the things they stand for without reference to sound" (p. 45). It was only later that the relationship between graphics and language was realized and this was based on sound. A word like chicken would be represented with two letters used as syllable counters only, showing only an arbitrary relationship between sound and letters. It is interesting here to note that, at present, there is little evidence of these findings in four-year-old North American children.

Often one of the earliest pieces of writing that children are taught is their name. Learning to write one's name, as well as carrying a message, becomes a repertory of known letters which can be recombined to form new words. Some children trace, copy then generate, while others copy then generate (Clay, 1975).

[redacted]ious perspectives from the literature reveals a

picture of the child uncovering written language's perceptual features (Clay, 1975), symbolic nature (Ferreiro, 1979, 1980), structural characteristics and cohesive features (Applebee, 1978; King and Rentel, 1979), discursive procedures (Cook-Gumpers and Gumpers, 1981; Clay, 1975) and functional capacities (Goodman, 1981).

> From the point of view of cognitive learning theory children have a strong desire to master their environment. They select, interpret and integrate information about the world to form a working model of that world. To become literate, the child must focus on and analyse language itself (Donaldson, 1978; Vygotsky, 1978); the tool becomes the object of reflection ... Writing is ideally suited for reflection upon the nature of written language. (Dyson, 1982, p. 831)

This process of problem solving as an approach to learning language manifests itself in children's invented spelling. Children begin by using the most obvious aspect of the speaking/writing interaction, the relationship between sounds and letters. Read (1971) has shown that children are actually more proficient in "sounding out" words than adults are. Their spelling appears strange because adults, as knowledgeable users of the system, have learned to ignore some very real similarities in sounds. Zutell (1978) illustrates this with the following Kindergarten and first grade examples.

1. HARE (cherry)

   Children typically use letter names, as opposed to just letter sounds, in trying to represent what they hear. From their perspective h is a sensible spelling of the first sound in cherry since that sound is part of the letter's name ("ach").

2. GRIV (drive)

3. CHRUK (truck)

These spellings have a logical phonological explanation even although they are incorrect. Many spellers produce such spellings when d and t precede r in the tr and dr blends.

4. BAD (bed)

Short vowels are particularly hard to spell for two reasons: they are not directly associated with letter names as long vowels are and they are not spelled with the closest long vowel.

Read (1971) pointed out these and several other patterns of misspellings including the omission of nasals (m, n) in the middle of words and the omission of unstressed vowels before l and r (e.g. LADR for letter). Young children appear to have a highly sophisticated intuitive understanding of English phonology which they use in their spelling attempts.

Altogether, evidence from research (Beers, 1977; Beers and Henderson, 1977; Zutell, 1978) suggests that learning to spell, like learning to speak, is not simply a matter of habit and practice. It involves and indeed demands, the active, systematic and progressive formulation and testing of rules and strategies.

Considering that reading and writing are both language processes, relationships between them can be assumed. The exact nature of this relationship has not yet been determined. Very little research has examined the influence of writing instruction or writing activity on the development of reading comprehension. Similarly, little research has focused on the influence of reading instruction or reading experience on the development of writing ability. Correlational studies conducted to date have focused on levels of reading and writing well above the emergent stage. These studies in general showed almost

consistently that better writers tended to be better readers, read more than poorer writers and produced more syntactically mature writing than poorer readers. We would benefit from more research along the lines of Shanahan's (1980) correlational analysis of learning to read and learning to write to help us to determine further how the nature of the relationships between reading and writing change at various developmental levels and if the relationship between reading and writing at different levels depends on what type of reading or writing is being used or assessed.

Casual observation in kindergartens or grade one classrooms confirms that handwriting, the alphabet and sound-symbol associations are considered basic to writing success. Often these skills are viewed as prerequisites to independent writing (Kroll, 1981). Of these three skills sound-symbol relationships have received the greatest amount of attention in recent language arts literature (Chomsky, 1979; Sowers, 1979). The teacher's role is one of helping the child to make use of phonetic awareness.

Recent literature (Clay, 1975; De Ford, 1980; Ferreiro, 1980; Harste and Burke, 1980) has stressed the activeness of preschool children who have begun to construct their own notions of how written language works. The role of the caregiver-transmitter is to extend these strategies just as early oral utterances are extended (Wells, 1981).

Wells maintains that "any act of linguistic communication involves the establishment of a triangular relationship between the sender, the receiver and the context of the situation" (p. 47). He writes that,

> For communication to be successful it is necessary
> a) that the receiver should come to attend to the situation as intended by the sender;

b) that the sender should know that the receiver is so doing; and
c) the receiver should know that the sender knows that this is the case. (p. 47)

The significance of the context and transmitter was clarified by Moss and Stansell (1983) who found that children differentiated between the purpose of writing at home and at school. People write at school to learn how to make letters and spell words; they write at home because they like to "you know, like write notes to people and stuff like that" (p. 346). Heather's (5 years old) writing at school and at home differed in several respects. Her school writing was perfectly conventional whereas at home she departed from conventional letter formation, spelling and page arrangement. Writing products were "also different in their degree of ownership (Graves, 1982)" as she was free "to choose her own language, message and topic at home. The school language is contrived, kept unnaturally simple; the home language reflected more completely Heather's full range of language resources" (p. 347). At home "by making decisions in the writing process Heather reveals her knowledge of styles of written language, semantic patterns, and the conventions of written language" (p. 349).

Klein and Schickedanz (1980), stressing the importance of purpose for writing, describe how kindergarten children used a variety of means to create written messages to request books. The children in the study seemed "to go back and forth between writing on their own and seeking assistance. By responding to children's individual needs, adults played an important role in learning" (p. 746). The adult role "was an active one" as adults "participated in the letter writing activities by serving as children's assistants" in the following ways: "providing

them with materials, taking dictation, spelling words, demonstrating how to form letters and reading messages. In addition, the person who received the children's messages responded to them by writing letters to the children. The written messages provided information which allowed the children to make new discoveries" (p. 747-8). New words were learned and included in self-written letters. They concluded by saying, "We also believe that the role of adults as interested and responsive participants in children's writing activities is a crucial one" (p. 749).

Dyson and Genishi (1982) also argue that writing is an interactive process and they focus attention on the importance of children interacting with each other as they learn to write. Children were able to "seek out needed information and contribute positively to one another's learning" (p. 131). They noted that, "Writing can be a lonely struggle without an alert friend who asks, 'Anyway, what ya tryin' to write?'" (p. 131).

Conclusion

During the last decade research on early literacy development has focused on the child as a learner rather than the adult as teacher (Goodman, 1976; Smith, 1973; Teale, 1982), the processes used by the learner as he/she encounters print (Goodman and Goodman, 1979; Swartz, 1977), the literacy schema possessed at various ages (Clay, 1976; Doake, 1981; Hiebert, 1981), and the impact of the home environment (Doake, 1981; Heath, 1982; Snow, 1983; Taylor, 1983). From these studies new insights are gained on how the young child in our culture becomes literate.

However, certain limitations in our research to date are apparent. We have a little information concerning the function of the transmitter/receiver interaction during shared book experiences, but even less

attention has been focused on this interaction during other print-related activities. Although kindergarten may be presumed to influence the young child's literacy development there is a paucity of research focusing in detail on the child's interactions with a transmitter of literacy or direct interactions with print in this context.

The Interaction Process - Mediation

Characteristics of a Mediated Learning Experience

If a child acquires literacy through interaction or transaction (Rosenblatt, 1978) with his/her environment, are the child and the environment all that matter? Many would argue no (Doake, 1981; Feuerstein, 1980; Holdaway, 1979). The child develops patterns of interaction long before he/she uses linguistic symbols of expression (Lindfors, 1980). Much of the study of these early interaction patterns has focused on mother/child interaction. What is particularly striking is the picture that emerges of an actively differentiating, initiating and responding infant from birth. The infant is not a passive being but is well equipped to participate actively in interaction (Bower, 1979).

As noted above, studies of early language acquisition paint the picture of a young child actively involved in figuring out language for him/herself by systematically using cognitive strategies available to him/her, strategies that serve him/her well in figuring out other aspects of the world as well (Bruner, 1975; Clark, 1977; Nelson, 1973). The child is the active party in his/her own learning. He/she is the hypothesis maker and tester and always works with a cognitive structure and an interactive environment.

As human beings we appear to have the desire to go beyond mere biological needs and learn about our world. We transmit knowledge to new generations who appear to have open learning systems adaptable and responsive to change (Feuerstein et al., 1980; Piaget, 1965). The environment shapes to, responds to, and interacts with the learning child.

The work of Reuven Feuerstein on Instrumental Enrichment serves as a useful starting point for the study of cultural knowledge and human learning. He conceives the development of cognitive structures in the organism as being the product of two types of interaction between the organism and its environment. The first type is that of direct interaction with the environment (Piaget, 1965). That is through "chance encounter with and direct exposure to stimuli and his active interaction with them" (Feuerstein, 1980, p. 17). The second type is where stimuli emitted by the environment are transformed by a mediating agent usually a parent, sibling or other caregiver. This agent guided by his/her intentions, culture and emotions, selects, organizes and interprets the cultural environment to the child. Feuerstein symbolizes the two modes of learning as:

a) S-O-R stimulus-organism-response. (The direct interaction with the environment)

b) S-H-O-R stimulus-human mediator-organism-response. (The mediated learning experience) (Brailsford, 1983)

Feuerstein's (1980) work on instrumental enrichment and mediation has theoretical importance and potential social significance. His findings, mainly from extensive experience with Israeli adolescents with retarded intellectual development, in fact provide the foundation for a general

theory of cognitive competence. He "is concerned generally with the ability to learn to solve problems; with why this ability fails to develop in the absence, during early childhood, of systematic learning, mediated by a caring adult" (p. vii). The "how" and not the "what" of learning is his main concern. His work extends beyond the implications for retarded performers to general programs of child care and parent education.

It is through mediation that the child acquires behavior patterns and learning sets, which in time enhance his/her opportunities to obtain maximum benefit from direct interactions with the environment.

> Since direct exposure to stimuli quantitatively constitute the greatest source of the organism's experience, the existence of sets of strategies and repertoires that permit the organism to efficiently use this exposure has considerable bearing upon cognitive development. (Feuerstein, 1980, p. 16)

This mediated learning is seen to be the core of the cultural transmission process. Such interactions shape future generations. Mediated learning then,

> is based on the assumption that human development can be neither conceived of as a sole epi-phenomenon of neurophysical maturation nor considered as simply the product of the individual's chance encounter with and direct exposure to stimuli and his active interaction with them ... it is by the flow of information transmitted to the individual by a process of mediation, through channels produced by mediation itself, that higher mental functions are developed. It is the mediation process itself that constructs both its content and its structure. (p. xvii)

"By recognizing the role played by mediated learning experience in the course of cognitive development, a new perspective is cast on the etiology of cultural deprivation as manifested in retarded intellectual performance" (p. 17). When discussing and defining a mediated learning

experience we must distinguish between factors which may or may not lead to inadequate cognitive development. Feuerstein discusses these in the categories of proximal and distal determinants of differential cognitive development (Appendix B). Taking distal determinants first these would encompass such factors as organicity, genetic endowment, extent of environmental stimulation, emotional balance of the child and his/her family and socio-economic status. It can easily be appreciated that, if these factors are deficient in any way, they may lead to inadequate cognitive development. We must, however, realize that these do not inevitably cause retardation. However, a lack of, or reduced exposure to, mediated learning experiences which is referred to as proximal determinant will lead to retarded performance.

Feuerstein and Hoffman (1983) describe five characteristics of a mediated learning experience. A sixth characteristic, sharing, has since been added (Feuerstein, 1984). Following is a description of the six criteria, each of which is an integral part of a mediated learning experience (M.L.E.):

1. Intentionality of the mediator: "The interactions that comprise a mediated learning experience consist of a wide range of behaviors partly culturally determined and partly triggered by situational events and circumstances" (p. 20). An interaction which provides a mediated learning experience is characterized by intent on the part of the mediator. For example, the mediator may exhibit his/her intentions by slowing down his/her own rhythm when being observed by the child, asking the child to follow his/her actions or repeating his/her words. The recipient also shows intentionality as part of the interactive

process. Intentionality sharpens the stimuli. This reciprocity is observable at a very early age. A child may exhibit his/her intentions by facing the mediator, smiling, moving a chair nearer, interacting verbally or interacting physically.

2. The transcendent nature of mediated learning: "an interaction that provides mediated learning must include an intention, on the part of the mediator, to transcend the immediate needs or concerns of the recipient by venturing beyond the here and now, in time and space". Mediated interaction "attempts to expose the child to dimensions of experience which are more important for the complex and remote aspects of development" (p. 20). Consider the following verbal interchange between a mother and her child.

Mother says 1) "Put your hat on."

Mother says 2) "Put your hat on. It's -35°. That is so cold, you could easily get frostbite."

The second elaborated instruction includes an indication of its rationale. The child is not merely carrying out an instruction. If this instruction (2) is understood, the conditions it describes may again be accessed in a future situation to guide the behavior of the child.

Provided the elements of intentionality, reciprocity and transcendence of the here and now are present in the interaction, whether deliberately planned by the mediator or as an implicit expectation of the culture, the effect will be the same - a mediated learning experience which will nourish the child's developing intellect. Intentionality, reciprocity and transcendence are

considered to be the vital components of a mediated learning experience and when combined with the following four elements result in effective mediated learning.

3. Mediation of meaning by the mediator: from the mass of stimulation impinging on the child, certain stimuli are selected by the mediator as being more relevant and meaningful than others at a given point. A background is thus developed for categorization at later stages of development. Interactions are endowed with meaning. Focusing also enables the child to be selective and discriminatory in his/her perception of objects and events. Children who have not learned to look for meaning may be bored by the most exciting events.

4. Mediation of a feeling of competence: the mediator must also convey a feeling of competence to the learner. The mediator's recognition of the child's success with material coupled with the child's sense of accomplishment develops a partnership between mediator and child, turning the child into one who is both learning and learned (Freire, 1982).

5. Mediated regulation and control of behavior: the mediator is required to "select age-appropriate cultural learning experiences". The pace and flow of information is regulated. Such behavior helps the child to regulate his energy in order to ensure success and combats impulsivity and blockage (Brailsford, 1984).

6. Mediation of sharing behavior: sharing behavior takes place in a large number of child/mother and child/environment interactions in which the major emphasis is a common interest that is shared by the partners in the interaction. This common interest is either spontaneously produced and elicited by the appearance of an event or is the result of the sharing behavior of one of the partners in the interaction. It

refers to such behaviors as focusing upon an object upon which the other partner is focusing, and calling one's partner's attention and focus to an object on which one is focusing by pointing it out and/or commenting on the meaning of the stimuli which is being shared. Sharing behavior can go as high as sharing feelings, impressions and ideas.

The Role of Content and Modality in Mediated Interactions

Feuerstein argues that mediated learning is not necessarily,

> contingent upon the content of a learning experience or the means by which the specific content is expressed. No claim is made that content does not affect functioning in a very specific manner by producing differential familiarity with objects, tasks and events. However, the development of cognitive structure is not a direct function of exposure to specific kinds of content. In learning to master a given situation a child must learn to cope with a sequence of events situated in space and time, to dissociate the means from the goal and to indulge in anticipatory representational thought. (p. 22)

Cognitive structures are established when cognitive processes become detached from specific tasks.

Other forms of behavior, other than speech, such as gesture and mimicry can also be considered to be channels for mediation. For the children in this study verbal encoding was considered to be the most economic and efficient transmitter of learning due to their age level but observation was also made of non-verbal mediation when and if it occurred.

Mediation in Relation to Literacy Development

This study will utilize Feuerstein's theory of mediated learning in a literacy context. Few would disagree about the importance of being literate in our society.

Both Holdaway (1979) and Freire (1970) clearly state their views on the damaging effects of illiteracy. Holdaway (1979) writes, "If we continue to make literacy a criterion for basic human dignity in our society, we cannot tolerate the failure with its poignantly modern forms of misery and maladjustment" (p. 12).

Freire (1982) evolved a theory for the education of illiterate adults. He felt that by being denied literacy the peasant was denied the opportunity to participate critically in his society and is "crushed, diminished, converted into a spectator, maneuvered by myths which powerful sources have created. These myths turn against him; they destroy and annihilate him" (p. 6). He described literacy as the medium for the raising of critical consciousness, which in turn transforms the receiver of culture into a maker of culture.

In our society the importance of literacy is readily acknowledged. We know literacy learning begins in infancy and continues into adolescence but we still cannot agree on the nature of the developmental process or the sequence of presentation in our schooling. As previously mentioned, at present there appear to be two main schools of thought. Firstly there are those who see reading as developing hierarchically utilizing a series of sub-skills (Engleman and Osborn, 1970; Gough, 1972; La Berge and Samuels, 1974).

In contrast such writers as Burke, Harste and Woodward (1981), Clay (1972), Doake (1981), Dyson (1982), Lindfors (1980), and Taylor (1983) view literacy learning as an integral part of language development. This viewpoint accesses terms such as "emergent", "reading-like", "early writing behavior" to describe the behavior of the literacy apprentice. In our school systems we often see both models being

reflected in practice.

If in fact the whole process of literacy depends on the experience a child has in reading or writing activities which are mediated by literate adults or siblings, it is important to describe the characteristics of this interactive process. It is not sufficient to simply say children need to interact with another person, we must attempt to describe the distinctive features of this interactive process.

Numerous studies have established the importance of modelling behavior in adults in the home. Rankin (1967) found that high-achieving, inner-city children, compared to low-achieving children of this type, had parents who encouraged their children to read to them and who read themselves at home. Entwisle (1970) notes that "middle-class" mothers compared to "lower-class" mothers take more actions that will help their children to become successful problem-solvers. She felt that these children who had more problem-solving strategies in their awareness, could apply these when reading, to test hypotheses about text.

Goodman and Goodman (1979) argue that natural literacy is not a process which "unfolds in an environment free of obstructive intrusions. Teaching children to read is not putting them in a garden of print and leaving them unmolested" (p. 139). Clark (1976), Durkin (1966) and King and Friesen (1972) have all pointed out the importance of a parent, sibling or other adult as a child attempts to make sense of the printed word by answering questions about letters, words, etc.

Doake (1981) found that two children who were read to frequently and for long periods of time from a very early stage in their lives, and who had parents who portrayed pleasure when sharing a book with their child, seemed to have developed powerful attitudes to reading. Less

powerful attitudes were developed in other children whose reading experience started later and whose parents were much less book oriented.

Through all this debate, the following three basic principles seem to emerge, all of which are involved in children learning to read.

a) While learning to read, as in learning other language processes, children are active and individual learners. Given rich and diverse opportunities to interact with printed materials children will use their own figuring-out mechanisms to decode to meaning. By providing a print "bath" the transmitters provide the experience from which the child may select and use in his/her own way, materials and approaches that match his/her way of making sense of his/her world. As the transmitter observes the child he/she can, as Smith (1971) recommends, respond to what the child is trying to do.

b) Reading is a process of deriving meaning from a printed text. Children can use their world knowledge to get meaning from the print.

c) There is no language more meaningful to children than their own. The more we access the children's own experience and express it through symbols in language experience for example, the more success we will have as educators.

Research generally suggests the importance of the parent/child relationship and recognizes the presence of the phenomenon of mediation but to date this phenomenon has not been studied systematically. Because literacy is socially accomplished through interactive processes we must carefully look at both sides of the two-way process.

This research rests on the basic premise that the human organism interacts with the environment which is in part altered and selected by a mediator. Hence, any study of learning including literacy learning

must include consideration of the learner, the environment and the mediator, all situated within a cultural context.

This study describes the interactive process involving the child and the main mediator or mediators in the home and compares this with interaction between the child and the kindergarten teacher as the child engaged in emergent literacy. Observations are made of how the mediator placed him/herself between the child and his/her environment as he/she transformed, re-ordered, organized, grouped and framed stimuli. Mediation is described in terms of intentionality, reciprocity, transcendence of the immediate, its meaningfulness to the learner, the learner's feelings of competence, sharing and control of his/her own behavior.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

Overview

> Educational research is changing. A field once dominated by measurement, operationalized definitions, variables and empirical fact has had to make room for a research approach gaining in popularity, one that emphasizes inductive analysis, description and the study of people's perceptions. (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982, p. 13)

This study was constructed to provide data to describe the literacy world of five children, firstly in their home environment and then in their kindergarten. In terms of literacy development this study describes what is presented, who presents it, and how it is presented, who learns it and what is learned in the naturalistic settings embodied by the home, community, school and kindergarten classroom. The research methodology and design therefore had to take into account the complexity of the contexts, the dynamic interactions involved in literacy transmission and the child's developing literacy knowledge. The purpose of this study and the context dictated a qualitative research approach.

This chapter will describe first, the general characteristics of qualitative research and then will focus on data collection and analysis as it was related to this study.

Characteristics of Qualitative Research

1. "Qualitative research has the natural setting as the direct source of data and the researcher is the key instrument. Qualitative

researchers go to the particular setting under study because they are concerned with context" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982, p. 27). In this study action (mediation) can best be understood when it is observed in the setting in which it occurs. Whether the data is collected by video tape, through interviewing or by participant observation, or a combination of these, qualitative researchers assume that human behavior is significantly influenced by the setting in which it occurs, and whenever possible go there.

2. Qualitative research is descriptive. This approach demands that the world be approached with the assumption that nothing is trivial. Everything has the potential of being a clue which might unlock a more comprehensive understanding of what is being studied. "Nothing is taken as given, and no statement escapes scrutiny" (p. 27).

> If anthropological interpretation is constructing a reading of what happens, then to divorce it from what in this time or that place specific people say, what they do, what is done to them, from the whole vast business of the world, is to divorce it from its application and render it vacant. A good interpretation of anything - a poem, a person, a history, a ritual, an institution, a society - takes us to the heart of that which is the interpretation. (Geertz, 1973, p. 18)

3. Qualitative researchers are concerned with the process rather than simply with the outcomes or products. How do people negotiate meaning? How do certain labels come to be applied? How do certain notions come to be taken as part of what we know as "common-sense"? (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982, p. 28)

4. "Qualitative researchers tend to analyze their data inductively" (p. 29). This is called grounded theory (Glazer and Strauss, 1967). As a researcher planning to develop some kind of theory, the direction one will travel comes after one has been collecting the data. The researcher is constructing a picture which takes shape as the parts

are collected and examined.

5. "Meaning is of essential concern in the qualitative approach" (p. 29). Researchers are concerned with the ways different people make sense out of their lives.

> Qualitative researchers in education can continually be found asking questions of the people they are learning from to discover, what they are experiencing, how they interpret their experiences, and how they themselves structure the social world in which they live. (Psanthas, 1973, in Bogdan and Biklen, 1981, p. 31)

Data Collection in This Study

If what is to be described, that is the process of mediation in the development of literacy, is seen to include both meaning and behavior (Gearing, 1973; Spindler, 1974), the researcher must be in a position to both observe behavior in its natural settings (home and school) and to elicit from the people observed the structures of meaning which inform and texture behavior.

The goal of this study was to focus on the settings, the home and the kindergarten, and to discover what was going on there (Wolcott, 1973). This thoroughgoing process of inquiry was aided by certain fundamental anthropological precepts as follows:

1. I attempted to set aside my own preconceptions or stereotypes about what was going on and to view the setting as it was viewed and constructed by its participants.

2. With my own background in early education and specialization in kindergarten I had to attempt to make the familiar strange. I questioned why something existed as it did or took place as it did or

why something else did not. "Making the familiar strange will continue to be a basic problem in the anthroethnography of schooling in our own society" (Spindler, 1977, p. 43).

3. Even in the familiar situation of the kindergarten I could not presume to know how the subjects viewed me.

4. If I assumed to understand why things took place as they did, I had to look at the relationship between the setting and its context, that is the home in Edmonton and the kindergarten in the school. In this study a judgment of relevant context was made and the character of this context was explored to the extent that resources allowed.

5. I used my knowledge of existing social theory to guide and inform my observations.

One of the most important decisions I had to make was what to focus on. I could not focus on everything. I began this study with a hypothesis in mind but because I was trying to understand the system of mediation in its own terms according to its own criteria of meaningfulness, I could not predict in advance which aspects of the system would have significance or what kind of significance they would have. Even the focus could not be predicted precisely if I assumed that parts of the system could only be understood in the context of the working whole.

This study began without specifically predetermined categories of observation, questionnaires, etc. Ready-made instruments and overly precise formulations of the problem would have closed off prematurely the process of discovery of that which was significant in the setting. An essential part of the research was to discover what was significant, what was important to observe. I was continuously involved in a process of inquiry. In general, my focus was on the relationship between the

environment, emergent literacy and mediation.

The fieldwork in both settings involved two distinguishable though overlapping stages. The first stage, which was primarily an adaptation period, involved activities which could be described as passive research. This was a very difficult time for me as I strove to attain maximum rapport. Problems varied from everyday pragmatics such as when to visit, when to write field notes and where to sit. I also suffered from psychological discomfort and at times had moral dilemmas.

The second stage involved activities that could be called active research. This was the period when most data were collected. In this study I generally adopted the role of a passive participant (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1969), as I observed the children interacting with the mediator. The role was difficult to maintain at times when I was thought to be a kindergarten expert. Doake (1981) became a very active participant in his own study. In fact he became a mediator. I did not wish to do this as this study sought to compare mediation occurring in the home with that in kindergarten. I did not wish to be an agent for change in this study.

Although direct observation was necessary, it was not sufficient to enable me to obtain a thorough description. It was necessary to supplement direct observations with indirect observations which were obtained by people who were at the scene when I was absent.

1. The mediators in the home environment kept a log (Appendix C and D) of the children's literacy behavior which they observed when I was not at the scene. Care was taken to ensure that the mediators did not do what they thought I wanted them to do. I hoped to be able to describe the situation as normally as possible.

2. The children's literacy development was elicited from the parents as this had been existing and developing for some time before this study commenced.

3. Some features of behavior were only imperfectly inferable from direct observation and interviewing was necessary to find out the motives, intentions and interpretations of the participants. "Interviewing involved two distinct but complementary processes: developing rapport and eliciting information" (Spradley, 1979, p. 78). Where rapport developed successfully it usually proceeded through the following stages: apprehension, exploration, co-operation and participation.

In the wider context of fieldwork, key informants were encountered when they were working, enjoying leisure time and carrying out ordinary activities. These encounters contributed as much if not more to rapport as actual interviews. Building rapport is a complex process and one that had to be monitored while doing fieldwork to maintain and develop relationships with the people in the study to ensure the flow of data (Spradley, 1972).

Descriptive questions formed the basis of interviewing as they led directly to a large sample of utterances that were expressed in the language used by the informants in the scene being investigated. These were phrased personally, "Can you describe what you would do during a typical morning in your kindergarten?" or culturally, "Can you describe a typical morning for most children in kindergarten?" This last query brought a long response which explained the wide variation in kindergarten programs in Edmonton.

Great care was taken to stop asking the children questions as they showed any signs of frustration. Doake (1981) found that he

had to be careful when questioning the children. It became evident very early in the study that the children would quickly lose interest in a discussion if they could not answer questions quickly and easily on the basis of their past experience.

Data Gathering Techniques and Sources

Although some data were collected using hardware - audio recording and film - the bulk of data were collected by my direct observations on site. As a person I could constantly absorb a wider variety of data than any mechanical device could record, but data on tape plus film provided me with the possibility of looking back to examine behavior more closely. Field notes were in the form of a journal (begun March, 1983) which had three ingredients, observations, musings and diary. The principal data of the study were recorded by tape and field notes during approximately 165 hours in the homes and 160 hours in the kindergarten.

In phase one, a tape recorder was used only by the parents to record bedtime or daytime story reading when I was not present. In phase two, each three hour session in the kindergarten was taped and written field notes taken to accompany the recordings. Also in phase two, two sessions were set aside to observe individual subjects only for the entire morning. Again these tapes were accompanied by field notes. At various points throughout the fieldwork my supervisor compared my field notes with audio tapes.

Discussion of the Research Sequence

Locating a Social Situation

"Every social situation can be identified by three primary elements: a place, actors and activities" (Spradley, 1980, p. 39). In doing participant observation one locates oneself in some place; one watches actors of one sort or another and becomes involved with them; one observes and participates in activities (Figure 1).

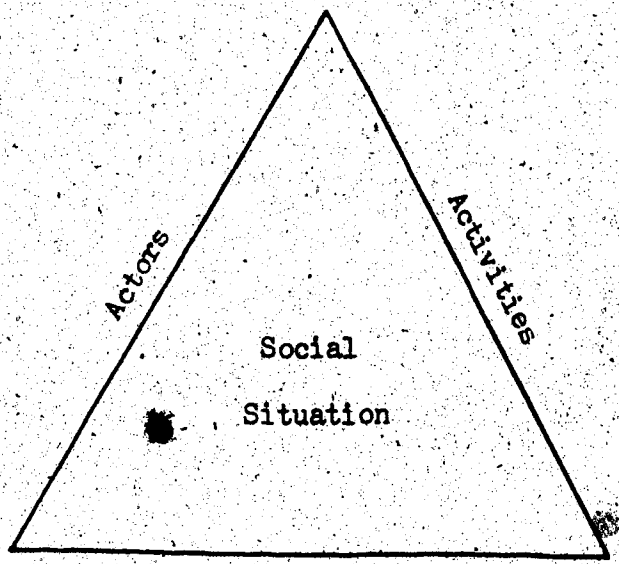


Figure 1: The Social Situation (Spradley, 1980)

The first step in this study was to locate a single social situation which in this case would be the kindergarten. Early in March of 1983 I began to visit kindergartens in search of a suitable site. The teachers I visited were most co-operative and took great pains to explain their programs to me. At this point I was merely an interested visitor from another country and no mention was made of research. At first the kindergartens I visited were recommended by another person but eventually I decided to simply telephone schools myself and ask if

I could visit. After several visits I began to feel quite anxious about locating a teacher who would be willing to participate. Towards the middle of March I telephoned Alloway Elementary School and asked the principal if I could visit the kindergarten[1]. The principal said he would check with the teacher, Margaret, and telephone me back. That same evening, Margaret telephoned and said I was most welcome to visit whenever I liked. A time was set up and on 17th March I arrived at the school and the secretary showed me to the kindergarten. When I entered the room, I saw a group of children sitting on the floor around the piano singing. Margaret said, "Oh, look, children, our visitor has arrived and when she has her coat off she'll come and join us." I felt immediately welcome and at ease in this room. Margaret was very much in control of a very lively group of mixed-nationality children. She was firm but warm. She has taught kindergarten for five years and really likes it. Time flew past and at recess I spoke to the principal about the possibility of research in the kindergarten. He replied, "It's fine with me, but the decision lies with Margaret." I scurried back to the kindergarten and before lunchtime asked Margaret if she would permit me to research in her classroom. I briefly explained my research and to my great delight she replied, "Yes." I think she was relieved when I said I would only attend three mornings a week!

The setting for phase two was established but now I had to obtain volunteer families. The principal suggested that I make a brief statement at the parent orientation meeting later in March and ask for volunteers. When the evening of the meeting came I was both nervous and excited. What if I got no volunteers? A group of around 20 parents

[1] see Appendix E for a list of names of characters in this study and the abbreviations used in transcripts.

arrived and the meeting began with a brief talk from the principal. This was followed by a slide show and a talk by Margaret, who described a typical day in kindergarten. This day was described as having center activities, gymnastics, music, calendar, language activities, story times, library times, and snack time.

T.M.: We learn the alphabet, phonics, writing, numbers 1 to 20, counting in 1's, 5's and 10's. Many children this year are reading. I encourage the comprehension skills of sequencing and inferencing.

I was next on the program. I introduced myself, explained I was a doctoral student at the University of Alberta and as part of my studies I wished to research the literacy development of four children from May, 1983, until May, 1984. I would study those children both in their homes and in their kindergarten. My only stipulation was that the children should be English-speaking from birth. I then asked any interested parents to contact me at the end of the meeting. Ten parents came forward. I was both delighted and astonished. I quickly noted down names and addresses and promised to make contact within the next two days.

Selecting Actors

I decided that I should if possible have all of the subjects in the same morning kindergarten group. This in fact took my selection possibilities down to four - two boys and two girls. Home visits were set up.

Establishing Rapport

The first visit to the home absolutely exhausted me. Insecurity

showed on both sides. Would the consent forms be signed? I was physically and mentally exhausted as I adapted to meet and socialize with four children and their parents. "What exactly are you doing? Why? Are you comparing the abilities of the children? I hope you're not a psychologist?" were among the questions hurled at me.

The initial visits contained strong elements of "Show Moira what you can do" and I wondered when and if I would be able to observe the children interacting with their parents as they normally did. My first visit was to David's house. Coffee was ready when I arrived and soon the photograph albums were out. David's mother, Linda, wanted clarification of exactly what I was doing and what good this would do.

L: I'm not sure why I volunteered for this. Perhaps you could get more from a more educated mother.

Linda told me many of the details of David's babyhood. Time just flew by and at around 11.30 we went to collect David from his playgroup. I was then invited to stay for lunch and Linda tried to get David to do things for me. It was so artificial. At this point I realized that throughout the research I might have to restate my purpose to the families. This four and one-half hour visit was followed by hours of writing but I learned a lot.

My second visit was to Wendy's house. As both parents work, an evening visit was arranged. The three children were ready for bed but of course were reluctant to actually go to bed as they were curious about the "visitor". Conversation flowed from soccer to reading to nannies to my study. Bob kept asking me what my purpose was and what I was trying to prove.

B: Are you comparing the home and the school? Do you think

schools ignore home background and treat all the children the same way?

I explained that we just don't have enough data on early literacy development.

B: But don't you think intelligence is the main factor in reading development?

O.C.: We don't as yet know what the main factors are. Research is trying to discover what these are.

Both parents, Bob and Susan, were really interested in the study and keen to participate.

S: You can have access to Wendy at any time.

I knew that Bob was trying to get me to fully describe my research but with his background in Education I am sure he realized I could not "reveal" all and he accepted my brief cautious answers.

Jeff met me in his basement where he was fully dressed for hockey and indeed spent most of the time during my visit hitting a ball around the room! He took little notice of me and I felt he was not behaving normally but rather being silly for my benefit. June explained that Jeff was in day-care all day and I immediately asked permission to visit him there. Jeff's father was not present at this interview or indeed any other home visit.

I was immediately made to feel most welcome in Nadia's home. Her mother, Theresa, is a very vivacious woman who described Nadia as being strong-willed like herself.

T: Handle her firmly and you will have no problems.

Nadia appeared to be very affectionate and covered me with kisses. Her vivacity was quite infectious and even during this initial visit I was

struck by the constant interaction of mother and child. Theresa wanted to know exactly what I did and why I was doing this research.

My first visit to Michelle's home was in July, when I decided to include one more subject as I thought one of the original four families might be leaving the city. Jill made me most welcome and was very interested in the study. She has been constantly co-operative.

Maintaining Rapport

Maintaining rapport with many adults and children was a constant concern. In various settings adults constantly asked who I was, what I was doing and what I was trying to prove. I had to be consistent in my replies and at all times maintain the anonymity of the subjects. The following dialogue reflects the fine balance between trust and mistrust.

Daycare worker: We had a good laugh in the staffroom.

Sheila: She's taking notes on all of you really. She isn't really watching the children. She's a spy for the Board. (Laughs all round).

O.C.: I'm really from the C.I.A. (Laughs).

Daycare worker: Would Moira like tea?

Sheila: Let her pour it herself.

Daycare worker: Well, she is a visitor (pours tea for me).

Children present special rapport challenges. Adults tend to direct conversation with children and culturally have a difficult time listening to them seriously. The qualitative researcher must break this habit. I chose to participate with the children not as an authority figure, but as a quasi-friend. This friendship role was easier to maintain in the home setting than it was in the school. I spent considerable time

explaining to each child that I would be a visitor in the kindergarten and that I would be observing more than one child.

For the first few weeks in school the subjects seemed to be a little unsure as to how to react to me in the kindergarten setting. This was particularly true for Nadia. Also at times the subjects reminded the other children of my role as follows:

Child: (to me) Teacher, can I make another picture?.

Michelle: She's not a teacher here. She's a visitor.

Jeff: She comes here because she wants to be with me a lot.

How much participation is the right amount and how to participate was carefully calculated. In general I chose to sit and observe so that inquiry and observation would disturb as little as possible the process of interaction and communication in the setting studied. I did, however, help the teacher under certain conditions, setting out snack and helping a sick child for example. This role as a helper enhanced my rapport with the teacher.

Being an educator and not engaging in education was a very frustrating experience. Resisting mediation was particularly difficult. On one occasion I stepped out of the role of researcher. The following excerpts from the journal illustrate how this came about and how it was dealt with:

November 4th. Coming in after recess.

N: (crying) They all ran after me. I di[redacted]t.

They punched me in the stomach.

Child: Nobody touched you.

N: It was someone else (not you). I've stopped (pushing).

Push, push, push. Well, now I don't (push).

T.M.: Nadia, it's your problem this time.

N: No, no.

T.M.: It's Nadia that is the problem.

O.C.: (In journal) Recently Nadia has been reluctant to go out at recess. When she returns she is often in tears. Perhaps I will go out and observe at recess.

November 8th. I observed recess and became so involved with another group of children who were fighting that I had little time left for Nadia. When I did see her she was playing alone on a snow hill.

November 10th. Nadia returns screaming from recess. She is covered in snow.

N: Someone stood on my face.

O.C.: Who stood on your face?

N: The one in the orange and brown (pointing).

Aide: Did you hit first, Nadia? (No one goes near Nadia. No comfort is offered.) (To child in orange and brown) Did she hit first?

Child: She hit me first.

T.M.: You had it coming, Nadia.

Nadia continued crying alone.

November 23rd.

N: (groaning) I'm sick when I come to school. Mrs. MacDonald, may I take a drink?

T.M.: Sit down just now.

After consultations with my advisors I decided to wait to see what happened at the parental interview and made the following notes in my journal.

O.C.: Although I did not create this situation and I am not the teacher or an agent for change I am observing human beings. If I am still unhappy after the interview I will have to deal with the situation, using strategies which will not ruin my research.

November 24th. Nadia arrived at school crying.

N: My dad can't even bring me 'cos his foot is broken.

Child: She (Nadia) jumped on me.

N: I've only got a tyre (not a magic carpet).

T.M.: You should go to bed then you won't be so tired.

N: Know what? Dad can't bring me 'cos his foot's broken. It still hurts.

O.C.: (In journal) 'Perhaps Nadia is having trouble coming to school?'

After recess.

Child: Mr. Adamson says all you can play with is a crazy carpet.

N: I ain't got a crazy carpet. Know what? I want to throw up.

November 30th. After recess.

N: (To teacher) I pushed Mike. (Bursts into tears. Perhaps Mike told the teacher at recess?)

Mike played happily with a group of boys and Nadia was ignored.

December 3rd. Nadia is really upset about boys pushing her at recess. Again she tried to explain but was ignored. An older boy came into the room and reported that three boys in kindergarten were throwing snow at her.

T.M.: You (Nadia) should have told me. Did you tell the teacher on supervision?

I spoke to the three boys concerned and told them to leave Nadia alone.

December 3rd. Home visit - David. Linda expressed a concern.

L: David seems to be fighting a lot with Nadia. I must mention this at my interview. I don't know if it's just him or the whole class.

D: We got Nadia. She beat me up so we beat up her. She can't get away. She tries to run but we get her and she screams, "Leave me alone! Leave me alone!"

L: Nadia is a big girl.

D: But we can get her.

This confirmed my fears about Nadia at recess.

December 4th. Parental Interviews.

L: Has he (David) had any problems fighting with any of the bigger kids? With Nadia for example? They tussle outside after school.

T.M.: Nadia is having a few social problems.

L: One day in particular Brian and David were out particularly kicking her. You got to protect yourself, but not kick in the face. Have you noticed any of this in the classroom?

T.M.: I have not let anything develop.

After Linda left, the teacher said to me, "Nadia is really having social and emotional problems."

As the following sequence shows the interview with Nadia's parents did not deal with this topic and the problem was not resolved. The focus was on in-classroom behavior.

T.M.: Nadia does not take responsibility for her actions.

G: How many children take responsibility for their actions?

T.M.: The majority.

G: Nadia does not fit in?

T: What can we do about it?

T.M.: I'm afraid she's not going to have friends in the future.

T: I don't know what I should do.

T.M.: Talk about being a good friend.

When the parents left Mrs. MacDonald said she really did not know what to do.

O.C.: I'm concerned about David's mom's comments.

T.M.: I may even keep her a little later if they are going to do anything to her.

December 7th. Nadia complains about boys jumping on her at recess.

T.M.: (To one boy) You must stop that.

December 8th. Feeling that this situation was not resolved at the parental interview I decided to phone Gary and Theresa. Theresa said that they were both very upset about the interview because they had no idea what was coming. I then expressed my concern about Nadia at recess, explaining that I thought she was having some problems with a group of boys. I suggested that she be collected at the end of the morning.

December 12th. Nadia arrived at school saying, "Mom told me I have to be good in school now" (smiles).

December 13th.

Child: Let's get Nadia at recess.

I spoke to the boy and he said, "I was going to but not now."

Despite this, Nadia returned from recess in tears, complaining that boys put snow in her hair. No one paid attention to her

complaints.

Later, at story time, a boy put his arm around Nadia.

T.M.: Leave Nadia alone.

N: But he's my friend.

T.M.: Well, you haven't been treating your friends very well lately.

N: My stomach, my stomach (Looks sick, rolls on the floor, rolls towards me, snuggles and rolls away again).

This boy was not bothering Nadia, he was being friendly. The situation was misread and confusion resulted.

Theresa and Gary remained concerned about Nadia at recess and at a later date Theresa observed several boys hitting Nadia and reported the incident to the principal. On February 6th, Theresa reported that Nadia was still being hit a lot by others.

T: The teacher doesn't seem to do anything.

Although I stepped out of my role of researcher the problem remained unresolved.

Data Interpretation

Validity of the Research Data

This study was directed at investigating the literacy development of five preschool children in both the home and the school setting, with a particular focus on the relationship between the mediating caregiver and the learner. In order that this behavior would be portrayed naturally without deliberate efforts being made by the caregivers to cause or attempt to force its appearance, the caregivers were not told of the investigator's particular interest or focus. At the conclusion

of the study they were asked if the investigator's presence had caused them to alter the way in which they interacted with the children. Each of them expressed the opinion that no change had occurred because of this. Every effort was made to have the parents, teacher and children, remain unaware of the specific purposes of the study.

As previously mentioned the tape recorder was not used in home visits when the researcher was present. All parents expressed and displayed anxiety about being recorded. In phase two the opposite was apparent. Both the children and the teacher appeared to be unaffected by the use of the recorder even in the early stages.

The researcher followed the lead of the family in arranging visits. For example, library visits were not suggested in case the family felt that they should go. Only when a visit was mentioned in conversation did the researcher ask to be present. Only in the case of interviews with the principal and librarian were fixed questions used for interviews.

With the exception of Nadia (Chapter III), on no occasion was the children's behavior or teacher's behavior in school discussed with the parents or siblings. Likewise, home visits were not discussed with the teacher.

As the investigator constantly displayed an interest in the children, no difficulty was experienced in role-relations. A continuous friendly association was maintained with all the participants throughout the study.

A further problem which Spradley and McCurdy (1972) refer to is objectivity. To be objective means to state the characteristics of objects and events as they exist and not to interpret, evaluate and

prejudge them. Description is important in every science. Objectivity is a goal of science in general and ethnography in particular. Of course, it is not possible to be completely objective. Between what people are actually doing and the investigator's account is an important variable: the investigator him/herself (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Selective Observation and Interpretation (Spradley and McCurdy, 1972)

The events in social life are infinitely complex and it is impossible to observe them all. The researcher must select certain things for observation and disregard others. Even as selection occurs simultaneous interpretation occurs. The researcher must recognize the problems of selective observation and interpretation and seek to be aware of his/her own personal and cultural prejudices.

The researcher's intellectual frame of reference may also affect the authenticity of the data. The researcher sought to overcome this by constant taping of verbal interactions. In selecting data from the resulting transcriptions the researcher remained constantly alert to any possible effect of bias in selection of data.

The external validity of the outcomes of this study rests on the naturalness of the settings and the fact that although the children all come from book-oriented homes they could still be considered as being normal in their development rather than atypical. As a result of

examining the data theoretical generalizations were arrived at.

Reliability

Qualitative researchers are concerned with the accuracy and comprehensiveness of their data and as a result tend to view reliability as a fit between what they record as data and what actually occurs in the setting being studied. Two researchers studying the same setting may record different data that produce different findings. Both studies could be reliable unless they produced contradictory or incompatible results.

Guba (1978) describes "overlap of methods" (p. 71) as being a most important source of reliability in a qualitative study. Data for this study were collected by different methods, for example from tape recordings of book sharing when the researcher was not present, parents' logs and participant observation, plus audio recordings. Data were also audited by a professor of reading to verify the categories devised for reporting of data. Agreement was obtained that the categorization system made sense and was accurate and appropriate for the data.

Limitations and Delimitations

The major limitations and delimitations of the study were:

1. The size of the sample was small and cannot be described as representative.
2. In phase one the setting was book-oriented homes.
3. In phase two the setting was restricted to one kindergarten.
4. The presence of the researcher may have to some extent distorted observed behaviors.

Making Cultural Inferences

As Spradley (1980) indicates, if we take meaning seriously, it becomes necessary to study meaning carefully. Culture, the knowledge that people have learned as members of a group, cannot be observed directly. People everywhere learn their culture by making inferences. Generally we use three types of information to make cultural inferences. We observe what people do (cultural behavior); we observe things people make and use such as clothes and tools (cultural artifacts); and we listen to what people say (speech messages). Ethnographers employ the same process of inference to go beyond what is seen and heard to find out what people know. Making inferences involves reasoning from evidence. Language helps to accelerate the process of enculturation. Children watch and listen to adults and then make inferences. "Some parts of the culture are communicated directly and explicitly; while another large part is communicated by making inferences from tacit knowledge" (p. 54).

Spradley illustrates making cultural inferences as in Figure 3 (see page 86).

Reporting the Results

In this study, two main sets of data were gathered: 1) phase one data from the home environment; and 2) phase two data from the kindergarten environment. As a result of repeated examinations of the journal, transcripts and parents' logs, the data are reported in two separate chapters. Chapter IV deals with data from phase one and a portrait of each child is developed highlighting social, emotional and intellectual development, with the focus on literacy development. Using Doake's (1981) categories each child is placed at a particular level of

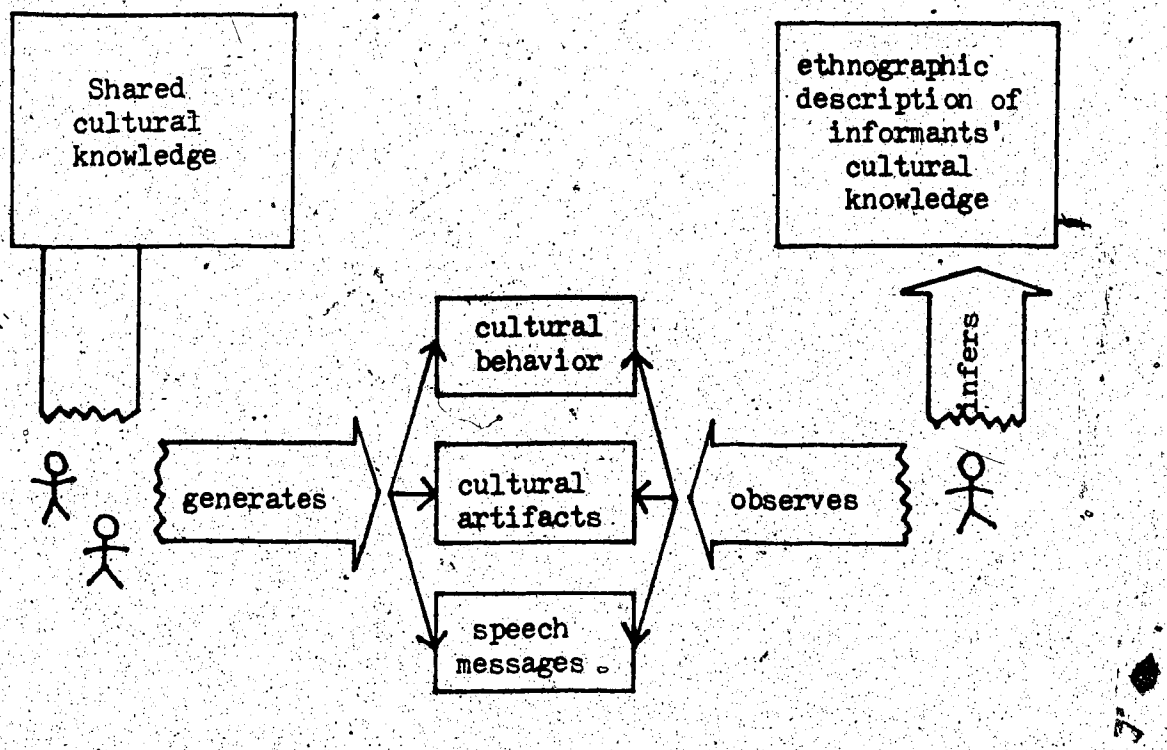


Figure 3: Making Cultural Inferences (Spradley, 1980)

development and features of literacy development and interaction are discussed.

Chapter V deals with data from phase two. Here literacy development and interaction is discussed as it occurred during particular activities, for example free play. Chapter VI compares the two phases.

The Research Cycle

This study was designed to describe the literacy world of five children, first in their home environment and then in their kindergarten. A total of 52 home visits were made and 51 kindergarten visits over a period of fifteen months. The children were observed interacting in a variety of book and other literacy situations. As Spradley (1980) said, the ethnographer has much in common with the explorer trying to map a wilderness area. He/she begins with a general problem to identify the

main features of the cultural terrain. Like the explorer the ethnographer is trying to describe an area rather than find something. As a result of this the research tends to follow a cyclical pattern (Figure 4).

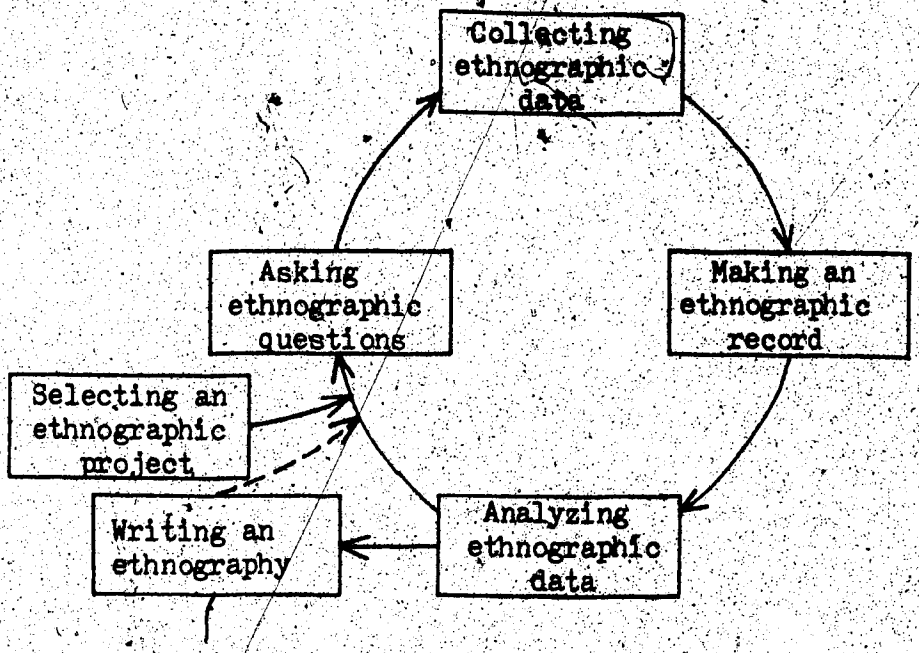


Figure 4: The Ethnographic Research Cycle (Spradley, 1980)

Ethnographic research involves an open-ended inquiry in that it requires constant feedback to give the study direction. You can only plan ahead the course of the investigation in the most general sense. Each of the major tasks in the research cycle helps you to keep on track. If you simply collect fieldnotes week after week you will soon be overwhelmed with a mass of unorganized data. Every now and again you must pause to see what you have done, what tasks lie ahead and which direction you should take (Spradley, 1980).

Throughout this study I paused to reflect on data collected and to plan ahead. Many hours were invested in reading fieldnotes and

comparing these notes to taped recordings.

Data described the importance of related contexts in literacy interaction and provided guidance on how literacy should be introduced so that it plays an important role in the everyday lives of children.

Research Schedule

The following outline provides an indication of the time line of the study.

March, 1983:	- Visits to various kindergartens in search of the research context - Selection of subjects - Initial appointments made to visit homes and meet the families
April, 1983:	- First home visits, rapport established
May, 1983 - September, 1983: Phase one	- Visits to homes, shopping malls, local stores, day-care, libraries and summer camps - extensive observation of the subjects
September, 1983 - December, 1983: Phase two	- Three mornings per week in the kindergarten - extensive observation of the subjects
September, 1983 - December, 1983:	- Occasional home visits
January, 1984 - June, 1984:	- Monthly visits to the kindergarten, plus occasional home visits
July, 1984 - January, 1985:	- Continuing analysis of the data and writing the thesis

CHAPTER IV

PHASE ONE - LITERACY IN THE HOME ENVIRONMENT

> Children who acquire a great interest in reading in their homes have an easy time reading in school, and they form the overwhelming majority of those who later become the good readers. The educational establishment points to them as demonstrating that the methods used to teach reading in school are successful. But it is not these methods that turned them into good readers and eventually literate persons; one is tempted to say that those are attitudes which these children acquired and maintained despite the experiences to which they have been exposed in school. (Bettleheim and Zelan, 1981, p. 9)

Introduction

Phase one of this study was designed to describe the literacy world of five preschool children. A total of 52 visits were made to the children's homes to find out what was going on (Wax, 1971).

The resulting data were pieced together to present a portrait of each child which describes the child's social world, book experience and literacy development. From these portraits of the observed "stream of behavior" (Spradley, 1980), a componential analysis was carried out to discover cultural patterns people used to transmit and receive literacy knowledge. Contrasts were sought and sorted out and a search was made for similarities among the dimensions of contrast to discover cultural themes.

A Portrait of Wendy

Subject: Wendy, age 5 years

Settings: Home, playgroup, local shopping mall, the

immediate district and summer playgroup

Other Actors: Parents: Bob and Susan

Sister: Marion

Brother: Michael

Nanny No. 1 and Nanny No. 2

Playgroup Leader

Wendy in her Social Setting

Wendy was the middle child of a family of two girls and one boy. Her sister, Marion, was 8 years old and her brother, Michael was 2 years old. Both parents, Bob and Susan, were university graduates and worked full-time. Both said that they didn't mind their children being studied and that I could visit their home whenever I pleased. A full-time nanny was employed to take care of the children from early morning till about 6 p.m. on weekdays.

Evenings and weekends were very much family times when joint activities such as sports, camping, shopping, etc. dominated. Wendy was very independent, dressed herself, made her bed and tidied her room. When she completed a puzzle she carefully put it back in the puzzle cupboard. Wendy appeared to be well-liked and was considered by many to be a well-adjusted child.

Nanny No. 1: She is a lovely child. She has it all. She never loses her temper and is the best of the three children.

At times Wendy was very much a middle child.

Nanny No. 1: Her older sister can be very demanding and so is the baby. Her parents try to give her plenty of attention but sometimes she misses out. Often during the day she asks if it is time to spend some time with her. She loves to do a jigsaw

with me and talks all the time. Even when I watch television with her she talks all the time. She really enjoys your visits. Wendy looked up to Marion who taught her things, read to her and brought her books from the school library.

Wendy's relationship with Marion is illustrated in the following description of a visit in August when I observed Wendy playing in the basement. She went over to the blackboard and said, "I'm drawing a clock and Marion usually draws it and I have to tell her the numbers." Wendy constantly played with her sister whom she looked upon as an expert in many things. Often when she showed off something she had made she said either, "Marion gave me this" or, "Marion helped me to make this." Later, when Marion came downstairs Wendy said to her, "Please put my clock up and put the hands on." Marion drew the clock and Wendy said, "I told you Marion could do it." Marion drew the clock at two o'clock and said, "That's two o'clock, Wendy."

Wendy was very loving and patient with her baby brother. While watching Sesame Street one day, Michael stood in front of the screen, blocking her view. She gently said, "Mike, please may you move?" When this didn't work, she got his music box, wound it up and said, "Come on and get it, Mike."

Later that morning she also helped him with an alphabet game, saying, "Mike, do you know where it goes?" She helped him to put a piece in the correct position and then said, "Good boy for trying."

Wendy attended a private playgroup daily where a regular storytime session was conducted but there was no formal instruction in reading or writing. Naming art works was, however, encouraged. She really enjoyed the playgroup where the director considered her to be, "a sweet darling

child, so full of ideas and such a beautiful painter".

Although she had an excellent vocabulary and command of language, she sometimes had pronunciation difficulties. The speech therapist who examined her at playgroup felt sure she would grow out of this.

She used to share a bedroom with Michael but now had one of her own. She had many toys, some of which were kept upstairs in her bedroom, some in the cupboards near the family room, and some downstairs in the playroom in the basement.

In the summer months Wendy spent considerable time outdoors in the garden, where there were swings, a slide, climbing ropes, balls and her bicycle. She had always maintained good health and had not experienced problems with hearing or vision.

Early Reading Experience and Literacy Development

A comprehensive look at the development of a preschool child's literacy behavior must include a detailed look at the home environment. The following observations on Wendy's early reading experience and literacy development are based on my observations and those of her parents and nanny during the period May till September, 1983.

The Literacy Environment. Wendy's home environment could certainly be described as being book oriented. Both her parents, Bob and Susan, enjoyed reading and could be seen reading newspapers, novels and magazines regularly in the home. Almost every room in the house contained books.

Book Sharing and Book Knowledge. Story reading was considered to be very important both by Wendy's parents, her sister and her nanny. She had been read to from an early age often in the company of her older sister. Bedtime reading was shared between Mom and Dad. Susan

commented on the books Wendy liked, "Her favorite changes constantly. Recently we had a whole month of 'Tigger in the Forest' but her favorite just now is 'Chicken Little'." Nanny often read to her in the afternoons when Michael was asleep as she considered reading to children to be very important. These reading situations were characterized by sharing and enjoyment and were not looked upon as reading instruction. Her sister, Marion, did, however, try to teach her to read by eye-voice matching but Wendy did not appear to enjoy this at this point in time.

From the following transcript of Susan reading a bedtime story ("In a People's House") to Wendy, we see what book sharing meant to this child.

W: "Come inside ...".

S: ... Mr. Bird," said the mouse.

W: ... Mr. Bird," said the mouse.

S: Fall and crash, he's going to do both, isn't he? And another thing it's time you knew. A - what's that? (Pointing to a picture)

W: People's House

S: has ...

W: people

S: too. "And now Mr. Bird you know," said the mouse, "you know what there is in a ...

W: People's House."

S: Right, good girl.

Re-reading of a favorite story was a shared experience from beginning to end with Wendy observing and emulating her mother.

S: That's right, that's books. And lights and lamps and cats

and hats and books ...

W: books

S: mirrors, marbles ...

W: shirts

Susan paused to encourage both prediction, echo reading and completion reading.

S: I'll show you ...

W: I do -

I'll show you ...

Wendy self-corrected.

W: what there is in the in ...

S: the people

W: in a

S: people

W: people

S: house

W: house.

Susan did not correct approximations.

S: scissors

W: scissors

S: needle

W: needle

S: What else?

W: b ...

S: buttons.

Wendy accessed the initial sound in the word "buttons".

S: A

W: A

S: It's the same as on that page.

W: people's ...

W: popcorn

S: peanuts

W: peanuts

S: That's peanuts and that's popcorn.

W: popcorn

Susan focused Wendy's attention on the print.

W: people's house.

S: Right, good girl.

S: Bureau drawers and ...

W: and books.

S: That's right, that's books.

Wendy's correct responses were praised.

Later in the same month, Wendy was observed reading this story on her own to her mother. Her rendition of a favorite story demonstrated her ability to take the main sequence of the plot, maintain its development completely and reproduce its meaning exactly.

Text	Wendy
"Come inside Mr. Bird," said the mouse. "I'll show you what there is in a People House."	"Come in," said Mr. Mouse to Mr. Bird in the people's house. "I will show you what there is in a people's house," said the mouse to the bird.

Although she altered the verbs in the passage she maintained the

original tense of these in her substitutions.

Text	Wendy
... things like roller	Here are some stairs.
skates and stairs	Here are some roller skates.

From her frequent sharing of the reading of this story she was able to retell it by partially using her own language and partially the language of the story itself. She at times matched words to pictures and used her knowledge of oral language to coherently join the story together.

Text	Wendy
These are doughnuts.	Here, here are some doughnuts round.

At times she realized that story language differed from oral language.

Text	Wendy
Here's a ceiling, here's a floor.	Here's a ceiling, here's a floor.

Wendy had developed an understanding of the relationship between the print on the page and what was being read. She no longer saw reading a story as being the same as telling it. At times her reading was beyond matching on the basis of pictures. Her reading was no longer "contextually dependent" (Biemiller, 1970).

As she became increasingly confident at the word level, through re-reading a favorite story co-operatively with her parents on many occasions, her reading had become more measured. It had become more arhythmic. Voice pointing and finger pointing had appeared. To reproduce a favorite story she now used non-visual information consisting of her knowledge of the syntactic, semantic and intonation systems of written and oral language and visual information consisting

of her knowledge of the graphophonic system of the language.

The following transcript was recorded during the bedtime reading of a new book. This time the reader was her dad. Wendy chose the book and snuggled up close to him on the couch. The reading began of a delightful story by Frank Muir. Wendy was attentive during the entire reading. There were, however, frequent stops as Bob checked if Wendy understood a particular word. Bob carefully monitored understanding and encouraged constant interaction.

B: Do you know what "exterminate" means?

Wendy shook her head.

B: To get rid of. For example, getting rid of mosquitoes.

Concepts were developed and meaning linked into the child's own experience.

B: What's a greenhouse? What do you use them for?

W: Plants and tomato plants.

B: Why?

W: If you don't want to put them in your garden.

B: Who do you know has a greenhouse?

W: Grandma and Papa.

B: What do they have in it?

W: Tomato plants - a plant they gave to me and a plant to Marion.

Sometimes it was Wendy who initiated a search for meaning.

W: What is croquet?

B: You hit a ball through hoops. Grandma and Papa have one and we must borrow it.

W: You must hammer in the hoops first. Friends have one.

B: Yes, that was last year.

At the end of this story, Wendy laughed, turned the book back to the title page and read, "What a Mess the Good", pointing to each word as she said it. Wendy's parents used different strategies when sharing a book with her. If it was a new story understanding was the focus, whereas with a well-known favorite participation in the reading was the main aim.

After story sharing, Wendy often read the story herself using picture clues and predicting meaningfully. She was prepared at any time of the day to spend a long time with books. She also often read along with the Disneyland records and books, sometimes echo reading and sometimes mumble reading. I observed her also reading along with the Fisher Price record of "Hiawatha". She selected the book and the record, set up the equipment and settled herself on the sofa to read along. She applied the strategies she had learned with book sharing and joined in when she knew a line of print (co-operative reading). When she was not able to eye-voice match or predict text from memory she echo read or mumble read. To complete the story she added an additional sentence of her own. "He gave Hiawatha a ride all the way to the bank of the river" (pointing to the final picture). She then showed me two other favorite read-along records and said, "I know this is the "Toy Maker" because I can see the soldier and the hats." Here she used picture clues.

For the other record she processed the print in the title, saying, "THE is the - ug - ugly duckling." With the word ugly she demonstrated a strategy she could access to unlock the pronunciation of a word. She analysed using a syllable and synthesized to decode orally. On many other occasions I observed her accessing both visual memory and sound to decode words. This was particularly noticeable when she played with

letters and wrote or watched television. During a "Sesame Street" program which featured the letter P, Wendy said, "We have a piano. It starts with P."

Wendy sometimes watched television in the afternoon and chatted a lot during the programs. Her favorites were "Mr. Rogers" and "Sesame Street".

W: After "Sesame Street" is the "Electric Light Company" but I hate it 'cause there's lots of words I can't read.

Wendy had a set of magnetic letters on the refrigerator. As she moved letters around one day, she made the following comments,

W: Wendy is my name. There is Y. It's in my name.
R is in Marion's name. There's a N. A and N and a little N and F. At last I found an E. This is a big T and a small T. (Pointing to a lower case P) This could be a P or a Q or a B or a D if they are turned around. The small S is a different color from the big S. A B can be a B or a D.
If you turn a book upside down you won't be able to read.
You would think a D is a P. S would be backwards. The O would be all right but the W would be a M.

This sequence shows that Wendy knew upper and lower case letters and revealed her interest in form as she experimented with letter shapes. She would also write "in the air" to reinforce her concepts of shape.

Wendy had well formed concepts about reading and differentiated between the oral and silent mode. She defined oral reading as, "They have a book in their hands and they are talking. You can also read like big people, saying it to yourself," and silent as, "Sometimes they read to themselves when they are waiting for the supper to cook."

On one of my visits Wendy told me that a particular book was difficult if you had to go to the washroom. I asked her what she meant and she explained that you lost the place because the pages weren't numbered in this book. She was also very sensitive to the intonation of the reader. When Bob read "Leo the Lop" to her she corrected him as follows,

B: What you doing that for?

W: No, no, Dad. Whatcha doin' that for?

She remembered how this line was said in the Walt Disney movie of Bambi which she had viewed with her mom.

Wendy, then, had developed extensive knowledge about print partly from her book sharing and television viewing, as she interacted with a competent user of print. She also had developed a wide range of strategies which she applied to re-reading her favorite stories. By sharing her reading she was able to move from an initial strategy of reconstructing the stories in her own language to retrieving them maintaining both a high quality of meaning reproduction and a high degree of verbal similarity. She at times switched to a measured reading-like behavior where she began to match eye, ear and voice with the print on the page. By taking notice of the graphic information on a page she gave herself the opportunity to learn a great deal more about the process of reading. This eye, ear and voice matching provided her with an opportunity to gain a sophisticated level of control over the eye movements necessary for skilled reading. She gained mastery over the precise directional and word-space-word matching skills essential to early reading development. She had begun the complex task of learning to match sounds-to-letters, to identify significant

features of words and parts of words, and to eventually develop a repertoire of letter-to-sound correspondences essential as part of the range of strategies needed to read independently.

Writing. Wendy's extensive book knowledge, letter and word knowledge and awareness of sound also manifested themselves as she wrote. Susan's initial comment about her daughter being a writer turned out to be very accurate. She liked to write her name, words and sentences and often wrote letters, notes and cards for special occasions (Figure 5). Wendy showed awareness of function as well as form.

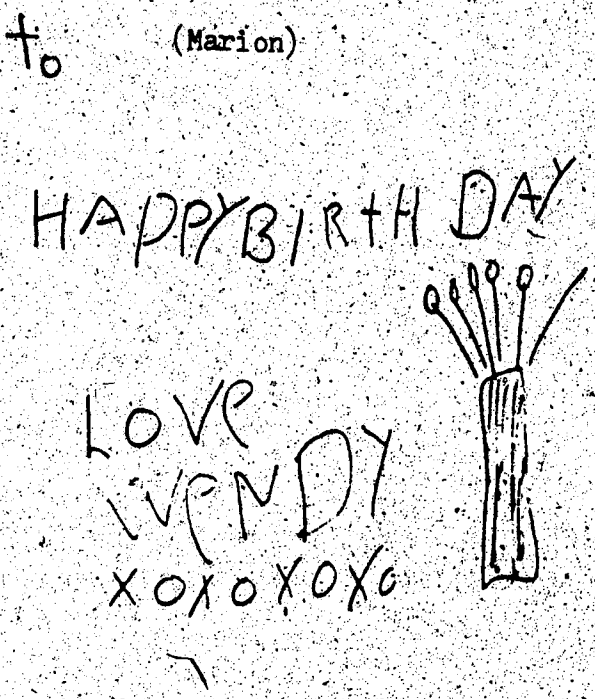


Figure 5: Wendy writes a card to her sister.

As can be seen in Figure 5, her writing contained a mixture of upper and lower case letters.

Wendy often wrote for a purpose (Figure 6) as writing appeared to be part of her cultural experience.

W: Mom wrote this on a piece of paper and I copied it down. I didn't copy "Wendy" 'cause I could do it (Wendy) myself.

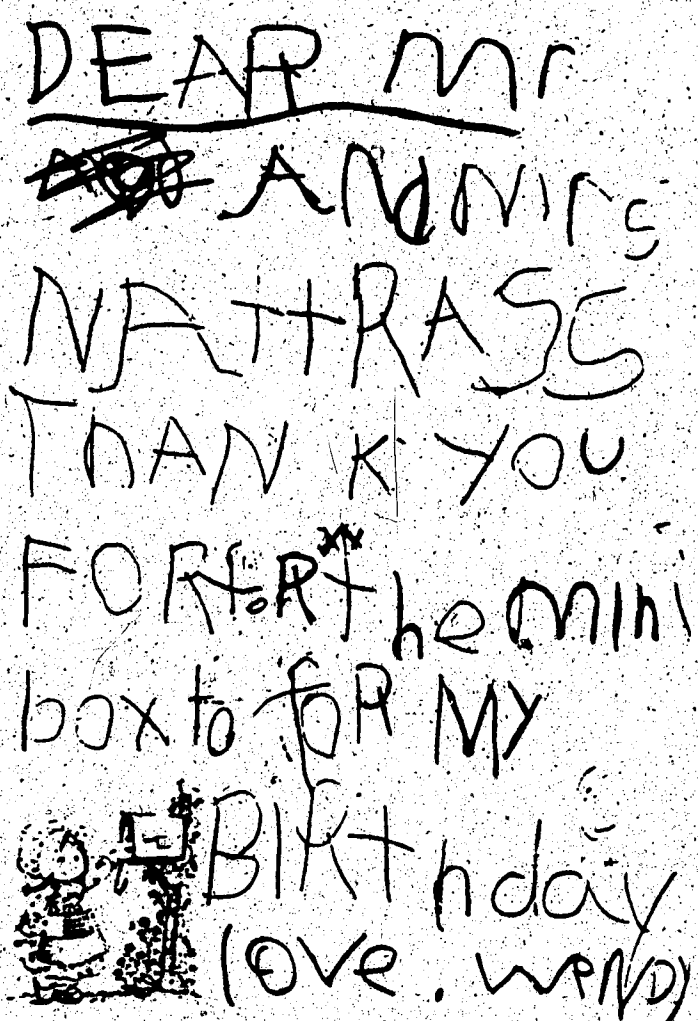


Figure 6: Wendy writes a thankyou letter.

When she showed me the letter reproduced in Figure 6, she pointed to DEAR and said, "Sometimes Mommy calls a child dear." "This (pointing to crossing out) is when I accidentally made a big mistake. (She self-corrected.) When you write you put every word a bit far away." This sequence revealed Wendy's realization that when words are combined into word groups a space must be used to signal the end of one word and the

beginning of another (Clay, 1975). Susan wrote a copy in capital letters but allowed Wendy to make approximations in her copying and also left self-corrections untouched.

When the family returned from a summer vacation at Disneyland, Wendy drew her favorite character, Minnie Mouse, and signed the drawing "Wendy". She then wrote, saying, "Min--eem--ouse. I'm sounding it out." This revealed that she had begun to spell using the most obvious aspect of the speaking/writing interaction, the relationship between sounds and letters. This slowed down her writing as she struggled to choose letters to represent sounds. As a result she often asked adults to spell words for her. Her writing also showed that she was an early phonemic speller.

When I observed Wendy writing, she often talked to herself at the same time revealing her curiosity about and knowledge of print. She could name all the letters of the alphabet in both upper and lower case. She could also distinguish between letters and words.

W: A letter is smaller than a word. A letter makes a word. You can write a letter with words.

She was quite aware of the difference between writing and printing (Figure 7).

W: I don't write. I print. Printing is when you write and you don't connect it together. This is writing. The S and the M are joined. You connect all the letters together. You write notes to big people. Some people can't even read. You're writing just now, Moira. I can't read writing. I can only read print.

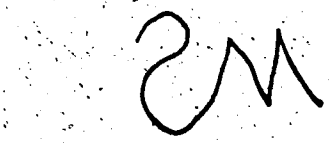


Figure 7: Wendy's "real writing".

As she wrote she vocalized about directionality often writing "in the air" at the same time. Once while writing "Wendy" on a drawing, I observed her writing "Wen", pausing, drawing a small D in the air and saying, "Well, it faces E." She then completed her name. This indicated that she had developed independent strategies for directionality.

One of Wendy's favorite messages was "I love you", which she wrote on cards to her family and her dolls (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Wendy's favorite message.

Environmental Print. Wendy often accompanied her mother on shopping expeditions to the local mall. In fact Susan usually had the three children with her. She constantly sent the girls off to find things they needed. The children were really involved in shopping and were asked what they needed and what they would like.

S: Wendy, go choose a yogurt.

W: I'll choose strawberry.

S: Get me some cheese, Wendy.

(To observer) She knows I always buy the blue label.

W: Blue labels are cheaper.

S: Wendy, which wieners do I buy?

W: (Pointed to the word WIENER on a card) These ones.

Wendy also talked to herself as she walked around. In the vegetable section she read a tomato sign as follows, "Tom - a - toes - tomatoes". She analysed the word into sound units and synthesized these to pronounce the word correctly. Wendy then saw a "Welcome the World" sign (Edmonton was host to the World University Games) and said, "We're going to the Universiade with Nanny." I often observed Wendy reading Universiade signs and no matter what the message was, she said, "Welcome the World".

As they shopped, Susan intentionally focused Wendy's attention on print.

S: How do you know what's in a can?

W: The words tell you.

S: What kind of soup do we need, mushroom?

W: No, we've got mushroom.

S: (Chose minestrone, picked up a can and pointed to the label)

Minestrone. This is Papa's favorite.

Later in the elevator Wendy was asked to press the "down" button, which she did.

Wendy also read instructions on games, labels and machines. On her own cassette player she read the words, "stop", "volume", "play", "forward", "rewind", "begin" and "record".

In August a new nanny was employed and I joined her on a walk from the house to the local mall. As we walked along Wendy pointed out the school she would be attending soon and said, "It's the end of the world if you don't go to kindergarten. Mom says that anyway." She talked a lot, sometimes pointing to signs she could read. These included, "Safeway" (begins with an S), "Can-a-da" (sounded out first in syllables), "Tomatoes", "NO PARKING", "AIR", "STOP" and "telephone". Print was a meaningful part of this child's life and she had started to develop an extensive sight vocabulary prior to attendance at kindergarten.

Summary

Wendy was an efficient language learner who strove to gain control over both oral and written language, both of which were an integral part of her experience. She had a plentiful supply of books and had access to adults who were pleased to read and re-read stories to her. She constantly saw written language being produced and was herself encouraged to produce and experiment. Her access to environmental print with an accompanying adult provided her with experience of the functional nature of print.

Through her regular experience with books she had become familiar with the pattern of written language. She at times read and at other times exhibited reading-like behavior, where she strove to reproduce

meaning in language that only approximated the original. At other times Wendy could be seen to be moving from fluent reading-like behavior to the arhythmical or voice pointing type. Powerful attitudes she had developed at earlier stages, plus the efficient syntactic, semantic and intonation strategies also established, helped her to stay on task and be successful. She could use non-visual sources of information to predict what was on a page and had begun to confirm predictions by using her developing knowledge of sound-to-letter relationships. By exact matching she could see what she was saying. She could go from the known sound of a word to its representation in print (Doake, stage three).

The nature of interaction between Wendy and transmitters of print varied according to specific situations. With a shared favorite story and writing, she was encouraged to participate, take risks, predict, ask questions and was reinforced for her attempts whether they were correct or approximations. However, when the transmitters felt she did not understand an idea, concept or word, or that her knowledge could be expanded, the nature of the interaction could be described in terms of mediation. Intentionality, reciprocity, transcendence, mediation of meaning, mediation of competence, control of behavior and sharing characterized the interactive process. Perhaps we see one strategy in operation when Wendy was considered to be practising something she knew, and another when some new knowledge was being transmitted intentionally.

This mediated learning experience (Feuerstein, 1981) was not, of course, present as she listened to stories on cassettes or records. Wendy received input and sometimes gave input, but could not transact with machines including television.

A Portrait of David

Subject: David, age 4 years, 11 months

Settings: Home, playgroup, shopping mall, supermarket and library

Other Actors: Parents: John and Linda
Sister: Pat

David in his Social Setting

David's parents were John and Linda and he had one sister, Pat, who was 9 years old at the beginning of the study. Pat, who was born after 9 years of marriage, was only 3½ pounds at birth and has been part of an eight year study at the Glenrose Hospital. She was a bright, attractive, intelligent girl who had some eyesight problems. In general she got on well with her brother and often praised his efforts.

David was at home until one year before kindergarten when he attended a local private playgroup.

L: I'm not overprotective. I just don't want my kids in daycare.

Linda felt David was a special child, "a gift from God", and that he would have a very special future. She was really concerned that he develop a good self-concept and she constantly praised him for his efforts.

L: I really believe in developing self-esteem. I pick out all the good things and draw David's attention to these.

Linda often referred to the past and she explained and interpreted the present. She painfully remembered her early schooldays.

L: When I think of my childhood I don't have pleasant memories. I was the seventh child in the family and I had older parents.

I had a terrible time at school from Grade 2 on. The teachers really put you down. I still lack confidence and dread exams.

When I commented on how much I had enjoyed listening to John reading to David, Linda said, "He (John) will be delighted to hear that. He is not keen to read out loud. He wasn't good at it at school. He wasn't motivated till Grade 9. You know, his mother read to him from birth, animal books. Once at school he corrected a teacher for wrong information about a squirrel. The teacher did some more research and found out that he was right. She apologized to him and phoned his mother to ask how on earth he knew such things, and she explained about the reading of the animal books, which incidentally were written by a distant uncle."

David was a friendly and affectionate child but he often spoke quietly and at times it was quite difficult to hear what he was saying. He played both independently and with friends and was especially fond of construction toys. He had great freedom of use of the whole of his house and on visits I observed him playing in every room except his sister's. The house itself was just full of children's games and books which were obviously in use. David also collected cans and bottles to save money. Through this activity he had quite a highly developed knowledge of money.

The family was under a lot of stress as John, whose work was connected with building technology, was out of work for eleven months. He was willing to take any job that came along. Later in the study he took a temporary job out of town and as Linda and John had never been apart since their marriage this was quite a strain. They were a strong family and coped very well under the difficult circumstances. Linda

kept exact records of all of the children's development and on my first visit I was treated to a feast of photographs and baby books.

David showed me his bedroom which was very much his own with soft toys, books, games and mobiles in abundance, and said, "Pat gives all these books to me. This bunny is my sister's but she lets me keep it for eleven weeks. She's allergic to fur and tomatoes. I don't know what she isn't allergic to."

David, during the summer, spent a lot of time outdoors playing in his sandpit, cycling and building things.

D: I'm making a piano with bits of wood.

He also collected hockey cards and stickers.

For one year David attended a very structured private playgroup. Although reading and writing were not taught, he was read to regularly, Linda said he really enjoyed going to playgroup and that it prepared him for kindergarten. The group leader described him as being quiet but delightful. At his playgroup he was encouraged to label worksheets and art work.

Early Reading Experience and Literacy Development

The Literacy Environment. David's home was book oriented with books everywhere. Linda adored books and transmitted this to David.

L: (During a mall visit) If I had lots of money I would buy all the books in this bookstore.

John had a study and David often saw his Dad writing either there or in the dining room.

Book Sharing and Book Knowledge. David had been read to from an early age by both of his parents and now book sharing with Mom, Dad or Pat was very much a feature of his life.

L: He always demands a bedtime story, often an old favorite. The only time he is refused is when it is very late. He isn't really reading himself, you know. He reads to himself from memory. He recites the story.

Through the re-reading of favorite stories the foundations were laid for the development of powerful inner motivations to retrieve for himself the experience he enjoyed so much. At any point in the day David was willing to sit down and look at a book on his own.

The following transcript was recorded while I observed Linda reading a bedtime story to David. The location was the first thing to be decided - Mommy and Daddy's big bed was the choice. David chose his book, "The Three Billy Goats Gruff", and Linda lay beside him with Pat on his other side, reading "Charlotte's Web".

L: Why don't you read to me?

D: I can't read.

L: This might be scary, right, but it's make-believe. Who wrote this story? Oh, it's just adapted from an old tale. (Pointing to the Troll) Do you like him?

D: No.

L: Think it's true?

D: No.

L: What's he got in his cave? (pointing to picture)

D: A spider web.

L: What kind of look is on his face? On the goat's face?

D: Scared.

L: Mom looks like that when she's scared. Look, he's pulling the frog's legs off. Oh, gross! (Pat looks at the picture and

says, "Ugh!") What's going to happen?

D: Turn the page (Linda turns the page). The child played with his dad (from a picture).

We see from the above transcript that David answered Linda's questions briefly. In general Linda initiated and led discussions during story time. Most discussion was before reading and there was little during or after. This resulted in few opportunities to mediate literacy. When she asked David to predict the next part of the story he responded by asking for the page to be turned so that he could see the next picture.

L: He's just like Daddy, strong. You're not to shoot goats. They're on an endangered species list, such as the whooping crane.

Linda often talked about David's father during a story if he was away from home at the time. She also added to David's world knowledge as she talked about endangered species. The whole family shared an interest in wildlife conservation. With these elaborations David gave no verbal indication of reciprocity. At the end of the story, Linda asked, "Can you find the Billy Goats Gruff and the Troll?" and David looked through the book and pointed them out.

L: You can use the pictures to tell the story in your own words.

D: I can't.

L: This isn't your favorite. Get the "Three Little Pigs". This has a poor ending. It's unhappy.

David ran off and came back with "Three Little Pigs". At no time in phase one was David observed telling a story from pictures in fictional books. Although Linda suggested David could do this, even when he brought a favorite story, he wasn't encouraged to do it. He was asked

a few questions and then Linda read.

L: You hold the book. What is the title? Can you recognize the words?

Linda focused his attention on the print.

D: The Three Little Pigs (points to title).

L: (Opens the book) Look, it says "to David from Mommy and Daddy, 1982".

Will you build a house of straw when you grow up?

D: No.

David turned the pages as his mother read. Towards the end of the story, Linda said, "Quick, turn the page. I can't hold my breath any longer (gasps). Do you think he should have tied up the wolf and have him for a playmate?" David shook his head (no).

L: You realize pigs and wolves don't talk? This doesn't really happen.

David nodded yes.

Throughout the reading of both stories Linda gently stroked David's cheek and gave him a kiss when he answered a question. Linda said that if you don't ask David he sits silently throughout the reading. This was certainly true of the three stories which the family recorded for me at another date.

David then showed me two of his favorite books - "Timmy the West Coast Tug" and "Timmy and the Whales". Linda explained that these were bought after a West Coast sailing holiday. Generally, books were bought to mark special occasions.

L: We have experienced all this. I don't mind paying good money for good books.

David's sister, Pat, didn't want to be left out of this story reading so she read a short story to him, called "Petunia's Christmas". She read beautifully as David turned the pages, his eyes glued to the book. David made only one comment throughout the reading. On previous occasions Pat had noticed echo reading and completion reading.

P: David doesn't read that good but he's getting better. Mom reads the story and he kind of copies her, like my cousin Keith. He sort of whispers and sometimes she says the beginning of the word and he says the rest. I like to read to David but Mom says, "I want to read to him". By the time she's finished there's no time left for me! And the next night it's (the same) all over again.

Both Linda and Pat were very verbal and at times it was difficult for David to get a word in.

The following transcript reflects the nature of a bedtime story, this time with Dad. Firstly, David listened silently to a volcano story. At the end, John said, "The End. Was that a good one?"

D: Hm hm. The other good one is this one.

J: "George Gerbil's Visitor". Would you like that one too? Okay? At a very exciting part of the story John said, "The End". David quickly said, "No". This game was again repeated with David saying, "Sh! Sh! Dad!" David was again mostly silent throughout the reading and at the end of the story, John asked him, "Who was on George Gerbil?" John, the mediator, initiated the discussion with a focussing question. As David and John tried to decide whether an insect was a fly or a flea they shared the search for meaning and transcendence was established.

D: A fly.

J: A flea.

D: It looked like a fly.

J: I thought it was a flea.

Dad and David examined the picture closely.

J: It doesn't look like a fly. It looks like a flea. They look pretty close, a fly and a flea. There's a picture of the flea. That's much smaller than a fly. It looks like a mosquito.

D: You could kill it. Now what are we going to do?

J: You're going to close your eyes. One eye closed, then two eyes closed. And go to sleep. Night, night (giggles).

John had shown David the picture of the flea and selected size as the main difference between the fly and the flea. He finally categorized it as looking like a mosquito, an insect that David was familiar with. The [illegible] mediated learning experience which was partly culturally dete[illegible]tly triggered by situational events.

[illegible] occasion Linda recorded the bedtime reading of "Cars and Tr[illegible] Things that Go".

L: [illegible]ding the title) "Cars and Trucks (pause)

D: [illegible] Things that Go".

Linda re[illegible]ach line pausing for David to add the name of a vehicle. If he di[illegible]ot know from the picture, Linda gave him clues.

L: [illegible]at do you think this one is? Well, let's read the words.

They read [illegible]ge[illegible]er and David echoed Linda.

L: What k[illegible]d of truck is this? Starts with an H - Hay - truck. Do you know what that is? (pointing to a uni-cycle)

D: No.

L: A uni-cycle, a cycle with one wheel. Uni means one.

Bicycle - two wheels, tricycle - three wheels.

D: Mom, how did you know that?

David appeared to think his mom knew everything.

L: What's another word for vehicle?

D: Bus, car.

Linda asked David for examples of the category vehicle and his responses confirmed he knew the meaning of the word. With this book (not a story), there was constant interaction between David and his mother. Generally there was more interaction when a book was non-fiction, but much of this interaction was initiated by the parents.

L: What's this, darling?

Tell me what these trucks are carrying.

D: Coal.

L: Coal. Can you see the big letter C as in cookie? Coal.

This starts with C too, CEMENT.

Linda focused David's attention to the print and instructed on beginning letters.

L: Where's the land rover? Starts with an L. Study the boxes to get the clue, study the whole picture.

Completion reading dominated with David given clues when in difficulty. Linda had noticed that David interacted a lot more with a factual book such as this than with a storybook.

L: He just listens to stories.

David often initiated the reading experience but Linda initiated the mediated learning throughout. Although David responded to questions his mother did most of the talking. He may not have been verbally

involved but he looked very engrossed.

The local library was constantly accessed to enrich David's book supply and Linda took every opportunity to tell David how enthusiastic she was about books.

L: Oh, this is a great place (library).

(Both Linda and David pull out books.)

L: Can you find "Who Built the Bridge?"

(David found it.)

L: We love anything to do with the ocean. Remember our sailing trip? (David nodded yes.) There are lots of floods in America. In British Columbia a bridge fell down. Serves them right for building in a poor spot. Daddy could build a bridge. He could draw it too. He can do everything.

D: Is this all? (asking if he could turn the page now)

Linda often made comments about John when he was away from home.

L: (Nods and explains to David how nine men died when one of the Edmonton bridges was built) Remember in the news last night. We heard how they found cars under water when the water receded. The cars were made visible.

D: I bet no man got killed in this story. Look at the size of these pillars. It's going to be a big bridge.

L: Say caisson. Look how it's spelt. It's a very peculiar word.

Linda made constant reference to the pictures and to David's life experience, as she transcended the here and now. Mom and David sat closely together with constant eye contact. As David selected books, Linda kept them on her knee so no one else would take them. David was constantly praised for his efforts.

L: You are going to be a smart boy when you grow up. You'll learn how to read in kindergarten. Isn't this a beautiful picture? You paint beautiful pictures.

The mediator's recognition of the child's success with material coupled with the child's sense of accomplishment developed a partnership between the mediator and the child, turning the child into one who is both learning and learned.

Another book was selected. This time it was "Looking at the Tool Box" by Anne and Harlow Rockwell.

L: Who wrote it? (David points to author's name.) This is a big story. Move your hand. You're covering the word wrench.

D: Wire-cutters (pointing to a picture of pliers).

L: Looks like wire-cutters, but they're called pliers. There are the words, you used, WIRE-CUTTERS. See there it is in print. There is oil. It starts with O.

The object, pliers, was simply named and its essential features were not discussed. Transcendence did not occur as no elaborated instruction took place.

As David brought yet another book for Mom to read, "Grasshopper to the Rescue", Linda explained that they don't usually read all the books before taking them home. David chose another four books, "Goldilocks", "No More Baths", "Flicks" and "The Ants Go Marching".

L: David, when are you going to read all those?

D: Today.

L: When the swimming lessons are over, we will have a day at home, make popcorn and read books - what a treat!

A fun alphabetic book was selected for Pat and the books were checked

out, with David proudly carrying them in a bag. He started to look at them as soon as he was in the car.

On one home visit I was fortunate to observe a spontaneous story sharing between David and John. David was playing with toy cars, John was working in the dining room and Linda was baking. David asked his mother to read a book and she replied, "No, I'm baking." He then asked his father who said, "Okay". The book was a paperback of Pat's, "The Flintstones". David said, "You read it, Dad. I can't read it myself." John sat on the floor and David perched on his knee. John very expressively read the story to David, whose eyes were glued to the book, which had no pictures. John read a little, looked at David, then read more. He also asked him questions from time to time to see if he could infer why something was happening.

J: Why did she do that?

D: Don't know.

J: Why did she put a muffler on his mouth? - To keep him quiet?

D: (Nods yes)

John initiated a question but answered it himself. The book proved to be too difficult for David who began to fidget, look ahead and play with his socks. John tried to hold David's attention.

J: Do you know what a valley is?

D: No.

J: Do you want to find out? (David shook his head - yes.)

Let's read on.

John then pretended he was a talking machine.

J: Oh, oh, I've run out. I need a quarter.

David looked up from the book to his father's face and grinned.

J: Do you want me to finish it?

D: I've no more quarters.

J: Oh well, the machine's stuck at on. Do you want me to finish it?

David now lay on the carpet.

J: Oh, oh, I've lost my place.

John again tried to focus David's attention on the book and they found the page together. John paused and David got up and walked off to Mom in the kitchen.

L: Did you like that story, David?

D: No, it was too long.

J: I thought you might be getting tired. What does someone do when they read, David?

D: They're talking words

J: Do I talk words when I read the newspaper?

D: Yes.

Dad looked puzzled. At this point David appeared to view reading as an oral activity.

David liked to spend a lot of time with his dad, and following the story reading they played rough and tumble on the floor and made jokes.

J: Did you know black liquorice comes from black cows and chocolate milk from brown cows?

David grinned and giggled and everyone smiled.

At times David engaged in reading-like behavior with information books. Predicting the text from picture clues and past book sharing experience. With Richard Scarry's "Cars and Trucks and Things that Go", I observed David thumbing through the pages, naming various vehicles

as follows:

David	Text
Pop-truck	Sody-pop
Shoe-car	Sam's Shoe Shop

Here picture clues were used to predict words. The following transcript shows him focussing on print.

David	Text
Milk-truck. Milk starts with M, so does Mom and so does Moira and so does Mother Goose.	Milk

On one page there was a picture of a bottle with a note inside it. He pointed to it and said, "A bottle has a note in it. You put it in when you want to send a message to a friend in another land. It floats, unless it is full of water. It sinks then." David knew that words were written to convey messages. This transcript also reflected the sharing of scientific concepts with his father.

Figure 9 (page 122) shows a worksheet completed at playgroup. David knew the color words by matching them with the color of his drawings, but he could not read the words without the picture clues.

Writing. David liked to label his drawings both at playgroup and at home. Figure 10 illustrates the variations at this stage. He knew the letters in his name but was not, at times, constrained by either order or direction (Clay, 1975).

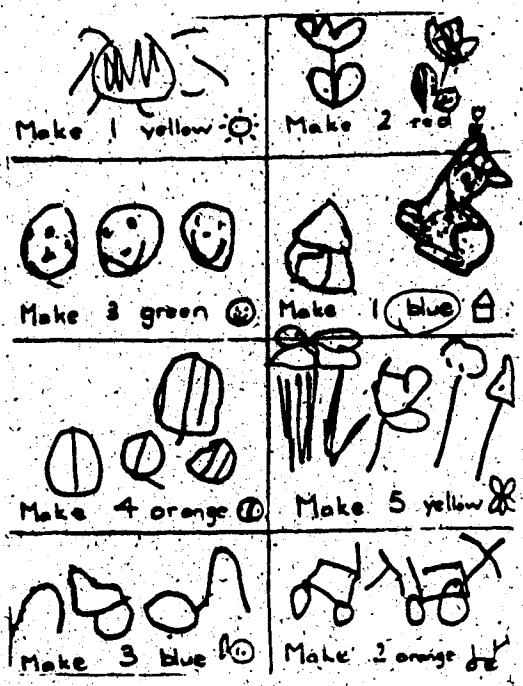


Figure 9: A playgroup worksheet.

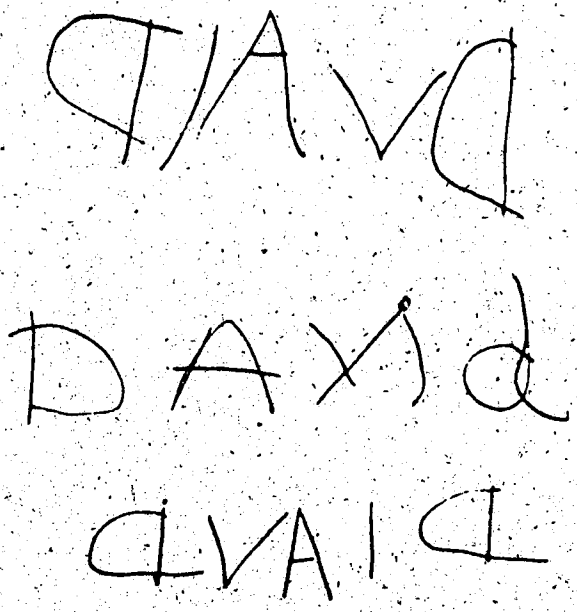


Figure 10: David writes his name.

The following transcripts were recorded on a home visit while David talked partly to himself and partly to his mom as he drew and

"wrote".

D: (Writing is) Just for letters and stuff. He (Daddy) goes to work and writes for to get money. I don't know what she (Pat) writes for. She just writes letters and for birthday parties. You make marks on the paper.

My dad made dog-tags for me but he never had two D's so he couldn't make my name. He had the rest but no D's.

Sometimes I don't know what I'm writing. I show my mom. Sometimes I do, sometimes I don't. It doesn't matter much because I can't read. I have to think in my brain. I ask my mom how to spell my name, it's easy.

At this point David wrote his name in my journal as shown in Figure 11.

Figure 11: David writes in the journal.

David knew that you're supposed to be able to read what you write. He realized he could do this on some occasions, when he wrote his name for example. However, even with name writing, he often had to ask his mother what to write. He also knew that there ought to be some sort of message in his writing but thought it really was the reader's responsibility to associate meaning with the print rather than the writer's (Clay, 1975).

On another home visit I observed him writing his name followed by

several letters, as in Figure 12.

Figure 12: David writes his name and some letters.

O.C.: What does that say, David?

D: I can't read these (pointing to the letters). I'm not really reading yet. (Pointing to his name) That's a little D and that's a big D (d and D). I do them different.

L: Does everyone's name start with a big letter?

D: Yes. With other names I don't know if it's a big D or a little D at the end.

His knowledge was specific to his own name and names of those he knew well. He then drew a rainbow (Figure 13) and talked as he drew.

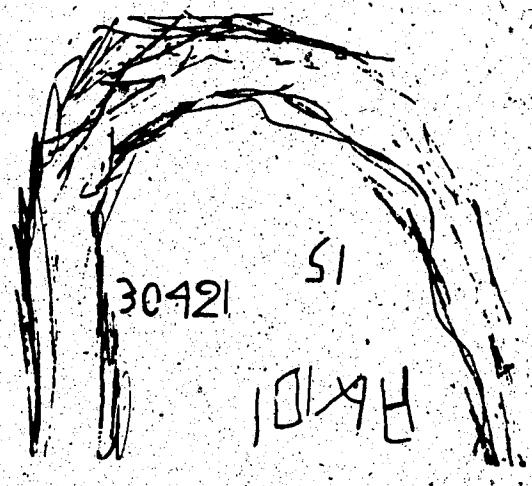


Figure 13: David draws a rainbow.

D: I love rainbows. Wherever you go it's always there. You can't get the end. It's moving. You think it's moving but it's far away. Probably it's in a different country but I don't know.

David wrote in his rainbow. He wrote numbers and letters but did not appear to attach any meaning to the letters. Pointing to the letters, he said, "It looks like writing." He showed a clearcut interest in the form rather than the message. He then began to make an envelope for his drawing, left the room, opened the front door and said, "I don't know my address. I don't have any address." Linda said, "It's on the garage. Go and look." By opening the door David showed he knew that an address (house number) was somewhere on the outside of the house but he did not know where. His concept of address appeared to be house number. Here Linda tried to get David to access literacy in his immediate environment.

Environmental Print. In summer David spent little time watching television but when he did he talked to the characters on the screen and constantly commented on the programs.

He collected stickers and hockey cards. He knew where the names of the players were on the hockey cards but he could not read them. While showing me his sticker book he said, "There are five letters in my name and eight in my sister's (Patricia)."

A feature of David and his mother's shopping expeditions was sharing and togetherness.

L: We usually shop on our own. He doesn't have the hassel of his sister.

Each child was allowed 10 candies in a bag at the beginning of the shopping session. The following transcript was recorded while buying

groceries. Linda got the trolley and said, "Well, what do you monsters want to eat today? They haven't invented anything new as far as I know."

L: Is that pork, David?

D: No.

P: It's bacon.

L: Well, it comes from a pig.

Do we need hot chocolate?

D: Yes.

He ran and got the hot chocolate and also brought back syrup to make milkshakes.

P: David knows what's in a can by just looking at it.

David played with the trolley and frisked about. Linda constantly pointed to things on the shelves and asked questions such as (McCains Lemonade), "Who will drink this?" "Who wants spaghetti?" Linda read labels out loud and commented on them, "Oh no, monosodium glutinate!" "What does this say, David? (DAVID'S COOKIES)" David replied, "David's cookies." Shopping was very much a hands on experience for this young child with his mom often directing his attention to the print on produce.

I also joined David and Linda on a mall expedition. David had some of his "bottle" money with him, so we immediately headed for a toy sale. He was only interested in cars. Linda constantly discussed the price of toys with him.

L: This was $10. It's now $5. That's a good buy.

David wanted to immediately buy two boxes of cars but his mom explained that he had several of the same kind at home and that he would be

better off if he bought single cars at 87 cents each.

L: This is the same money as 12 trays of bottles - you know, filling the trunk. It's an awful lot. All your money will be gone and when you go to the stores tomorrow you will have no money left.

A discussion then followed this mediated learning experience about what cars he did in fact have at home. Linda then went back to the soft toys and David began collecting single cars and trying to figure out how many he could get for his $10. His mom joined him at the checkout and said, "Look, there's caps. You could get three boxes of these for one car." David put one car back and took three boxes of caps for his toy gun. Linda gave him a $20 bill to pay his account himself. The bill came to $8.50. Linda took all the change and David looked very worried. Realizing this, she gave him some coins, he bought a chocolate bar and all was well.

Over lunch, David and Linda chatted about good food making you healthy, wealthy and wise, and David then mentioned the story of the wise man who built his house upon the rock, a story he had heard at Sunday School. His Sunday School teacher was also his playgroup leader. After an enjoyable lunch, David wanted to visit the arcade. At first Linda resisted but then went just for a walk around because all the money had been spent. David read "EXIT" above a door. The next mission was a present for Mary, which was a family pet fish. As we were leaving the pet shop, Linda pointed to a dress shop window and for my benefit asked, "What are all the red signs in the shop?" (SALE) David replied, "Don't know." Children of this age are often very resistant to this type of direct questioning (Doake, 1981). Linda

sensed a lack of co-operation and not a lack of knowledge and said, "Well, I'm not telling you."

Later in a book store, Linda tried to get David to point out all the books he recognized. David had found a book that he liked about animals and was sitting cross-legged on the floor, so engrossed in the book that he didn't hear or choose to hear his mother's question.

Summary

David's family had provided the opportunity for him to develop positive and powerful attitudes towards books, reading and learning to read. The whole family exhibited and conveyed positive feelings of enjoyment of books and reading. He was read to frequently and constantly looked at books on his own. Through book sharing activities with his parents he was encouraged to focus on print and develop knowledge about books. He was encouraged to use picture clues to re-tell favorite stories. Books were bought to capture family experiences.

Through these story readings and early writing David was beginning to recognize some letters of the alphabet which he sometimes wrote on a drawing with his name. He did not have firmly established concepts of directionality and switched easily to right to left writing. His sister also focused his attention on words in the text and used these words to develop David's oral vocabulary and beginning letter recognition. David appeared to react differently to various types of book sharing. He was more interactive when the book was non-fiction, although the interaction was usually initiated by an adult.

Developmentally David was at Doake's stage two. By being read to regularly David demonstrated his enjoyment of the experience. His attention span increased and he demanded re-reading of favorite stories.

He had developed high expectations for books. The foundations were laid for the dev[illegible]t of powerful inner motivations for him to want to retrieve t[illegible]ce he enjoyed so much for himself. David at this point resp[illegible] oral-close-like strategy of completion reading used his [illegible]nd used personal strategies of mumble, co-o[illegible]ive [illegible]cho reading. He reproduced stories at his own verbal rathe[illegible]an [illegible]textual level of accuracy (Doake, 1981).

T[illegible]he pointing to print behaviors of his parents as they read to [illegible]through featured print in his books and through experiences with env[illegible]mental print and learning to write, David had become increasi[illegible]aware of the print on the pages and its relationship to reading ([illegible]e, 1982, p. 579).

With [illegible]racy interactions his parents were the initiators of occurring mediated learning experiences. David often listened attentively b[illegible]did not manifest verbal reciprocity.

A Portrait of Nadia

Subject: Nadia, age 4 years, 8 months

Settings: Home, library and shopping mall

Other Actors: Mother: Theresa

Stepfather: Gary

Father: Alan

Kindergarten Teacher: Mrs. MacDonald

Nadia in her Social Setting

Nadia was the only child of Theresa and Gary. Her parents were divorced when she was two years old and Gary was her stepfather. She saw her father (Alan) every second weekend and at times stayed with him

for a week. She appeared to be very fond of both fathers. She referred to them as Daddy Alan and Daddy. Theresa said that Alan had always spoiled her and claimed that Nadia was much better behaved since the second marriage. Gary was a construction worker who often worked at night. Theresa and Gary hoped to have a baby and as a result Theresa gave up her secretarial job and was at home at the beginning of the study. Nadia was withdrawn from daycare which she had attended since age two years. The family lived in a rented apartment near the school.

Theresa had an Italian background (parents) and spoke Italian to Nadia before birth and for some time afterwards. She was an exuberant, outgoing person and Nadia was very like her. Nadia was talkative and very affectionate. When not spending time with adults she played happily on her own and did not appear to have any friends in the neighborhood.

T: I hope this will change in kindergarten where she will have friends to come over. Her birthday is 20th September. She should have friends by then.

Nadia was very close to her daycare leader, Heather, who moved out of Edmonton. She still missed her and wrote to her. The family had a van and often went to the mountains or a lake at the weekend.

Nadia could get very excited but in general she was well-disciplined and was extremely close to her mother who shared everything with her. She was named after Nadia Comaneci, the Romanian gymnast, and attended gymnastic lessons on Saturday mornings. Both Gary and Theresa thought Nadia was a very bright child and they were pleased to see her as part of a study. On a home visit, when Nadia went out to play on her own, Theresa reminisced about Nadia as a baby and a toddler.

T: She was always ahead. She is really a bright kid. As soon as I felt the movement (3 months) I really loved this child. I spoke to her all the time. I really knew the baby was a she. We must get Nadia to piano lessons; perhaps her dad will pay for them. She even had a good touch at one and a half years. Nadia has changed for the better. My husband and I spoiled her all the time and she might have turned out badly - I was a bright kid too. She doesn't play much with toys but likes to play games of imagination. She rarely takes toys outside. I think she is really going to love kindergarten. I think the teacher will take time to find out what she is like and understand her.

Theresa also described Nadia as playing a lot with Barbie dolls, puzzles and books.

T: She can complete a puzzle of 100 pieces. She also says a lot and knows all the TV jingles.

Early Reading Experience and Literacy Development

The Literacy Environment. Both Theresa and Gary enjoyed reading for recreation and Nadia had been read to from an early age. Although she appeared to have few books of her own, she went to the library frequently. Nadia had also been read to in her daycare setting.

Book Sharing and Book Knowledge. Gary often worked at night so evening was a special time for Nadia and her mother. They sat around chatting, playing games, watching television and reading.

T: I believe you should talk a lot to a child, at their own level and not speak down to them. I spoke to her before she

was born. I like to explain everything to her. Nadia talks a lot. I warned Mrs. MacDonald about this. She said, "Not to worry; at first they all need settling."

On one of my home visits I observed story sharing at bedtime. Nadia chose her story, "Pinocchio". Her cousin, aged 10, was having a sleep-over so Nadia and her cousin settled in Nadia's bed and Theresa sat beside them, making sure that they both could see the book.

T: We don't always sit like this, you know. Often we snuggle down in bed together to read.

Nadia kept close to her mom, often putting her head on her shoulder. The only other movement was intermittent mosquito-bite scratching.

Excerpts from transcripts illustrate certain aspects of book sharing for Theresa and Nadia.

T: We'll just read this nice story here. What is this story? (pointing to the title)

N: "Pinocchio".

T: Pinocchio, Pinocchio and his puppet ... There was once a kind old man named Gepetto. He lived in a little house with his goldfish, Cleo, and his cat, Figaro.

N: (Laughs)

Throughout the reading there was a pervading sense of fun and shared enjoyment.

N: Yeah, I think he's the one with the puppet.

T: That's right. Well, he doesn't have a puppet. You're getting ahead of your story here. Gepetto could make wonderful things out of wood. One day he made a puppet that looked just like a boy.

Nadia at times looked ahead at a picture and commented on a section which was further on in the text from the part being read by Theresa. Theresa re-focused her attention on the present.

T: You could see who they are, don't you?

N: Yeah. I think he's the one with the puppet.

N: See, that's where it's a puppet.

T: Uh huh. A good fairy heard Gepetto's wish. That night she came to his house when everyone was sleeping. She touched Pinocchio with her wand. Suddenly, the little wooden puppet came to life.

N: See. I told you it was a puppet.

There was constant interaction between mother and child, sometimes initiated by the child and sometimes by the mother.

N: Mom. You know what, know what, we got married.

T: Are we reading the story or shall we just go?

N: We are reading it.

Theresa accepted Nadia's initiation only if it was connected with the text.

N: So why, why did ... why did his nose grow longer and longer? Why does his nose grow longer and longer?

T: Because he was lying. Are you asking me, girl?

N: Yeah. I'm the mother. You're the little girl.

T: Oh, O.K. Is that what we're playing?

N: Yep.

Nadia sometimes switched roles with her mother, becoming the questioner.

T: But it's because he told his dad the ...

N: truth.

T: Or do you tell the ...

N: I tell the truth.

Theresa paused to invite Nadia to complete,

T: He hopes.

N: Yeah. He hopes.

Nadia often echoed her mother's reading and comments.

T: He smiled at everybody. Everybody smiled at him. It was fun to be out in the big world by himself. A boy named Lampwick was also out by himself. Lampwick was not a good boy. He told stories that were not true. He even stole things. When Lampwick saw Pinocchio, he said, "Ahhh. I bet I can trick that wooden head." Ohhh. He looks mean, doesn't he? Where's Lampwick?

N: Right there (pointing to picture).

T: Tell me what's happening in this picture.

Theresa encouraged Nadia to predict the text from picture clues.

T: Why do you think his nose got bigger?

N: 'Cause he lied.

Theresa constantly checked to see if Nadia understood why Pinocchio's nose grew.

T: So why do you think Pinocchio's nose grows?

N: 'Cause they call him Pinocchio.

T: I know, but remember what I told you in the beginning.

N: No. I don't know.

T: Well, it was because he was lying. You know what lying is?

N: Yeah.

T: When Mommy says to you you're not telling me the truth, when

you make up excuses and you know you're not telling the truth.

N: Like my bike one day.

T: And you wouldn't tell us where it was.

N: Because I was lying.

T: That's right, see. You should have told Mommy. It's not nice to lie. You should tell people the truth all the time.

T: If Mommy asks you a question, do you lie?

N: No.

Morals in the story were related to Nadia's own experience, both by herself and Theresa and hence, transcendence occurred.

T: O.K. Well, you tell me the story.

N: No.

T: Well, sure we want to hear the story from you now.

N: 'Kay (long pause). I don't know.

T: Come on.

N: One day ...

T: Mmm hmm. Okay, just make up a story.

N: I don't know.

T: What do you think the story is?

N: It's (sigh and pause).

T: Come on. Don't be silly. Okay, what's his name?

N: I can't.

T: Sure you can.

N: I can't read it.

T: Sure you can.

N: I can't read.

T: I'm not asking you to read. I'm asking you to tell me the

story. Just make up a story like you usually do.

Theresa often asked Nadia to retell a favorite story. Nadia often insisted she could not read and Theresa persisted by asking sequential questions and by directing her attention to the pictures. She constantly encouraged inferencing and accepted imaginative though incorrect answers, as illustrated in the following transcript.

N: Some day I want to go on the spaceship. You see all the stars and the moon.

T: What else do you think you're gonna see if you go up there?

N: Birds.

T: Birds?

N: Yeah.

T: Why do you want to go up there?

N: Because I never been up there.

Storytime, then, was a very important time for Nadia who loved books. It was highly interactive in nature with interactions being initiated both by Nadia and by Theresa. Nadia was constantly encouraged to display her knowledge by retelling favorite stories and predicting parts during a reading. When Theresa was at home book sharing took place at various times throughout the day. Gary also read to her during the day when he was working at night. Theresa reported that Nadia often read a book on her own after the bedtime story.

T: She looks at the pictures and tells the story and they both jive together.

As well as retelling, favorite stories were often dramatized by the whole family, thus reinforcing Nadia's story schemas.

On the day I observed Nadia at the library we first met at a

nearby snack area. When I arrived, I found Theresa reading to Nadia.

T: We hadn't time to read these last week.

The first book they looked at was "Chick and the Duckling". Throughout the reading Theresa constantly paused to encourage Nadia to echo the text.

Text: I caught a butterfly, said the duckling.

Nadia: I got a butterfly, said the duckling.

Text: I am going for a swim, said the duckling.

Nadia: I got a swim, said the duckling.

Nadia applied meaning in her efforts to reproduce parts of the text. She was guided by the predictable language and by picture clues. Mother and daughter sat facing each other with constant eye contact and a real feeling of sharing. The researcher was forgotten. Theresa slowed her reading so that Nadia could follow easily. Theresa relied heavily on facial expressions to embellish her story reading and conveyed the message that reading was such fun. She constantly checked if Nadia was still interested and was paying attention. Towards the end of the story, Theresa realized that Nadia was tiring when she said, "Please read the rest, Mom." Theresa finished the story at a normal speed.

When they entered the library mother and daughter went straight to the children's books and looked through the books together. I was forgotten.

N: I want to get a good book.

T: This is a nice book. What do you think, Nadia?

N: Put it down and I'll look at it.

T: Perhaps we could have an alphabet book?

N: I don't like bears, they're scary. I don't want this one.

Theresa constantly enthused about the books but there was one she did not like, "Magical Changes". She looked through it and said, "Oh yuck!" Nadia did, however, like it and insisted on taking it home.

N: I want to read it in the car.

She was strong enough at times to insist on what she wanted to do.

Writing. Nadia was very interested in writing and often scribbled notes resembling adult writing during her dramatic play (Figure 14).

T: She writes and scribbles line by line, then tells you what it is. She pretends she is filling in bank statements. She also writes "cat" and "dog" because I made her do it.

This type of writing appeared to reflect a focus on form as opposed to the function of writing.

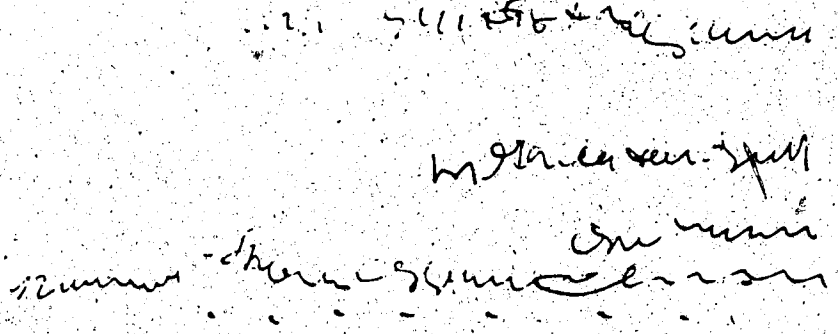


Figure 14: Nadia imitates adult writing.

On a home visit, Nadia wrote DFAN and said, "What does that say, Mom?"

T: You tell me.

N: I don't know.

T: I don't know either.

Here Theresa did not reinforce approximations. From this transcript

it appeared that Nadia knew that letters were put together to form words to convey meaning but the responsibility for reading was placed with the reader rather than the writer.

Nadia also had a blackboard in her bedroom and Theresa dictated words for her to write and wrote for her to copy. Nadia liked to copy pictures from books and often wrote some words beside the drawing (Figure 15).

T: I must show you her drawing. My God, she looks at a picture and then draws it. She doesn't trace, just draws. I'm encouraging her.

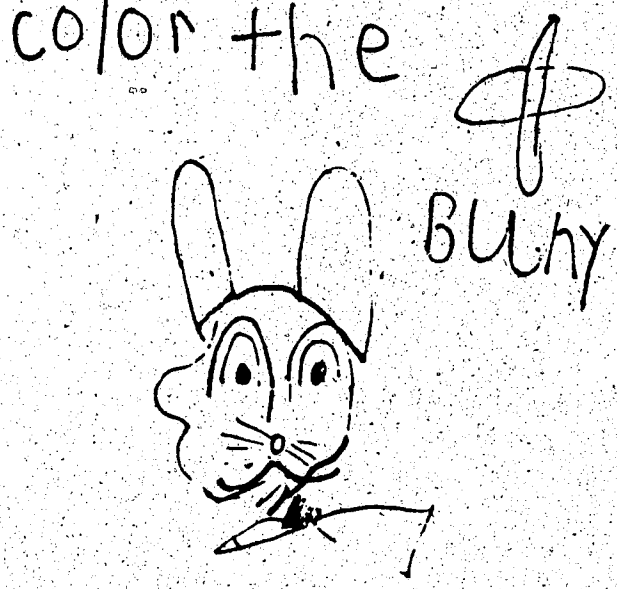


Figure 15: Nadia copies words.

Nadia generally wrote in capital letters but Theresa said, "I must teach her the lower case letters on her blackboard. I noticed everything in the kindergarten is written in lower case. She writes single words, such as 'cat', 'mat', etc. She doesn't realize that d and D are the same letters."

When Nadia heard her mother talking about writing she got a piece of paper and wrote her mom and dad's Christian names. She then asked me to write my name and when I did, she said pointing to the I and A, "That's in my name," indicating her ability to match these letter forms in a different context.

At an early home visit Nadia asked if she could write in my journal. This was to be the first of many entries she made. She wrote "Nadia" and said, "What does it say? Now I'm going to write 'rat'" (one of the words her mother taught her). Theresa encouraged her to write the word in the air with her finger before writing in my journal (Figure 16).

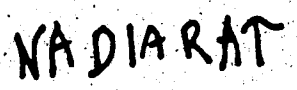


Figure 16: Nadia writes in my journal.

Later she wrote "DEP" and asked me what it said (Figure 17).

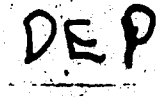


Figure 17: Nadia writes in my journal.

OC: Dep. (Nadia looked very puzzled.)

She obviously realized that this was not a meaningful word. Meaning and not sound correspondencies were important for her at this time.

Unfortunately, there was little record of Nadia's writing across time. Despite repeated requests, Theresa constantly threw out Nadia's

drawings and writings. It did, however, appear that at this point in time Nadia wrote names, words taught by her mother, words copied from books and "pretend" writing. In some contexts Nadia focused on form, while in others, as she labelled drawings, she focused on function.

Environmental Print. On one of my visits when the weather was very poor, Nadia passed her time watching television with Theresa. Sharing again characterized the way this mother and child watched television. During "Mr. Rogers", the following dialogue occurred.

T: Is that real or make-believe?

N: Make-believe. That King goes with the girl.

T: Is that King Friday?

N: Yes

T: You mean that man does all the voices?

N: Yes.

T: That's pretty good. (Both smile.)

The letter W was shown on the screen at one point.

T: What letter is that?

N: M.

T: No, it's an upside down M. It's W.

Both smiled and then Nadia sang the alphabet song with the program.

T: She learned the alphabet at daycare. I always said the alphabet names to her with one of her games, but I'm a rotten mother. I don't have the patience or the know-how to really teach her. Gary taught her to read "EXIT", "IN" and "OUT" plus the traffic light colors.

At the commercial break, a polluted lake was shown on a public interest broadcast by Parks Canada.

T: 'Look, they've polluted the water.

N: That's terrible for the poor fish. You're not supposed to throw garbage in the water.

Nadia really enjoyed "Sesame Street" and joined in with the characters and danced and sang a lot. When one character said, "Hip hip hooray", Theresa quickly checked Nadia's understanding by asking her if she knew when you say "Hip hip hooray". Nadia replied, "When you win at baseball." Watching television was not a passive activity for Nadia.

After Nadia and Theresa's month-long trip to the Italian grandparents in Montreal, I accompanied them on a shopping trip to a mall. Both were full of stories about their holiday and often talked to each other, ignoring me. As we walked through the mall, Theresa said that Nadia always liked to visit "San Francisco" first. On entering the store Nadia ran over to a poster and said, "It says 'Annie'" (pointing to "Annie"). She then looked at some toothpaste pens and accessed environmental print.

N: I've got to wear Colgate. That's not it (pointing to "Close-Up" written on the pen).

The next stop was a book store. Theresa explained that Nadia was now in the Walt Disney book club. Nadia went straight to the children's corner, chose a book and sat down on the floor to read it. Theresa knelt down beside her and they read the book together.

Grocery shopping was, however, different from browsing through a mall.

T: When I go shopping just for food I don't see her till I get to the cash. First she gets a bubble gum, then she runs around talking to all the girls. She knows them all. She always

goes to the washroom and then looks at the books and magazines on the racks.

Summary

Nadia was a very exuberant, extroverted, attractive, affectionate and talkative child, who spent most of her time with adults who were willing to listen to everything she said. A warm environment with lots of sharing pervaded every situation where I observed this child with her mother. She could sing the alphabet song and knew most of the capital letters. She was keen to write and her mother was teaching her lower case letters in preparation for kindergarten. In her writing she could write some words independently, copy others, and invent some. She also played at writing the way adults write and was curious about print around her.

She had a great love for books. Through constant book experience with caring adults she had developed the ability to gain control over the oral dimension of some of her favorite stories (Doake, stage two). As she listened to stories, many read repeatedly and comprising predictable language, she showed her ability to absorb the pattern of written language. Through completion reading and mumble, co-operative and echo strategies she had begun to reproduce the stories at her own verbal rather than textual level of accuracy (Doake, 1981). Story schemas were further reinforced with dramatic play involving the whole family. Nadia knew she had to read the print to reproduce the story accurately and being aware that she could not do this, she retold stories using picture clues.

Nadia was used to being asked lots of questions during story [redacted] asked lots of questions. In a teaching situation she

reversed roles and became the initiator and teacher of a learning experience. Mediated learning characterized most of the learning situations between Nadia and Theresa. Modelling her mother's behavior she often took on the role of initiator, prefacing what she was going to say by, "Know what?" She was used to being an only child in adult company and thrived on being the center of attention. Theresa had some concerns about how she would fit into the group in kindergarten.

A Portrait of Jeff

Subject: Jeff, age 4 years, 6 months.

Settings: Home, daycare, field trips, library and local shopping mall

Other Actors: Parents: Bruce and June

Daycare group leader: Sheila

Jeff in his Social Setting

Jeff was the only child of June and Bruce. Bruce was an educator and June was at present working full-time as a university teacher and studying for her Master's degree.

Jeff had been "in care" of another adult since a very young age. At present he was attending a daycare unit where he was mostly happy and well-behaved and had some friends among the other children. Gary was a special friend but Jeff played with him only in the daycare setting. Here Jeff was especially attached to his group leader, Sheila, with whom he spent up to eight hours a day.

Sheila was trained as an elementary teacher in England. She taught kindergarten in northern Alberta for a few years but due to her lack of a Bachelor of Education degree could only be employed in daycare.

The children were in family groups with an age range of 2½ to 6 years. Sheila did not look on her role in daycare as being that of a child minder.

S: It's time the parents realized the educational potential of daycare and don't just look on it as child minding. I think it should be attached to Education.

The children needed and indeed demanded a lot of attention both physical, emotional and intellectual. The staff in Jeff's unit tried when humanly possible to meet these needs and offer individual care to each child. Jeff's weekdays were very structured and he spent most of his free time with his mother whom he adored. After a daycare field trip I asked him what his favorite thing was that morning (meaning in connection with his field trip), and he replied, "My mommy".

At times Jeff was insecure and his confidence in a new situation was fragile. On my initial visit Jeff spent all of his time hitting a hockey puck around the room. On my second visit to his home he acted wildly, running about all the time and throwing toys in the air. He kept asking me to come downstairs to his playroom and when I did he calmed down completely. However, when it came time for me to leave, he again behaved badly and screamed. At this point I wondered how and if I would be able to observe Jeff behaving "normally" in his home. However, the third home visit was entirely different and I was able to observe him being read his bedtime story. He was so involved and engrossed I think he forgot I was there.

At daycare during outdoors play he acted quite aggressively but this aggression was usually part of the dramatic plot of his play, for example "Star Wars". Sometimes Sheila considered his behavior normal

for his age level, but at other times she felt that he, "... sometimes acts very babyish. He is very babyish just now (June, 1983). Last week he gave his mom a bad time. He was whining a lot." June felt that this particular daycare had been very good for Jeff socially.

J: He has really become more independent since daycare. Before he wouldn't even dress himself.

At home Jeff had toys and books in his own room but also had a playroom in the basement, where he played hockey and had a great number of toys ranging from Star Wars, soft toys, cars, educational games, record player, tape-recorder, books, Lego, table and chairs, blackboard, kitchen set to hockey equipment. He also had a variety of outdoor toys. When he finished an activity he tidied it away before going on to another.

He was very fond of adult company and did not seem to want to make a friend in his neighborhood. The only friend he had moved out of the district recently and Jeff missed him. This lack of friends of his own age worried his parents. Both Sheila and his parents expressed concern about his adjustment in kindergarten.

S: What will happen if he has a temper tantrum?

Early Reading Experience and Literacy Development

The Literacy Environment. Jeff's literacy environment was shared by home and daycare. The following data are based on observations of Jeff firstly at home, in his local environment, and secondly, at day-care plus observations from his mother.

Jeff came from a book oriented home and frequently saw both his mom and dad involved with books and writing in various situations. He had "lots and lots of books", some in his bedroom and others in the

playroom. He also had charts and drawings in his room and art works were proudly displayed on the refrigerator door. He really loved books and although he had many in his own home, his parents took him to the library to enrich his collection.

Book Sharing and Book Knowledge. Jeff had been read to from an early age and really loved his bedtime story with his mom. Closeness, bonding, affection, humor, concentration, sharing - characteristics that David Doake (1981) describes so well - were all present. Every evening Jeff chose his own book and at one point, June said that it was "The Three Billy Goats Gruff" for three weeks.

J: Jeff likes to turn the pages as his favorite story is being read. He always turns them at the right time.

This would suggest that he had internalized the oral representation of the text.

The bedtime story was always read by his mom. When I observed bedtime at his house, he chose "Mr. Chatterbox" as the bedtime book. June and Jeff were tired as they both had been on a bike ride that evening. June sat on Jeff's bed and he snuggled onto her knee and the sharing began. Throughout the reading June rocked gently back and forth and from time to time stroked Jeff's foot.

June: Mr. Chatterbox was one of these people who simply couldn't stop talking. Who chatters a lot? (pointing at Jeff)

Jeff laughed and the reading continued.

June: And on and on (paused)

Jeff: and on.

June: (Later) You could finish this story. What happened next?

Jeff: The hat grew and grew. It covered him up.

Jeff needed little cueing to complete sentences.

The family often visited June's parents in Calgary and he loved to read with his grandma who was an elementary teacher.

June: When we go visiting, my mother takes out about ten books from the library. He demands that they are all read, cover to cover. My mother is amazed at his concentration. I am constantly amazed by lots of things he does. I wish he could be four (years old) longer.

Often after a shared bedtime story, he would read along with his cassette player, watching the pictures and turning the pages at the sound cue. At this time, he saw reading as being an oral activity and defined it as, "When you read, your mouth goes up and down, up and down."

Although he had numerous books at home he also went to the library where he shared new books with his mom. On a library visit I observed that June and Jeff sat at a table in the children's corner. Very quickly Jeff selected six books and brought them over to show June.

June: Do you want Mom to read this one?

Jeff: 'Cause we're not taking this home.

June and Jeff sat side by side looking at the book.

June: (Pointing to a picture). What's that?

Jeff: That's a mouse.

June: You're right, very good.

June started to read, "The Girl Who Loved Wild Horses".

June: Shall we read to see what this is about?

Throughout the reading Jeff asked questions when he didn't understand the script:

Jeff: What does "stumble" mean?

June: It's just like "to trip".

Jeff: What's a "werewolf".

June: It's like a wolf, but it's pretend.

June: Do you know what this is, Jeff?

Jeff: Armour.

June: Yes. When did you last see this armour?

Jeff: At the museum.

June: We went to the Glenbow Museum. It was fascinating.

This sequence shows June transcending the here and now, linking the present to the past. "Cowardly Clyde", a favorite story, was then read. Jeff echoed, "Dim witted noodle head" every time it occurred in the reading. He often echoed predictable lines in favorite stories. As he collected his books to take home, he noticed a photograph on the back of one of them.

Jeff: Is that the man who wrote this, Mom?

June: Yes. That's the author. He's the same author who wrote "Big Harold". Let's take this home.

Jeff initiated a mediated learning experience and showed an awareness of authorship. Jeff also kept asking June about notices in the library.

Jeff: What does that poster say, Mom?

June: "Read and the Force is with you."

Jeff: What does this say, Mom?

June: "Help yourself." These are pamphlets that you can take home with you. They tell you about the library.

Jeff's daycare world was also full of print; labels on drawings, for example, "Our work of art with eggshells", children's names on

drawings and place mats, notices to parents and instructions. The day-care had a schedule which was followed quite consistently:-

Morning:

9.15 - 9.25	Free play
9.25 - 9.35	Clean up
9.35 - 9.45	Snack
9.45 - 10.00	Sing-song and records
10.00 - 10.30	Outdoors
10.30 - 10.55	Circle
10.55 - 11.25	Outside play
11.25 - 11.30	Wash up
11.30 - 12.25	Lunch

Afternoon: The afternoon was less highly structured with a sleep after lunch, followed by outdoor play, a snack and indoor play. The group leader was very keen on book reading, writing and talking.

Sheila: We really don't deliberately teach reading and writing but if we notice anything we build on it.

At circle time a story was often a feature for the whole group, but at other times a story was shared with one or two children gathered on or around the "cuddle chair". Jeff also selected books and read to himself out loud. He looked at the pictures and recounted the story briefly and quickly. His retelling was on the basis of memory of the favorite story plus responses to picture cues. He did, however, at times focus on the print and eye-voice match. While re-reading "Mickey Mouse", Jeff pointed to a sign outside a house and said, "This land is for sale." The text was in the form of a sign outside a house - "THIS LAND IS FOR SALE". Also when re-reading "The Little Boy Who Loved Dirt

and Almost Became a Superslob", Jeff pointed to the word "Superslob" on the title page and said, "Superslob". He also read "MUD PIES" which was printed on a bowl in a picture. On another visit, I observed him selecting a picture book from the library, quickly thumbing through it and putting it back saying, "It has no words". He did not predict a story. He realized this book in fact did not have a script. Hence, he knew that the message was conveyed via the print.

One morning when I arrived at daycare, Sheila explained that Jeff was amazed and disappointed because she would not finish the story of the caterpillar at circle time.

S: He knew what was going to happen and he wanted it finished. I explained we would go and look for caterpillars, keep them in a jar to watch pupation, and then finish the story. Jeff was very annoyed at this.

After snack, Sheila asked Jeff if he would like her to finish the story she had started earlier and he said, "Yes". They both went to the "cuddle chair". The following transcript reveals the nature of story sharing between Jeff and Sheila.

S: Would you like the story finished I started this morning?

J: Yes (eagerly).

S: What's this story about?

J: She was going to keep it (caterpillar) in a jar.

S: Why did she have to be careful?

J: Not to squish it.

S: What did she ask her mom for? And what color was it?

J: Green with blue and yellow spots.

S: Remember we saw one on our visit to the park.

S: Why did she make holes?

J: So the caterpillar could get some air.

S: Every day she collected (pause)

J: Leaves.

S: Do you like caterpillars?

J: No. I like frogs. They are prettier.

S: Tomorrow we must find a book about frogs. (Pointing to the word "leaves") Can you see that word anywhere else?

(Jeff found it.)

S: What's the caterpillar doing here?

J: Making a racoon.

S: No, a cocoon.

J: Know what, we had a hornets' nest in our garage.

S: (Nods yes.) How does a caterpillar make a cocoon?

J: It curls up.

Sheila skillfully got Jeff to reconstruct the story to the point where the reading had stopped. She encouraged him to synthesize ideas, predict, infer and transcend by accessing his world knowledge. Most of Jeff's questions and comments were acknowledged and answered. At this point Sheila left the room to answer a telephone call. Jeff did not move, but just sat looking at the book. When she returned the reading continued as if there had never been a break.

S: Four days went by. Show me four fingers - good. The little body pushed its way out of the cocoon.

Jeff was sitting wide-eyed.

S: Why do you think the wings are so small?

J: I don't know.

S: Well, let's read on to see. This butterfly's body is full of eggs. What's she going to do with them?

J: Lay them.

S: In ten days caterpillars came out. The caterpillars will get bigger, then make a -- (paused for Jeff to complete).

J: Cocoon.

S: Then a -- will come out (oral close).

J: Butterfly (supplied the missing word).

S: And it starts all over again.

J: Please read that again, Sheila.

S: I can't just now, Jeff, but you can take it home.

(To observer) I love reading to Jeff, he inferences all the time.

Story sharing for Jeff, then, was a very pleasant activity. He expected to take part both by answering questions, asking questions and predicting the text. He was used to being involved in the reading and drew on his own life experiences to embellish the text.

Writing. Jeff had recently started to write his name on his drawings and books. Figure 18 illustrates the various forms he used.

Figure 18: Jeff writes his name.

He was very particular about the spelling of his name and corrected a misspelling on a daycare book. He knew some alphabetic letter names but did not write these other than in his name. In August he began to emulate "real" writing and June reported that he was doing this all the time. Jeff tried to reproduce Mommy's writing as she wrote her thesis (Figure 19).

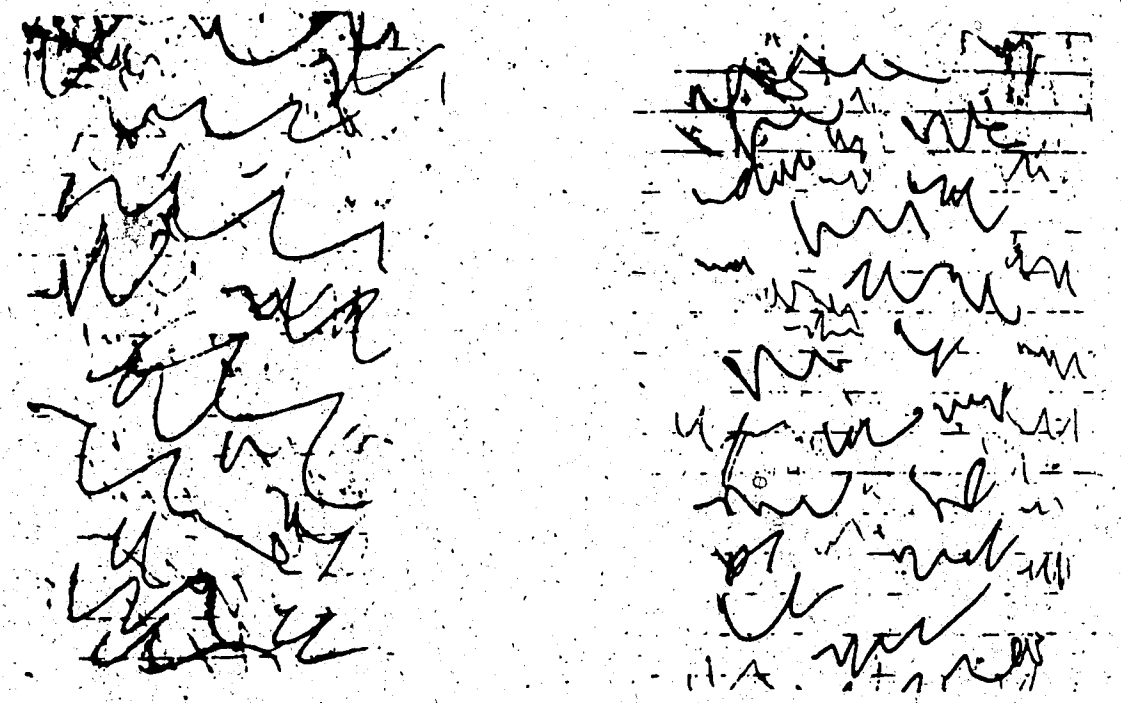


Figure 19: Jeff writes his "thesis".

These samples illustrate a number of things about Jeff's understanding of writing. He knew we use signs to convey messages, we repeat forms, we write from left to right, we vary the forms and we leave spaces between words.

Jeff's daycare has a set of rubber stamps for the children to play with. I observed Jeff stamping a name on a piece of paper and saying, "The writing's upside down." He reversed the stamp and stamped the words the right way up. He did not know what the words said but he

knew they were words and he knew how they should look.

Environmental Print. Jeff was very serious about print and often read words on his toys, clothes and other objects around the house.

J: This is a Tonka car (pointing to "TONKA").

J: I like Dave Semenko (pointing to name on hockey card).

J: This comes from Disneyland (pointing to writing on cup).

June: Do you want a Coca-Cola?

Jeff: Isn't Coca-Cola, Mom. It's Pepsi. See (pointing to "Pepsi").

J: This car is a "Hot Wheels" (pointing to writing).

J: This says "Star Wars" and this "Jedi" (pointing to a poster on his bedroom wall).

J: (Pointing to "99" shoes) Wayne Gretzky.

Jeff's curiosity about print constantly led him to ask questions.

J: Moira, read the name of that animal (on a poster in his bedroom).

On a day trip to the Muttart Conservatory with his daycare group he constantly asked what some notice or label said.

J: What's that one called? What's that with the blue and white writing? What's that yellow one?

He ran around in the tropical house until he found the label, "BANANA" tree. He had looked at it on a previous visit with his parents. When we reached the desert house, he began to predict the labels by matching words from his language background to the appearance of a plant, focusing on meaning, for example "a snake plant", and a "curly cactus".

Shopping at the local supermarket was a co-operative affair with

Jeff running around getting things for June.

June: What's your favorite cereal just now?

Jeff: "Life".

He picked up a packet and ran his finger along "LIFE", saying "Life" at the same time. His eye-voice matching was mainly confined to environmental print. At the fruit section, he looked at lemons.

June: What are these called?

Jeff: (Shook his head negatively).

June: What is yellow and sour?

Jeff: Lemons. Yes, lemons.

June: Don't you remember eating these last year?

Jeff: They taste yuckie.

When Jeff could not remember the name, June gave him clues and related this experience to a past one, thus transcending the here and now.

Jeff knew some alphabetic letter names.

J: My name is JEFF. My friend is GARY.

S and P stand for salt and pepper.

During this phase of the research I heard him access sound once. While serving some pretend tea in his playroom at home he said, "/t/ is tea."

Jeff was a subject in a university study on preschool children's number concepts. The results showed that he had a good sound knowledge of the numbers 1 to 10 and that his number concepts were above average for his age. He also had a rich oral vocabulary. Describing the ray from a space gun he said, "It's red and visible, like a bullet but not like it." He at times mispronounced words and at times produced new ones. While looking at a "Super Heroes" book, he commented, "He was

aflounded by all these dream things"; and "A mask is part of a isguise, so nobody knows you". Jeff was willing to take risks as he used emerging words and said approximations of his new vocabulary.

Summary

Jeff was a child who loved books and the contact they brought him with loving adults and he was very curious about print. He was gaining control over the patterns of written language and its accompanying story schema. Through pointing to print behaviors of adults as they read to him, through featured print in books, through various experiences with environmental language and experiments with writing, he was gradually becoming more and more aware of the relationship of the print on the pages of his stories to reading (Doake, 1981). He was in the second stage of disequilibrium as described by Doake, where at times he knew it was necessary to look at the print to read a story.

The few occasions when I observed Jeff reading on his own reflected his ability to reconstruct the story in summary form using picture clues. His concern was to reproduce meaning and he was not overly concerned with reproducing the text at a verbal level. He often linked his reading to his own life experiences. When he finished reading "Superslob" he commented that his mom would be angry if he rolled in mud.

For Jeff, learning about literacy was a very interactive, enjoyable affair. He was not taught formally, but literacy transmission was part of his everyday life experience. Mediation dominated learning experiences both in his home and at his daycare. This mediation was initiated both by learned caretakers and by himself. He was used to individual attention based on his own needs and interests, but also

fitted in well to group learning situations where he was made to feel he could make a worthwhile contribution.

A Portrait of Michelle

Subject: Michelle, age 4 years, 8 months

Settings: Home, shopping mall, library and local supermarket

Other Actors: Parents: Alex and Jill

Michelle in her Social Setting

Towards the end of June, being concerned about the possible loss of a subject, I decided to "take on a spare". I followed up one suggestion from the school but this was not successful as the mother concerned was expecting her third child in a few weeks. She did, however, give me the name of another family to try. I then telephoned Jill and explained about the research. She said she would be willing for her child, Michelle, to take part. My first visit was on July 7th.

Michelle was the only child of Jill and Alex. Alex was an American student working on his Master's degree at the University of Alberta. The family lived in student housing and survived on a graduate assistantship. Alex hoped to be finished his thesis by December and then would likely move from Edmonton, preferably back to the United States.

Jill had not worked since Michelle was born and except for a few mornings in the local playgroup where Jill volunteered, Michelle had spent all her time at home with her. She was a very lively, talkative, friendly child who got a lot of attention from her parents. Although an only child she was very independent and could do many things for herself. Jill described her as being very sociable and having many

friends with whom she played regularly.

Early Reading Experience and Literacy Development

The Literacy Environment. Michelle's home could certainly be described as book oriented. Alex read and wrote constantly and Jill wrote letters and read a lot for pleasure. Both parents believed in sharing their own interests with her. When the family went on a visit to Drumheller, Michelle developed a keen interest in dinosaurs. Alex found a good book on dinosaurs which he bought for her. She also shared her mother's intense interest in and love of horses.

Book Sharing and Book Knowledge. Both parents considered reading to be very important and have read to Michelle from an early age.

J: We read to her every day. There are books all over the house but Michelle has her own collection in her bedroom where she often reads them to her dad.

The following transcript was recorded during a home visit in August.

J: Go upstairs and choose a book.

Many of Michelle's books were in the Golden Book series because they were inexpensive. Michelle returned with four!

J: Choose one, please.

Michelle and Jill snuggled up on the couch and the reading began. Throughout the reading mother and child interacted.

M: Is Poky Puppy a boy or a girl?

Michelle initiated an interaction.

J: I don't know (looks at the book again). Oh, it says he went along (pointing).

The search for meaning was shared and Jill focused Michelle's attention on the print "he".

M: It must be a boy.

Jill and Michelle nodded in agreement showing sharing and reciprocity. Michelle was thoroughly engrossed in the story. Her eyes were fixed on the book, hand under chin, elbow on knee, quite relaxed. On Michelle's insistence, Jill then went on to read "Cinderella", another favorite. As she said, "bong, bong, bong" (bells), Michelle echoed her quietly.

Transcripts from other story sessions both with Mom and Dad clearly indicate the interactive nature of reading for this child. The following transcript with Dad illustrates a mediational experience in action where the initiative was taken by the child and Dad patiently explained. At the end of the story, "Donald Duck and the Witch Next Door", the following dialogue occurred.

M: What's a shingle?

Michelle initiated the transaction.

A: A shingle?

Alex checked reciprocity before starting a mediated learning experience.

M: Yes.

Reciprocity, sharing and intentionality were established.

A: A shingle is a little flat piece of either wood or a -- sort of sticky tarpaper which you put on the roof to keep the rain from getting in.

In his explanation Alex exposed Michelle to dimensions of the experience which were more important for the complex and remote aspects of development. From the mass of information available on shingles he selected those he thought were more relevant and more meaningful at this point. A background for categorization at a later point was thus established. He ventured from, that is transcended, the here and now

and described the role of a shingle in wet weather.

M: What (do) we have?

A: We have what's called an aggregate roof where they put tar, which is what they make the road out of, on the roof and they put little pebbles on it.

Michelle initiated an explanation of what happened in her own house and Alex responded with an explanation illustrating that their house did not have shingles. Michelle did not know what a pebble was and asked for meaning. Alex responded.

M: What's a pebble?

A: A small stone.

As well as providing Michelle with the opportunity to gain control over the patterns of written language, to become familiar with story schema, and to begin to examine in detail the visual features of written language, Jill and Alex in their encouragement of reading-like behavior actually helped Michelle to incorporate the development of some very important reading strategies. The following transcripts illustrate the variety of techniques that Michelle used, indeed was encouraged to use as she involved herself overtly in the reading of a favorite story.

J: Once there were three little pigs who went out into the wide, [redacted]e world. Each little pig took a different road. The first little pig met a man with a load of straw. (pause)

M: May I have some straw to build a house?

Throughout the reading Jill constantly paused to encourage Michelle to say predictable lines.

J: The wolf was very angry and thought to himself (pause), I (pause), what does the wolf say to himself?

M: He says ...

J: I must catch that pig.

M: Yes. Oh! (gasp)

J: I must catch that (pause)

M: Pig.

J: There are some nice fat turnips in Farmer Brown's field. Will you go with me to get some at six o'clock tomorrow morning, little pig? (pause) And what did the little pig say?

M: Yes, I will!!

When pausing did not elicit the response, Jill asked a question or gave Michelle part of the text, then paused again. This behavior seemed to involve "scaffolding" (Bruner, 1978; Cazden, 1980).

J: So he huffed and he puffed and blew the house in.

M: huffed puffed in.

J: So he huffed and he puffed and he puffed and he huffed (giggle from M) and he blew the house in.

M: in. Huff!

Michelle echoed Jill. Often only a word was repeated.

M: Little pig, lilly ... little pig (giggle). I'll blow your house down. He huffed and he puffed ... (pause)

J: So he huffed and he puffed, and he puffed and he huffed and he huffed and he puffed again. But he could not blow the house in.

M: Huffed ... blow the house in!!

At times Michelle took the lead then paused for Jill to complete. At other times she engaged in co-operative reading.

J: So he huffed

M: So he blew in his house (laugh).

Text: And he blew the house in.

J: Now the third little pig met a man with a wheelbarrow full of bricks.

M: (laugh) And I have to say it? (checks procedure)

J: Yup.

M: Okay. Ummm.

J: What does he say?

M: He says, may I come in your house? No, you may not. Not by the hair of my chinny-chin-chin.

J: You didn't ... no! No! What does he say to the man with the wheelbarrow full of bricks? He says, Please may I have some bricks to build a house?

M: May I have some bricks to build a house?

J: Said the little pig. And the man gave him some bricks. But no sooner had the third little pig finished his house than the big bad wolf came along (interspersed with giggles from M).

M: I will get some apples at five o'clock tomorrow.

J: Well, it's turnips.

M: Turnips.

Jill accepted approximations of the text as long as they did not interfere with the sequence or meaning of the story. By accepting Michelle's responses, Jill encouraged her to continue to involve herself actively in the reading. At this point in Michelle's development, Jill appeared to see reading as communication of meaning rather than

accurate oral reproduction of text.

J: And the man gave him some twigs.

M: twigs (echoing).

J: But no sooner had the second little pig finished his house than the big bad wolf came along.

M: Little pig, little pig. Yes .. No, no, not by the hair of my chinny-chin-chin (very deliberate). (Giggle)

J: (Very softly) What's the book say now? (pointing to the print)

M: Huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your house.

Jill focused Michelle's attention on the print when she asked, "What's the book say now?"

M: Um ... yes, I will.

J: Said the little pig. But the little pig went for the turnips at four o'clock.

M: (Interrupting) No, at five o'clock, five o'clock.

Michelle corrected Jill's error. Through numerous re-readings of this favorite story Michelle had internalized the details of the plot and although not looking at the text she was able to correct her mother's miscue. Throughout the sharing of this favorite book there was a feeling of fun as Michelle giggled and snuggled close to her mother.

On a later visit Michelle invited me to her room for a "couple" of tea. Her room was clearly labelled "MICHELLE'S ROOM". It was very much a child's room with pictures on the walls, a bird mobile, soft toys, a rocking horse and fifty or so children's books. After our "tea" she decided to read to me, selected a nursery rhyme book and said, "Little Bo Peep is at 12." She turned to page 12 and said,

"Little Bo Peep has lost her sheep,

He couldn't find him,

Then who came along,

He couldn't find him,

He was fast asleep in the haystack.

Then they came back,

She ran outside and she found them.

Jacky Paper was sound asleep under the haystack."

She then paused and said to me, "Am I reading this?" It appears that Michelle was not sure if she was indeed reading at this point as she said the rhyme from memory.

From her rich background of story reading experience, Michelle was able to reconstruct her favorite story from the pictures and her memories of predictable lines. She then sat herself on a chair and read to her doll as follows:

M: The Three Little Pigs.

The big bad wolf came in.

I'll huff and puff and blow your house in.

Not by the hair on my chinny-chin-chin.

May I have some bricks to build a house?

Yes, you may (deep voice).

Little pig, let me come in.

Not by the hair on my chinny-chin-chin.

As she read, she changed the intonation of her voice for each character. She read from the pictures and meaningfully reconstructed a favorite story.

Jill also took Michelle to the library where they looked independently, Michelle going off to the children's books and Jill to

the magazines. When I accompanied them, within seconds Michelle had chosen 11 books and placed them carefully on a table. At this point none of the books were opened. She picked up another book, said, "It's too long" and put it back on the shelf. This was followed by finding a book called "Dinosaurs Do's and Don't's". She pointed to the title and said, "The Friendly Dinosaur". She then began to look through the pile of books on the table, deciding which to take home. She turned each page quickly. Then, returning to her book search she said, "I want a Beatrix Potter. Moira, can you find one?" I found one. She looked at it and said, "Oh, oh, we've had this before." She turned the pages making quick garbled noises to resemble adult reading as she modelled her parents. Here she focused on form rather than meaning. She then joined a mother and baby and echoed many of the words the mother was reading in a story for the baby. Then she picked up a pile of books and said, "Now we go find my mom."

Jill was at the magazine section. Michelle gave her the books she had chosen. Jill looked through the books. "I usually check they're all right," she said.

J: Michelle, will you please put these magazines back on the shelf for me? Oh, oh, they've got titles. I'd better do that myself.

M: What are titles? (3 times)

J: Titles are the names of the magazines like "Muscle and Fitness". The little black strip with white letters shows the title.

This visit reflected both independent and dependent behavior and highlighted Jill's willingness to explain the form and function of print to Michelle.

Environmental Print. Jill considered print awareness to be very important and often drew Michelle's attention to words.

J: What does it say on your tee-shirt? It begins with V.

M: California.

J: No (sounds v).

M: Victoria. (Both smile.)

On another occasion Jill asked, "What does it say on your badge?" Michelle looked and said, "Where's the S?" The badge was from Safeways and Michelle knew the Safeway logo was a large S.

Jill made a lot of Michelle's clothes so on a trip to a mall they often visited a pattern shop. Mom looked at a pattern book and so did Michelle (standing on a stool).

J: Look, Michelle, "Strawberry Shortcake".

When Michelle and Jill went on through the mall to the bookstore, Jill said, "Let's go look at the books." The resulting behavior was very similar to that at the library. Jill went off to look for a book for herself and Michelle got deposited at the children's section. Michelle carefully looked through several books, studying the pictures and sometimes making up the script. Again as in the library, with a new book, she did not have a previous adult interaction to model.

Jill, during her search, found a book of the Royal Visit and called to Michelle, "There's Ed and Theresa". Jill was delighted to find a section on the royal visit to Fort Edmonton, which clearly showed her beloved horses and two friends driving a wagon. This was the only time Jill and Michelle came together in the bookstore.

With grocery shopping, Michelle brought her own pink shopping cart and she and her mother shared the load.

J: Michelle, we need some ketchup. Can you get some? Thank you. Careful now. Watch what you're doing.

Michelle got the ketchup and put it carefully into her own trolley.

Writing. Jill had kept practically everything that Michelle had drawn or written. A large box was produced at my first visit and Jill, Michelle and I looked through all the contents. Special writings and drawings were posted to the grandparents. Alex's mother often wrote to Michelle and these letters were carefully treasured.

As I looked through Michelle's drawings and writing I could see drawings in early 1982, un-named. Later examples show drawings of Michelle's which had been named by Jill for the purpose of filing. That is, the writing was not intended for the child to read.

With Figure 20, however, "Grandpa" was written to label a part of a drawing. This was done with Michelle who watched her mother as she wrote. Then she herself wrote two M's and an E.

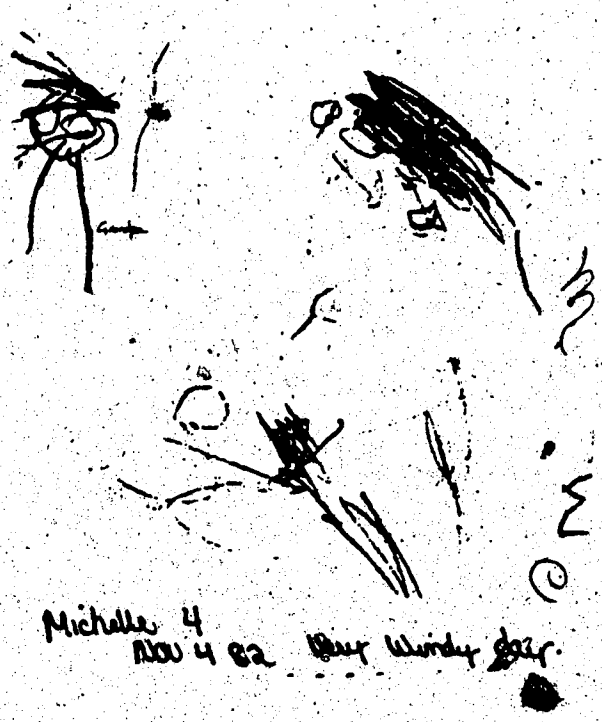


Figure 20: Jill labels a drawing.

Figure 21 is taken from a painting of Michelle's. Jill labelled the picture "MICHELLE" and Michelle wrote beneath it.

Figure 21: Michelle tries to copy her name.

From early October 1982, Michelle attempted to label her own pictures and noticing this, Jill began to teach her to write letters and her name. Sometimes Jill wrote the letters and Michelle traced over them with a wax crayon and sometimes Jill wrote the letter at the beginning of a line and Michelle had to copy the letter. These early writing lessons were on lined paper (Figure 22).

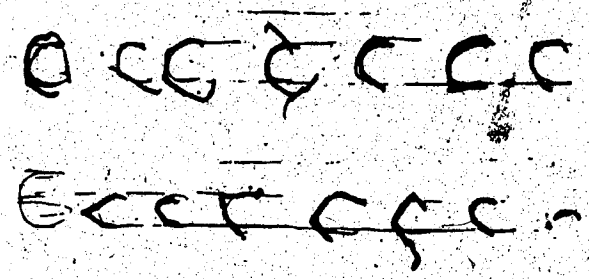


Figure 22: Writing lessons.

Both parents considered Michelle to be a very intelligent child and were very enthusiastic about her drawings, writing and conversation. On my first home visit Jill revealed her awareness of Michelle's literacy development and she described her as now being able to read a little and write.

J: She writes her name and has learned the alphabet which she sings. Sometimes she asks how to write a whole sentence. In the car she will ask how to write a word and when it is spelled for her she writes it in the air with her finger. She uses apostrophes (we explained what to do to her). The favorite television programs are "Mr. Dressup" and "Sesame Street". She can count to ten in French. She has a Spanish friend and at times speaks in Spanish to her. We read to her every day but she doesn't like books without pictures. She also has games with letters and words. When she is writing, if she runs out of space, she just squeezes in letters.

Michelle often wrote her Christian name first, then her surname was added. When she ran out of space she wrote the left over letters in any available space. The young child's habits of directionality are remarkably fluid. Often the direction in which they arrange print is a matter of the best use of available space (Clay, 1975). When not being instructed Michelle wrote letters on her drawings and also covered sheets of paper with inventories of letters and numbers (Figure 23). Many examples of the recurring principle (Clay, 1975) were evident in her drawings and early writing attempts (Figure 24).

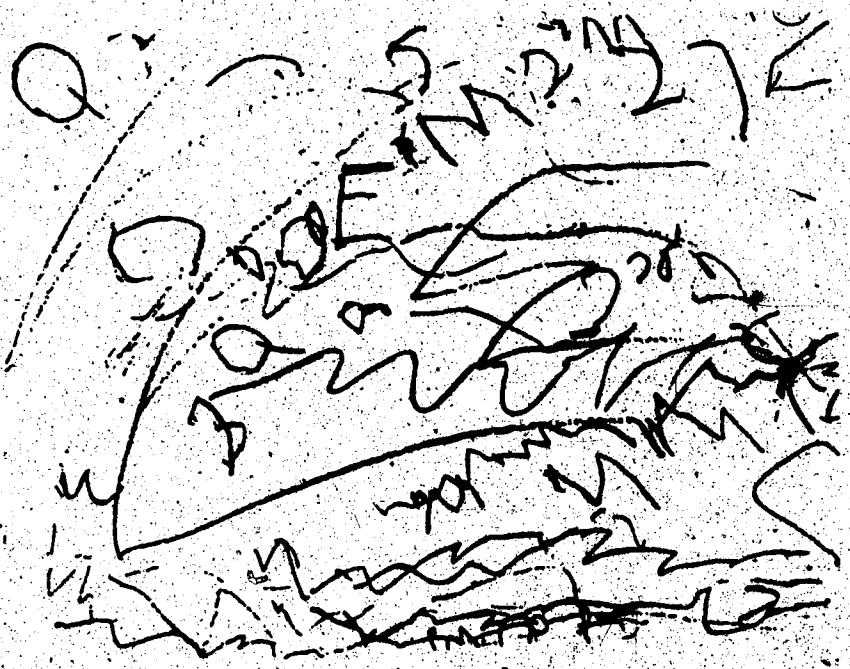


Figure 23: Michelle writes letter and number inventories.

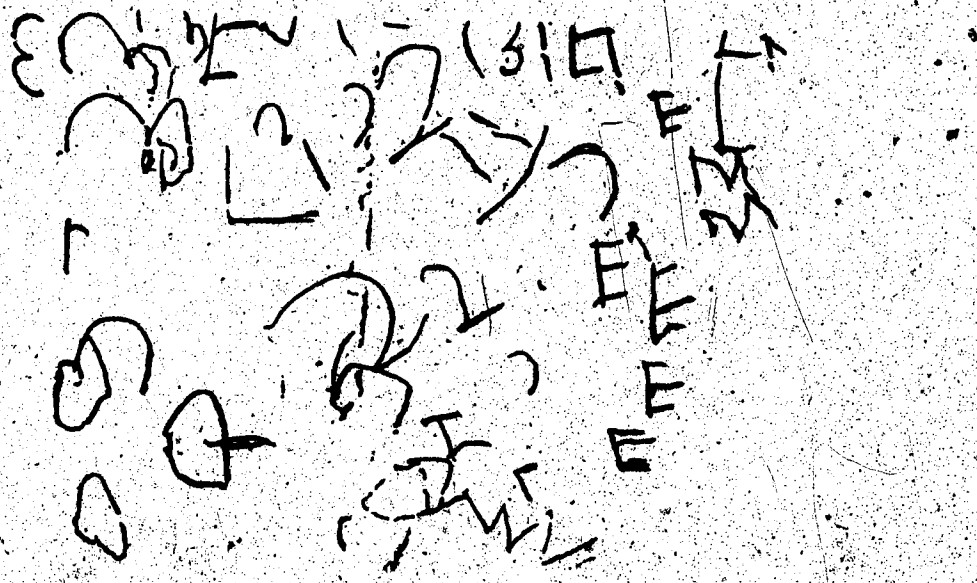


Figure 24: The recurring principle in Michelle's early writing.

Literacy Set-ups. Michelle's literacy development was not a thing that her parents intended to leave to chance. Apart from being read to every day, being encouraged to write and focusing attention on environmental print, Jill bought specific word games and materials for word recognition activities. A good example of this was a set of cards which Jill purchased from a teachers' store. Each card contained a picture clue for a word or some words. The following transcript illustrates how these cards were used.

Card: WALK

M: walking

J: Not "ing", just walk.

Card: DOCTOR

M: doctors

Card: LINE

M: line

J: What does "line" begin with?

M: L.

Card: DON'T WALK

M: Stop (goes for meaning).

J: Where shouldn't you walk?

M: Don't walk in the road.

Card: XYLOPHONE

M: Xylophone begins with Z (accesses sound).

J: No, it begins with X.

M: X-ray begins with X.

Card: KING

J: What does king begin with? (points) What is that?

M: K.

Card: MARBLES

M: Begins with M.

Card: GOAT

M: Goat begins with /g/.

J: Do you know the sound? It's a G.

(Jill asked for the sound but really wanted the letter name. The child concentrated on sound and the mother on alphabetic names.)

Card: PEAR

M: Pear starts with /p/.

J: What's it called? P.

Card: DOWN

J: What sound does it make?

M: /d/.

J: D.

Jill was confused between sound and letter name.

Card: JUMP

J: (Pointing) J.

M: Begins with J like you.

When Michelle did not know a response Jill carefully pointed to the initial letter and said the alphabetic name. In this activity sharing and a sense of enjoyment was evident but Jill's confusion of letter sound and letter name confused Michelle and [redacted] ability was blocked. Transcendence was absent.

Michelle had a card with the alphabet written on it. She matched voice and letters to K and then looked up and recited the rest. Jill also took every opportunity to focus Michelle's attention on numbers.

M: This is one and two.

J: What number is it?

M: 12.

J: What other number has a 1 and a 2?

M: 21.

J: What comes after 10?

M: 11 and 12.

Summary

Michelle could write her name, knew the letters of the alphabet, wrote her own words plus dictated words and sentences, loved bedtime stories and used knowledge from this experience to reconstruct her favorite stories. Her parents considered her to be a very intelligent child and they purposely taught her to read and write. These teaching sessions were characterized by intentionality and sharing and much enjoyment. Developmentally she was at transition between stages two and three, as described by Doake (1981). From constant book sharing Michelle had developed very positive attitudes towards reading. Although she still predicted a text in her story books largely by using picture clues and knowledge of the story, she was beginning to learn how the language was put together in a visual sense. She had begun to confirm predictions by using her developing knowledge of sound-to-letter relationships (Doake, 1981).

The literacy interactions were in general characterized by a mediated learning experience where the elements of intentionality, reciprocity and transcendence of the here and now were observable, combined with mediation of meaning, mediation of competence, mediated regulation and control of behavior and mediation of sharing behavior.

Jill said, "I want her to be above average and I think I can influence her intelligence to a point." At times a mediated learning experience was initiated by Michelle when she indicated she did not understand something or it was initiated by her parents when they intentionally shared knowledge with her.

J: Her dad talks to her in scientific words, you know. She uses long words all the time.

Jill and Alex had high expectations for Michelle's literacy. Encounters I observed, both formal and informal, were pervaded by a sense of fun and sharing.

Summary of Phase One

Literacy Events in the Home Context

The Literacy Environment. At birth all of the subjects entered environments where books were considered important and children's books especially so. All subjects had been introduced to books at an early age and been read to on a regular basis. Each child had his/her own book collection which was supplemented by library books from a local library or school library. In each home the parents frequently read and wrote in front of the children.

Story reading was the most frequent literacy event. Story reading included bedtime stories read by parents, other adults and siblings, and books looked at or read by the child when he/she was alone. The most interesting aspect of book sharing sessions was their atmosphere. It was obvious both from direct observations and from listening to tapes that both the child and the transmitter were enjoying the sessions.

As often as story reading occurred, it certainly was not the whole

picture. A vast array of other literacy activities were part of the everyday life of the children. Each home contained games involving literacy activities and environmental print was accessed as it occurred in the fabric of family life (Schickedanz, 1984).

Literacy Interaction. The majority of literacy events were child initiated. Subjects chose their own library books and bedtime stories and asked questions about environmental print. Perhaps the parents had previously initiated many of the activities which were then child initiated on subsequent occasions. With re-reading of favorite stories parents often relinquished their role of teacher allowing the child to select what he/she wanted to know and responding to it. However, with story reading with David, most interactions were parent initiated with David answering briefly. He was most often silent during story reading. His mother,did, however, encourage more interaction with non-fiction. Whether child or parent initiated, literacy events in general were characterized by a pervading sense of fun and sharing with all the subjects.

The transmitters constantly checked understanding, thus establishing reciprocity which was most often manifested orally. Again David was an exception and rarely displayed verbal reciprocity. As the transmitter explained something new to the receiver explanations often transcended the here and now linking past, present and future.

From the point of view of cognitive learning theory all the children wanted to master their literacy environment, by selecting, interpreting and integrating information about their world to form schemas of their world. On the basis of their observations they made predictions and then these did not work out they engaged in problem

solving which was intense and persistent (Dyson, 1982). To learn literacy the children grappled with, and interacted with written language. Unlike oral language which the children used "relatively unreflectively" (Halliday, 1973), to "become literate they needed to focus on and analyze language itself (Donaldson, 1978; Vygotsky, 1978)" (Dyson, 1982, p. 830).

The subjects did initiate writing episodes but in general writing was adult initiated and engaged in with an adult or involved imitation of an adult activity.

In this home phase, the mother was the main transmitter of literacy. In Jeff's case he was read to at bedtime only by his mom. In the other families bedtime reading was shared by the mother and the father and occasionally a sibling.

All families had literacy rituals, the bedtime story being the most common one. Parents did, however, initiate some other activities. All the children at some time were taught some environmental print, for example "EXIT", "WASHROOM", "STOP", etc. Theresa used story reading to instruct in moral behavior and she dictated letters and words which Nadia had to write on her blackboard. She also taught Nadia upper and lower case letters in preparation for kindergarten. Jill taught Michelle to write letters and words and used flashcards for word recognition games where she taught alphabetic names and sounds. However, when instruction was given by a parent it was often in response to the child's request for help and it was embedded in the child's ongoing events. As in the Schickedanz and Sullivan study (1984), if planned instruction was relatively rare, a correction of a child's error was even rarer. Parents accepted i[illegible]inative though

incorrect responses and generally accepted approximations if they did not interfere with comprehension. The adults appeared to enjoy the children's contributions whether they were interesting, indicated a need for information or were amusing. Through internalisation of the text of a favorite story, Michelle and Wendy were seen correcting their own or miscues of others. Wendy often corrected her own writing. In this supportive atmosphere the children were risk-takers as they moved between assimilation and accommodation to adaptation (Piaget, 1973).

Literacy Knowledge. All of the children in this study seemed to be in the process of building their own understanding of how written language works. All of the children had developed numerous concepts about books, print, reading and writing. Each child had developed attitudes to books and reading which could have a positive influence on their future development as readers. To Jeff and David reading was an oral activity, "talking words", which conveyed messages. Wendy differentiated between oral and silent reading and Michelle focused on form as she imitated adult reading by making sounds.

The appearance of reading-like behavior with their favorite stories appeared to have provided them with an opportunity to begin to inspect the language of their books more carefully (Doake, 1981). Through this and other experiences with written language they did or could become more increasingly aware of the conventions of print and be more linguistically aware. This is what Holdaway (1979) refers to as a literacy set (Appendix A).

Using the stages of development composed by Doake (1981) this study was able to place the children as follows. Jeff, Nadia and David

were at stage two where they had begun to learn to retrieve their own stories for themselves. Through their own silent rehearsals, their parents' use of the oral close-like strategy of completion reading, and the appropriate use of their own strategies of mumble, co-operative and echo reading, they had begun to reproduce stories at their own verbal rather than a textual level of accuracy. They had gradually learned to use a great range of written language structures and unusual literacy idioms frequently found in stories. The central concern appeared to be with meaning and they monitored their own efforts to produce it. They indicated how well they could use the strategy of prediction as they made appropriate substitutions. Their future development as fluent, expressive readers was being established (Doake, 1981).

As Michelle was in the process of laying the foundations for a move to the third stage through pointing-to-print behaviors of her parents, through featured print in her books, through experience with environmental print and writing, and through her own curiosity about print, she was gradually becoming increasingly aware of the print on the pages of her stories and its relationship to reading (Doake, 1981).

For Wendy, however, the awareness that her stories were preserved in print and that to read them in the true way she had to find ways to master this print was becoming a reality. She was aware that in order to read you had to look at the print. Her move from fluent reading-like behavior to the arhythmical or voice pointing type showed that she was beginning to learn to use the visual sources of information for the purpose of reading (Doake stage three). She used her non-visual sources of information to predict what was on the page and had begun to learn to confirm her predictions using her developing knowledge of sound-to-

letter relationships. It was clear that as she continued to expand her already reasonably well developed knowledge of phonics and used this knowledge along with her knowledge of orthographic information and non-visual cueing systems, it would not be long before her stories would be accessible to her without assistance. "The energy, persistence and initiative that she brought to the task were a product of the way her earlier developmental reading needs had been satisfied in the previous two stages"(Doake, 1981, p. 583).

As far as writing was concerned all the subjects had developed concepts about writing and labelled their own art works. Jeff and Nadia focusing on form emulated adult writing. Nadia and Michelle wrote words of their own and copied words written by their parents or in books, sometimes focusing on form and sometimes on function. David wrote his name and some letters and, focusing on form, left the reading to the reader. Wendy's extensive book knowledge, letter and word knowledge and awareness of sound manifested themselves in her writing as she wrote her name, words, sentences, letters, notes and cards for special occasions. She showed an awareness of function as well as form. She had begun to spell using the relationship between sounds and letters, indicating that she was an early phonemic speller at this stage.

Adults in the home setting pulled their children slowly and enjoyably into a literate world. Although the children were frequent initiators of literacy transmission the parents often got the activity rolling and they were always there as willing co-operative resources (Schickedanz and Sullivan, 1984). All of the subjects in this study came to kindergarten with considerable knowledge of literacy in today's world.

In the next chapter the data from phase two will be presented to show how literacy was transmitted in the kindergarten setting.

CHAPTER V

PHASE TWO - LITERACY IN BOTH THE KINDERGARTEN AND HOME ENVIRONMENTS

Settings:	Kindergarten at Alloway School, John Walter's Museum, the Citadel Theatre, Jeff's daycare and the subjects' homes	
Actors:	School Principal	Mr. Adamson
	Kindergarten Teacher	Mrs. MacDonald
	Kindergarten Aide	Mrs. Haisan
	School Librarian	Mrs. Lang
	Wendy, Jeff, Michelle, David, Nadia and their families	
	Other children in the kindergarten	

Introduction

In this second phase, fifty-one visits were made to the kindergarten over a period of nine months. From September to December the kindergarten was visited three times per week whereas after Christmas only monthly visits were made. These monthly visits provided a fuller picture of the literacy program over the entire school year. Ongoing visits were also made to the homes and Jeff's daycare to provide simultaneous data for the home setting.

This chapter provides data on the school environment in general and the kindergarten in particular. Each aspect of the program is in turn discussed to describe literacy development in this setting in

terms of what is provided, who transmits it, how it is transmitted, and who receives it. The continuing literacy experience in the home is also described.

The School Setting

The Philosophy

Alloway School was a small elementary school with a student population of 200. In the school information booklet given to each parent at the start of the school year, the school approach was described as follows:

> Our school recognizes that each child is an individual. We try to present our pupils with a challenge to enable them to work to their potential. We try to build our students' confidence and positive self-image. We are concerned with the way in which pupils react and relate to each other and to adults. In short, if the child gains basic competence in subject matter (curriculum), life skills and a healthy outlook on life and him/herself, then our school has been successful.
>
> The staff feel that good parent teacher communication is of vital importance to your child's educational growth. We ask that parents contact our teachers whenever questions, concerns or the need for further information arise. The closer that home and school work together, the better.

Mr. Adamson, the principal, saw the main function of kindergarten to be its role of introducing children to formalized schooling:

> Kindergarten is for readiness, and not readiness per se but readiness to begin school. The child learns to follow rules and work in small and large groups.

Mr. Adamson put a lot of trust in his kindergarten teacher to set up a good program:

> She must be someone who likes children and is adaptable. She should believe in strong home/school communication and be able to work with other people, for example aides and volunteer parents. Anyone who thinks kindergarten is an easy job should try it for a year.

Preparation of the Environment

Mrs. MacDonald and her aide spent several days (4 days in total) preparing the room (Appendix F and H) for the arrival of the children. For the free play activities the following materials were made available: dressing-up clothes, dolls, a Wendy house with a stove and sink unit, a sand tray with various plastic funnels and cups, a water tray with filters, a tube, a fish, a duck, cups and boats, two easels with paper, paint and brushes, simple number games, various construction materials, blocks, etc., simple jigsaw puzzles, paper and crayons, clay with some implements, some library books and a selection of listen and read-along tapes.

Each toy box was labelled for each child and the aide made name tags for the first few days. These would later be used in field trips. The work area was stocked with glue, colored and white paper, erasers, pencils, staples, scotch tape and crayons.

On the walls were the following:

1. Numbers chart 0 - 10 (both in numbers and blocks)
2. Alphabet chart, Aa, Bb, Cc
3. Calendar
4. Dick Bruno alphabet frieze
5. On one of the display boards was "HAPPINESS IS BEING IN KINDERGARTEN" (capital letters).
6. On the outside of the classroom door was a notice saying, "Hooray for Kindergarten" (upper and lower case).

Preparation of the Curriculum

Mrs. MacDonald had a set of objectives for the school year 1983-84 as follows. These objectives were displayed in the form of a chart at

the meet-the-teacher evening in the Fall.

LANGUAGE ARTS

1. Auditory Skills
   - localization of sounds
   - distinction of differences in pitch and tone
   - identification of rhyming words
   - identification of beginning and ending sounds
   - following directions
   - increasing attention span
   - short and long term memory

2. Comprehension Skills
   - show and tell
   - sequencing
   - drawing conclusions
   - identifying the main idea

3. Visual Skills
   - recognition of similarities and differences
   - left to right progression
   - top and bottom

4. Pre-Reading
   - interest in books
   - read pictures
   - draw and name pictures
   - draw picture and tell related stories
   - recognition of signs on calendars, charts and thermometers

5. Writing
   - printing names (first and last)
   - printing other words that are meaningful

6. Reading
   - special words
   - easy books

KINDERGARTEN MATHEMATICS

- Counting - number of objects in a set ordinal position
- Shapes
- Measuring
- Size - sequencing, large-small, most-few
- Writing numerals
- Sets
- Simple addition
- Time

KINDERGARTEN SCIENCE (Sapa Kits)

- Perception of color
- Listening to whales (auditory discrimination)
- Recognizing varying shapes
- Color, shape and size
- Perception of taste
- Perception of odor
- Leaves, nuts and seashells (classification)
- Temperature
- Direction and movement
- Length

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

- Games
- Gymnastics
- Creative Dance

MUSIC

- Songs that complement themes
- Rhythm band

THEMES

September	Rhymes, favorite stories and color
October	Fall, Thanksgiving, Pioneer Life, Geometric Shapes and Hallowe'en
November	All about me, Remembrance Day, 5 Senses
December	Christmas
January	Winter, Eskimos
February	Groundhog Day, Valentine's Day, Space
March	Pancake Day, Transportation, St. Patrick's Day
April	Easter, Spring, Community Helpers
May	Dinosaurs and Dragons
June	Circus, Zoo, Farms

Entry

The First Day

On the first visit each child arrived with a parent and filled in registration forms plus an "Introducing My Child to his First Teacher"

form (Appendix G). Mrs. MacDonald used this form to find out what each child could do.

TM: I have to sort them out and find out exactly what they know.

The subjects' parents indicated that their children could at some time do most of the tasks on the form, although they noted that David did not yet know his address and telephone number, Michelle could not tie her laces, and Nadia did not know her address and telephone number. It was also interesting to note that June indicated that Jeff had not yet used clay and glue (he had in daycare), did not show leadership in organizing games (he did in daycare) and did not play with many children. No information was obtained or sought from playgroups or daycares that any of the children had previously attended.

Orientation Days

Following registration day small groups of children were introduced to the kindergarten program on Orientation Days. Wendy and David were in the first group. Their day appeared to be a great success and the children chatted as they made onion rings and spaghetti with clay.

W: I've got so many boyfriends. One I'm going to the birthday of - that's Graham. The soccer season also starts today. I sure am lucky today, school, a birthday and soccer.

Wendy looked up at the alphabetic frieze and read "apple", "bus", "cup", "dog" and "egg".

Later Wendy and David cooperatively built a house of wooden bricks and when they heard the tidy-up song they stopped immediately and cleared away their toys. Both were used to this procedure at their playgroup.

Michelle, Nadia and Jeff also enjoyed their first day. When name tags were given out, Michelle noticed that Andrew's was upside down.

During play Michelle sang, "Old MacDonald" and Nadia joined in and did a somersault. Jeff watched in a bemused way as he continued to play with building blocks. When Michelle joined him they made a Z with the bricks.

TM: What have you made?

M: A Z.

Later, when the children drew a picture and wrote their names beside it, Nadia quickly wrote hers in capital letters, as in Figure 25.

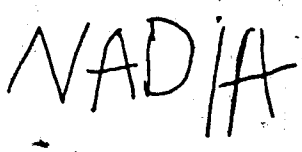


Figure 25: Nadia writes her name at school.

Jeff wrote his name as follows in Figure 26.

Figure 26: Jeff writes his name at school.

Michelle said the letter names to herself as she slowly wrote her name as in Figure 27.

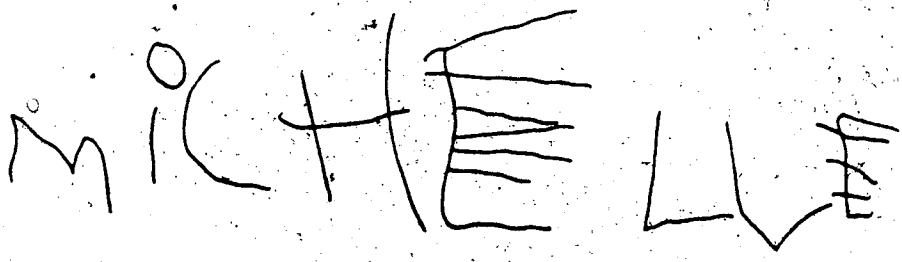


Figure 27: Michelle writes her name at school.

Mrs. MacDonald labelled parts of Michelle's drawing (Figure 28)

and pointing to the horse, Michelle said to her, "I fooled you, five legs." Michelle then sang, "You Are My Sunshine".

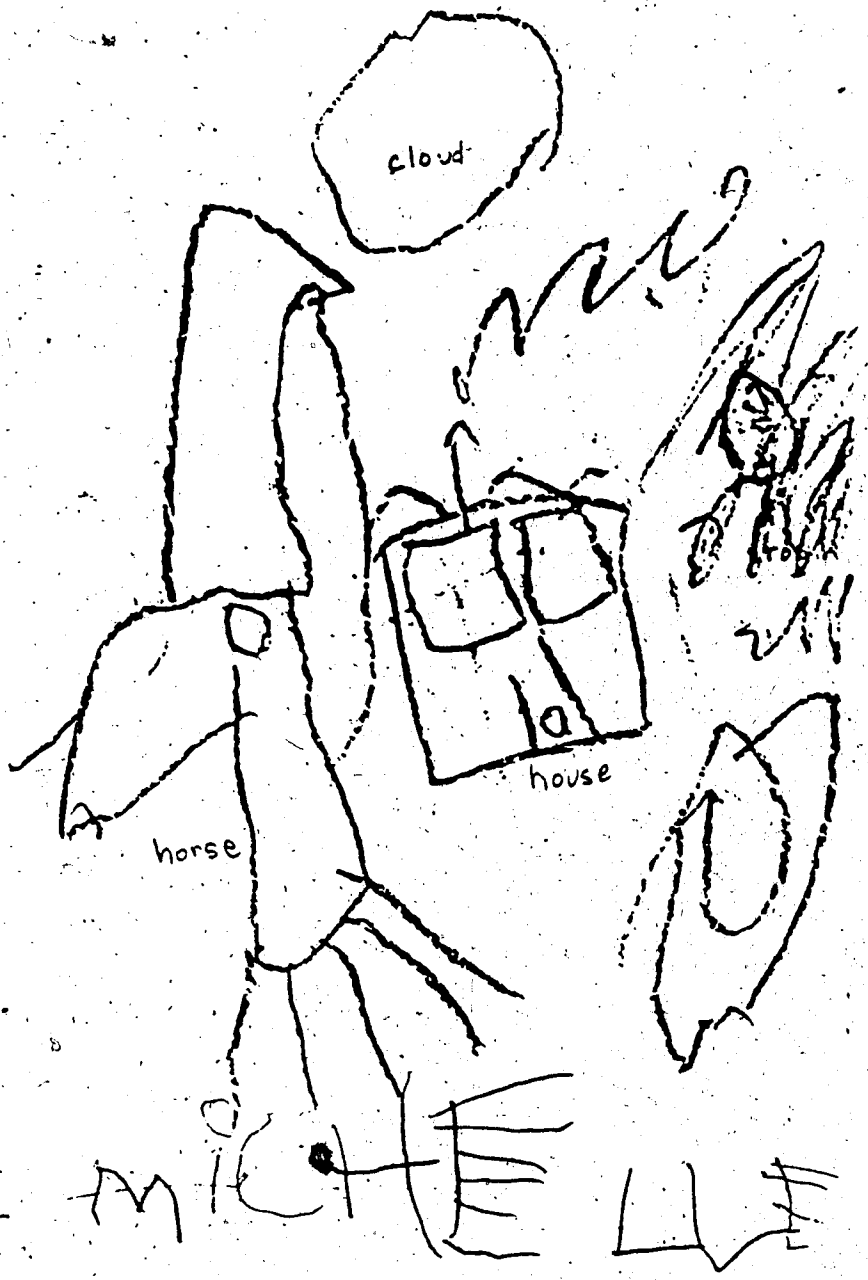


Figure 28: Mrs. MacDonald labels Michelle's drawing.

For this group Orientation Day was also apparently a great success. Each of the subjects was quick to learn the daily routine and fitted in

well with the other children.

The Large Group and the Program

By the time the children came together in their large group of twenty, each child had a fair grasp of the sequence of the daily program. Figure 29 illustrates the form that the day took unless on special days or field trips.

Plans

Theme: Color Red — Tuesday, Sept. 20/83

8.53-9.00	Arrival
9.00-9.30	Music (1) Morning Song (2) Colors of my Rainbow, Attendance, Calendar, Weather, Alphabet, Language development - Let's Imagine Color Identify Red Things Red Experience Check
9.30-10.00	Gym - Playground or Locomotion Activities Bathroom Break Snack
10.00-10.30	Red Activity Sheet #2 Visual Discrimination
10.30-10.45	Recess
10:45-11.15	Self-Selecting Time (centers) Red - Balloons Red - Paint Red - Wall
11.15-11.20	Clean Up
11.20-11.28	Show and Tell - Red Things Story - The Two Reds

Figure 29: A sample of the teacher's daily plans

I observed the subjects during work time, play and circle time. After recess Nadia seemed to be out of sorts and said, "I don't like recess." This comment was an early indicator of difficulties with social interactions which accentuated later (Chapter III).

The work time consisted of a worksheet on the number 1 as in

Figure 30. Nadia and Wendy followed the instructions and completed the sheet quickly. It was interesting to note that on Mrs. MacDonald's instruction Nadia had written her name in upper and lower case letters. She appeared to be eager to please the adult in charge. Michelle and Jeff had some problems which are illustrated by the following transcript.

TM: How many bunnies are there in the picture?

Chorus: One.

TM: I will give you this paper and I want you to make the number one in the boxes (pointing to worksheet). I will give you some crayons and you may color the rabbit. If you know how to print your name do so at the top. If not, I'll help you.

M: Well, there's two carrots.

TM: Yes, but we are only doing a one today.

Jeff had written a beautiful set of ones as in Figure 30, but he had added a tick at the top just as it was on the sheet.

TM: (Looking puzzled) Jeff, there's no top, just a straight line down.

When the sheets were completed and handed in for correction, David went to the sand and Jeff and Wendy went to the house. Nadia rushed for a puzzle and was joined by John who wanted to help her. She said, "No" and he chose one of his own. Later she called to him, "Look what I've done" and he replied curtly, "Who cares?"

TM: That child is just not prepared to share this morning.

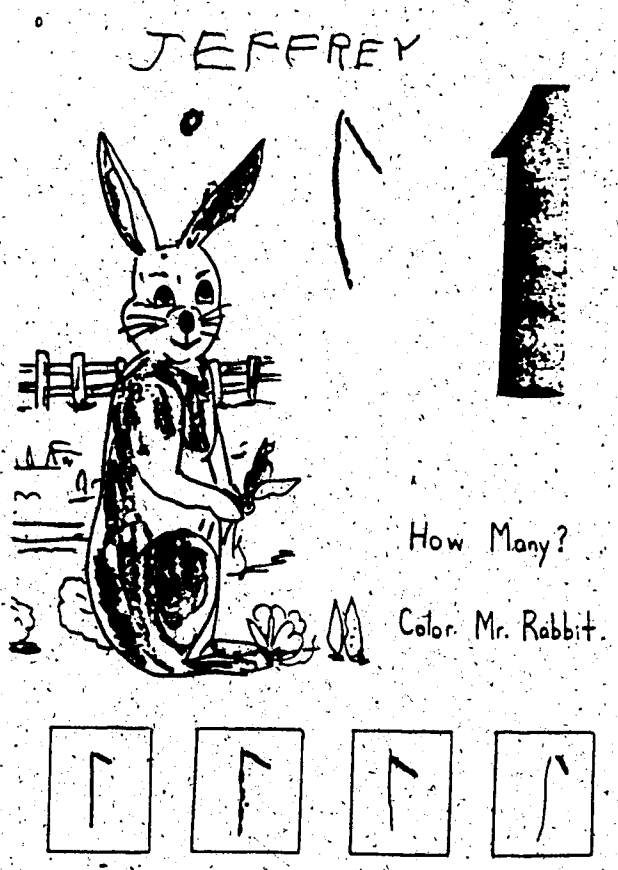


Figure 30: Jeff completes a number worksheet.

The Children and the Program

This section takes a close look at the daily program both in terms of its content and interactions involving the actors. The morning is divided into five main categories: free play, circle, gym, snack, work time plus special activities such as field trips.

Literacy Activities During Free Play and Art Activities (9.00-9.15 and 10.45-11.15)

On arrival the children chose from a variety of activities (Appendix H) and in general were not restricted as to choice, or the amount of time spent at a particular activity. For special art

activities such as Christmas decorations the whole class was required to participate after work time. Art work was generally linked to the theme, for example red paint only was available on the red day. Table work mainly consisted of coloring, cutting and pasting from duplicated sheets linked to the current theme. Free choice painting also was always available at the easels (Appendix E).

In general the children appeared to enjoy play and were loathe to tidy up.

W: Boo hoo! (But quickly tidied up)

N: I can't read, I can't read. (Didn't have time to finish a book at the listening center.)

M: We didn't have long to play today.

J: I'm not listening. (He continued for a few minutes to sing the alphabet and write letters.)

The subjects were observed as much as possible on every visit to paint a picture of their choice of activities with particular attention to those involving literacy.

Michelle. Michelle's favorite activities were as follows: art projects, painting at easels, listening to musical records and playing with her own toys, and writing and drawing on the blackboard. I only once observed her at house play or puzzles, and never observed her at water play. On two occasions she was observed thumbing through a book from the library. Michelle also at times listened to a story at the listening center and followed along with the book. The following transcript is of a book sharing episode with Nadia. Both children sat side by side at the center with their headphones on. Michelle started the record and Nadia held the book.

N: (To Michelle) You're Cinderella.

M: (Got up and did a little dance.)

N: (Turns the pages and gasps) Isn't that beautiful?

M: Do you like my dress?

No, Nadia. They didn't say turn the page.

N: (Pointing) She's in the book.

It was whisked along (echoing the voice in the record).

M: Turn the page.

N: He's going to marry. That's the man that's running down ...

(Turning to face Michelle) The slipper!! Aw ...

M: Turn it. No, not yet.

N: (Pointing) Look at the slipper. Aw, Cinderella was locked in her room (sad face).

Cinderella's dream has come true. Look (pointing). They married her and she will have a baby.

(Disappointedly) I thought there was going to be a song.

The story was a great favorite of Nadia's at home. After a book sharing session the whole family would dramatize the story. Using the pictures Nadia added her own comments to the story. She tended to rely heavily on concrete knowledge from her immediate direct knowledge. At this point her mother's pregnancy was the focal point of her life and she embellished the story with "and she will have a baby".

The "Cinderella" record was carefully put away and "Sleeping Beauty" selected. Nadia shared this story with Michelle and another child but unfortunately they ran out of time. With about one minute to go the teacher switched off the record player, and Nadia carefully put the

book away.

In early September Michelle was writing letter inventories on the blackboard.

M: I'm writing the alphabet. (Pointing to M) That's my name.

Writing right to left, then left to right, she wrote her name on a cut-out balloon, indicating that the directionality of print had not yet been established. When writing her name on an art work she would sometimes write her Christian name left to right and her surname right to left. Often when Michelle started writing on the blackboard she was joined by other children who also wrote.

M: I'm going to spell something.

She wrote as in Figure 31.

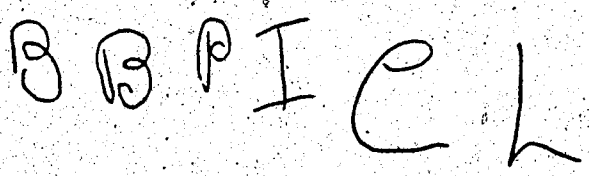


Figure 31: Michelle writes on the blackboard.

M: What does that say, Moira?

OC: Bbpiel.

M: (Giggles) What?

OC: Bbpiel.

M: (Giggles) Is that what I spelled?

(Joined by Jeff, Nadia and another child)

J: (Points to his writing which is four T's)

That's what I done.

M: (Again wrote "BBPIEL") I spelled /Bbpiel/.

Wendy came along and copied "BBPIEL" and laughed.

M: What does SUL spell?

OC: /sul/

M: b/a/t (wrote "BOB").

J: (Pointing) That's a B and an O.

M: (Wrote "BAT") Okay, this word's bat. I learned this with my mommy.

J: (Wrote S) It's a letter.

M: (Wrote "MAT") Says mat, MAT.

The blackboard was a mass of writing when the children finished. From this transcript we see that the children especially focused on form. Although they were aware that the language should say something, the meaning did not appear to be the major concern. Although they knew that writing should be able to be interpreted by a reader, they were not overly concerned about this as long as their product looked like language.

On another occasion in November, Nadia and Michelle played at school. Michelle went to the blackboard after work time and wrote . Nadia joined her and they both began to draw stars . Nadia seeing that Michelle found it difficult took her hand and helped her draw stars.

N: I'll do it with your hand. I won't push you around.

M: Let's erase all this. Nadia, do you mind if I erase your stars?

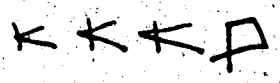
N: No.

M: (Wrote) A C H

N: (Climbing up on a chair) Now I'm the teacher.

M: Write cat.

N: (Wrote) Okay, what does this mean?

Then she wrote 

M: Okay, Nadia, I'm the teacher now. It's my turn to be the teacher (4 times). Nadia, you move.

N: (Wrote 1 2 3) There, finished.

Michelle then went over to a group at the Calendar. Nadia became the teacher at the Calendar.

N: What season is it?

M: November.

N: What month is it? (Picks up teacher's class list) You do the Calendar.

Nadia and Michelle completed the whole calendar routine with Michelle as the teacher. This sequence of play-acting Calendar reflected the essential nature of this experience for the children where the teacher asks exactly the same questions every day and the children chorus the answers which are not elaborated. The sequence also revealed that Nadia tried to control the situation and when she could not she moved to a new situation. At this point Michelle was willing to cooperate with her.

At times Michelle also wrote in the journal (Figure 32).

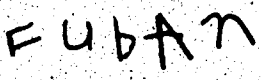


Figure 32: Michelle writes in the journal.

M: (Pointing) Futuristic Uranium Bio Atomic Robot (Figure 32).

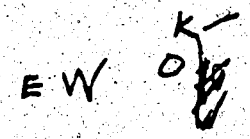


Figure 33: Michelle's Ewok

She then wrote as in Figure 33, and said, "He walks."

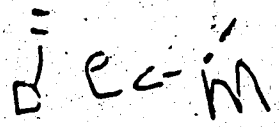


Figure 34: Michelle writes "dotted mouth".

As she wrote as in Figure 34, the following dialogue occurred.

M: He has a dotted mouth. How do you write mouth?

Other child: Think of house.

M: Think of sound, mouth.

Michelle recognized the sound clue from the other child. When she added the dotted lines to M she was aware of the symbolic nature of written language but she also added the concrete (Ferreiro and Teberosky, 1982).

If she wanted to write a word Michelle would ask either me or another child to spell it.

M: (Pointing to an easel) Moira, when you're finished, will you write mailbox for me?

First she wrote M L, then squeezed in a and i. She then wrote L and said, "There's the L anyway. After the L comes the B and O. The X is kind of tricky. Up there will do." (Figure 35) She was aware of the right sequence but felt no need to write in sequence.

Figure 35: Michelle writes "mailbox".

Michelle always labelled her art work and sometimes also wrote a friend's name on the back of an art work.

David. David's main activities at play time were construction toys and sand. He also liked to bring his own toys to school. He was never observed choosing the listening center or the water tray. On two occasions he selected books from the library corner.

Once in September David chose four books from the library, sat on the floor and went slowly through each book. The books he chose were "Max the Noisy Bear", "See No Evil, Hear No Evil, Smell No Evil" and "Winnie the Pooh" (all Scratch and Sniff books by Golden Books) and "Do You Want to Be my Friend?" David's lips were moving but almost no sound could be heard except on the last book he said, "Will you be my friend?" at each page. Each book was carefully looked at then placed back in the shelves before he returned to the bricks. David appeared to be predicting (subvocalizing) the text from picture clues. Remembering "Will you be my friend?" from a previous story session he used this as the text for the entire book.

In December David selected "Jack and the Beanstalk", silently looked through the book and then returned to construction toys. No spontaneous writing, apart from his name, was observed.

Nadia. Nadia was extremely fond of puzzles, art work and drawing on the blackboard. Also on several occasions she would choose the listening center to read a book or she would choose a book from the library corner. Occasionally she was observed matching her oral version of a story with the pictures. She spent very little time with water, sand, wood and construction toys.

At the beginning of the school year, Nadia was very keen to look at books.

N: When can I look at a book?

TM: When you have finished your work.

N: I have, I have.

If she was in the middle of reading a book at tidy up time, she was very upset when she was told to put it away. At times she ignored the teacher and continued to look at the book. Nadia was also observed writing her name, her phone number and some number equations (taught at home) on the blackboard.

N: Two and one, three comes after.

She approximated the form of the equation but did not appear to understand the meaning of the symbols.

Early in phase one, Nadia requested to write in my journal and she made entries throughout the study, as shown in Figure 36.

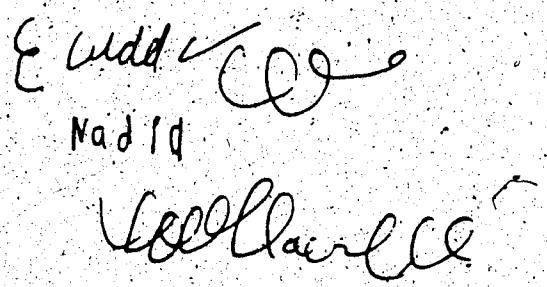


Figure 36: Nadia "scribbles" in the journal.

N: I can't write. I just scribble.

Her early writing had many of the features of adult cursive writing. She wrote Gary's name, then said to me, "Does that say my dad? Does that say Gary?"

N: Can you write my mom's name on the blackboard?

Nadia then copied it into the journal. She wrote and left the meaning to the reader.

Jeff: Although I never observed Jeff playing in the house corner, his favorite activity was imaginative play with other boys. Star Wars adventures were a great favorite. I rarely observed him painting and taking part in art activities. He often brought his own toys for his imaginative play. Towards the second half of the first term writing on the blackboard and on scraps of paper became a favorite activity after work time. The following figure and transcripts illustrate the extent of this writing. Figure 37 shows the words that Jeff copied from his "Charlie Brown Dictionary".

J: My dad got it. Can you (observer) read these words?

My mom reads them. I'm looking for an I.

Jeff used this familiar book as a resource for his writing, using what Clay (1975) has referred to as the copying principle, and he had begun to realize the relationship between reading and writing.

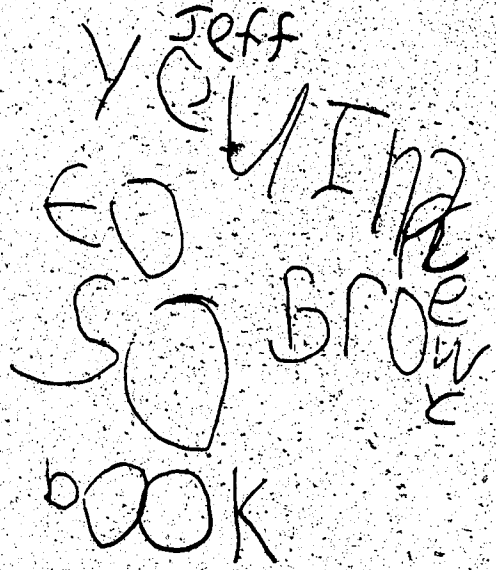


Figure 37: Jeff copies from his "Charlie Brown Dictionary".

One day in November, Jeff watched Wendy finger painting and the

following dialogue took place:

J: Fire! Fire! The school's on fire. Do a house.

Wendy then wrote A B C D with her finger in the paint.

J: That's the ABCD's on fire (red paint was being used).

Here he related his own world knowledge to these essentially abstract forms.

J: (Pointing to the A) You didn't do the cross.

He picked up a pencil and started writing in my journal which was lying on the table beside him. First he wrote A B C D E, then paused and wrote F G.

J: (To the observer) Do me an H.

He then sang the alphabet song and stopped at I. Next he wrote C, said, "That's a C" and erased it and wrote J backwards. He continued to sing the alphabet song to K, and wrote L M N.

Jeff's writing had stopped being pictures but had not yet become writing if by writing we really mean using letters to represent words by their sounds.

J: I don't know words. I can only copy.

He had knowledge of what he could and could not do. When Michelle asked what his letters spelt he replied by singing the alphabet song. At this point he was focusing more on the form rather than meaning of written language.

By November Jeff was not only engaging in the laborious task of copying but was filling pages with invented words such as "LOWBY" and "BRP". He defined a word as "when you stop". He realized that by using a small set of letters (the alphabet) he could generate a limitless amount of writing, provided that these letters are combined in different

ways. Clay (1975) refers to this as the generative principle. However, he was still concerned with form and quantity rather than meaning when he said, "It's going to take me a long time to fill up this sheet."

He even included a dash in his writing. Pointing to the dash he said, "This isn't accluted to this. That means it's not included to this." Occasionally however, he did write real words such as "CAB", "SAAB", and said, "Look, I wroted the name of a car." Jeff was eager to show his writing to Mrs. MacDonald.

TM: What did you do?

J: I did lots and lots of letters.

TM: So you did lots and lots of letters.

The teacher merely repeated Jeff's statement and no attempt was made to elaborate or to increase either his understanding of the form or function of written language.

Writing did, however, appear to be a social affair for some of the children who themselves were interested in writing. Jeff asked Michelle for help during one of his alphabet writing sessions.

M: I'll write it (u) for you. Look up there (pointed to number charts).

J: Those are numbers.

M: Look over there (pointed to alphabet frieze).

Taking Michelle's advice Jeff was able to complete his alphabet with XYZ. When Jeff was deeply engrossed in these writing sessions he was very loathe to stop for the tidy up tune.

J: I'm not listening.

He carried on singing the alphabet song.

By late December Jeff was attempting to write a message to his mom

(Figure 38). He had all the words there, helped by Wendy but he was not concerned with order. "JEF DO JOBS FOR MUM." On the top right Wendy added a line to make "MUM" "MOM". With this writing meaning dominated with form taking a secondary role.

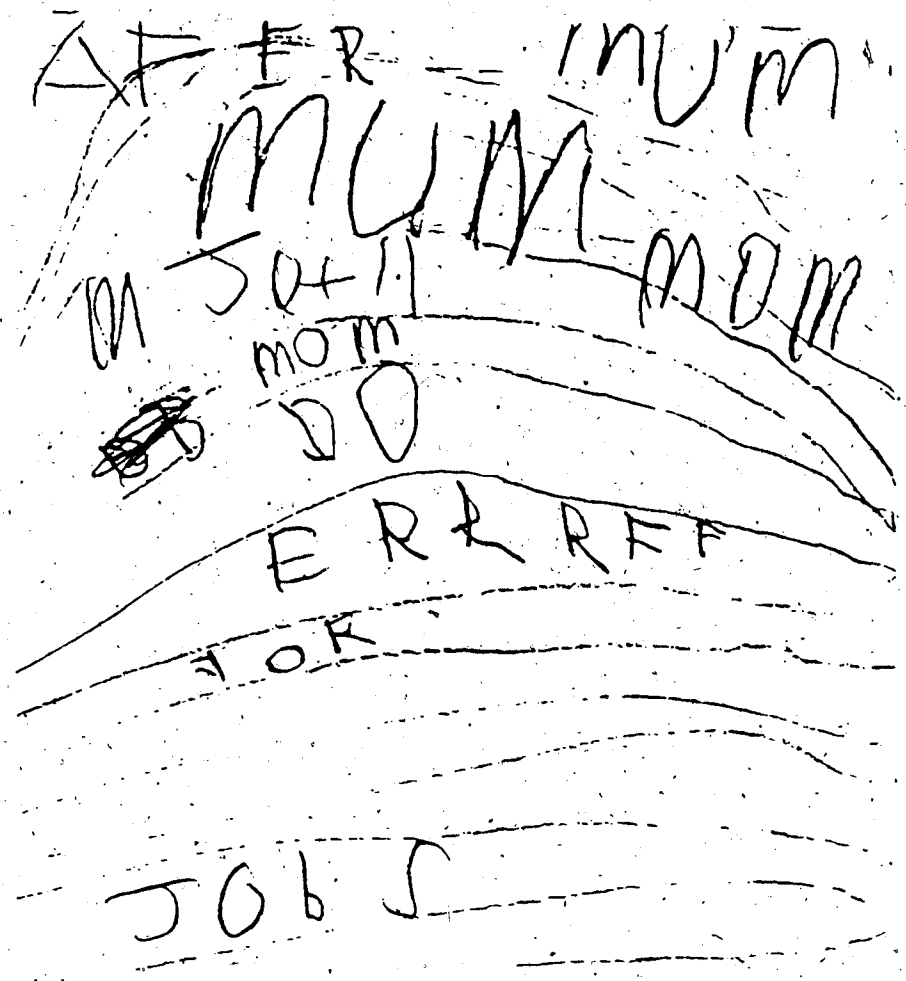


Figure 38: Jeff do jobs for mom.

The following transcript reflects Wendy's attempt at a mediated learning experience.

J: (To Wendy) I'm writing.

W: Printing.

J: Writing or whatever.

Wendy corrected Jeff who really was not interested in the difference

between writing and printing.

W: Writing you write letters. Printing you don't. It's not the same. You're writing (pointing to observer). This is printing (pointing to Jeff's letter inventory).

Here she tried to contrast writing and printing. She did not, however, develop the meaning of the two activities. Jeff was enjoying what he was doing whatever it was called and he did not share or demonstrate reciprocity.

In general Jeff's interactions with Michelle and Wendy had a positive effect on his ability to write. One child can seek out information (Wendy) and contribute positively to another child's learning (Jeff's) (Dyson and Genishi, 1982).

Writing was not a prescribed activity in the kindergarten, that is apart from the writing of names on worksheets. The children realized this and reported to Mrs. MacDonald that "Jeffrey's taking paper to write on." She replied, "Oh well, we'll have to tell him about that." Art materials were for art and writing materials for work time.

Only on one occasion was Jeff observed with a book. He had arrived in a very upset state from daycare that day. Rejecting all attempts to speak to him, he sat on his own at a table with a book and appeared to be comforted by the book. He was left alone till circle time. He, in fact, did not speak to his friends till snack time.

Wendy. Wendy liked art work, construction toys and writing and drawing on the blackboard and paper. The main feature of these activities was chatting with those beside her. She rarely played in the house or listened to records or tapes and I never observed her with a book. Some days she did not appear to know what to do.

W: What should I do?

OC: What do you usually do?

W: Nothing much.

Wendy wrote her first message in late September and it was to her mother, as in Figure 39.

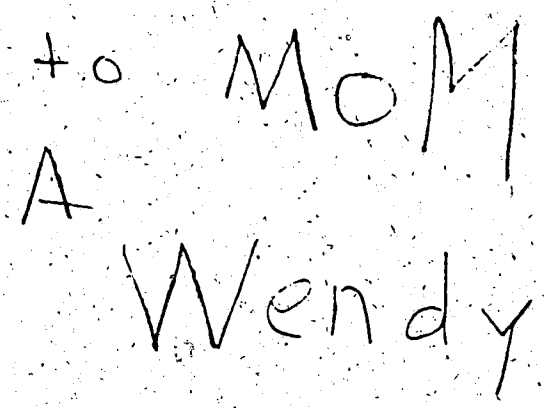


Figure 39: Wendy writes a message to Mom.

W: The pen isn't too good so I will over do it with a felt.

She also labelled a painting "to Marion". Meaning was clearly central in Wendy's writing although she had developed considerable knowledge about the form of written language with which to communicate this meaning.

In Figure 40 we see another message to Mom.

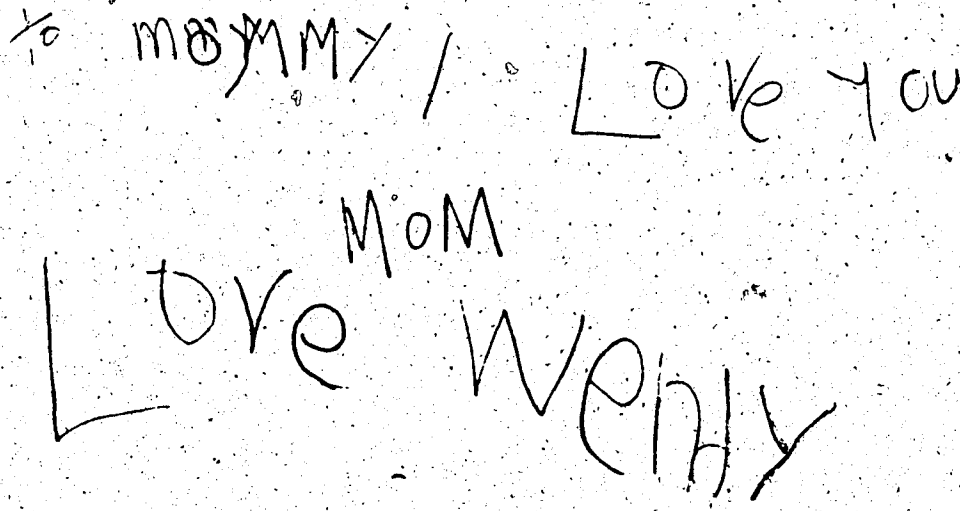


Figure 40: Wendy's writing is corrected.

Wendy started this with "to mmy". The aide looked at it and said, "We don't need that m." Wendy looked puzzled. "But it says mommy," she replied. The early writer had omitted the vowel o, focusing on the repeated /m/, and the aide did not help her to understand the need for the change. I received my first message from her in December (Figure 41).

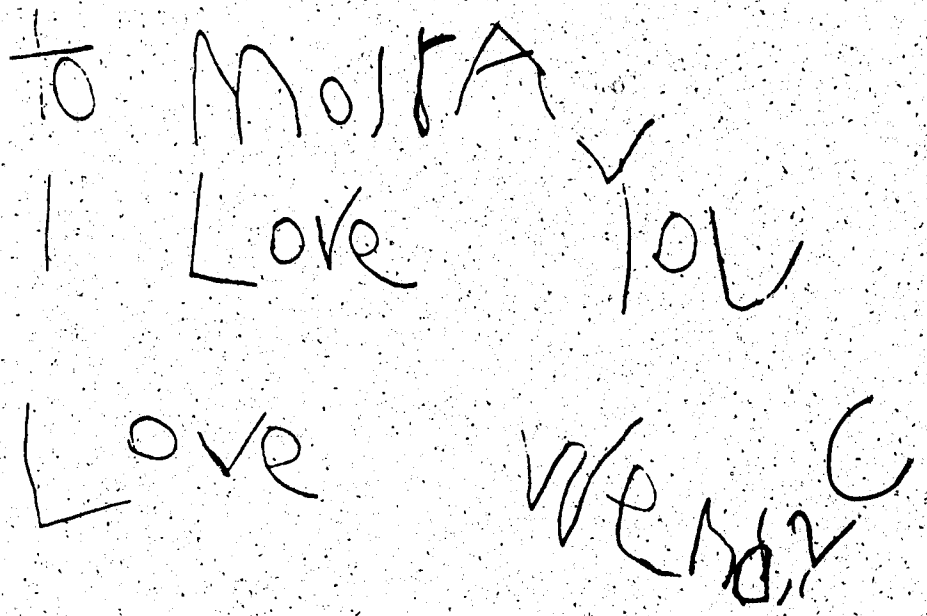


Figure 41: A message to Moira.

At this point in time Wendy copied words, remembered word forms and wrote them independently and invented word forms often correctly. She independently made use of repetitive sentence patterns. She also liked to chat about words, writing, letters and so on. At times I observed her talking to Jeff and Michelle at play time, where she was able to have a positive effect on their ability to write.

One day in October Wendy brought a collection of things her sister had given her to school for show and tell. There was a clip board, a notebook, a pencil and a pencil sharpener. Wendy sat down at a table and was joined by Michelle. She gave her a piece of paper from the clip board. Michelle wrote her name, saying each letter's name as she did.

W: What's the date, Moira?

OC: The twenty-first.

She wrote this on the message pad and then looked at what Marion had written and replied (Figure 42).

From Marion	From Wendy
Date: Oct. 16 1982	Date:
To: Wendy	To: MARION
Message: I Love You	Message: I Love You

Figure 42: Wendy writes to her sister.

Wendy checked back and forth from the first page to her own writing. This material was shown later at show and tell.

TM: All right, Wendy, what do you have to show and tell this morning?

W: A book. Look what Marion did in it. She did the first page and I did one back to her. A pencil.

TM: What color is it?

W: Gold.

TM: Very good. What color is your board?

W: Pink. I also have the pencil holder and a pencil sharpener.

TM: And what color is your pencil sharpener?

W: Red.

TM: Red.

The child focused on the writing done by herself and her sister. This was what she "showed". The teacher focused on the pencil and asked its color. The teacher took over the show and tell and Wendy was gradually reduced to single word responses. The child had brought a meaningful

literacy product to the show and tell and the teacher had focused on color.

When Wendy's "My Family" book was completed and about to be taken home she insisted on showing me what she had done. The following transcript illustrates her reading of the text.

OC: Wait a minute, Wendy, I'll come round and sit beside you so that I

W: Don't have to look upside down.

Text: MY HOME

W: My Home. I have a large window and a door and a thing to see who's there.

Text: MY FRIENDS - Anne

W: Me. Is that me? No, Anne is my favorite friend. My name doesn't start with an A.

Text: MY FAVORITE FOODS

W: My favorite food is

Text: macaroni + cheese spaghetti

W: Spaghetti and macaroni. The spaghetti is going all over the place. Macaroni and cheese. (She pointed to the words.)

Text: MY FAVORITE STORY - Bible story

W: My favorite book is my Bible. This is the box to keep the dust off. Bible story. (Again she pointed to the words.)

Text: THINGS I LIKE TO DO

W: Things I like to do.

Text: I like to toboggan with my brother and sister.

W: I like going tobogganing.

Text: Michael is not happy.

W: Michael likes going tobogganing.

Text: MY FAVORITE DAY is Christmas and my birthday

W: My favorite day is birthday and Christmas. Here's my birthday cake and my tree.

At times Wendy eye-voice matched and at other times predicted a text to match the pictures on the photocopied sheets. She was at a transition stage between reliance on text memory and accessing graphic cues.

Literacy Activities During Circle Time

Each free play session was followed by a circle time. The first one was at 9.15 a.m. and the second at 11.15 a.m. A special tidy up tune played on the piano by Mrs. MacDonald acted as the signal for the children to tidy up and sit either around the piano (9.15) or around the teacher's chair (11.15). The pattern for each 9.15 circle was as follows:

(a) Each child was asked the same question and register was taken as each child answered. These questions were linked to the theme. Some examples were,

TM: Do you have something that is red?

Tell me something that is a triangle.

Tell me your favorite Hallowe'en character.

What are the five senses?

(b) The children were then asked what the weather was like and then they sang the "Good Morning" song,

Children: We come to school to work and play.

Good morning, Good morning.

It's such a grey and cloudy day.

Good morning, Good morning.

This was followed by one or two songs linked to the theme, for example, the "Color" song, the "Turkey" song or the "Hoot Owl" song. All songs were taught orally.

(c) A new theme or a new activity connected with the present theme was introduced, such as listening to nursery rhymes using a tape and headphones, color mixing, hanging names on the name tree, telephone numbers and families.

During the color theme the teacher asked the children to say something that could be red. She wrote these on a chart.

TM: You did very well. Look at these words. Let's read together. Only the teacher read. In this instance the teacher initiated a literacy experience and invited the children to join in. They were not able to do so and sharing did not take place. The teacher carried on reading quickly despite a lack of reciprocity. This resulted in a non-meaningful experience for the children, one in which a feeling of competence was not achieved.

(d) It was then Calendar time. The following transcript illustrates the nature of this activity.

TM: All right, it's Jeff's turn for Calendar and it's his birthday. (Jeff points with the pointer.)

Our season is ... (pause)

Chorus: Fall.

TM: Our month is ...

Chorus: November.

TM: November begins with letter ... (pause)

Chorus: N.

TM: And ends with ... (pause)

Chorus: R.

TM: What will next month be?

Child: Tuesday.

TM: No, December. Let's say the days of the week together.

Chorus: Monday ... Sunday.

TM: What day is it today?

Child: Snowy.

Chorus: Thursday.

TM: What letter does Thursday begin with?

Chorus: T.

TM: Let's count what day it is.

Chorus: One ... ten.

TM: How do we make ten?

Chorus: Zero and a one.

J: If you put it zero one, it's only a one.

TM: What day is it tomorrow?

W: Remembrance Day.

TM: We remember the men and women killed in the wars.

J: How did they get killed?

TM: They got killed for freedom.

J: What's freedom? (Looks puzzled.)

There was no response from the teacher. Jeff asked how and the reply was why. He tried again and his initiated search for meaning was ignored and he was left puzzled.

N: I can't wait till Santa Claus comes back.

A child was then selected to put a weather picture on the Calendar.

(e) Twice daily Mrs. MacDonald read to the children from a book linked

to the current theme, for example "Do you know Colors?" In general, the children were completely silent unless asked a direct question. Spontaneous comments were also in general discouraged.

TM: This is a quiet time.

N: There's a sign on a hut door (pointing to some writing on a door in a picture).

TM: Sh!

In this instance Nadia's attempt to initiate a literacy experience was discouraged and later when she commented, "Reindeers don't talk anyway," she was reprimanded.

TM: Nadia, this is a quiet time. If you can't be quiet, you will be leaving.

However, not all the children's comments led to reprimands. For example, at one point when Michelle asked, "What's a whack?", she was ignored and the story continued.

TM: Did you enjoy that story?

Chorus: Yes.

TM: Now it's time for gym.

As the following transcript shows, the teacher set the social rules. Some children were allowed to break the rules at times but others were not. This social routine frequently precluded mediated learning.

N: (Pointing to a picture in a book at story time) I think he's sleepy walking. (This comment related to her own life experience of dreaming.)

TM: We don't talk during story time.

Little bear was still asleep.

M: That's 'cos it's winter.

TM: Yes, (The story continued.)

(f) At about mid-term the school librarian began reading to the children once a week for 15 minutes. The following transcripts illustrate the nature of this book sharing experience. Books were introduced with a discussion to focus the children's attention on the book and to spark their interest. She also focused the children's attention on the print in the title.

L: What is this? (pointing to a picture on the cover of "Pierre the Alligator")

No response.

L: A paddle. It's like a windmill. It goes round and round (gestures) and makes the board move.

The librarian constantly checked for meaning and built on the children's existing knowledge.

L: Does this book remind you of another we have read?

Several Children: "Rosie's Walk".

L: Tell me why they are similar.

She helped the children to expand their responses. At all story sessions the children were allowed to contribute spontaneously. All responses were welcomed and listened to attentively. With predictable language the librarian paused to encourage spontaneous participation. If the children's response did not match the text exactly they were not interrupted or corrected as this would interrupt the flow of language.

Also with predictable text some children read cooperatively while others echoed or mumble read. As the following excerpts from transcripts of a reading of "Harry the Dirty Dog" show, at times the children were asked to predict from picture clues, while at others they were asked to

predict without picture clues and their predictions were checked out by reading the text.

L: And suddenly he realizes that he is a fish and he has to be in the water. He can't do the things the frog does. Just at that very moment, who comes along? (Pauses, pointing to the next picture)

Child: The frog.

L: Right, his friend. What does he do? (Turning to the next picture)

Child: He fell into the water.

L: Right. What's going to happen to the fish when he can't go into the water?

Chorus: Die.

L: Do you think he is? It depends how long he's been out. Let's see (turns the page - no picture). Ah! The frog must have found him just in time.

These story sessions with the librarian were a great favorite of the children. Mediated learning experiences were initiated both by the reader and the listener. Sharing and reciprocity and transcendence were most evident. Jeff's comment summed up the reaction of all of the children when he said, "Maybe she'll read ten (books) today 'cos it's ten o'clock!"

(g) Show and Tell: The main feature of the second circle time was show and tell. The teacher placed it here to settle the children down before they went home. Many children brought objects every day and it was often a rush to see them all before going home. Comments on these objects were often linked to the theme, as shown in the following

transcripts.

TM: All right, David.

D: A sticker book (large collection of stickers).

TM: What color is this here?

D: Pink.

TM: Pink.

TM: All right, Wendy. What did you bring?

W: An autographed picture of Wayne Gretzky.

TM: What color is his uniform?

W: Blue, white and orange. The other team is wearing orange too.

TM: Thank you.

TM: All right, quickly, Michelle.

M: I got a truck.

TM: And what color is your truck?

M: Blue, white and black.

TM: Okay, and how many tyres do you have on your truck and what shape are they?

M: Round.

Here we see a stimulus-organism-response (S-O-R) situation and not a stimulus-human mediator-organism-response (S-H-O-R) situation (Feuerstein, 1980).

TM: All right, Jeffrey.

Jeff showed a mitten:

J: There is something wrong with it. The J is backwards.

TM: Jeff's nana put the J's backward.

Instead of helping the children develop an understanding of direction the teacher simply repeated the child's comment.

Most children adapted to the routine easily but Nadia had great difficulty at circle time. She reluctantly stopped her play and at times refused to participate.

N: I don't like sitting down. I wanna read a book. I just gotta move around. I brought a book for show and tell and you didn't even read it.

TM: Sit on the floor, Nadia. (Nadia is on top of a table.) You will have to go outside the door. Sit down during the song or I will put you on the floor.

N: I'm so tired. I was up so early.

The teacher pulled Nadia on to the floor and she screamed. Often during circle time, Nadia sat away from the group until story time or lay on her back on the floor.

TM: Nadia, please do not kick the wall. I'm sure you don't do that at home. Any rate we don't do that here. How many days till winter?

N: I know! I know!

TM: Nadia, be quiet. You count with us or you don't talk.

N: I know, eight days.

TM: Will you please be quiet. You are going to have to move.

Nadia also never seemed to understand the alphabetic rota where each child alphabetically did the month, the weather, etc.

When she saw print she constantly asked what it said. For example, during a filmstrip she asked, pointing to some writing, "What does that say?"

TM: Act III.

N: It says three?

There was no explanation given of the Roman numerals, no elaboration of the meaning of Act. Nadia who was used to long explanations from her mother and father often looked hurt and puzzled when her questions were silenced or left unanswered. This may have contributed to her disruptive social behavior at circle time.

Literacy Activities During Work Time

Mrs. MacDonald considered work time to be a very important component of her program.

TM: You know some kindergarten teachers don't give out worksheets because they don't want to do corrections. I just don't know how they identify people who need help. How can you know if everything is oral? Quiet ones just get lost. I really like to check on what I am doing.

Work time was from 10 to 10.30 and any work not completed then had to be completed after recess. Worksheets were on reading readiness, mathematics readiness and themes. The various types used are listed in Appendix I and some examples over time are shown in Appendix J.

After snack each child chose a seat in the work area (Appendix F) and awaited instructions. The following transcript was recorded during Jeff's day in October.

TM: Has everyone got a red, blue and yellow?

Chorus: Yes.

TM: Nadia, I want you to listen. Today we are doing rhyming words that rhyme with fan. If it rhymes with fan you cut it out. If it does not you throw it in the garbage. All right, fan, man, does that rhyme?

Chorus: Yes.

TM: Fan, pan. Does that rhyme?

Chorus: Yes.

TM: Fan, fence?

Chorus: No.

TM: Fan, can?

Chorus: Yes.

N: Remember we were doing the spider one? (the day before)

TM: (Second sheet) All right, we are doing visual discrimination. What one looks exactly like the first one and you put a circle round it. This time we are looking at the size of the key.

Child: We always look. We always know.

TM: Here we have a watch. Is this one the same?

Chorus: Yes.

TM: You put a circle round it. This time we are looking at the egg in the nest. Is this the same?

Chorus: No.

TM: This?

Chorus: Yes.

TM: (Third sheet) Number one, number two, and number three. I want you to color number one yellow, number two will be blue, number three will be red. You will color them that color. If this has three things in it what color will it be?

Chorus: Red.

TM: If it has one it will be?

Chorus: Yellow.

TM: Two will be?

Chorus: Blue.

TM: Does everyone understand?

Chorus: Yes.

Jeff finished quickly.

J: I finished quicker than lightning. Let's make a space station.

On another occasion the worksheet was about the number two.

W: What are we going to do?

TM: We are going to do number 2 today.

Chorus: Easy.

W: I can do that. 2 is 5 upside down.

TM: All right, hold up two fingers.

Child: What two fingers? (holds up two hands)

There was no response to this child's question. The teacher demonstrated how to write a 2 on the blackboard and the class completed the worksheet. In general three sheets were completed at each work time.

The following points emerged from four months observation of work times in this setting.

1. Each sheet was firstly completed orally with the children chorusing answers, which the teacher often repeated. At no time did I observe the teacher accessing the print on these sheets.

2. A great deal of coloring was required and many of the children merely scribbled over a figure quickly with one color.

Wendy is coloring 4/s and the crayoning goes over the lines.

W: Oh, who cares! I'm only coloring 4's. It doesn't matter.

M: (To Mrs. MacDonald) I don't wanna color all these.

TM: You can just put a mark on them then.

Nadia always completed her worksheets very carefully after taking a long time.

N: Oh, I'm too tired making this. I think I'll die. I'm always tired doing this.

A: (To Jeff) Do we have purple apples?

J: No. I just colored it purple. (In fact he quickly colored everything on the sheet purple.)

3. At times the children could not recognize the object on a sheet and therefore could not complete the assigned task.

TM: That's not a mouse. That's a rat.

It was impossible to tell from the picture.

4. Instructions at times were unclear.

TM: For our last sheet you have to look at the pictures and color all the things you can eat.

Jeff did not understand who the "you" was.

TM: You wouldn't color worms.

J: You can eat worms. Birds eat worms.

TM: Well, you color the things <u>you</u> would eat.

No explanation was offered and another child said, "Well, I'm not coloring a hot dog." This child was a vegetarian.

5. Rhyming sheets were sometimes completed without an understanding of the words used.

TM: Does pail rhyme with whale?

Chorus: Yes.

One child then muttered to another child, "What's a whale?" "Dunno" was the reply.

6. The first writing that was done was copying first names. Later complete names were copied and had to be written on every worksheet.

N: I'm taking my time so I get it right, but I'm so tired

doing this.

J: I don't need this card (to copy my name). I do better writing at home. I can't write so I have to copy.

As soon as kindergarten started the children were required to change from using capital letters to writing their names in upper and lower case. In October Michelle who easily wrote her name before school began asking for help.

M: I need some help with my name. My dad says it's sloppy.

This anxiety continued until November. Also at times both the aide and the teacher wrote words on the worksheets.

TM: You have to draw your favorite story today. I'll come round and write the name of the story beneath.

TM: (On another occasion) You will draw your favorite foods and we will come round and draw the names for you.

It was never suggested that the children could write their own words. When the teacher or the aide was writing, I did not observe the children watching this writing or being asked to read what was written. Hence, the children had little opportunity to further their understanding of the graphic nature of writing or the link between sound and vision.

7. The treatment of interruptions varied.

TM: Join the dotted lines to make the sail for the boat. All right, Nadia, if you speak again you will have to leave.

N: (Muttered) You don't even listen to me.

M: Can you read this, Nadia? (pointing to her name card)

TM: It's time to be very quiet and listen. Nadia, are you going to leave or be quiet. Our first sheet today is, "What comes next?" Here we have a tiny puppy. What comes next?

(3 pups to arrange in order of size)

J: (Shouts) The big one.

TM: Jeff's teasing me. I can tell (smiles).

8. Worksheets were completed and handed in one at a time to the teacher. If an error was spotted it had to be corrected, that is, erased and re-written. The aim was that all children completed each worksheet correctly.

TM: Look, Jeff, you forgot the E in Jeff.

J: I hadn't enough room.

No allowance was made for early writers' fluid concepts of written language.

A: What's this, Nadia? This C looks like an S. You can erase this and do it again.

TM: David, fix your G's. They're going the wrong way.

TM: That's not a capital, Wendy. We always start our name with a capital.

D: I don't have to get every sheet right. I just need to get some sheets right. I just like to get some sheets right.

It often took David some time to be able to correctly and independently complete his worksheets.

The children's errors were often corrected in the following manner. The corrections were teacher initiated, often without accompanying explanations, again resulting in a stimulus-response situation. However, at times both Wendy and Michelle were observed correcting their own worksheets and talking while they did it, thus self-regulating their own behavior.

W: Oh dear, I did an N instead of a W. What am I doing?

M: Wasn't that silly, you guys. I put glue on my thumb (giggles).

W: (Erases N) Wasn't that funny? I did an N instead of a W, E then N. What am I doing? (laughs)

M: (Looks at the worksheet) You could always write it backwards.

Michelle's concept of directionality was still fluid at this point while Wendy's was more established.

W: B's (b) and D's (d) are the same but they go different ways. You have to remember a little D goes the other way.

This comment reveals that Wendy had developed her own strategies for remembering the directionality of letters.

9. Although children were told that work time was a quiet time the dominant feature of the work time was the conversation of the children. Friends were chosen to sit beside and the following transcripts reflect the types of conversations held.

N: (To a child at her table) Give me five, On the side
Cut the jelly, Cinderelly
(Laughs all round).

M: Jeffrey, do you like this color of nail polish?

J: Yes. Do you know what my favorite color is? Red.

M: This is pinkish red. It's two colors all mixed up.

W: (To a child called Grant at her table) I'm not scared of you, you big bully.

D: You keep quiet, Grant.

Grant: I'm not scared of you.

D: You keep quiet or I'll get my daddy to you and I've got a real daddy. I bet you don't.

Grant then talked about how his dad shot up tanks in the war. Wendy

talked about her family trip to Disneyland and David described a holiday in Vancouver.

M: All right, Wendy, what kind of animal do you like?

W: A cat, but she (Mom) won't let us as she's allergic.

J: What favorite animal do you like?

Child: Cats.

J: Why don't you marry it? (giggles all round)

W: My mom won't let me have any pets.

J: I like all the animals in the whole wide world.

Wendy, Michelle, Nadia and Jeff would also sing songs they had learned at home. One day as Michelle, another child and Nadia were working on a number worksheet which had an arrow on it, the following conversation was noted. Michelle cut out the work sheet and made a spider with the scraps.

M: Walk, walk, walk, baby spider. What's the arrow for?

Child: The boxes go here. See where the arrow is pointing. It's supposed to go here.

N: Remember the Planetarium (field trip)? We saw an arrow (light arrow). (Michelle and another child burst into song, singing "Me and My Arrow".) I don't like that song.

M: (Frowning) What do you mean? It's just a radio (song) what's on.

N: I don't like everybody here (glaring).

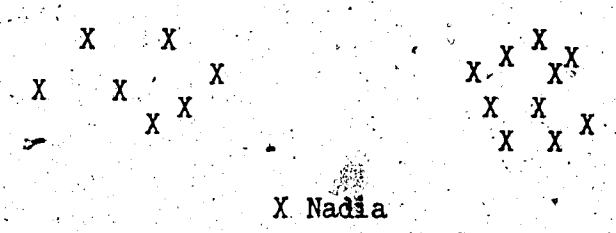
The girls went on singing. "Meow, Meow," said Nadia mockingly. Michelle looked hurt and puzzled.

Numerous conversations about topics other than worksheets were noted, possibly because the worksheets were not demanding.

during this time. Nadia constantly shouted, "Watch me, Mrs. MacDonald, watch me!" One day another child pushed her and she started to cry and scream.

TM: That is what it is like to be pushed, Nadia. Hopefully you will learn your lesson.

At times when the class was asked to sit on the floor, the grouping looked like this.



X Nadia

She often found it difficult to find a partner to line up for gym or to return to the classroom.

Snack Time

Snack time was after gym and provided an opportunity to sit beside friends and chat while eating a cookie and drinking a glass of juice. The following grace was said,

> Father we thank thee for the night
> And for the blessed morning light,
> For rest and food and loving care,
> And all that makes this world so fair. Amen.

J: We fold our hands and fold our eyes.

Child: How do you fold your eyes?

(Whole table demonstrated by closing their eyes.)

J: I fold my lids.

On most birthdays a special treat was provided by the birthday child. Often a cake was brought in, with print on it, but at no time did I observe this print being accessed.

10. During work time discussions Michelle was seen expanding [redacted]ities based on instruction she had received at home. As she [redacted] picture of a nose with that of a rose, she said, "nose, rose, [redacted]se, goes and throws". This kind of activity was not asked for [redacted] time.

Each day a time was set aside for the use of the gymnasium (9.30-9.50). During early Fall the children played at the local community play-park. This play was not teacher directed.

TM: This is a great opportunity to observe the children at play and gives them the opportunity to socialize, which is a large part of my program.

Again a lot of chatting went on.

W: My friend (at playschool) wasn't a bluebird. Bluebirds are smarter than canaries.

N: What did you say?

W: I wasn't talking to you.

Even at this early stage in September Nadia was having social problems.

As soon as the weather deteriorated, gym time was indoors and involved team games, apparatus work and various physical exercises. This was a really happy time for the children.

Child: Are we going to gymnastics today?

TM: Yes.

Chorus: Hurray!

Although the children were told to do a particular activity they were free to try it any way they liked, according to their individual ability level. All the subjects with the exception of Nadia coped well

Field Trips

Six field trips were arranged during the school year and I observed two of these. The teacher and a small group of parents were involved in the organizing and running of these trips. The first one observed was a morning visit to the John Walter's Museum. Four mothers, who had already visited the Museum and had prepared materials, accompanied the children. Each child was put in a group and given a name tag.

N: (Pointing) It's my name.

Nadia was pleased to be able to read her own name.

On arrival, the custodian gave the class an introductory talk to set the scene. "Pretend you are John Walter's children today," she said. David's mother was responsible for the woodcutting group. Each child waited for a turn to saw and chop wood.

N: How about me? How about me?

L: Nadia, you must listen today. This is a place full of mysteries. You have to do as you're told.

The other groups were: wool and cushion stuffing, candle making, icecream making, butter making and baking scones. The mothers chatted constantly with each group of children.

Mother: Isn't this so exciting, Jeff? (Jeff nods.)

Mother: Does anyone know what goes into icecream?

Child: They used cream.

Mother: Where does cream come from?

Chorus: Cows.

Mother: Yes. It's from cows' milk.

Mother: What happens if you leave icecream out of the freezer?

Child: It melts.

Mother: What's this?

Chorus: Ice.

Mother: No - feel it.

Child: It's cold.

Mother: It's rock salt. It melts the ice and makes it even cooler.

Mother: (At wool center) Pull the wool apart (demonstrates). Try to get the tangles out. Pull, pull, pull. This is called teasing. What is it called?

Chorus: Teasing.

At each activity I observed the mothers:

a) Showing great enthusiasm

b) Involving the children immediately

c) Sharing the activity with the children

d) Finding out what the children knew

e) Filling in gaps in their knowledge

f) Repeating words and checking if the children understood the new ideas

g) Slowing down or speeding up according to what the children were able to do

h) Constantly saying, "Isn't this fun?"

Interactions observed here were initiated both by mothers and children and led to many mediated learning experiences for the children. This was in general in contrast to the interactions observed between the teacher and the children in the classroom, where interactions were often of the stimulus-response type (S-O-R, Feuerstein, 1980).

The second field trip observed was to the Citadel Theatre to see "Beauty and the Beast". Although the language of the play was somewhat

archaic, the children in general knew the plot and could follow what was going on. On numerous occasions children tried to join in or made comments, but were hushed quiet. The play itself did not provide an opportunity for child participation. As we left the theatre one child remarked, "I felt the rain during the thunder."

After the first trip there was a brief class discussion about the olden times, followed by a story. No follow-up was observed after the second field trip.

Parent Interviews

In December two afternoons and evenings were set aside for parent interviews. Due to the number in the combined kindergarten classes, Mrs. MacDonald was given two afternoons without a class. Each subject's family gave permission for me to be present at these interviews, as follows:

Susan: Certainly, Bob and I will both be there.

Theresa: We trust you. We would like you to be there. Gary and I will both be there.

June: I've checked with Bruce and it's okay with us.

Jill: Certainly - no problem. Alex is studying for his final oral. He won't be there.

Linda: Why us? (Laughs)

OC: I've asked to sit in on all the interviews.

Linda: Sure. I'm sorry John won't be there.

The Edmonton Public School Board Spice form was used to structure the interviews (Appendix K). Mrs. MacDonald took parents through the form from beginning to end and then dealt with any questions.

Wendy's Interview. Wendy's parents were first to be interviewed.

Mrs. MacDonald said that Wendy was doing very well and proceeded through the Spice, commenting favorably on each category. When she reached beginning and ending sounds, Susan said, "With this sequencing - I'm not sure what she's supposed to be doing."

TM: Putting pictures in order. After Christmas we will do drawing conclusions, identifying main ideas and inferencing. Now we are looking at books with no words, just pictures. We (the aide and I) have been printing words on drawings. She's probably printing other words but I haven't done any with her.

Here we see Mrs. MacDonald's concept of readiness for reading displayed as she described how she started with picture books. All the children were treated in the same manner.

The parents did not respond to this statement but started a different line of questioning illustrated in the following transcript.

B: What does she do with her time in general?

TM: She tries most things.

B: Is she doing as well as she could?

TM: Yes.

B: (Persistently) Where does she excel?

At this point, Bob appeared to be trying to find out more particular information about his own child.

TM: It's excellent.

B: Is that steady or does it fluctuate?

TM: She does the work required and does it well.

B: Would more effort be beneficial?

TM: I wouldn't push her. She's doing very well. Okay?

B and S: Okay.

TM: Thank you for coming.

TM: (To observer) What was Mr. - trying to get at?

TM: (To observer a few days later) I would like to know what Mr. - was really getting at. Does he feel she is not being stimulated enough? I think he is only interested in intellectual matters. I've never met him before. Perhaps he wanted to impress you. I would rather a parent just came right out and said what they were thinking. All the interviews were as usual except for Wendy's.

A few days later I met Susan at a supermarket and she commented on the interview as follows:

S: Bob was classified as just average in school and was not stretched to his full potential. I was pushed on a grade and suffered socially. I feel social adjustment is tremendously important. Bob and I clash here.

David's Interview. David's interview started with Linda rather defensively asking, "How's it going?"

TM: I am enjoying your little son. He is a quiet boy.

L: He's not quiet at home.

TM: I've been very pleased with him. In a large group he prefers to be quiet. He prefers to interact one to one or in a small group. It's probably just the way he is. He's left handed but one day he fooled me. Sometimes he writes right to left but usually he does it correctly. He is beginning to develop an interest in books. I don't know if he's printing other words.

L: Yes. He wrote to Grandpa and Grandma. I write. He copies it and does kisses.

TM: That's great, real good.

Mrs. MacDonald continued through the Spice prefacing each comment with, "He is beginning to ..." as if all these things were new to David. Linda did not comment to the contrary.

L: David has gone above my expectations of what he is capable of doing.

TM: He goes about things in a quieter way.

L: He sees so much and keeps it up here (points to her head). I'm really proud of him. He's super. Even at play school he was good and quiet. Anyway that's good. I'm glad to hear all this.

After Linda left, Mrs. MacDonald said, "She's such a joy. I just love seeing her." During this interview "quiet" appeared to be being equated with "good".

Jeff's Interview. This interview started with a discussion of Jeff's social behavior.

TM: Jeff has lots of friends.

B: I'm surprised to hear this. On weekends he stays at home with us and won't leave the house. He lost his friend Stephen.

J: The daycare has been good for him, meeting other children and socializing. That's a concern for me next year. It's important to get him into a neighborhood school so he can make friends in the neighborhood. I know he enjoys himself here.

B: Let's get on with this report so we don't run out of time. It's got a few pages.

Mrs. MacDonald went through the Spice, making positive comments. A discussion of Jeff's speech led to the following dialogue.

TM: He is beginning to read pictures in books.

J: He is starting to make up a story to go with the pictures at home. (Indeed he had been doing this for some time.) So this is probably where it's coming from.

TM: I don't know if he is printing words. We don't do that in kindergarten.

Again the dialogue turned to social behavior.

J: I'm pleased how he has settled in. Looking at him in the Spring, I couldn't imagine how he could settle in here.

B: Does he have an early frustration point? Is this just at home or at school as well?

TM: I haven't noticed this.

J: Thank you. I'm glad he's settling in.

When I later spoke to June in the daycare she said that they found the interview very impersonal.

J: We stuck to that form. I think it would have been better if she had used the form as a guide but spoke about each individual child. We felt we didn't really learn anything about Jeffrey, other than knowing what he does or can do. We didn't get expressing our concerns.

Jeff's parents appeared to echo the feelings of Wendy's parents. They both wanted to know what was unique about their own child.

Michelle's Interview. Jill's interview was quite brief with Mrs. MacDonald commenting positively on each category of the Spice.

J: How are her motor skills?

TM: Improving. Her small motor skills are improving. She sometimes reverses words but that's very normal for her age. Don't worry.

Mrs. MacDonald felt very positive about Michelle's social development when she said, "She has great empathy for other children which is unusual for her age."

J: She is very sympathetic. (Michelle clearly showed distress at times as she watched Nadia.)

We do work at home a lot with her. We have crossword puzzles at home. She can write "hat", "bat", "sat" and "yet".

TM: I haven't seen this.

J: Ask her to show you. (Mrs. MacDonald did not to my knowledge do this.) She's very good at sounding out. Ask her to do it. You will see.

Nadia's Interview. The interview with Nadia's parents focused primarily on the social aspect of school adjustment as no previous communication between school and home had occurred on Nadia's problems in this area.

TM: Intelligently, Nadia has no problems. Socially and emotionally, she has problems. Sometimes she shares, sometimes no. Sometimes she insists on having her own way and if she doesn't get her own way she has a tantrum.

G: She doesn't do that at home. (Both parents looked shocked.) It doesn't work with her at home.

TM: She will lay on the floor and kick.

T: I once threw a cup of water on her face. She doesn't do this at home.

G: This last weekend she was hyped up and spoke back to her mother.

TM: Perhaps it is linked to the baby. (This started before the baby was lost.)

T: She wanted that baby for herself. She thought of it as hers. I've been in hospital twice this year.

TM: Sometimes she gets along but she has to be the boss.

T: In daycare she got her own way. There were two people there who let her have her own way. She's constantly alone. She never did like to share.

TM: Intellectually she's doing very well.

T: She lets us know everything at supper time but she wouldn't tell us if she had been bad. She told us she changed the Calendar.

TM: At times she refuses to do what she is asked to do. She likes to do the worksheets. Nadia does not take responsibility for her actions.

G: (Looking puzzled) How many children take responsibility for their actions?

TM: The majority.

G: Nadia does not fit in? (Looking very upset)

TM: If they do not do what she wants them to do.

T: What can we do about it?

TM: I'm afraid she's not going to have any friends in the future.

T: I was here at Hallowe'en. I wondered if she did it (wouldn't join in) because I was there.

TM: No, she does it at other times..

T: Nadia needs to be encouraged.

G: The gymnastics teacher was very strict so she behaved there.

TM: Ignoring her doesn't work. With some children it worked.

T: With her it didn't work. It just proved to her she's winning.

She's come a long way. She is doing a lot better.

TM: I will work on that too. That works better than ignoring.

T: She thinks a lot. If you ignore her she will make up her own mind.

TM: It's particularly bad if you start off that way because she will be with the same children every year.

T: If she plays with one child it works better. She has struck up a friendship with Gordon. She talks a lot about Wayne, as if he's the best of her friends. She has a better relationship with boys.

G: This is because she competes with two dads.

T: I don't know what I should do (looks distressed).

TM: Talk about being a good friend. If you want your friends to treat you well, you must treat them well.

T: Let me know. Give me a call. I'm not aware of her problems. If we can both do it together it would be better. Sounds good. She's been brought up alone. It's a big adjustment to a large group. A couple of people in daycare just followed her. She's got to learn not everyone is the same. I'd really appreciate your keeping in touch with me.

G: I was worried today. She was late home. Let's hope the next half of the year is better. (Both parents are ashen.)

After the parents left, Mrs. MacDonald commented:

I hate interviews like this but it wouldn't be honest not to put them in the picture. I don't know what to do. I've looked up books but they're no help. They just talk about role playing and so on. I hope things get better.

The Home Setting

The pattern of literacy transmission appeared to, in general, continue in phase two as it was described in phase one. This section will report any changes occurring in terms of what was transmitted, how it was transmitted, and what was learned. Each child will in turn be described.

Wendy

As usual on home visits, I was presented with a great heap of Wendy's writings and drawings. She continued to write messages to those she "loved". Showing me a surprise present for her dad, she said, "I didn't know how to write from, so I just wrote Wendy to Dad." Figure 43 shows how she continued to monitor her own errors. Figure 44 shows a message written to her mother in December.

Figure 43: Wendy self corrects.

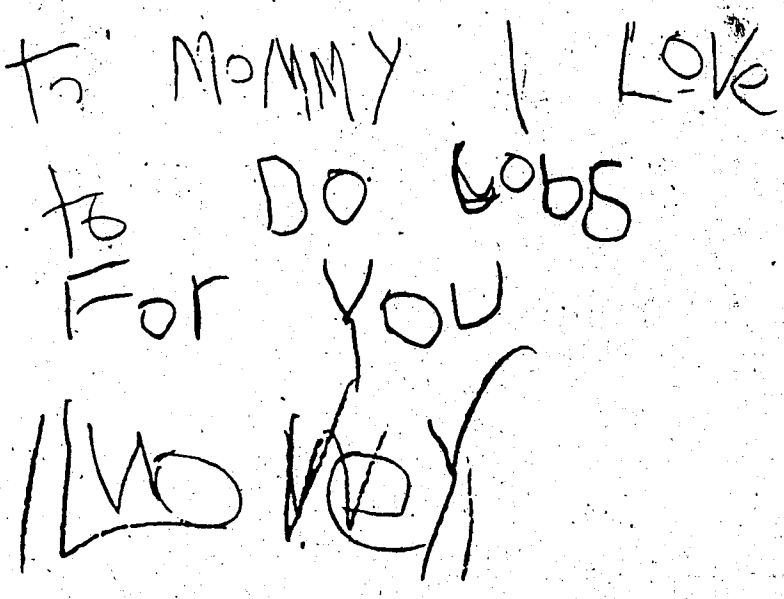


Figure 44: Wendy continues to write to her mom.

When she showed me her worksheets from school, pointing to the teacher's written comments, she said, "I can't read writing, Moira. What does it say?" At home Wendy went beyond the tasks set for the worksheets in school. For example, with a Humpty Dumpty sheet where she simply had to put three pictures in the correct order she pointed to the script beneath the pictures and read the words carefully, pointing to each word as she read.

David

At home David continued to be read to constantly.

L: We took 23 books this week from the library. I read them all to him. Lots were on construction.

Linda expressed concern about the worksheets.

L: He gets some things wrong and I can't figure out why (rhyming sheets). I wonder what he is thinking. (Linda worries about process.) He won't let me go over them with him. He thinks Mrs. MacDonald knows everything. He says the teacher doesn't

explain why he's wrong.

The main change in this household was the arrival of a computer.

D: Now we have a computer. I just try it alone and I learn.

David talked very clearly in the violent language of computer games as he explained various games.

D: If you get sprayed by atomic juice you're out.

Linda had taught him how to start games as follows:

D: You press B to start.

L: When it says ready, type run - R-U-N. (David did this.)

Good. Now press return.

The games which David played were largely visual and he chose his particular game using picture clues on the box. At this point in time the computer had not made any great impact on David's literacy development as he mainly accessed his already learned alphabetic knowledge.

Linda continued to initiate mediated learning experiences.

L: What's this crayon made of? (David shrugs negatively.)

Here, feel it. You used this at the John Walter's Museum with Mrs. -. It starts with W.

D: Wax.

L: Good boy.

Linda felt that David was slower at learning to read than his sister.

L: She was reading at this age. He just loves building things.

In Figure 45 we see words that Linda dictated for a letter David wrote to his grandma and grandpa.

He also wrote letter and number inventories, as in Figure 46.

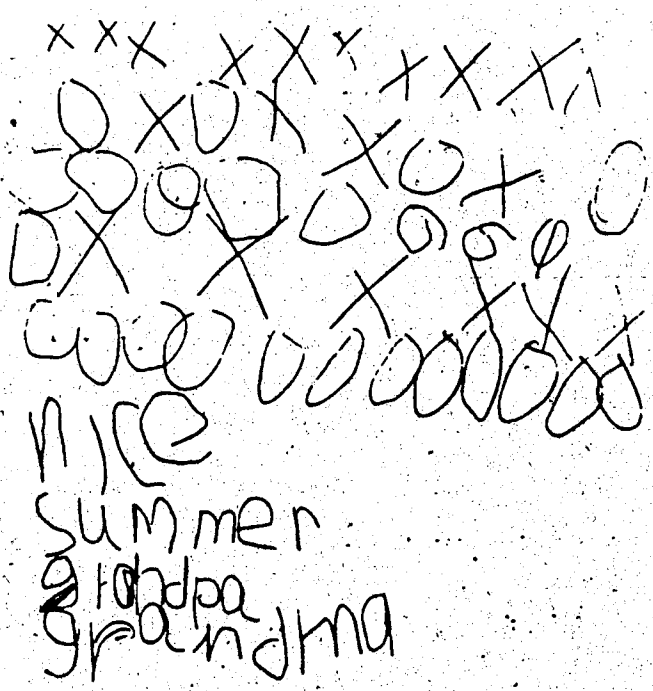


Figure 45: David writes to Grandpa and Grandma.

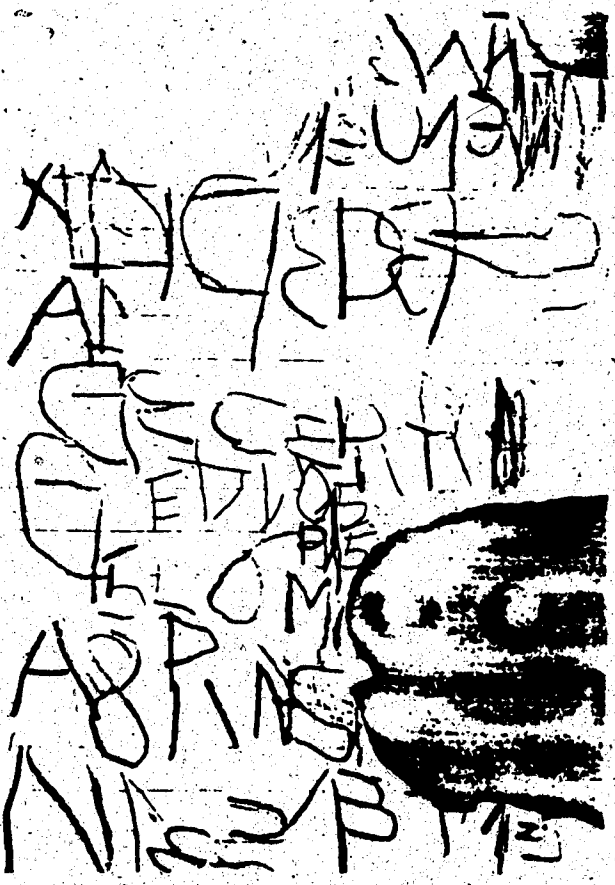


Figure 46: David's letter and number inventories.

Jeff

Jeff continued to be read to at daycare by Sheila.

S: I must tell you something about Jeff. Last week he brought in a book about religion. His mom and dad found this book in their attic. It must have belonged to them when they were young. Well anyway, Jeff asked me to look at it with him. I felt so guilty, I sat with him for over an hour. He and I interacted with the book. He kept asking me serious questions and I kept trying to explain things to him. He loves books and is so patient with them.

The circle of meaning was completed for me when Sheila described this incident. Jeff had been talking a lot about Jesus at kindergarten and I wondered what had sparked off his interest.

On another daycare visit I observed Bruce reading to Jeff after lunch, before sleep. Jeff enjoyed this so much he was upset when his father left.

The most marked change in Jeff's literacy behavior was his writing. A December home visit revealed a mass of writing done in the previous month. The following figures illustrate the nature of this writing (Figures 47, 48, 49 and 50).

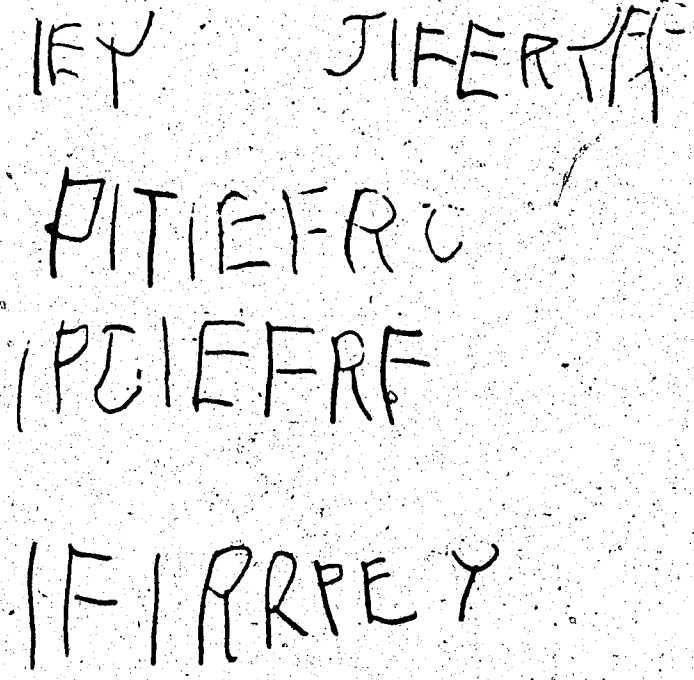


Figure 47: Jeff repeats a small number of letters to generate words.

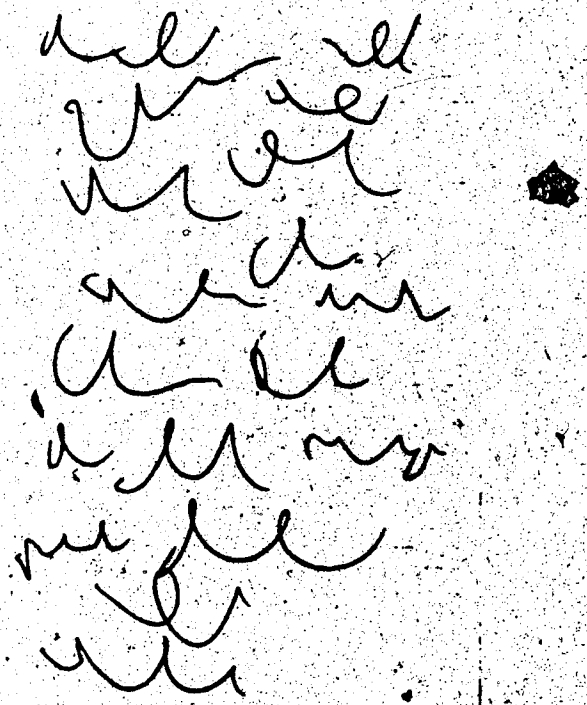


Figure 48: Jeff imitates adult cursive writing.

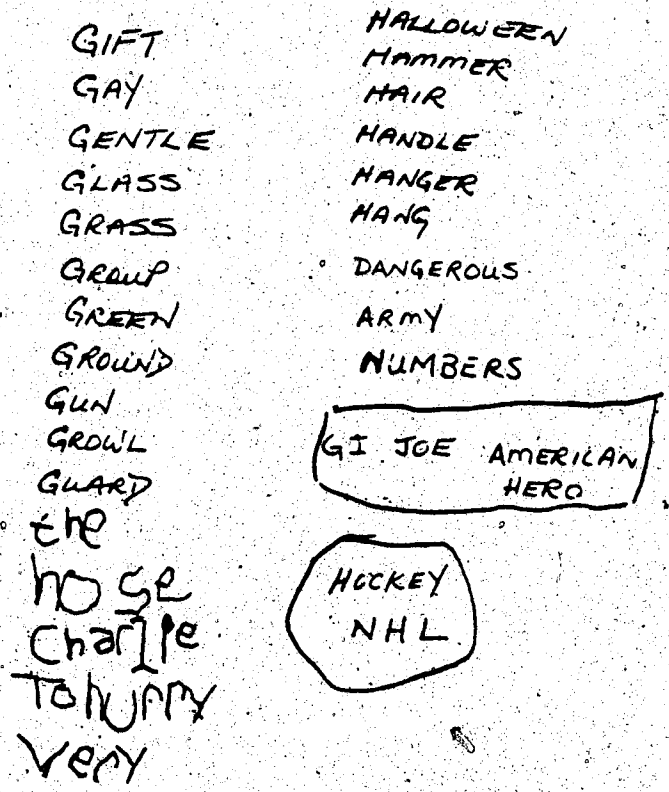


Figure 49: Jeff writes dictated words and copies others.

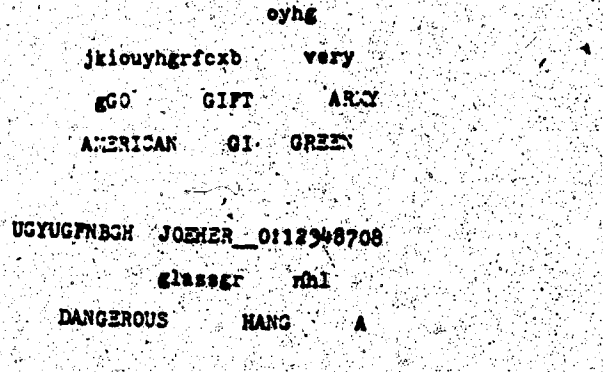


Figure 50: Jeff types.

Michelle

Jill and Alex continued to read constantly to Michelle and Jill still focused Michelle's attention on initial letters.

J: (Pointing to a title on a library book) What does lamp begin with?

M: Oh, I'll have to read (looks at the word). L says lamp.

Jill expressed concern about the worksheets as follows:

J: I mean, there's no instructions. We don't know what she had to do. It's good (meaning the teacher's comments), but we don't know why it's good.

Jill was also disappointed with the meet-the-teacher evening.

J: We were in and out in ten minutes. Do you think she'll have longer interviews?

Since Michelle had started kindergarten her parents had increased the time they spent instructing her in reading. Jill went to a teachers' store and bought two books published by Prentice-Hall Learning Systems Inc. These were "Your First Crossword Puzzle Book" and "Beginning Reading Activities". Both of these books focused on initial consonants. The following transcript reflects a typical crossword session (Figure 51).

J: What we do first is look at the picture, say what it is and sound it out. For example, man is M-A-N (alphabet). Find it in the list. Write it in the boxes and cross it out on the list. Show Moira how you do it.

M: Hey, where's the one? If the arrow points down you go down. The first one's fish so you need F (points to word list). I need a pen. I can't write with my finger. /f/ comes first (accesses sound).

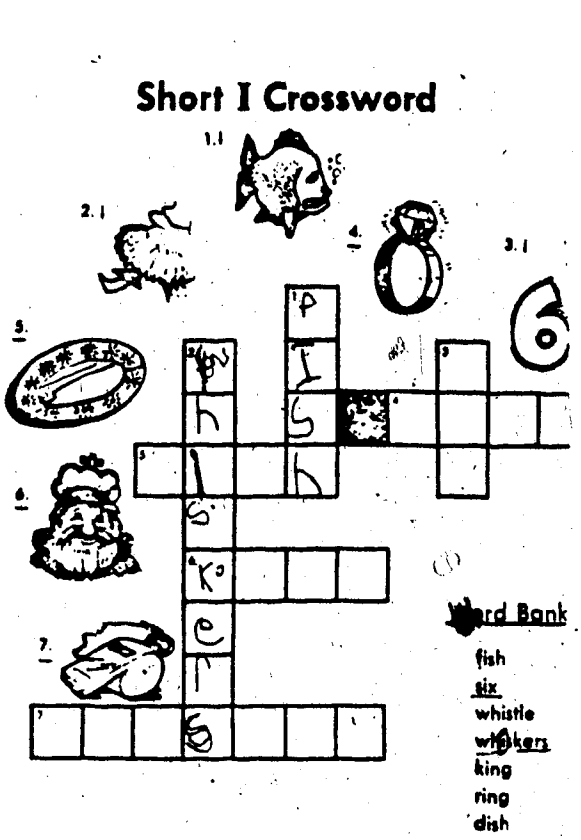


Figure 51: Michelle's crossword puzzle.

M: I forget what comes after (looks at word list). Oh yeah! I know what comes after (copies the rest of the word). (Now she looks at "six" on word list.) (Points to picture 6) What's this?

J: Whiskers.

M: Oh yes, two down (writes I, then scores it out). Oh! Oh! (Writes S, perhaps accessing S in "whiskers" or S in "six".) Oh! Oh! It's the longest word (copies "whiskers").

Michelle often had trouble with directionality in the crosswords and also deciphering some of the pictures. As well as completing these crosswords, Jill taught her phonically regular words.

J: I've taught her "cat", "mat", "hat", "sat" and "at". We use

her blackboard and she really reads those words. I wrote some sentences and read them, pausing to let her read (predict) the missing words.

Jill took the words she taught and put them into context and then carried out cloze activities. It is interesting here to note that Jill considered the reading of these words to be real reading in contrast to the shared reading of favorite stories.

Nadia

Nadia's mother, Theresa, had also been to the teachers' store since school started. She bought a "Teach and Learn" mathematics book which mainly dealt with simple equations and phrase cards "that teachers use".

During their regular three weekly library visit, Theresa also selected some "first reading books". Theresa showed me samples of Nadia's "adult" writing (Figure 52) and also samples of words Nadia had copied from favorite books (Figure 53). Nadia still focused on form.

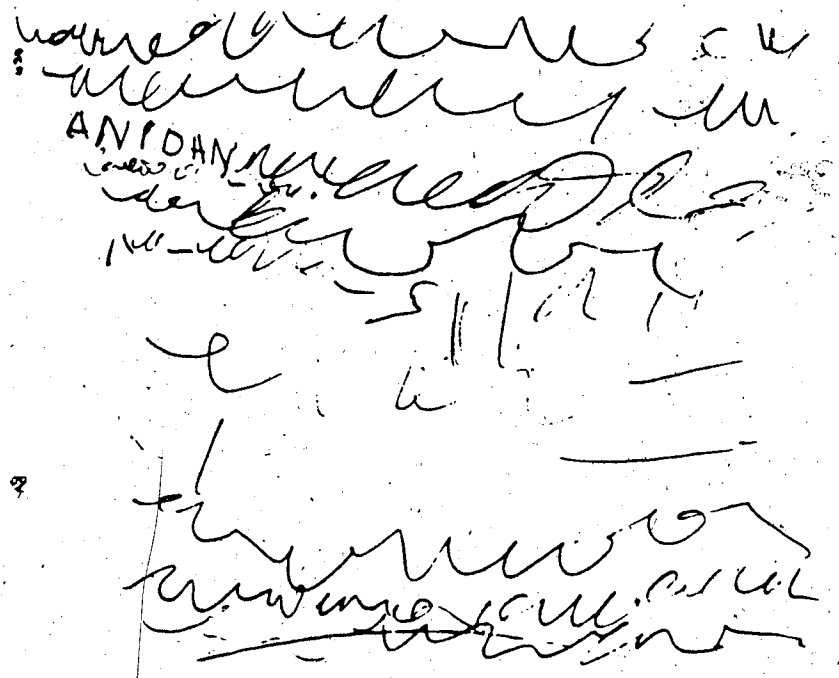


Figure 52: Nadia's "adult" writing.

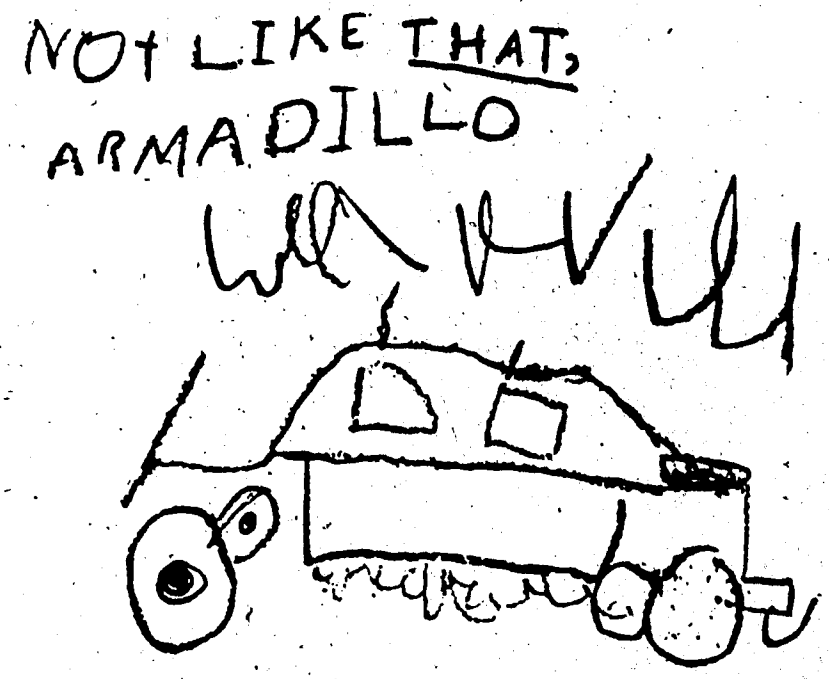


Figure 53: Nadia copies words from a favorite book.

Theresa also talked about how her husband was teaching Nadia to read.

T: My husband has been teaching her to read, word by word, pointing and repeating.

One of these sessions was taped for me and the following transcripts illustrate the nature of these instructional sessions. Gary read a sentence pointing to each word. He then re-read the same sentence a few words at a time and Nadia read after him.

G: One morning Winnie-the-Pooh was on his way to visit his friend Piglet, Piglet.

N: Winnie-the-Pooh, okay.

G: One morning ...

N: One morning ...

G: Winnie-the-Pooh ...

N: One morning Winnie-the-Pooh ...

G: was on his way ...

N: was on his way ...

G: to visit his friend Piglet. To ...

N: to visit his friend Piglet (triumphant).

To focus Nadia's attention on a word she did not recognize Gary would spell the word pointing to each letter.

N: As he walked through ...

G: No, along. See that A-L-O-N-G

N: Okay, now ...

G: As he walked ...

N: I know, Daddy.

G: Shhh, just wait. As he walked along through the woods ... Now let's read that one.

N: As .. he .. walked .. through

G: No. That word, that word's along.

N: Along. As he walked .. through .. through ...

G: No, that word's along, not through. That word's through. As he walked along through the woods ...

N: walked along ... As he walked along through the woods.

Errors were immediately corrected.

G: He was humming a song to himself.

N: He was humming the words ...

G: He was humming a song to himself.

N: He was humming a song to hisself.

G: himself.

N: himself (giggles).

If Nadia read ahead of where Gary's finger was, he told her to slow down.

N: Tigger helped Pooh get up.

G: Slow down, watch my finger.

Sometimes Gary focused on sound.

N: going to meet ...

G: visit, don't guess, look at the word. [illegible]i-sit.

N: visit, visit.

He used words to focus Nadia's attention on letters in her name.

G: "Now I'm off to see Rabbit," said Tigger.

N: Now ...

G: "Why don't you and Pooh come with me?" Away he bounced again.

N: Why ...

G: No. There's the N, like in Nadia. Now ...

N: Now ...

G: Now I'm off to see Rabbit.

N: Now I'm off to see Rabbit.

Occasionally Gary paused and Nadia completed.

G: and leave him in the woods.

N: and leave him in the woods.

G: said -- (pause)

N: Rabbit.

At times Nadia attempted to sound out a word.

G: "That is a splendid idea," said Piglet. "What do you think, Pooh?"

N: That is a sple -- spen -- splennid

G: splendid

N: splendid, splendid.

Predictions were discouraged. Gary insisted on exact eye-voice matching.

N: Suddenly Tigger bounced into ...

G: Oh, you're guessing.

N: on ...

G: on top of him.

N: on top of him (giggles).

During this session there was no discussion of word meanings; the focus was on decoding. The whole situation was, however, pervaded by a sense of fun and sharing as Nadia giggled her way through this favorite story.

Kindergarten: The Second Term

In the second term the kindergarten program structure in general remained unchanged. There were, however, major changes in literacy transmission. At both circle and work time there was a focus on the letters of the alphabet. The following transcripts reflect the nature of this focus.

One child is chosen to point to each letter on the alphabet chart and the group says the letter names.

TM: It's Wendy's turn to do the alphabet this morning. All together - A, B ...

TM: Today we are doing letter H. Can you find it? (Child with the pointer points to H.) If you know a word beginning with letter H, put your hand up.

N: fort.

TM: No.

D: rooster.

TM: No, that starts with R.

M: Sounds like a /h/ but it's not. (Michelle focuses on sound

as she does at home.)

N: home phone

TM: Home begins with H, not phone.

W: Chick.

TM: No, that's CH.

While the children appear to be basing choice on hearing the friction of air being obstructed when making the sound /f/ or /ɣ/, Mrs. MacDonald did not provide a mediated learning experience by setting clear criteria for responses. Instead she went on to another activity. The children cued on sound that adults generally ignore.

This session was followed up at work time. Mrs. MacDonald demonstrated how to write a little H and a big H and asked the children to say words that began with H. She listed these words on the blackboard and said each letter name as she wrote.

TM: Okay, let's read these words. (The teacher's voice dominated, with a few children echoing.) You write any three of these H words you like on the back (of your worksheet) (Figure 54).

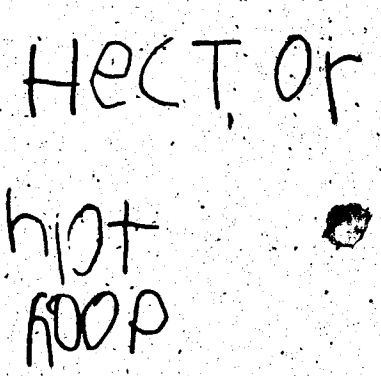


Figure 54: David writes "H" words.

The children copied the words but many of them could not read them! Later, when the librarian arrived to read a story, Michelle said, "We

don't mind stopping work. It's boring." This comment may reflect a lack of meaning of the task for the children.

Each child also made a collection of favorite words. Each day, if the child could read his/her collection two new words, suggested by the child or from the Little Red Story Book (Ginn, 1957), were added. By March the subjects' word collections were as in Table 1.

Table 1

Subjects' Word Collections, 1984

	Number of words	Number child could read
Michelle	48	47
Wendy	94	93
Nadia	23	16
Jeff	28	23
David	18	16

Library books were available to take home. Each book was recorded on a Reading Sheet. Wendy and Michelle often filled in the record themselves. Towards the end of May the book borrowing record was as in Table 2.

By May, play time, later in the morning, was generally abandoned and the children lined up to read to the teacher from one of My Little Story Books (Ginn, Toronto, 1957). By May Wendy had read all of these and was on to a pre-primer, "What a Dog" (Ginn, 1968). She read well but had difficulty with the form of the language at times as the following transcript shows.

Text: Come to dinner, Father.

W: I wouldn't say that. I would ring a bell.

Table 2

Subjects' Book Borrowing Record, May 1984

	Number of Books	Read by: Mom	Dad	Other Person	Him/Herself
Michelle	19	12	6	0	1
Wendy	17	9	3	3	2
Nadia	TM: Nadia doesn't take books home.				
Jeff	5	5	0	0	0
David	19	10	7	2	0

A Final Look at Each Child

Michelle

During this term Michelle continued to do crosswords and word recognition activities with her parents. She also continued to be read to on a regular basis. She wrote a lot at home and this writing now included word inventories copied from books (Figure 55), environmental print (Figure 56), labelling people in drawings (Figure 57), and inventing new words (Figure 58). She also wrote messages on worksheets for Jill.

From observations of Michelle reading favorite books with her mom it was clear that she was now at stage three (Doake, 1981). The powerful attitudes that she had developed over the first stage, plus the efficient syntactic, semantic and intonational strategies she had developed at level two of the hierarchy, kept her striving to read using the visual information on the page. She used non-visual sources of information to predict what was on the page and had begun to learn to confirm her

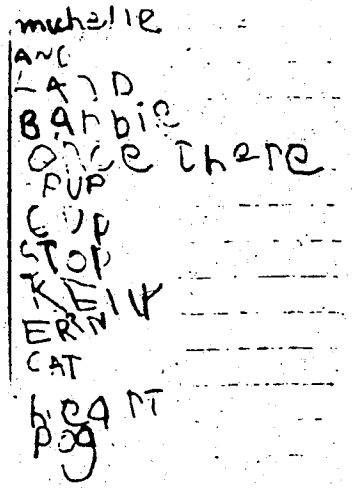


Figure 55: Michelle's word inventory.

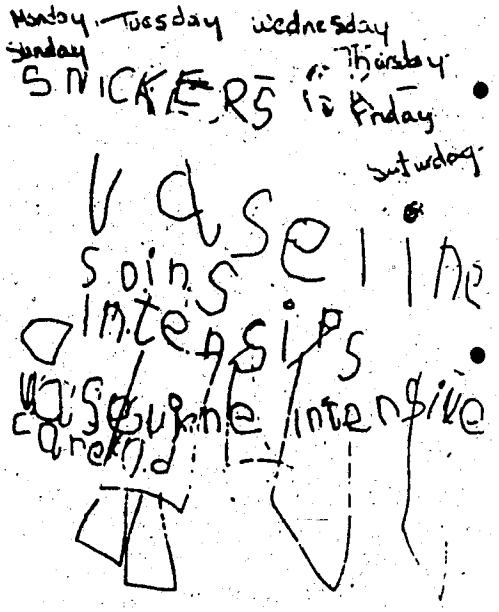


Figure 56: Michelle copies environmental print.

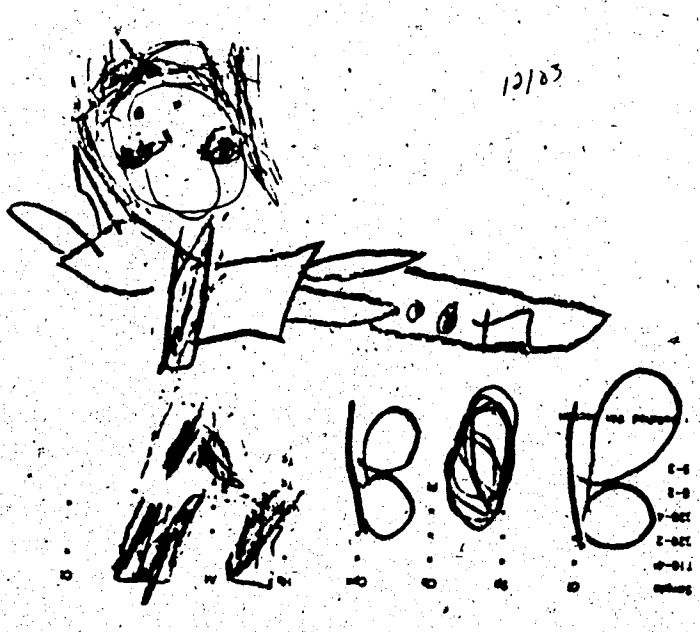


Figure 57: Michelle labels a drawing.

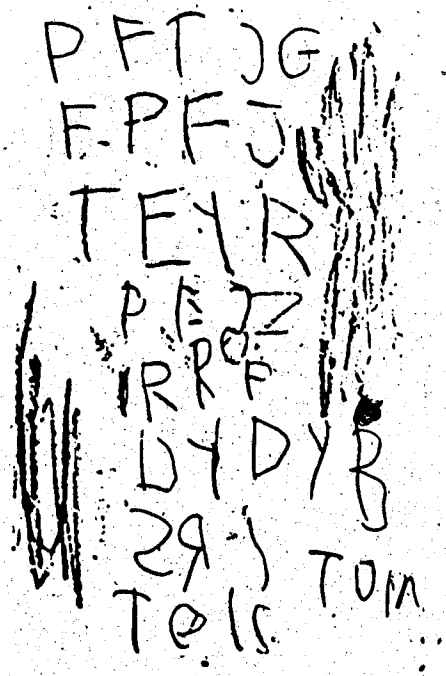


Figure 58: New words are invented.

predictions by using her developing knowledge of sound-to-letter relationships. She was able at times to go from the known sound of a word to its representation in print. Sometimes she asked for help with a word she could not predict either from contextual or graphophonic clues. She would also switch back and forth between fluent and arhythmic reading. It appeared that it would not be long before her stories would be accessible to her without assistance (Doake, 1981).

Wendy

It was on February 6th that Nanny noted in her log that Wendy read a new book entirely on her own.

Nanny No. 2: She even knew the difference between John and Johnny. On a March home visit Wendy was observed reading "Over in the Meadow" and "Ten Little Indians" from a Nursery Rhyme book, as follows:

Text	Wendy
"Swim, swim," said the mother.	"Swim, swim," said the mother.
"We swim," said the two. So	"We swim," said the two. So
they swam all day where the	they swimmed all day where the
stream runs blue.	stream runs blue.

Wendy predicted, using syntactic, semantic and graphophonic clues. When these did not work she asked for help. This slowed down her reading at times.

Text	Wendy
"Caw," said the mother.	"Chirp," said the mother.
"We caw," said the six. So	"We caw," said the six. So
they cawed all day in a nest	they cawed all morning day in
built of sticks.	the nest built of sticks.

As the above transcript shows she at times corrected her own miscues.

Using her well developed knowledge of phonics along with her knowledge of orthographic information and her excellent control over non-visual cueing systems, Wendy was at times able to read new texts fluently and independently, integrating her visual and non-visual strategies. By May, she appeared to want to read everything she could lay her hands on. She wanted to reinforce through practice her sophisticated range of strategies. She was now at a beginning stage four as proposed by Doake (1981).

Her writing indeed reflected her advanced level of reading. Figure 59 shows a story Wendy wrote after a family visit to Banff. The following transcript shows her reading of this text.

Text: on Fae I And (Sister's name) MOMMY and daddy

W: On Friday I and (Sister's name) mummy and daddy

Text: (Brother's name) Wnt to BAF. We Wnt SKIe SAD

W: (Brother's name) went to Banff. We went skiing Saturday

Text: And SAtDDA WAL (Brother's name) wnt to DAKAr

W: and Sunday while (Brother's name) went to daycare.

She paused here and re-read her story before continuing to write. She talked continuously about her writing, as the following transcript shows.

W: (Pointing to Fae) That's the nickname for Friday.
(She meant abbreviation.)

W: Skiing, skiing. (Sternly) So you put an /e/ at the end.

W: Daycare? Hmm. C and K sound the same. Oh, it must be K.

Text: When we wR GOeg Hom tHe wod wes CoSd

W: When we were going home the road was closed

Text: BeS the soo sam oN SADA

W: because the snowstorm on Saturday.

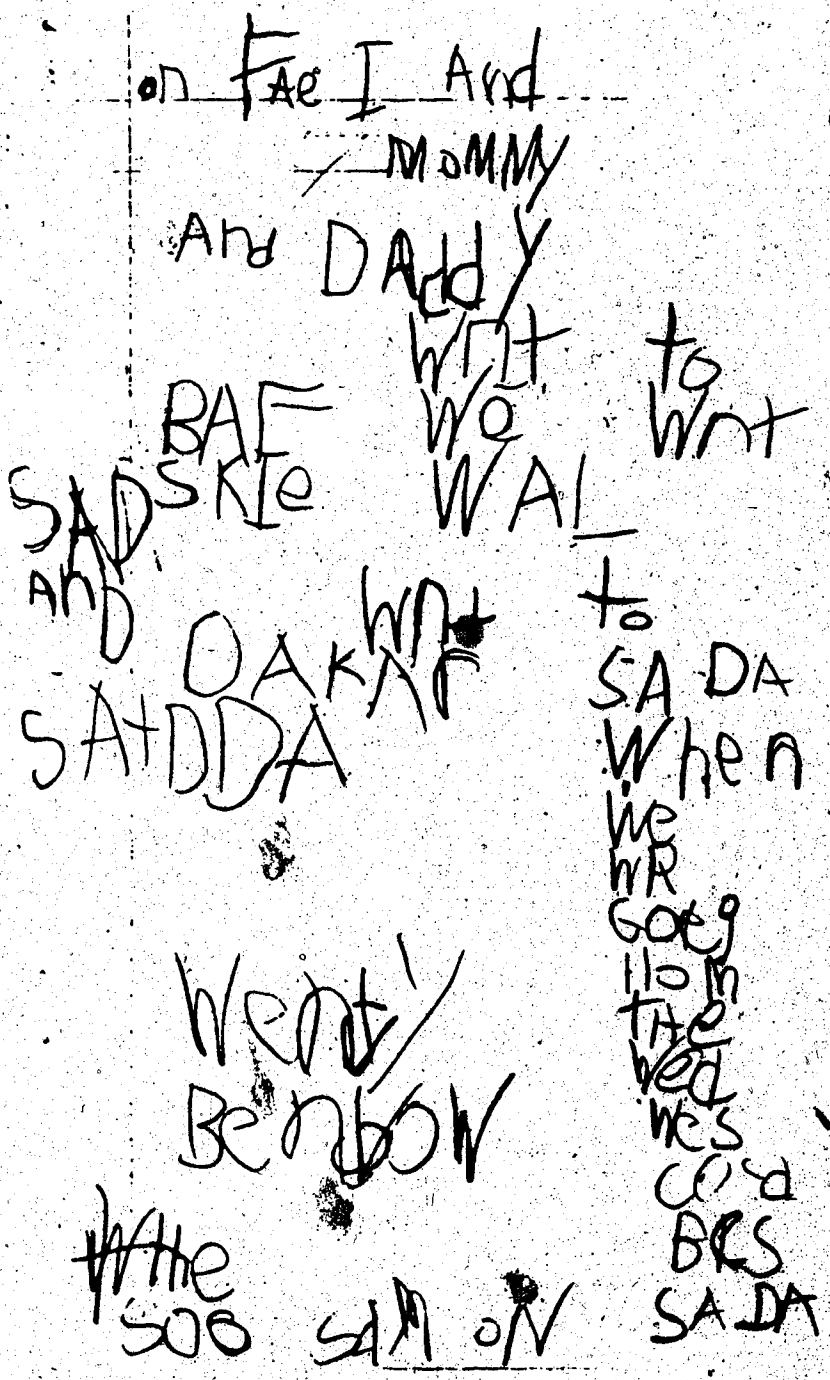


Figure 59: Wendy writes a story.

W: (Points to GO) This is go-ing. nng - Got the /g/.

W: (Pointing to wes) That's the same as we with an S on the end.

W: Snow, - Sn / o w.

Wendy accessed her well developed knowledge of the relationships between sounds and letters to decide which letters to write. She was

an early phonemic speller at this stage.

Jeff

By May, Jeff could read most of his favorite words. When asked to do so he stopped at a word he did not know and waited for the teacher to tell him what it was. He had started his Little Red Story Book (Ginn, 1959) and read it in a slow measured voice, nodding his head after each word. At work time Jeff said the words as he wrote them on the back of his worksheet.

His mom continued to read to him at home but did not mention any change in his reading behavior with favorite stories. Jeff's development in literacy was focused on his terrific enthusiasm for writing which he generally did at home. As the following figures show this writing consisted of letter inventories, words copied from books, words spelled by his mother (Figures 60, 61 and 62). Through these writing experiences, Jeff built up a collection of sight words which he knew his mom could read even if he could not. It was through this writing that Jeff further developed his concepts of print. Although Jeff did not appear to be "reading" by eye-voice matching with his favorite stories, he was beginning to do this with the pre-primer at kindergarten.

Through his writing and book sessions at home and at daycare Jeff was beginning to gain some control over the visual dimensions of print (Doake, 1981, stage two/three). He was intensely interested in how the language was put together in a visual sense. He at times displayed arhythmical or voice pointing reading. Visual information on the page was too difficult for Jeff as he thought he had to remember what every word looked like. It is hypothesized that it would not be long before he would use his developing knowledge of sound-to-letter relationships

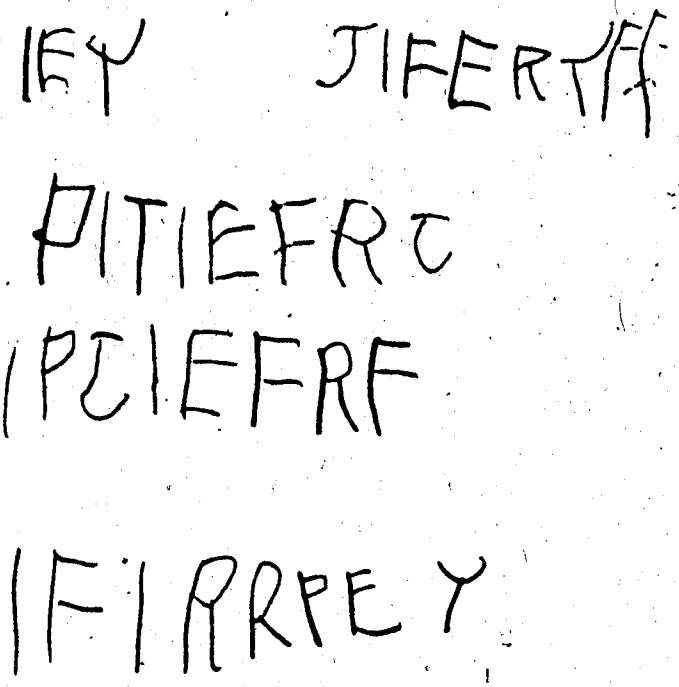


Figure 60: Jeff's letter inventory.

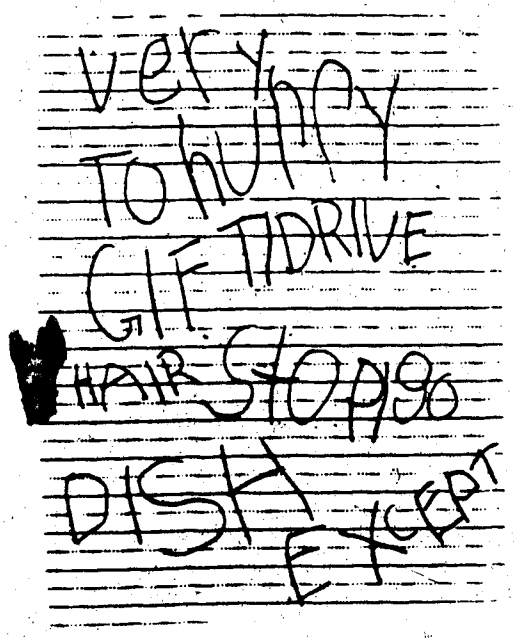


Figure 61: Words are copied from books.

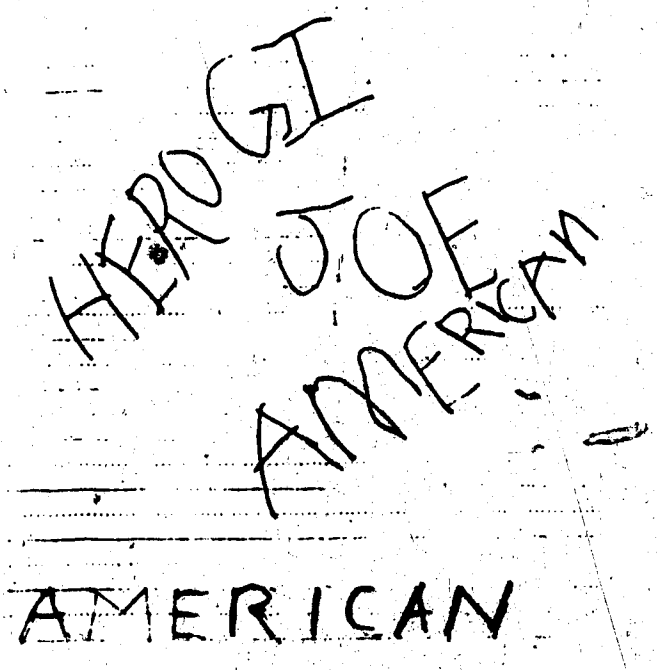


Figure 62: Jeff's mom spells and writes words for him.

(gained through writing) in the reading situation. It is also hypothesized that soon Jeff would begin to integrate the use of his visual and non-visual strategies to gain fluency in his reading (Doake, 1981).

Nadia

Nadia's number of sight words had increased with her collection of favorite words. She could read the following words: Nadia, queen, dad, mom, snow, dog, bird, mouse, cat, lemon, drop, Michelle, Jeffrey, and and Christian names of three other children at school.

By May, despite her continued liking for story time both at school and at home she was not showing an interest in "reading" to her teacher or taking books home from the class library. In reading lessons with her dad, she often echoed his words but she was not encouraged to predict. She did, however, continue to predict the texts of many of her favorite story books using picture clues. She accessed two different strategies when reading in two different types of situations. With her dad, she repeated the text word by word, whereas when she pretended to read to her parents ("'cause I can't read"), she predicted the text from memory and picture clues.

In the school setting Nadia's interest in print appeared to decline throughout the year. As late as March, Mrs. MacDonald reported her social behavior to still be problematic.

TM: Nadia has been dreadful for the last two weeks, screaming and shouting and having temper tantrums.

She had difficulty with the alphabet lessons both at circle and work time and often could not read the words she copied on the back of her worksheets. At free play she often continued to play on her own at painting and table games.

David

At school David mainly chose sand and construction toys at free play. Socially he adapted well to school and was popular both with the teacher and the children.

His love for books continued and he took many books home both from the public and class library. At school he had a small collection of favorite words, including: David, (his surname), Greg, cat, dog, Dad, Michelle, Blacky, Mom, R2D2, C3PO, and Luke Skywalker. From David's observed behavior with books both at home and at school he could be placed at stage two (Doake, 1981), where he was engaged in the process of gaining control over the patterns of written language and its accompanying story schema. He was becoming increasingly aware of the print on the pages of his stories and its relationship to reading.

At home he was writing words dictated by his mom, copying messages to his grandparents, and making letter inventories. However, even at the end of the school year, he had some difficulty with certain letters of the alphabet and could not read the words he copied on to his worksheets.

Literacy Events in Phase Two: A Summary

The Literacy Environment

Mrs. MacDonald strongly believed in getting her students ready to read. She viewed this readiness as being mainly focused on oral language, auditory and visual discrimination, learning letters of the alphabet, learning sight words and writing their own names. A favorite part of each child's day was story time. She read well to the children and conveyed her own love of books. She was also constantly on the look-out for commercial games connected to her readiness goals. Her listening

center was well-stocked and constantly used. This was in direct contrast to the library where books were rarely accessed by the children in the first term. Mrs. MacDonald had clear goals and a well thought-out program which was the product of considerable time and thought over several years.

Literacy Interaction

The most frequent literacy rituals were calendar, story time and work time. At calendar time the focus was on beginning letter names, days of the week, months of the year and the seasons.

Story time was a favorite time for all of the subjects. Mrs. MacDonald carefully selected a wide variety of books connected to her current theme. Some days she would read twice to the children. She often would re-read a favorite story on request. The children were encouraged to participate when stories had predictable texts. New stories for the listening center were introduced to the whole class and then made available for individual listening and reading. Mrs. MacDonald was constantly adding new selections to the listening center.

Story time was, however, in general a quiet time with spontaneous oral interaction discouraged. This contrasted with the story time provided by the school librarian, where spontaneous interaction was encouraged and explanations were characterized by mediated learning.

Work time activities were always teacher initiated. Sheets were first completed orally with the children chorusing answers to the teacher's questions. Those who did not understand at this time were often able to successfully complete their sheets by observing what the other children were doing. Written instructions or other print on the worksheets were not accessed. These sheets closely followed Mrs.

MacDonald's predetermined readiness program and themes. She felt they provided a good evaluation of each child's learning to date. These sheets were corrected later in the day and returned to the children at "going home time" the next day. Corrections were made in ink and comments written in cursive writing which the children could not read. If errors were noticed either by the teacher or the aide during the work time, the error was erased and the correct response written. Although work time was supposed to be a quiet time, in general it was not. The atmosphere was very friendly with groups of children at different tables discussing varied topics generally not connected with worksheets.

The majority of literacy events in this setting were teacher initiated. Indeed, attempts made by the children to initiate such events were often unsuccessful. The material transmitted was uniform for each child despite differences in developmental and ability levels. Information from outside agencies, such as preschool playgroups, daycares or homes was not sought and, even when it was offered by a parent, it was not acted upon. Literacy events initiated by the children during play, blackboard writing for example, were not accessed to further development.

The basic form of the program and the type of materials used changed only according to the teacher's predetermined schedule. Indeed the predetermined program, with its fixed time boundaries, dictated what happened for each child each day. Show and tell contributions, despite their literacy potential, were dealt with only in terms of the prevailing theme.

When a child attempted to transmit literacy knowl[illegible] another child, the transmitter appeared to be unable to clear[illegible]cate

meaning or transcend the here and now.

Literacy Knowledge

All of the subjects in this study came to kindergarten with numerous concepts about print, books, reading and writing. Each child had developed very positive attitudes to books which could influence their future as readers.

Mrs. MacDonald established a positive, warm atmosphere for her students. Most of the class appeared happy to come to kindergarten and were fond of their teacher. With the exception of Nadia, all of the subjects quickly learned the social routine and were able to fit in successfully. This reflected Mrs. MacDonald's aim to prepare these children for the grade one class. With a few exceptions, she achieved her readiness goals but many literacy goals were untapped.

Looking at the subjects developmentally (Doake, 1981), Wendy during the study had moved from stage three to stage four, Michelle from two/three to three, Jeff from two to three, whereas David and Nadia remained at stage two.

CHAPTER VI

A COMPARISON OF PHASE ONE AND PHASE TWO

> When a human society experiences the need for communication over time and space, then written language is developed. Until that time, language is used in a face-to-face here and now context and oral/aural language suffices. But when a society is literate, written language is functional for the society and members of that society must learn the written form. (Goodman and Goodman, 1979, in Harste, Burke and Woodward, 1981, p. 1)

Introduction

In this study this ethnographer sought to share in the meaning of literacy development for five young children both in their home environment and in their kindergarten. Literacy was viewed as a major aspect of cultural transmission ~~in~~ our society. In the final analysis, what is presented depends not only on the elements in the cultural base, but also on who is available to present these elements. The who, therefore, is a crucial figure responsible for selecting, modifying and interpreting cultural content. As a result the study focused on interaction as it related to literacy development in two social contexts.

Since the study was limited to a small number of children only theoretical generalizations were supported by the analysis. In this chapter comparisons are made between the home and kindergarten contexts and the discussion is organized around the following three aspects of literacy: the literacy environment, literacy interaction and literacy knowledge.

The Literacy Environment

All of the subjects in this study were born into a culture which has a proliferation of print. Print indeed exists in every corner of our lives, in the environments of both home and outside world. Our society is literate and as a result written language is functional for that society whose members must learn the written form (Goodman and Goodman, 1979).

Each home contained a wide range of printed materials, for example books, magazines, newspapers, games and toys (Clarke, 1976; Doake, 1981; Durkin, 1963; King and Friesen, 1972), which were readily available for the children. Although the number of children's books varied in each home, the local library was accessed to supplement home collections.

These materials were part of the everyday life experience of the children and as a result were endowed with meaning. In two of the homes (Michelle's and Nadia's) special instructional materials were purchased from a teachers' store and used for literacy instruction at home (Chapter V).

Mrs. MacDonald had carefully prepared her kindergarten environment by providing easel painting, blocks, water and sand, manipulative toys, dramatic play, physical play, music, puzzles and books. She strongly believed in reading readiness and many of the aforementioned materials were used to focus on oral language, auditory and visual discrimination and learning letters of the alphabet.

This readiness focus was indeed one of the crucial features of the kindergarten environment. It was chosen and arranged sequentially by the teacher to achieve her predetermined goals. The children had little input as to the development of this environment. Efforts they made to

change it were in general not successful (Show and Tell for example, Chapter IV).

Even the themes were predetermined and not selected according to children's interests at a particular time. Although Mrs. MacDonald included story telling and reading every day, the children were not encouraged, in the first term particularly, to seek out books for themselves during free play time other than those in the listening center. It was only in the second term that library books could be selected and taken home. It is also interesting to note that the teacher did not access the wide variety of literacy materials available in the homes of the children. Often a book brought from home for show and tell was not read with the class.

In terms of raw materials in the environment, both the kindergarten and the school were ripe for literacy development, but the predetermined curriculum to a large extent precluded this in the kindergarten setting.

Literacy Interaction

The main focus of this study was the nature of interaction during literacy transmissions, that is the relationship between the transmitter and the receiver. Feuerstein (1980) suggests that higher mental processes can only be completely understood in their cultural setting. Indeed he agrees with Freire in that effective transmission makes it possible for the receiver to become an effective transmitter. Freire (1982) sees this combined with critical thinking as being vital in the development of the child both as a receiver and creator of culture.

It was hypothesized that Feuerstein's theory of mediated learning would provide a useful model to describe the transmission of early

literacy. On examining and analyzing the data in this study this model proved to be useful, coupled with other theories of language as an interactive process (Britton, 1973; Lindfors, 1980; Moffet and Wagner, 1983; Wells, 1981, 1983).

Wells (1981) believes that "all linguistic communications require an interaction between the sender, receiver and the context" (p. 244). He sees any act of linguistic communication involving the establishment of a triangular relationship between the sender, the receiver and the context of the situation. The transmitter intends that, "as a result of his communication, the receiver should attend to the same situation as himself and construe it in the same way" (Wells, 1981, p. 47). Wells, like Feuerstein, emphasizes the importance of intentionality, sharing and reciprocity.

Strategies may also be used by the transmitter to ensure maximum interaction. For example, scaffolding (Ninio and Bruner, 1978; Snow, 1983) is where the transmitter helps the child to move from a situation where a great deal of help is offered, to one of complete independence. This strategy is frequently used in the home setting.

Wells (1983) observed that "extending conversations" which arise "quite spontaneously in response to the child's expression of interest and is a natural outcome of the adult's desire to share in the child's interest or activity" (p. 281) is also an excellent strategy. Wells further comments on the interactive nature of communication when he says, "For a high proportion of the time they (parents) treated the children as equal partners in conversation, encouraging them to take the initiative and helping them to extend the topics that they proposed" (p. 279).

In phase one of this study, many transmitter/receiver interactions were recorded and analyzed in terms of literacy transmission. The majority of literacy learning events occurred as a result of recognition of problems and attempts to solve problems which arose in the course of practical activities that were frequently initiated by the child. These learning events were in general grounded in the child's lifeworld and as a result were endowed with meaning. Literacy learning was just one aspect of learning about the world and was usually conducted in a very relaxed atmosphere free from stress and strain. When I observed Jeff and his mom shopping at a supermarket at one point, Jeff ran over to a display of running shoes and the following dialogue occurred.

Jeff: (Picked up a pair of shoes and brought them over to June) Look, Mom, "Gretzky, 99" (pointing to the print).

June: I know, he's your favorite, but look (pointing to the size), they're too big.

Jeff: (Nods) My size is a number 10 (puts the shoes back).

Although the majority of literacy events of this type were child initiated, perhaps the parents were the prime initiators of such interactions.

With book sharing of favorite stories, which was the most frequent literacy event, interactions were child initiated most of the time with all of the subjects. David was an exception as he was most often silent during story time. Oral interactions were often in the form of child initiated - adult solicited - child acknowledged - adult responded and elaborated. We see an example of this in Chapter IV, when Michelle and her father were discussing what a shingle was. Michelle initiated a search for meaning, Alex checked by asking her to confirm her request, Michelle acknowledged and Alex explained and elaborated. Michelle and

her father, "like any successful conversationalists, were engaging in a collaborative activity" (Wells, 1981, p. 26). There was an orderly sequence of speaking and listening turns. Meanings in each turn were related. Agreement was reached on the objects and actions in the shared situation (Wells, 1981).

The data also showed many examples of the basic structural pattern called labelled exchange (Halliday, 1977; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). "The two moves of which an exchange is constituted are labelled 'initiate' and 'respond'" (Wells, 1981, p. 29).

Several examples of this basic structure can be seen in the following extract involving Jeff and his mother at the library. Frequently in literacy interactions the child was the initiator.

Jeff: (Pointing to a high shelf) Are you allowed to take books from up there?	Initiate
June: Yes, bring it to me.	Respond
Jeff: (Brings book to June) What does it say? (pointing to the title	Initiate
June: "I was a Second Grade Werewolf".	Respond
Jeff: What's a werewolf?	Initiate
June: It's like a wolf, but pretend.	Respond
Jeff smiles in acknowledgment.	

One initiation led to a response which in turn led to another initiation and Jeff and June shared the search for meaning until the child was satisfied.

In the home the data constantly showed transmitters checking for understanding which was most often manifested orally or with a nod or a smile. David, on the other hand, rarely displayed verbal reciprocity;

instead, he would smile, nod or shrug his shoulders.

As the transmitter explained new information to the receiver, explanations were often elaborated to transcend the here and now. An example of such transcendence can be seen in the dialogue between Michelle and Alex about shingles. If Alex had provided no elaboration but merely stated a shingle is a flat piece of wood, then that portion of the interaction would not have qualified as a mediated learning interaction. He did, however, expand, "out and beyond the horizon" (Feuerstein, 1983, p. 56), when he responded, "A shingle is a little flat piece of either wood or a ... sort of sticky tarpaper which you put on the roof to keep the rain from getting in". The quality of transcendence was achieved.

With new stories, parents often tended to take on the role of initiator as they monitored their child's understanding of the new text. In Chapter IV we saw an example of Wendy sharing a new book with Bob. Wendy's understanding of "difficult" new words was constantly checked and the pattern of interaction during these events was father initiated - child acknowledged - father responded - child acknowledged. With new stories the children themselves also initiated interactions when they did not understand the text (Chapter IV).

As the children attempted to make sense of their own literate world they used language to internalize an [redacted] experience. They selected, interpreted and integrated new experiences into existing schemas. Learning written language was indeed an active process. To become literate the children had not only to focus on language but also analyze it (Donaldson, 1978; Vygotsky, 1978). The child was a risk taker

as he/she moved between assimilation and accommodation to adaptation (Piaget, 1965).

The adults gave appropriate help and encouragement to keep their children interested. They also willingly responded to requests for information or help with skills (Snow, 1983; Wells, 1983).

This study supports Wells' (1981) and Doake's (1981) findings about the importance of the shared book experience and talking about books. It also shows how "everyday events were picked up in talk and meanings were developed and made more coherent through extended conversation" (p. 263) which often contained a mediated learning experience (Feuerstein, 1983). This style of interaction is attributed to the pervading role of literacy in the everyday lives of the subjects.

Prior to kindergarten, the children in this study had had experiences which facilitated the initial educational process, particularly the acquisition of early literacy upon which so much of the child's subsequent education will be based. By virtue of parental interests and involvement the children had highly developed social skills which they accessed in various social situations in their own lifeworlds. They had also learned to plan activities ahead of time and discuss those, going camping for example.

A critical question, therefore, is what attempt was made "to bridge the gap between the relatively abstract formulation of knowledge in the classroom with the children's firsthand experience of the 'real' world?" (Wells, 1981, p. 265) Was the teaching of literacy meaningful to the children and did they understand the tasks they had to perform? As was mentioned previously, the content and form

of the kindergarten day was to a large extent determined by the teacher. Through her carefully constructed curricula she concentrated on her own intent, thus diminishing intent on the part of the learner.

In 1983 Wells audio-taped thirty-two children's interactive dialogue for a few weeks before school entry and for their first term in school. He found that far more transmitter/child interactions occurred in the home compared with the school. He did, however, note major qualitative differences between home and school in terms of the nature of the language interactions.

In school there were fewer child initiated sequences and less conversation that permitted the child to transfer personal knowledge into a new context. There was also an increase in questions that resulted in a public display of knowledge. Wells' results were based on all activities experienced during a child's day.

The predominant mode of oral interaction during literacy transmission in the school setting in this study was teacher initiated - child responded - teacher evaluated. Any interaction during story time was usually in this mode. Interactions, however, were not frequent because the teacher usually considered story time to be a quiet time with spontaneous oral interaction discouraged.

TM: How much is a dime?	Teacher initiated
Michelle: One?	Child solicited
TM: How many pennies?	Teacher responded by rephrasing
Michelle: 5, 6.	Child responded
TM: No, 10.	Teacher evaluated

Although the children displayed intention and reciprocity the

teacher did not utilize this in terms of literacy development.

Nadia: There's a sign on a hut door (pointing to some writing on a door in a picture).	Child initiated
TM: Sh!	

With the school librarian book sharing sessions were different in terms of interactions. Mediated learning experiences were initiated both by the librarian and the children (Chapter V). The interaction here was very similar to that in the home, as the children felt free to spontaneously comment and ask questions.

Literacy events during circle time and work time were teacher initiated. As the following transcript shows, literacy events initiated by the children during free play were not accessed to further development.

TM: (Teacher to Jeff at show and tell as Jeff shows his dictionary) What have you been doing in your dictionary book?	Child initiated Teacher acknowledged
J: I was learning some words.	Child responded and initiated
TM: I think that's very nice.	Teacher evaluated
What's this letter?	Teacher initiated
J: Big J and little J.	Child responded and elaborated
TM: And what color is your J?	Teacher initiated
J: Purple.	Child responded
TM: (Smiled)	Teacher evaluated

The child initiated a discussion about words and the teacher changed the focus to letters and color.

When a child attempted to transmit knowledge to another child, the transmitter appeared to be unable to clearly communicate meaning or to transcend the here and now (Chapter V).

Transcendence was also often absent during teacher initiated interactions as the following transcript shows.

TM: What do you call it when you sleep all winter?	Teacher initiated
Chorus: Hibernate.	Children responded
TM: Yes, hibernate.	Teacher evaluated
Child: (Mumbled) They get fat, find a cave and sleep all winter.	Child gave an elaborated response and transcended

This last mumble was not shared, nor was reciprocity shown by the teacher.

During the transmission process the transmitter may interpret meaning for the receiver. During instructional sessions both at circle time and work time it was possible to complete tasks without attaching meaning other than "they must be completed" to these tasks. Children chorused answers with the teacher before worksheets were attempted. Possible problem solving on behalf of the children was practically non-existent, as all sheets were completed orally first with the whole class. The children were told what to do with little or no explanation of why they were doing what they were doing. The teacher did not explicitly nor implicitly share her purpose with the children. The meaningful conversations that the children had with each other perhaps reflect the lack of meaning that these work time activities held for them.

In the school environment the subjects were not encouraged to adopt an independent enquiring critical attitude to the information that was presented to them and the problems they were given to solve. This was in direct contrast to the home learning environment where most learning occurred as a result of recognizing and trying to solve problems which

arose in the course of practical activities that were frequently initiated by the child him/herself (Wells, 1981).

The mediator (transmitter) in the home rarely corrected the receiver unless meaning was at stake. In the kindergarten worksheets were corrected by the teacher after the children went home or during work time if an error was spotted. No explanations were given and the comments were written in cursive writing. These then had to be relayed to the child by someone at home. Many of these tasks were so simple for the subjects that they probably knew themselves that they were successful. The readiness tasks were in general far below the subjects' levels of development.

In the home, literacy tasks in general were age-appropriate cultural learning experiences, whereas in kindergarten all activities were presented to all children despite ability levels. The teacher gave all the children the same readiness activities from simple to complex. Perhaps this approach reflects the predominant model of reading at the time of this teacher's initial training. She did not regulate her behavior according to individual differences with literacy instruction. This regulation of behavior was manifest mainly in the gymnasium where children performed according to their own levels of competence.

Literacy interaction in the home and school settings in this study differed in the following major ways:

1. In the home the child was the main initiator of literacy learning whereas in the school the teacher was the initiator and the children's attempts to initiate were not accessed.
2. In the home sharing and reciprocity were constantly manifest.

In the kindergarten in general the children had to participate in the predetermined program, the construction of which was not mutually shared between teacher and learner.

3. Many activities in the kindergarten were only concerned with the here and now and precluded transcendence. This was particularly true of work time and art activities. In the home transcendence was present in most literacy transmissions.

4. At school literacy activities were not grounded in the children's own lifeworlds and as a result often lacked meaning. This was in strong contrast to the home where literacy was a part of everyday life. "Adult lives at home pull children into the adult world, a world in which literacy skills are constantly being put to use" (Schickedanz and Sullivan, 1984, p. 12). Interactions in the home were almost always characterized by joyful sharing.

5. In the school learning experiences were selected on the base of readiness for all children despite developmental levels, whereas in the home the mediator could be seen selecting age-appropriate learning experiences and pacing these experiences to match the individual learner's abilities.

6. In the home environment constant positive feedback was given to encourage feelings of competence. In the school errors were corrected often without explanations. Behavior was not regulated to ensure success.

Thus in the home the concept of mediated learning together with direct environmental interaction seemed to be synonymous with cultural transmission, whereas in the school learning interactions even with the teacher were in general of a stimulus-organism-response type, where

learning was as a result of direct interaction with the environment.

Literacy Knowledge

In this study the kindergarten teacher appeared to subscribe to a model of reading where she considered all the children to be non-literate and proceeded to get them ready for formal reading instruction through a series of readiness activities. Many of her work time and circle activities included items dealing with vocabulary development and visual and auditory discrimination. Letter names were taught first (consonants then vowels) and these were then coupled with single sounds. Her inclusion of rhyming activities suggested that she knew the children would be taught phonics in grade one. Reading instruction by the look and say method followed in the second term where the teacher appeared to be now subscribing to Durkin's revised concept of readiness. An example of this was the favorite word collections.

Her model was in contrast to models which consider emergent literate behavior and reading-like behavior to be an integral part of language learning (Clay, 1979; Doake, 1981; Donaldson, 1978; Goodman, 1977; Holdaway, 1979, 1984; Lindfors, 1980; Smith, 1963). The child in learning to read, "processes favourite stories in reading-like ways approximating to book language" (Holdaway, 1979, p. 107). Likewise the emergent writer emulates "adult" writing sometimes focusing on form and sometimes on function. Many of the kindergarten children in our culture come to school from homes liberally stocked with books and writing materials. Book sharing is a popular activity and it is through this medium that young children learn to engage in reading-like behavior (Doake, 1981).

In phase one of this study in the home environment, transmitters for the greater part of the time appeared to be operating more in this model as reflected by their actions. They did, however, appear to consider "real" reading to happen only when eye voice matching occurred. The data may have been quite different for some of the parents if they had been asked to describe their child's literacy development rather than the researcher observing it in action. They functioned in one way but described it in another way. The parents did not appear to be really aware that what they were doing was part of literacy transmission.

Two of the parents, Theresa and Jill, moved somewhat into a skills model when school approached, as they thought they were preparing the child for school. In fact some of the least productive attempts at literacy transmission occurred when parents set out to formally teach letter names or engage in school-like reading tasks (Chapters IV and V).

All of the subjects in this study appeared to be efficient language learners who were striving to gain control over both oral and written language. For each of them literacy learning in their home environment was a very interactive, enjoyable affair. Transmission was part of their everyday lives. Through book sharing each child had developed positive powerful attitudes towards books, reading and learning to read. Through book sharing and other literacy activities they were guided to focus on print and they could all recognize some words in their favorite books and their environment. As noted in Chapter IV, the children varied between Doake's stage two and three prior to kindergarten entrance.

"Their ability to begin to absorb the patterns of written language (Stross, 1978), and their aptitude for internalizing story schema (Applebee, 1979) furnished the basis for their being able to gain control

over the oral dimensions of written language" (stage one) (Doake, 1981, p. 576). In the process of gaining control over a more accurate reproduction of their stories they gradually learned to use the great range of written language structures in the stories and unusual literary idioms frequently found in stories. The children were gradually becoming increasingly aware of the print on the pages of their stories and its relationship to reading (Doake, 1981).

Each home also had a plentigul supply of writing materials, including blackboards, chalk, paper, pens, pencils, crayons and magic markers. As far as writing was concerned all the subjects had developed concepts about writing and labelled their own art works. Jeff and Nadia focused on form emulating adult writing. Nadia and Michelle wrote words of their own and copied words written by their parents or in books, sometimes focusing on form and sometimes on function. David wrote his name and some letters and, focusing on form, left the reading to the reader. Wendy's extensive book knowledge, letter and word knowledge and awareness of sound manifested themselves in her writing, as she wrote her name, words, sentences, letters, notes and cards for special occasions. She showed an awareness of function as well as form. It appeared that through writing, the subjects were becoming more fully aware of the power and limitations of the written language (Britton et al., 1975).

The subjects did initiate writing episodes but in general writing was adult initiated and engaged in with an adult or involved imitation of an adult activity. This supports the findings of Schickedanz and Sullivan in their 1983 study, where they attempted to describe "how literacy events actually kick into action" (p. 14).

The environment in which the subjects were interacting and continuously organizing and analyzing included the embedding of print in different kinds of settings. The subjects had all developed schemas about these phenomena (Goodman, Y., 1980). These literacy experiences were an integral part of the daily transactions which occurred among themselves, adults and print. As indicated in Chapter IV, the preschoolers were not passive bystanders. They fitted literacy experiences into what they were learning about the world.

The most important function of environmental print was communication. The print labelled games, toys, buildings, stores, restaurants, television programs, streets, food items and household items. Other print which werved the function of controlling and regulating was also accessed, such as "EXIT", "STOP", "55 KM AN HOUR", "NO PARKING" and "NO SMOKING". Environmental print appeared to be accessed as a part of life and not focused on for particular instruction in literacy.

The data from the first phase painted a picture of five children actively engaged in the process of learning literacy in their culture. They all came to kindergarten with considerable literacy knowledge. The mediators in the home environment provided experiences for the children that were meaningful for them and in which language furthered and was furthered by these expanding meanings (Lindfors, 1980). The child's growth of language was aided by an environment which was responsive to the child.

Let us now look at what literacy knowledge was selected for transmission in the kindergarten setting in phase two. This transmission will be discussed according to the three main components

of the program; circle time, work time, and free play.

During free play readiness table games were available mainly involving shape, letter or numeral matching. All art works had to be labelled with names. Listen and read books were available at the listening center as well as class library books in the book corner. Although the listening center was popular, it was rare to see a child looking at a book from the bookshelves. Blackboard writing was a social affair where the children chatted and copied each other's invented words. The teacher did not access this or any other spontaneous writing to further literacy development. The classroom did not have a writing center. Any writing done was child-initiated and not accessed by the teacher. Knowledge learned at home was displayed but not developed.

Free play was followed by circle time which included such readiness activities as story telling, singing, theme work, calendar time (where the focus was on beginning letter names) and occasional story reading by the librarian (Chapter V).

Story time was in general a quiet time where the focus was on listening to story reading by the teacher. The children were shown the pictures in the books but print was not accessed. Even if a child had attempted to read the print, it would have been difficult to see it from where the children were sitting as an enlarged text was not used. When the children were invited to read words, the teacher read them so quickly it was impossible for most of the children to read with her. All that was heard was the teacher's voice and a few mumbles from the children.

Occasionally the subjects tried to initiate a literacy event at

show and tell. These initiations were not accessed and the focus was changed to the relevant theme, color for example (Chapter V).

In contrast, the librarian encouraged constant spontaneous interaction which often resulted in a mediated learning experience. She encouraged prediction of the text and constantly focused the children's attention on the print.

The teacher considered work time to be a very important component of her program, indeed to be the main vehicle for readiness instruction. The focus was on rhyming words, shape discrimination, numerals, letters and themes. Sheets were first completed orally and at no time was the print on these sheets accessed by the teacher. For a while David had difficulty with rhyming words, not because he did not hear when words rhymed but rather he did not understand the task.

Later in the first term the teacher would write words on the children's drawings. It was never suggested that the children could write their own words. Even when the writing took place, the child was often not watching and was not asked to read what was written. Hence the children had minimal opportunities to further their understanding of the nature of writing or the link between sound and vision.

All work time activities were initiated by the teacher and were rarely connected to the life-world of the children.

From the above descriptions and the summary in Chapters IV and V, it can be seen that all of the subjects came to kindergarten with numerous concepts about print, books, reading and writing. The literacy tasks that the teacher selected for instruction were not a challenge to the subjects in general, as they could already do these tasks before they entered kindergarten. They did, however, learn to use upper and

lower case letters when they wrote their names and those who did not know all the names of the letters of the alphabet (David, Nadia and Jeff) did so by the end of the kindergarten year. Also they were all exposed to pre-primers before grade one.

It is possible that the children may have developed more concepts in the kindergarten than I observed. I could observe only what they were given the opportunity to display.

By the completion of the study, Wendy had moved from stage three to stage four in Doake's model of literacy development. From the data in Chapter V it appears that this was as a result of literacy activities in her home environment. What she was required to do for the most part in school was well below her developmental level. This was equally true for Michelle who moved from stage two/three to three. The writing and reading Michelle did during free play reflected the literacy transmission in her home, particularly via her mother. Through writing and book sharing mainly with his mother, Jeff moved from stage two to stage three. David and Nadia continued to benefit from book sharing and literacy experiences at home and it is hypothesized that it would not be long before they moved to stage three. Nadia's home environment continued to be positive whereas at school her interest in print appeared to decline.

The children who had progressed appeared to have done so as a result of literacy activities in their home environments rather than in their school environment.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, MAJOR CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction and Summary

Wendy: It's the end of the world if you don't go to kindergarten. Mom says so anyway.

In our culture literacy is a vital part of our everyday lives. Communication through literacy is increasingly crucial to each person's social, economic, and political well-being. Those of us who easily became literate take literacy for granted and use it constantly in our daily routines. How much thought do we give to the illiterate who lacks the uniquely human tool of literate language which could be said to be a reflection of our own world?

Chapter II of this study looked at the literature concerning literacy learning in our culture. Emphasis shifted from cultural content and the transmitter (18th and 19th centuries) to a focus on within child factors (early 20th century). Over time this area has attracted a great deal of research covering both methodologies for teaching and the nature of learning. Despite the intense commitment of researchers and educationists we are left with few workable effective prescriptions which ensure literacy for the majority of the members of our culture. "Nothing in the educational world can match the resources of every kind that have been poured into this effort and, more recently, into the remediation of its countless failures" (Holdaway, 1979, p. 12).

Present research views literacy acquisition as a transactive

process. Rosenblatt's (1939) ideas have taken on a greater prominence recently. Literacy acquisition has been viewed as a transactive process (Rosenblatt, 1978) with the learning context, the purpose and methods of the transmitter and the intentions and attributes of the receiver considered to be vital components of literacy transmission.

Accepting that literacy learning takes place within a cultural context including the home, the community and the school, this study sought to describe what type of cultural context facilitated literacy growth. Using ethnographic methodology data was sought to describe the apprentice as he/she approached and entered formal education via the kindergarten.

Human caretakers were part of these contexts and the child's learning was stimulated both from interactions with these caretakers and direct interactions with the environment. The study, therefore, focused on how literacy was acquired within a particular context and what learning was accomplished by the children.

Looking at the children as revealed by the data in Chapter IV, what emerged was a picture of the dynamic interaction of a child and the existing language. The learner was not a passive apprentice who was filled with literacy knowledge. Children acquired their own personal literacy through assimilation, accommodation and adaptation (Piaget, 1955).

For each child the learning of literacy was purposeful and not hasty, superficial or without zeal or interest. They learned literacy as a meaningful whole, rather than a collection of different pieces gradually sequenced.

It was obvious that in the home environment, the children were encouraged to find pleasure in their own language. Even when a parent

engaged in somewhat formal instruction, the whole episode was permeated by a feeling of sharing, warmth and enjoyment.

Each child was born into a home where literacy was valued and a wide variety of materials were available for the child's use. Although bed-time story reading was a ritual in every family it certainly was not the whole picture. A vast array of other literacy activities was part of the everyday life of the children and as a result these activities were endowed with meaning.

Although the majority of literacy events observed were child initiated, the adult played a vital role in the interactive process as he/she acted as facilitator, controller, intervention strategist and mediator. When direct instruction was given it was often in response to the child's request for help and was "embedded in ongoing events." Corrections were rare and adults appeared to delight in their child's creative predictions (Schickedanz and Sullivan, 1984).

All of the children had developed extensive knowledge of how written language works and had learned numerous concepts about books, print, reading and writing. Each child also had positive attitudes to books. As a result of much exposure to meaningful language as part of their total environment, positive reinforcement and the opportunity to experiment through hypothesizing and self-evaluating, the children had positive attitudes to and well-developed concepts of literacy (Doake, 1981).

Although four of the subjects had had playgroup experience before kindergarten, the entry into the school system presented a major change in all of the subjects' lives (Chapter V). Kindergarten was not just another new experience. It indeed added a new dimension to their lives which would never be the same again. They had to cope entirely on their

own with a world that was quite different from home.

Each of the subjects in this study via the kindergarten entered the school system whose purpose is enculturation. Society maintains schools to further children's personal and intellectual growth. Not only do kindergartens create educational foundations but they may affect a child's self-concept to a considerable degree. Depending on these early experiences, the child may feel welcomed or rejected by society. It is a weighty responsibility for kindergarten teachers as they try to pleasurably ease their students into the educational system.

Perhaps the most influential part of these early school experiences is the encounter with the teacher. It is through him/her that the child is introduced to the educational system. If things go well he/she derives satisfaction but if not he/she may close his/her mind to the system, withdraw, learn how to beat the system and/or become a rebel.

The teacher in this study achieved her objectives with the majority of the children in her care and provided them with a successful and happy introduction to formal schooling. With the exception of Nadia, all of the subjects appeared to enjoy kindergarten and quickly learned the routines. The learning of time procedures, daily routines, group work and work habits prepared them for their grade one class.

Nadia came to kindergarten with positive attitudes and high expectations. Perhaps the school environment was too different from that of her home. She was in general well-behaved and when she broke a rule it was usually due to a lack of understanding rather than an act of disobedience. She constantly tried to establish a good relationship with her teacher, but did not appear to be successful and displayed anxiety and unhappiness in the school setting. This in turn appeared to

affect her attitude to literacy in the school setting. From being a child who was almost obsessed by books she became one of the few children who did not take library books home in the second term.

In Chapter VI, the home and the school were compared and were found to differ mainly in terms of what was selected for transmission and the nature of the interaction during transmission.

In the home, literacy was very much a part of the child's life and was endowed with meaning. Acquiring written language had assumed all the complexities of the acquisition of oral language. From the data a picture was synthesized of children uncovering written language's perceptual features, symbolic nature, structural characteristics, discourse procedure, sociocognitive nature and functional capacities.

In the school environment, literacy was carefully controlled and transmitted within a predetermined readiness model. These readiness activities mainly focused on oral language, auditory and visual discrimination, learning letters of the alphabet, learning sight words and writing names.

Although the children were read to frequently this was with a focus on oral language and the written text was not accessed. Activities taking place in the oral mode may not be enough because, while listening to stories and rhymes may be an indisputable part of early literacy experience, these activities do not necessarily confront children directly with the written language puzzle or with the reading/writing connection. In oral interaction the children use their implicit knowledge of language relatively unreflectively, focusing attention on the real world surrounding them. "Language is, for the child, a rich and adaptable instrument for the realization of their intentions; there

is hardly any limit to what he can do with it" (Halliday, 1973, p. 2).

Children "will actively invent and discover, using what we tell them as starting points" (Donaldson, 1978, p. 109). Writing which was almost absent from the kindergarten curriculum (with the exception of writing names and copying letters and words) is an excellent medium for this.

At work time, readiness activities were often not placed in a meaningful context in the child's own life. Levels were not varied according to individual differences and often activities were extremely simple for the subjects. They were not required to solve the cognitive puzzle of literacy. In the home, attempts to solve the puzzle were based on dealing with whole messages first and parts later, whereas in kindergarten parts were dealt with often outside any meaningful context.

In the home, the children attempted to create messages. As they did this in their writing they organized and put into action their conceptions about writing. In trying to read or have others read their writing they had to face the inevitable contradictions between what they thought they were doing and what in fact they actually did.

The majority of literacy events in the kindergarten were teacher initiated. Many of the children tried to interact in the manner that they did at home and many of their attempts to initiate were unsuccessful. Teacher/child interactions were often of the stimulus-organism-response type involving an initiation by the teacher, a response by the child and an evaluation by the teacher.

The basic form and content of the literacy program was based on the teacher's predetermined curriculum. The choice of books read to the children was not negotiated and the teacher's agenda was not abandoned in favor of the child's. Another striking characteristic of the kinder-

garten was the fairly rigid adherence to a time schedule. Observations agree with Suransky's (1982) study in that, "the morning was temporally mapped by the teacher, defining both the spatial and interpersonal modes of existence of the children." Although the children could not tell the time, their "sense of time was determined by a schedule which demarcated spatially selected activities to be performed within certain time frames." Like Suransky I began to "internalize the compartmentalization of the day's experiences and associated these with clock time" (Suransky, 1982, p. 60).

The concept of allowing a child to complete an activity he/she was entated in was not practised. This produced many conflicts between Nadia and the teacher as she was often denied the possibility of bringing a book reading session or a puzzle session to a natural conclusion.

However, the children appeared to derive security from the "temporal rigidity" and became uncomfortable with any deviations. As they contemplated tidy up time they would suddenly stop an activity and look towards the piano. The kindergarten practice with time was indeed congruent with those of the larger culture. The kindergarten mirrored the larger system and provided "its own temporal interiorization which the children internalized in order to function adaptively" (Suransky, 1982, p. 65).

As the children, with the exception of Nadia, were adapting to this structure they were "being socialized to view the world as stable and secure" (p. 66). Indeed any deviation was relegated to the realm of the disruptive. The organized program socialized most of the children into institutionalized time.

All of the subjects came to kindergarten with numerous concepts about print, books, reading and writing and the literacy program they were offered provided minimal challenge to them cognitively. It also

appeared that little attempt was made "to bridge the gap between the relatively abstract formulations of knowledge in the classroom and the children's first hand experience of the world of 'real' activities outside" (Wells, 1981, p. 265). As Bruner has noted, if we separate learning from the context of immediate relevant activity, we may be in the dangerous position of making classroom learning an empty formalism with no impact on pupils' general intellectual functioning (Wells, 1981).

The children were not encouraged to adopt an independent, enquiring, critical attitude to the information that was presented to them and the activities they were given at work time. This could in part explain why the children discussed various other topics while completing worksheets.

Implications for Parents

It was obvious from the beginning of this study that parents played a vital role in the transmission of literacy to their children. They played this significant role in the transmission of this aspect of our culture, at times without awareness of the complexity of their interactions.

For the children, early literacy appeared to be as social and functional as speaking. The children sat close to their parents during book sharing and writing and it is likely that the success of the literacy interaction was partly derived from the pleasure and coziness provided by body contact accompanied by conversation.

Each child was able to have one-to-one contact with skilled users of language. By listening to them, answering questions, reading to and with them, writing with them, providing books and writing materials for

them and giving time to them, parents created an environment which encouraged enthusiasm for language both oral and written.

The two most salient factors relating to literacy learning in the home environment were found to be the availability and opportunity to engage in literacy activities and the nature of the interaction between the apprentice and the skilled transmitter.

Availability of Materials and Experiences

Books and writing materials have to be handy and easily accessible. In all of the homes in this study both adults and children were literally tripping over materials in the kitchens, bedrooms, living rooms and family rooms.

All of the children were also involved in shopping trips, doctor's visits, church visits, etc. The children were included in choice of foods, writing lists, writing thank you letters, etc. Although the parents did not have any literacy teaching design allotted to these activities, they involved their children in the business of the day. Through this inclusion the children learned a great deal about print in their environments and could be seen displaying their knowledge in their dramatic play.

Book sharing, the most prevalent literacy activity, was centered around favorite stories and new stories. By pausing at highly predictable points in favorite stories, parents invited their children to participate. Parents adjusted their rate of reading to approximate their children's rate of production of oral language. The children were all given the opportunity to use the strategies of completion, mumble, co-operative and echo reading. Children's attempts to retrieve their favorite stories should always be met with enthusiasm and the children

encouraged to engage in independent reading-like behavior as often as they wish (Holdaway, 1972).

The Interaction Process

A crucial observation from this study pertains to the nature of language interaction during literacy transmission. In the home setting an overwhelming number of literacy/language interactions were mediational in nature and were in the form of child initiated - adult responded and elaborated - child acknowledged.

In the mediated learning interaction the adult transmitter filtered and framed stimuli, thus regulating the receiver's behavior. The mediator organized the stimulus in time and space and related new experiences to previous events and to those that would occur in the future. The children were taught how to focus, observe and differentiate print in their world. Whether aware of it or not parents showed intentionality to transmit literacy to their child. Explanations were marked by transcendence which produced a constant expansion of the individual child's spatial and temporal life space. This constant expansion of the need system, so typical of the human, is responsible for an enormous amount of cognitive modifiability that characterizes humanity (Feuerstein, 1980).

Literacy became endowed with meaning as it was grounded in the child's own life world. The mediators also made the child feel both explicitly and implicitly that he/she was competent. Behavior was regulated for individual needs to ensure success. The whole process of mediation was characterized by a feeling of sharing. This developmental learning of literacy which was highly individual and grounded in real life purposes appeared to produce apprentices who were able to direct

their own learning and be creators as well as learners of culture.

These children in their home environments were free to be critical about their literate world as they sought to understand that world. The freedom they experienced had developed criticicity (Freire, 1982) which manifests itself in displays of initiative. The parents had not reduced literacy to a technical dimension in the child's life, rather it was life. They had succeeded in not separating the reading of the world from the reading of words. It was only when the parents came out of this role and tried to emulate the "school" that they engaged in unprofitable teaching (Chapters IV and V).

The findings of this research support previous research about the importance of the role parents play in the literacy development of their child as they provide literacy materials and experience and mediate these to their child. Today's parents should be helped to understand the nature and extent of literacy experiences the child has before school, coupled with an understanding of the crucial relationship between transmitter and receiver. They also need to know that specific attempts to "teach" literacy will likely be less successful than involvement of children in real ongoing literacy activities.

Implications for Teachers

As this study was set up to compare literacy learning in the home with literacy learning in the school, implications emerge for teachers.

The Readiness Model

The home and the school differed mainly in terms of what was selected for transmission and the nature of the interaction during transmission. In the home, literacy was very much a part of the child's

life and was endowed with meaning whereas in the school it was carefully controlled and transmitted within a predetermined readiness model. Readiness activities, particularly during work time, were often not placed in a meaningful context in the child's own life and levels were not varied according to individual needs. In terms of "connecting" the children were able in general to perform well in school tasks but in the sense of building on and expanding the children in terms of literacy development, the teacher and the children "misconnected" (Dyson, 1982). In many cases strategies developed at home were not expanded; they were simply ignored.

The commonly held assumption that children learn to read only after they enter school must be seriously challenged. Also the belief that some form of readiness program must be completed before real reading can begin is questionable. Teachers must recognize the vital importance of children's preschool literacy experiences with books, environmental print and writing. It is no longer a question of when to start because if most children in our culture are started on the literacy road before school, the question is rather how to continue. The child may find it much easier to take on curricular goals and orientations and make them his/her own"if continuity of learning can be maintained as far as possible between the home and the school"(Wells, 1971, p. 268).

Kindergarten and grade one teachers need to know what to look for in the young apprentice and, based on a developmental model, plan activities for that individual child which will enhance his/her literacy development. When to use deliberate, systematically organized materials should be based on the needs of each individual child and not on the dictates of some predetermined abstract curriculum.

The Role of the Teacher/Transmitter

The teacher's role should be chiefly one of giving encouragement to sustain motivation and providing a resource of knowledge and skill from which the child can take according to his/her own purposes. The skilled language user, in the form of the teacher, should mediate (Feuerstein, 1980) literacy knowledge to the young apprentice who in turn acts upon the literate world.

The teacher must learn to listen to the young child as he/she initiates searches for meaning. Story times, show and tell and circle time all present excellent media for child initiated language encounters. "The teacher is no longer merely one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn, while being taught, also teach" (Freire, 1970, p. 67). The child and the teacher become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow.

Literacy Related Activities in the Kindergarten - Some Suggestions

Both in terms of materials and structure of the day Alloway Kindergarten was very similar to many other kindergartens which have developed from the Froebelian philosophy and have the potential to further children's intellectual growth in literacy. The findings of this study that two of the subjects did not change developmental levels and that changes the others made were due largely to home learning must be discussed in terms of recommendations for the school program.

Dramatic play is a popular activity in most kindergartens. Play, the child's praxis upon the world, should not be dichotomized from work. The playing child is a working, purposeful child. The separation that the adult world imposes on work and play does not exist in the child's world (until they are taught to do so). They are in the world and act

on the world. In doing and acting they fulfil the human activity of intentionality and purposiveness (Suransky, 1982).

Print is part of the child's world outside school and as he/she engages in dramatic play in kindergarten props should be provided to encourage literacy related play. Books, stationery, writing implements, telephone directories, products covered with print, should be in the house corner as these are all part of the child's real home environment. It is very curious indeed to see a house corner labelled "house" with pots, pans, dolls clothes, etc., but no reading and writing materials.

The house corner can of course be transformed into a hospital with magazines in the waiting room, an office with a typewriter, a restaurant with menus or a supermarket with a sale on! The possibilities for themes that rely on literacy related props are endless. Literacy materials can also be provided in the form of instructions for table games, woodwork centers, art centers, water play, sand play, pet care. etc. Following are some of Holdaway's (1984) excellent suggestions for classroom implementation of developmental literacy learning.

As literacy transmitters teachers must be observed as "daily lovers" of reading and writing. The circle time provides an excellent opportunity for this displaying and sharing. In our literature we have a splendid selection of stories, poems, rhymes, and songs which have delighted generations of children. The children can enjoy favorite poems, songs, stories and jingles, displayed on enlarged text. All the children can see the text and read along. A pointer can be used by the teacher or a child to focus on the print and demonstrate directionality. These texts can be later used for a learning about language session where the transmitter may consolidate something previously taught or teach something new.

The highlight of circle time could be the new story. Spontaneous participation should be encouraged, child initiated searches for meaning should be welcomed as an opportunity through mediated learning to expand the child's schema of the world.

As children become familiar with a book through repeated readings, the book should be placed in the book corner to join other favorite books, stories, songs and books written by the children themselves. These texts can be later accessed by the children either individually or co-operatively during play.

The children could be invited to bring in favorite books from home to share with the class either at circle time or in play. This would provide an excellent opportunity for the teacher to observe the child with a favorite book and gain insights into concepts of print and books and strategies used in early reading behavior.

The book corner should also have a listening center with a wide variety of favorite tapes and books. Small duplicated copies of favorite books - text only - "could be available for illustrating and personalizing before taking home to show off reading prowess" (Holdaway, 1984, p. 40).

Materials for exploratory writing should be available in a range of formats. Pencils, magic markers, magic slates, paper, envelopes, carbon paper, memo pads, etc., should be provided and used in the same exploratory way as sand, water or art materials. To participate in the literate world children must understand the precise connection between reading, writing and oral language (Smith, 1981). Writing of course is an excellent medium for this. In attempting to independently create a message, children must organize and put into action their conceptions of

writing. The combined process of writing and reading centered on child organized and created text may contribute significantly to an awareness of the written language system.

To wait until the child can read before having him/her write "is to miss one of the most effective means of introducing him/her to the possibilities that this new medium of communication makes available" (Wells, 1981, p. 274). Skills of handwriting need not be a difficulty. The child can write aloud his/her stories, notes and observations which the teacher can either scribe or record. The child should of course watch the teacher as he/she writes. "For it is in learning through writing to become reflectively aware of both the uniqueness and the universality of human experience, that children can most fully take possession of the heritage of a literate civilization and contribute to its further development" (Wells, 1981, p. 276).

Whereas in the home environment parents involved children in meaningful ways with written record keeping, in the kindergarten, with the exception of a reading record in the second term, the children were rarely involved in such an activity. Record keeping, classifying, naming and many other aspects of a teacher's daily routine could be shared by the children.

A Final Comment

Perhaps it is time for society to re-examine the philosophy of kindergarten education. Is the child's intellectual development being sacrificed for social goals? In Canada where over 90 percent of pre-school children are enrolled in kindergartens it appears that for most parents kindergarten experience is no longer considered an option. It is now viewed as a vital part of a child's schooling.

This study described a group of children (How typical were they?) who were faced with a literacy program which did not meet their intellectual or personal needs. By the time these children came to school they were showing such skill as thinkers and language users that they compelled my respect. When these children were dealing with real-life meaningful situations in literacy learning, they showed purpose and intention as learners. "These human intentions are the matrix in which the child's thinking is embedded" (Donaldson, 1978, p. 127). Intentions sustain the child's thought and speech just as they do for adults. The child uses literacy to serve compelling immediate purposes. Education as it was observed in the school setting in this study did not always do this. Literacy experiences were often presented in abrupt isolation and purposes were obscure, for example work time.

Children in our literacy culture have the potential to guide their own growth. It is the role of the teacher to help the child to be conscious of the powers of his/her own mind. Children need to be given the opportunity to show what they already know about written language's processes and functions. Teachers need to observe this and allow these observations to guide the transmission of new insights. With the growing interest of both educators and researchers in early literacy development should come a growing ability to enhance rather than interfere with this development (Dyson, 1982, p. 679).

Implications for Further Research

The findings of this study support recent research in early literacy development (Baghban, 1984; Cochran-Smith, 1984; Doake, 1981; Harste, Burke and Woodward, 1981; Heath, 1980; Schickedanz and Sullivan, 1984;

Taylor, 1983). As the research in early literacy grows we will be better able to investigate the usefulness of a developmental framework for understanding literacy experiences.

This type of study demonstrates that there is considerable scope for the pursuit of this line of enquiry and the results obtained suggest numerous directions for further study which will build on an "ethnography of early literacy", thus providing important information both for researchers and practitioners. Some directions for further study are presented below:

1. There is urgent need for further similar studies not only with this age group but with children from birth. These studies would ideally follow children from birth until they become independent readers.
2. There is particular need to investigate the transition from kindergarten into grade one because of the shift in curriculum from reading readiness to reading.
3. Studies similar in design to this one could be conducted in settings where the literacy program is based on a developmental model as prescribed by Holdaway (1979) to investigate the nature of literacy interactions and literacy knowledge developed in this type of setting.
4. There is urgent need to replicate book sharing in the classroom with that in the home through the use of enlarged texts and to evaluate the effects of such materials and literacy interactions on children's reading development.
5. A similar study could be conducted using children as subjects who do not come from book oriented homes and have not been read to regularly. Insights gained may offer directions for reading

recovery programs and programs for children who come into the school system without positive attitudes to, or experience with, books. Such children should be observed over time to determine key factors in attitudinal change. In a recently completed study, Brailsford (1985) compared High and Low Print aware children in the kindergarten setting.

6. Many children in our culture spend time in playgroups and daycare settings before kindergarten. Studies are needed to observe the nature of oral and written language as it occurs in these settings. Observations could focus on language produced by the child, language interaction between child and adult and language interaction between child and peers. Subjects could be drawn from a variety of facilities such as Montessori, private, public and community playgroups. Data could be analyzed in terms of the components of language structure (Lindfors, 1980).

7. Studies are needed to further describe the reading/writing connection at various stages of literacy development for children in diverse settings.

8. It is proposed from the findings of this study that the quality and quantity of interaction may differ during a book sharing episode depending on whether a familiar or unfamiliar story is being read or whether the text is narrative or expository. Further studies are required to determine whether favorite stories are more conducive to verbal interactions than others. What type of questioning and response strategies appear to be selected for a favorite story, a new story or an expository text? (Hayden in progress)

9. Although this study focused on a comparison of literacy transmission

in the home with that in the kindergarten, similar studies could be constructed to compare the transmission of other aspects of our culture, for example number concepts or moral concepts, in these two settings.

Implications for Teacher Education

As well as implications for further research this study has implications for teacher education:

1. The findings on emergent reading should be built into courses in reading and there is a need to move away from the readiness model which is prevalent in most available textbooks. Students should become aware of the important dimension of context in literacy development.
2. Student teachers with the guidance of a university instructor should practise the dimensions of literacy interaction where, in the role of intentional transmitter, they meet the apprentice during the learning process. The vital components of sharing, intentionality, transcendence, and interpretation of meaning combined with regulation of behavior and feelings of competence must be characteristic of language experiences which can be called mediated learning experiences.
3. Student teachers should be aware of the dynamics of preschool literacy learning and be knowledgeable about what print knowledge a child may bring to school. Researchers and practitioners should work together to devise instruments and techniques to best assess this knowledge.
4. Within early childhood tradition the teacher is seen as the person responsible for the development and modification of the curriculum.

As there is a wide range of preparation for teaching kindergarten, it is reasonable to assume that many teachers will not have been prepared adequately to make curriculum decisions in the field of literacy. New ideas on early reading behavior, as opposed to the readiness concept, are very recent and most classroom teachers cannot be expected to be familiar with this research. Both the universities and the school systems must assume the responsibility to provide this knowledge through continuing in-servicing.

A Look Back

It was my belief that the purpose of this study and the context dictated a qualitative research approach. In seeking to make sense of literacy development I was conscious of the fact that "educational phenomena define the method, not vice versa" (Hamilton, 1980, p. 81).

The intention of this study was to shed light on the distinctive features of the interactive process between the child and the main mediator(s) in the home and the kindergarten, as the child engaged in the process of emergent literacy. It is my belief that the participant-observation approach to this particular research question has "illuminated" the event from within. I agree with Carolyn Burke (1981) when she draws the following analogy between language research and the language process: "It's like doing open heart surgery, if the operation we perform stops the natural process, all is for naught" (p. 349).

Fifteen months of fieldwork have intensified my belief that "what people become is largely a function of what they have had an opportunity to experience" (Eisner, 1981, p. 466).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Applebee, A. (1977). A sense of story. Theory into Practice, 16, 342-347.

Applebee, A. (1979). Children and stories: Learning the rules of the game. Language Arts, 56, 641-646.

Artley, A. S. (1980). Secrets of the early reader. School and Community, 67-68, 6-9.

Ausubel, D. (1980). Theory and problems of child development. New York: Grune & Stratton Inc.

Baghban, M. (1984). Our daughter learns to read and write. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association.

Beers, J., Beers, C., & Grant, K. (1977). The logic behind children's spelling. The Elementary School Journal, 77, 238-242.

Bennett, K. R. (1972). Preformal learning patterns in young children as signaled by early reading responses. Dissertation Abstracts International, 32A, 3818.

Berg, L. (1977). Reading and loving. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Bertrand, A. L. (1972). Social organization. Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Co.

Bettleheim, B., & Zelan, K. (1981). On learning to read. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

Biemiller, A. (1970). The development of the use of graphic and contextual information as children learn to read. Reading Research Quarterly, 6, 75-96.

Bissex, G. (1979). Learning to read and write: A case study. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Faculty of the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University.

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1982). Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc.

Bond, G. L., & Gates, A. I. (1936). Reading readiness: A study of factors determining success and failure in beginning reading. Teachers College Record, XXXVII, 679-685.

Bower, T. G. R. (1979). Human development. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman & Co.

Brailsford, A. (1985). Kindergarten children's literacy experiences. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta. Unpublished doctoral proposal, 1983.

Britton, J. (1973). Language and learning. London: Penguin Press.

Britton, J. (et al.). (1975). The development of writing ability (11-18). Schools Council Research Studies. London: Macmillan Education.

Brown, A. L. (1982). Metacognitive development and reading. In A. M. Lesgold & C. A. Perfetti (Eds.), Interactive processes in reading. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.

Bruner, J. S. (1960). The process of education. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. S., Oliver, R., & Greenfield, P. M. (1966). Studies in cognitive growth. New York: Wiley.

Bruner, J. S. (1975). The ontogenesis of speech acts. Journal of Child Language, 2, 1, 1-19.

Brzeinski, J. E., & Howard, W. (1971). Early reading - how not when! The Reading Teacher, 25, 239-242.

Bullock, A. (1975). A language for life. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Calhoun, C. J., & Ianni, F. A. (1976). The anthropological study of education. Paris: Mouton Pub.

Cassidy, J., & Vukelich, C. (1980). Do the gifted read early? The Reading Teacher, 33, 578-582.

Cazden, C. B. (1983). Adult assistance to language development: Scaffolds, models and direct instruction. In R. B. Parker & F. A. Davis (Eds.), Developing literacy: Young children's use of language. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association.

Chall, J. S. (1983). Learning to read: The great debate. New York: McGraw Hill.

Chomsky, C. (1972). Write now, read later. Language in early childhood education. Washington, D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children.

Chomsky, C. (1971). Invented spelling in the open classroom. Word, 27, 499-518.

Chomsky, C. (1978). When you still can't read in third grade: After decoding, what? In S. J. Samuels (Ed.), What research has to say about reading instruction. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association.

Chomsky, C. (1979). Approaching reading through invented spelling. In L. B. Resnick & P. A. Weaver (Eds.), Theory and practice of early reading (Vol. 2). Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.

Clark, M. M. (1976). Young fluent readers: What can they teach us? London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Clay, M. M. (1972). Reading: The patterning of complex behaviour. Auckland, N.Z.: Heinemann Educational Books.

Clay, M. M. (1975). What did I write? Auckland, N.Z.: Heinemann Educational Books.

Cochran-Smith, M. (1984). The making of a reader. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Cohn, M. (1981). Observations of learning to read and write naturally. Language Arts, 58 (5), 549-555.

Coltheart, M. (1979). When can children learn to read - and when should they be taught? In T. G. Walker & G. E. Mackinnon (Eds.), Reading research: Advances in theory and practice (Vol. 1). New York: Academic Press.

Cook-Gumperz, J., & Gumperz, J. (1981). From oral to written culture: The transition to literacy. In M. F. Whiteman (Ed.), Variations in writing. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.

Combs, A. W., Avila, D. L., & Purkey, W. W. (1978). Helping relationships: Basic concepts for the helping professions. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Crago, M., & Crago, H. (1983). Prelude to literacy. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Cronbach, L. J., & Suppes, P. (1969). Research for tomorrow's schools. London: Macmillan.

De Ford, D. E. (1980). Young children and their writing. Theory into Practice, 19, 157-162.

Dehn, M. (1979). Children's strategies in learning to read and write: An examination of the learning process. The Reading Teacher, 79, 270-277.

Dewey, J. (1930). How much freedom in new schools? New Republic, LXIII.

Dewey, J. (1956). The child and the curriculum: The school and society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dinkmeyer, D. C. (1965). Child development: The emerging self. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Dinkmeyer, D., & Dreikurs, R. (1965). Encouraging children to learn: The encouragement process. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Doake, D. B. (1979, June). Reading: A language learning activity. Paper presented at the I.R.A. Conference, University of Victoria.

Doake, D. B. (1981). Book experience and emergent reading behavior. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Donaldson, M. (1978). Children's minds. New York: Norton.

Donelly, C., & Stevens, G. (1980). Streams and puddles: A comparison of two young writers. Language Arts, 57, 735-741.

Dostoyevsky, F. (1965). The idiot. London: Penguin Books.

Downing, J. (1970). Children's concepts of language in learning to read. Educational Research, 12, 105-112.

Downing, J. (1970). The development of linguistic concepts in children's thinking. Research in the Teaching of English, 4 (1), 5-19.

Downing, J. (1971-72). Children's developing concepts of spoken and written language. Journal of Reading Behavior, 4 (1), 1-19.

Downing, J. (1971). How children develop concepts of language. In C. Braun (Ed.), Language, reading, and the communication process. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association.

Downing, J. (1976). The reading instruction register. Language Arts, 53 (7), 762-766.

[redacted] J. (1979). Reading and reasoning. Edinburgh: Chambers.

[redacted] J., & Thackray, D. (1971). Reading readiness. London: [redacted]versity of London Press.

[redacted], D. (1961). Children who read before grade one. The Reading [redacted]eacher, 14, 163-166.

[redacted]in, D. (1963). Should the very young be taught to read? NEA Journal, 52, 20-23.

[redacted]kin, D. (1963). Children who read before grade one: A second study. Elementary School Journal, 64, 143-148.

[redacted]rkin, D. (1968). When should children begin to read? Innovation and change in reading instruction. Sixty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Durkin, D. (1974). A six year study of children who learned to read in school at the age of four. Reading Research Quarterly, 10, 9-61.

Durkin, D. (1978). Teaching them to read. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc.

Dyson, A. H. (1981). Oral language: The rooting system for learning to write. Language Arts, 58 (7), 776-784.

Dyson, A. H., & Genishi, C. (1982). "Whatta ya tryin' to write?": Writing as an interactive process. Language Arts, 59 (2), 126-132.

Dyson, A. H. (1982). Teachers and young children: Missed connections in teaching/learning to write. Language Arts, 59, 674-680.

Dyson, A. H. (1982). Reading, writing, and language: Young children solving the written language puzzle. Language Arts, 59 (8), 829-839.

Eisner, E. (1981). Mind as cultural achievement. Educational Leadership, 38, 466-471.

Engleman, S., & Osborn, J. (1970). Distar: An instructional system. Chicago: Science Research Associates.

Entwisle, D. R. (1971). Implications of language socialization for reading models. In F. B. Davis (Ed.), The literature of research in reading with emphasis on models. New Jersey: Rutgers, Graduate School of Education.

Fagan, W. T. (1984). The learning and teaching of reading. Unpublished manuscript, University of Alberta.

Farnham, G. L. (1887). The sentence method. New York: Syracuse.

Ferreiro, E. (1980). The relationship between oral and written language: The children's viewpoints. Paper presented at the Conference of the National Council of Teachers of English and the International Reading Association, St. Louis. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association.

Ferreiro, E. (1978). What is written in a written sentence? A developmental answer. Journal of Education, 160, 25-39.

Ferreiro, E., & Teberosky, A. (1982). Literacy before schooling. Exeter, N.H.: Heinemann Educational Books.

Feuerstein, R. (1983). Cognitive modifiability in adolescence: Cognitive structure and the effects of intervention. Paper presented at the University of Alberta.

Feuerstein, R. (1983). Instrumental enrichment: Theoretical basis, goals and instruments. Paper presented at the University of Alberta.

Feuerstein, R. (1983). Intergenerational conflict of rights: Cultural and self-realization. Paper presented at the University of Alberta.

Feuerstein, R. (1983). Modifiability during adolescence: Theoretical aspects and empirical data. Paper presented at the University of Alberta.

Feuerstein, R. (1983). Ontogeny of learning in man. Paper presented at the University of Alberta.

Feuerstein, R., Rand, Y., & Hoffman, M. B. (1979). The dynamic assessment of retarded performers. Baltimore, Maryland: University Park Press.

Feuerstein, R., Rand, Y., Hoffman, M., & Miller, R. (1980). Instrumental enrichment. New York: University Park Press.

Flesch, R. (1955). Why Johnny can't read. New York: Harper & Row.

Flood, J. (1977). Parental styles in reading episodes with young children. Reading Teacher, 30, 864-867.

Forester, A. D. (1977). What teachers can learn from "natural readers". Reading Teacher, 31, 160-166.

Francis, H. (1973). Children's experience of reading and notions of units of language. The British Journal of Educational Psychology, 43 (1), 17-23.

Freeberg, N. E., & Payne, O. T. (1967). Parental influence on cognitive development in early childhood: A review. Child Development, 38, 65-87.

Freire, P. (1970). Pedagogy of the oppressed. New York: Continuum Publishing Corp.

Freire, P. (1982). Education for critical consciousness. New York: Continuum Publishing Corp.

Freire, P. (1983). Pedagogy in process. The letters to Guinea-Bissau. New York: Continuum Publishing Corp.

Freilich, M. (Ed.). (1970). Marginal natives: Anthropologists at work. New York: Harper & Row.

Furth, H. G. (1969). Piaget and knowledge. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Furth, H. G. (1970). Piaget for teachers. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Gardner, K. (1970). Early reading skills. In K. Gardner (Ed.), Reading skills: Theory and practice. London: Ward Lock Educational.

Gates, A. J. (1937). The necessary mental age for beginning reading. Elementary School Journal, 37, 497-508.

Gearing, F. O. (1973). Where we are and where we might go. Steps towards a general theory of cultural transmission. Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly, IV, 1-10.

Geertz, C. (1973). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. In C. Geertz (Ed.), The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays by Clifford Geertz. New York: Basic Books Inc.

Gentile, L. M., & Hoot, J. L. (1983). Kindergarten play: The foundation of reading. The Reading Teacher, 36 (4), 436-439.

Gesell, A. L. (1925). The mental growth of the preschool child. New York: Macmillan Co.

Gesell, A. L., & Ilg, F. (1946). The child from five to ten. New York: Harper & Bros.

Gibson, E. (1969). Principles of perceptual learning and development. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Gibson, E. J. (1970). The ontogeny of reading. American Psychologist, 25, 136-143.

Glazer, M. (1972). The research adventure: Promise and problems of fieldwork. New York: Random House.

Goodenough, W. (1963). Co-operation and change. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Goodman, K. S. (1967). Reading: A psycholinguistic guessing game. Journal of the Reading Specialist, 67, 126-135.

Goodman, K. S. (1977). Acquiring literacy is natural: Who skilled Cock Robin? Theory into Practice, XVI (5), 309-314.

Goodman, K. S., & Goodman, Y. M. (1978). Learning to read is natural. In L. B. Resnick & P. Weaver (Eds.), Theory and practice of early reading. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.

Goodman, Y. M. (1980). The roots of literacy. Paper presented at the Claremont Reading Conference, Claremont, California.

Goodman, Y. M. (1982). Kidwatching in evaluating written language development. Australian Journal of Reading, 5 (3), 121-128.

Gough, P. B. (1972). One second of reading. In J. F. Kavanagh & I. G. Mattingly (Eds.), Language by ear and eye. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press.

Graves, D. (1975). The child, the writing process and the role of the professional. In W. T. Petty & P. J. Finn (Eds.), The writing process of students: Report of the first annual conference on language arts. Buffalo: State University of New York.

Graves, D. (1978a). Balance the basics: Let them write. New York: Ford Foundation Papers on Research about Learning.

Graves, D. (1978b). We won't let them write. Language Arts, 55, 635-640.

Graves, D. H. (1982). How do writers develop? Language Arts, 59, 173-179.

Guba, E. G. (1978). Toward a methodology of naturalistic inquiry in educational evaluation. Los Angeles: Center for the Study of Education, University of California.

Hagen, E., & Thorndike, R. L. (1955). Measurement and evaluation in psychology and education. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Hall, C. S. (1951). The genetics of behavior. In S. S. Stevens (Ed.), Handbook of experimental psychology. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1973). Explorations in the functions of language. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1977). Language as a code and language as behaviour: A systemic-functional interpretation of the nature and ontogenesis of dialogue. In S. M. Lamb & A. Makkai (Eds.), Semiotics of culture and language.

Hamilton, D. (1978). Beyond the numbers game. California: McCutcheon Publishing Co.

Harste, J. C., & Burke, C. L. (1980). Examining instructional assumptions: The child as informant. Theory into Practice, 19, 170-178.

Harste, J. C., Burke, C. L., & Woodward, V. A. (1981). Children's language and the world: Initial encounters with print. National Institute of Education.

Hartup, W. W. (Ed.). (1972). The young child reviews of research, Vol. 2. Washington, D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children.

Havinghurst, R. J. (1953). Human development and education. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

Havinghurst, R. J. (1974). Developmental tasks and education. New York: David McKay Co., Inc.

Hayden, R. (1984). The joint book experience. Research in progress, University of Alberta.

Heath, S. B. (1980). The functions and uses of literacy. Journal of Communication, 30, 123-133.

Heath, S. B. (1982). What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and school. Language and Society, 11, 49-77.

Hess, R. D., Shipman, V. C., Shipman, J. E., & Baer, R. M. (1969). The cognitive environments of urban pre-school children: follow up phase. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hiebert, E. H. (1978). Preschool children's understanding of written language. Child Development, 49, 1231-1234.

Hiebert, E. H. (1981). Developmental patterns and interrelationships of pre-school children's print awareness. Reading Research Quarterly, XVI, 236-259.

Hildreth, G. (1936). Developmental sequences in name writing. Child Development, 7, 291-303.

Holdaway, D. (1979). The foundations of literacy. Toronto: Ashton Scholastic.

Holdaway, D. (1980). Independence in reading. Auckland, N.Z.: Ashton Scholastic.

Holdaway, D. (1984). Stability and change in literacy learning. New Hampshire: Heinemann Educational Books.

Hoskisson, K. (1979). Learning to read naturally. Language Arts, 56, (5), 489-496.

Huey, E. B. (1908). The psychology and pedagogy of reading. New York: Macmillan Co.

Hunt, J. M. (1961). Intelligence and experience. New York: Ronald Press.

Hurlock, E. (1964). Child development. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

Inkeles, A. (1968). Society, social structure and child socialization. In J. A. Clausen (Ed.), Socialization and society. Boston: Little Brown & Co.

Irwin, M. D., & Bushnell, M. M. (1980). Observational strategies for child study. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Jackson, P. (1968). Life in classrooms. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Jagger, J. H. (1929). Sentence method. Glasgow: Macmillan.

Jennings, F. G. (1965). This is reading. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Jensen, A. (1969). How much can we boost I.Q. and scholastic achievement? Harvard Educational Review, 4, 37-47.

Johns, J. (1980). First graders' concepts about print. Journal of Reading, 21, 615-619.

Kak, A. V. (1980). Schemata: Its role in the early reading process of children. Reading World, 19 (3), 295-302.

Katz, L. G. (et al.) (1982). Current topics in early childhood education. New York: Ablex.

Keagy, J. M. (1824, 1966). An essay on English education together with some observations on the present mode of teaching the English language. In M. M. Matthews (Ed.). Teaching to read. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Keesing, R., & Keesing, F. (1971). New perspectives in cultural anthropology. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Kern, A., & Kern, E. (1966). Lesen und lesenlernen Freiburg im Breisgau, 1937. In M. M. Matthews (Ed.). Teaching to read. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Keshian, F. G. (1963). Characteristics and experiences of 72 children who were successful in reading. Elementary English, 40, 615-616.

King, E. M. (1978). Pre-reading programs: Direct versus incidental teaching. The Reading Teacher, 31 (5), 504-510.

King, E. M. (1980). Literacy begins at home. In G. Bray & T. Pugh (Eds.), The reading connection. London: Ward Lock.

King, E. M., & Friesen, D. G. (1972). Children who read in kindergarten. The Alberta Journal of Educational Research, 18, 147-161.

King, E. M., & Kerber, A. (1968). The sociology of early childhood education. New York: America Book Co.

King, M. L., & Rentel, V. (1979). Toward a theory of early writing development. Research in the Teaching of English, 13, 243-253.

Kirkland, E. R. (1978). A Piagetian interpretation of beginning reading instruction. Reading Teacher, 31 (5), 497-503.

Klein, A., & Schickedanz, J. (1980). Preschoolers write messages and receive their favorite books. Language Arts, 57 (7), 742-749.

Kluckhohn, R. (Ed.) (1962). Culture and behavior: Collected essays of Clyde Kluckhohn. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

Kolb, D. A. (et al.) (1974). Organizational psychology: A book of readings, 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Krippner, S. (1963). The boy who read at eighteen months. Exceptional Children, 30, 105-109.

Kroeber, A., & Kluckhohn, C. (1979). Definitions of culture. In D. H. Spain (Ed.), The human experience: Readings in sociocultural anthropology. Illinois: Dorsey Press.

Kroll, B. (1981). Developmental relationships between speaking and writing. In B. Kroll & R. Van (Eds.), Exploring speaking and writing relationships in connections and contrasts. Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English.

La Berge, D., & Samuels, S. J. (1974). Towards a theory of automatic information processing in reading. Cognitive Psychology, 6, 293-323.

Lamy, M. W. (1965). Relationship of self-perceptions of early primary children to achievement in reading. In I. J. Gordon (Ed.), Human development: Reading in research. Chicago: Scott Foreman & Co.

Landreth, C. (1967). Early childhood: Behavior and learning. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Lass, B. (1982). Portrait of my son as an early reader. Reading Teacher, 36 (1), 20-28.

Lass, B. (1983). Portrait of my son as an early reader II. Reading Teacher, 36 (6), 508-515.

Lauria, A., & Yudovich, F. (1959). Speech and the development of mental processes in the child. London: Staples Press.

Lavine, L. (1972). The development of perception of writing in pre-reading children: A cross-cultural study. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University.

Lavine, L. (1977). Differentiation of letterlike forms in pre-reading children. Developmental Psychology, 13 (2), 87-94.

Levine, M. (1974). Culture and personality: Contemporary readings. Chicago: Aldine.

Lindfors, J. W. (1980). Children's language and learning. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Lopez, L. C., & Holmes, W. M. (1983). Maternal involvement and academic achievement. Paper presented at the 1983 annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Montreal, Canada.

MacGinitie, W. H. (1969). Evaluating readiness for learning to read: A critical review and evaluation of research. Reading Research Quarterly, 4, 396-410.

Mackie, R. (Ed.) (1980). Literacy and revolution: The pedagogy of Paulo Freire. London: Pluto Press.

Mann, H. (1841, 1966). A lecture in the best mode of preparing and using spelling books. In M. M. Matthews (Ed.), Teaching to read. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Margolin, E. (1974). Sociocultural elements in early childhood education. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co.

Maslow, A. H. (1954). Motivation and personality. New York: Harper Row.

Mason, J. M. (1980). When do children begin to read: An exploration of four year old children's letter and word reading competencies. Reading Research Quarterly, XV, 203-224.

Matthews, M. M. (1966). Teaching to read. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McCandless, B. (1968). Child socialization. In D. A. Goslin (Ed.), Handbook of socialization theory and research. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co.

McCracken, G. (1959). The right to learn. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co.

McKenzie, M. (1976). Schematic learning and reading. In R. T. Williams (Ed.), Insights into why and how to read. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association.

McKenzie, M. (1977). The beginnings of literacy. Theory into Practice, XVI (5), 315-324.

Mead, M. (1961). The young adult. In E. Genzburg (Ed.), Values and ideals of American youth. New York: Columbia University Press.

Moffet, J., & Wagner, B. J. (1983). Student-centered language arts and reading, K-13: A handbook for teachers. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

Morphett, M. V., & Washbourne, C. (1931). When should children begin to read? Elementary School Journal, 31, 496-503.

Moss, K. R., & Stansell, J. C. (1983). Wolf stew: A recipe for writing growth and enjoyment. Language Arts, 60 (3), 346-350.

Murray, F. B. (1978). Implications of Piaget's theory for reading instruction. In S. J. Samuels (Ed.), What research has to say about reading instruction. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association.

Nelson, K. (1973). Structure and strategy in learning to talk. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, Serial No. 149.

Newman, J. (1980). Young readers. (Video). Dalhousie University.

Nicholson, C. K. (1968). Anthropology and education. Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co.

Ninio, A., & Bruner, J. (1978). The achievement and antecedents of labelling. Journal of Child Language, 978, 5 (11), 1-15.

Ollila, L. O. (1972). Pros and cons of teaching reading to four- and five-year-olds. In R. C. Aukerman (Ed.), Some persistent questions on beginning reading. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association.

Ollila, L. O. (1981). Beginning reading in North America. In L. O. Ollila (Ed.), Beginning reading instruction in different countries. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association.

Olson, W. (1949). Child development. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.

Palmer, T. H. (1838, 1966). On the evils of the present system of primary instruction. In M. M. Matthews (Ed.), Teaching to read. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Peters, R. S. (1967). The concept of education. Bristol: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Piaget, J. (1955). The language and thought of the child. New York: New American Library.

Piaget, J. (1965). Growth of thought. In W. Kessen (Ed.), The child. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Piaget, J. (1973). To understand is to invent: The future of education. New York: Grossman.

Pines, M. (1963). How three-year-olds teach themselves to read - and love it. Harpers, 226, 58-64.

Plessas, G. P., & Oakes, C. R. (1964). Pre-reading experiences of selected early readers. Reading Teacher, 17 (4), 241-245.

Priestman, B. (1960). Froebel education today. London: University of London Press.

Psanthas, G. (Ed.) (1973). Phenomenological sociology. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Purkey, W. W. (1970). Self concept and school achievement. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Rankin, P. T. (1967). The relationship between parent behavior and achievement of inner-city elementary school children. Paper presented at the annual meeting of A.E.R.A., New York.

Read, C. (1971). Pre-school children's knowledge of English phonology. Harvard Educational Review, 41, 1-34.

Read, C. (1973). Children's judgements of phonetic similarities in relation to English spelling. Language Learning, 23, 17-38.

Read, C. (1975). Children's categorization of speech sounds in English. Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English.

Read, C. (1980). What children know about language: Three examples. Language Arts, 57 (2), 144-148.

Reid, D. K. (1981). Child reading: Readiness or evolution? Topics in Language Disorders, 1, 61-71.

Reid, J. F. (1966). Learning to think about reading. Educational Research, 9, 56-62.

Rist, R. (1970). Student social class and teacher expectations: The self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education. Harvard Educational Review, 40, 411-451.

Rosen, C., & Rosen, H. (1974). The language of primary school children. Baltimore: Penguin Books.

Rosenblatt, L. M. (1938). Literature as exploration. New York: Appleton-Century.

Rosenblatt, L. M. (1978). The reader, the text and the poem. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Schickedanz, J. A. (1978). Please read that story again: Exploring relationships between story reading and learning to read. Young Children, 33, 48-55.

Schickedanz, J. A. (1978). You be the doctor and I'll be sick: Preschoolers learn the language arts through play. Language Arts, 55, 714-718.

Schickedanz, J. A. (1981). Hey! This book's not working right. Young Children, 37, 18-27.

Schickedanz, J. A., & Sullivan, S. (1984). Mom, what does U-F-F spell? Language Arts, 61 (1), 7-17.

Schwartz, M. S., & Schwartz, C. G. (1969). Problems in participant observation. In C. J. McCall & J. G. Simmons (Eds.), Issues in participant observation. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.

Shanahan, T. (1980). A canonical correlational analysis of learning to read and learning to write: An exploratory analysis. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Delaware.

Sheldon, W. D. (1951). The relationship of parents, home and certain developmental characteristics to children's reading ability. Elementary English, XXVIII (2), 86-93.

Shor, I. (1980). Critical teaching and everyday life. Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Sinclair, J. M., & Coulthard, R. M. (1975). Towards an analysis of discourse: The English used by teachers and pupils. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Singer, H. (1970). Research that should have made a difference. Elementary English, 47, 27-34.

Smart, R. C., & Smart, M. S. (1972). Readings in child development and relationships. New York: Macmillan Co.

Smith, F. (1971). Understanding reading. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Smith, F. (1973). Psycholinguistics and reading. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Smith, F. (1977). The uses of language. Language Arts, 54, 638-644.

Smith, G. A. (1979). Writing about it afterwards. In D. Turner, G. A. Smith (Eds.), Challenging anthropology. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Rogerson Ltd.

Smith, N. B. (1963). Reading instruction for today's children. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Smith, N. B. (1965). American reading instruction. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association.

Snow, C. E. (1983). Literacy and language: Relationships during pre-school years. Harvard Educational Review, 53 (2), 165-189.

Sowers, S. (1979). Research update: A six-year-old's writing process: The first half of first grade. Language Arts, 5, 829-835.

Spindler, G. (1974). Education and cultural process. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Spindler, G. (Ed.) (1982). Doing the ethnography of schooling. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Spradley, J. P. (1979). The ethnographic interview. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Spradley, J. P. (1980). Participant observation. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Spradley, J. P., & McCurdy, D. W. (1972). The cultural experience: Ethnography in complex society. Chicago: Science Research Associates.

Staines, J. W. (1958). The self-picture as a factor in the classroom. British Journal of Educational Psychology, 28, 97-111.

Steiner, E. (1981). Educology of the free. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc.

Stevens, G. L., & Orem, R. C. (1968). The case for early reading. St. Louis, Missouri: Warren H. Green.

Stine, S. (1980). Beginning reading - naturally! Year Book of the Claremont Reading Conference.

Stross, B. (1978). Language acquisition and teaching. Language Arts, 55, 749-755.

Subramuniya, Master. Cognizantability, one of the textbooks of the Subramuniya Yoga Order, Virginia. Nevada: Himalayan Academy, n.d.

Sulzby, E. (1981). Kindergarteners begin to read their own compositions: Beginning readers' developing knowledges about written language project. Report submitted to the Research Foundation of the National Council of Teachers of English.

Sulzby, E. (1982, December). A scale for judging emergent reading of favorite storybooks. Paper presented at 32nd National Reading Conference.

Sulzby, E., & Otto, B. J. Judging the emergent reading abilities of kindergarten children. (To appear in 31st N.R.C. Yearbook.)

Sulzby, E., & Otto, B. J. "Text" as an object of metalinguistic knowledge: A study in literacy development. (To appear in 31st N.R.C. Yearbook.)

Suransky, V. P. (1981). On yaisins, cheeyios, and evbody got toes: An ethnographic portrait of Sasha the "Meddle-paws". Outlook, 40, 3-16.

Suransky, V. P. (1982). The erosion of childhood. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sutton, M. H. (1969). Children who learned to read in kindergarten: A longitudinal study. Reading Teacher, 22 (7), 595-602.

Swartz, R. M. (1977). Strategic processes in beginning reading. Journal of Reading Behavior, 9, 17-26.

Taylor, D. (1981). The family and the development of literacy skills and values. Journal of Research in Reading, 4 (2), 92-103.

Taylor, D. (1983). Family literacy: Young children learning to read and write. Exeter, N.H.: Heinemann Educational Books.

Teale, W. H. (1978). Positive environments for learning to read: What studies of early readers tell us. Language Arts, 55, 992-32.

Teale, W. H. (1982). Toward a theory of how children learn to read and write naturally. Language Arts, 59, 555-570.

Temple, C. A., Nathan, R. G., & Burris, N. A. (1982). The beginnings of writing. Toronto: Allyn & Bacon.

Templeton, S. (1980). Young children invent words: Developing concepts of "word-ness". Reading Teacher, 33 (4), 454-459.

Torrey, J. (1969). Learning to read without a teacher. Elementary English, XLVI (5), 550-556, 658.

Tyler, R. in Vivelo, F. R. (1978). Cultural anthropology handbook: A basic introduction. Toronto: McGraw Hill Book Co.

Van Dalen, D. B. (1973). Understanding educational research. New York: McGraw-Hill Co.

Van Wie, E., & Lammers, D. M. (1962). Are we being fair to our kindergarteners? Elementary School Journal, 52, 348-351.

Vernon, M. D. (1957). Backwardness in reading. London: Cambridge University Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes, (ed. M. Cole, V. John-Steiner, S. Scribner & E. Sauberman). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Wardhaugh, R. (1971). Theories of language acquisition in relation to beginning reading instruction. In F. B. Davis (Ed.), The literature of research in reading with an emphasis on models. [illegible]runswick: Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University.

Wa[illegible]. Doing fieldwork: Warning and advice. Chicago: [illegible] of Chicago Press.

Well[illegible]1). Learning through interaction: The study of language [illegible]ent. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ells[illegible](1982). Story reading and the development of symbolic skills. [illegible]ralian Journal of Reading, 5 (3), 142-161.

ell[illegible]G. (1983). Language, learning and the curriculum. Early Child [illegible]velopment and Care, 12, 277-302.

[illegible] D. (1954). Books before five. New Zealand: Council for Educational Research, Oxford University Press.

W[illegible]nn, M. O., & Wiemann, J. M. (1975). Non verbal communication in the elementary classroom. Illinois: Eric Clearinghouse on Reading and Communication Skills.

Wil[illegible], J. (1972). Philosophy and educational research. London: [illegible]ational Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales.

Wilson, J. (1982). The credibility of educational studies. Oxford R[illegible]iew of Education, 8 (1).

Wilso[illegible](1977). The use of ethnographic techniques in educational [illegible]ch. Review of Educational Research, 47, 245-265.

Wise[illegible] J. E. (1967). Methods of research in education. New York: D. C. Heath & Co.

Wolcott, H. (1973). The man in the principal's office. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Yussen, S. R., Matthews, S. R., & Hiebert, E. (1982). Metacognitive aspects of reading. In W. Otto & S. White (Eds.), Reading expository material. New York: Academic Press.

Zutell, J. (1978). Some psycholinguistic perspectives on children's spelling. Language Arts, 55 (7), 844-850.

Bibliography of Children's Books

Cited in Text

Asbjørnsen, P. C. (1963). The three billy goats gruff. New York: Holt Rinehart.

Carey, B. (1979). Grasshopper to the rescue. New York: Doubleday.

Carle, E. (1971). Do you want to be my friend? Harrow.

Cole, B. (1980). No more baths. New York: Doubleday.

Cosgrove, S. (1980). Leo the lop. Serendipity.

Disney Productions. (1975). Tigger in the forest. Hollywood, California: Walt Disney Productions.

Dehnbostel, N. L., & Hartman, M. E. (1983). Superheroes. Western Pub.

Duvoisin, R. (1952). Petunia's Christmas. New York: Knopf.

Fletcher, S. (1953). Pinnochio. New York: Golden Press.

Freschet, B. (1976). The ants go marching. New York: Scribner.

Gene, Z. (1956). Harry the dirty dog. New York: Harper & Row.

Ginn. (1957). Little red story book. Boston: Ginn & Co.

Ginn. (1968). What a dog. Boston: Ginn & Co.

Ginsburg, M. (1972). The chick and the duckling. New York: Macmillan.

Ginsburg, M. (1980). Magical changes. New York: Atheneum.

Goble, P. (1978). The girl who loved wild horses. New York: Bradbury Press.

Golden Books. (1969). Cinderella. Wisconsin: Golden Press.

Golden Books. (1975). Donald Duck and the witch next door. Wisconsin: Golden Press.

Golden Books. (1973). Pokey puppy. Wisconsin: Golden Press.

Golden Books. (1982). Winnie the Pooh. Wisconsin: Golden Press.

Golden Books. (1982). See no evil, hear no evil, smell no evil. Wisconsin: Golden Press.

Golden Books. (1982). Max the noisy bear. Wisconsin: Golden Press.

Hargreaves, R. (1976). Mr. Chatterbox. London: Thurman Ltd.

Henny Penny. (1968). Chicken Little. New York: Seaburg Press.

Hutchins, P. (1968). Rosie's walk. New York: Macmillan.

Learning Systems. (1979). Your first crossword puzzle book. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Learning Systems. (1979). Beginning reading activities. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Learning Systems. (1979). Teach and learn mathematics. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Le Sieg, T. (1972). In a people's house. New York: Random.

Miller, J. P., & Howard, K. (1978). Do you know colors? New York: Random.

Moray, J. (1980). Timmy and the whales. Freedom.

Moray, J. (1980). Timmy and the west coast tug. Freedom.

Muir, F. (1978). What-a-mess the good. New York: Doubleday.

Paola, T. (1979). Flicks. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc.

Pavel, S. (1961). Goldilocks. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Peet, B. (19). Huge Harold. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Peet, B. (1984). Cowardly Clyde. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Pinkwater, D. (1983). I was a second grade werewolf. New York: E. P. Dutton.

Polhamus, J. B. (1975). Dinosaurs do's and don't's. New York: Treehouse.

Rockwell, A. (1974). Looking at the toolbox. New York: Macmillan.

Scarry, R. (1975). Cars and trucks and things that go. Toronto: Hamlyn.

Scholastic. (1983). The Flintstones. Scholastic Book Services.

Schulz, C. (1973). Charlie Brown dictionary. Scholastic Book Services.

Vigna, J. (1975). The little boy who loved dirt and almost became a super slob. Wisconsin: Whitman.

Wisner, W. (1971). Jack and the beanstalk. Scholastic Book Services.

White, E. B. (1952). Charlotte's web. New York: Harper & Row.

Williams, G. (1958). The three little pigs. New York: Golden Press.

APPENDIX A

The Literacy Set

Literacy Set

A. MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS (High expectations of print)

Enjoys books and stories - appreciates the special rewards of print.
Has had extensive, repetitive experience of a wide range of favorite books.
Seeks book experiences - asks for stories, goes to books independently.
Is curious about all aspects of print, e.g. signs, labels, advertisements.
Experiments with producing written language.

B. LINGUISTIC FACTORS (Familiarity with written dialect in oral form)

Has built extensive models for the special features of written dialect.
Syntax-grammatical structures learned through meaningful use, e.g. full forms of contractions such as "I'm" or "What's", structures which imply consequence "If ... then ..."
Vocabulary words not normally used in conversation, e.g. "however", "dine", "ogre".
Intonation patterns-appropriate intonations for literary or non-conversational English, e.g. "Fat, indeed! The very idea of it!"
Idioms-special usage contrary to normal grammatical or semantic rules, e.g. same example as for intonation - illustrates that idiom often works with special intonation.

C. OPERATIONAL FACTORS (Essential strategies for handling written language)

Self-monitoring operations: Self-correction and confirmation.
Predictive operations: Ability to "use the context" to fill particular language slots.
Structural operations: Ability to follow plot, temporal and causal sequences, logical arrangements, etc.
Non-situational operations: Ability to understand language without the help of immediate sensory context.
Imaginative operations: Ability to create images which have not been experienced or represented in sensory reality, and apply metaphorical meanings.

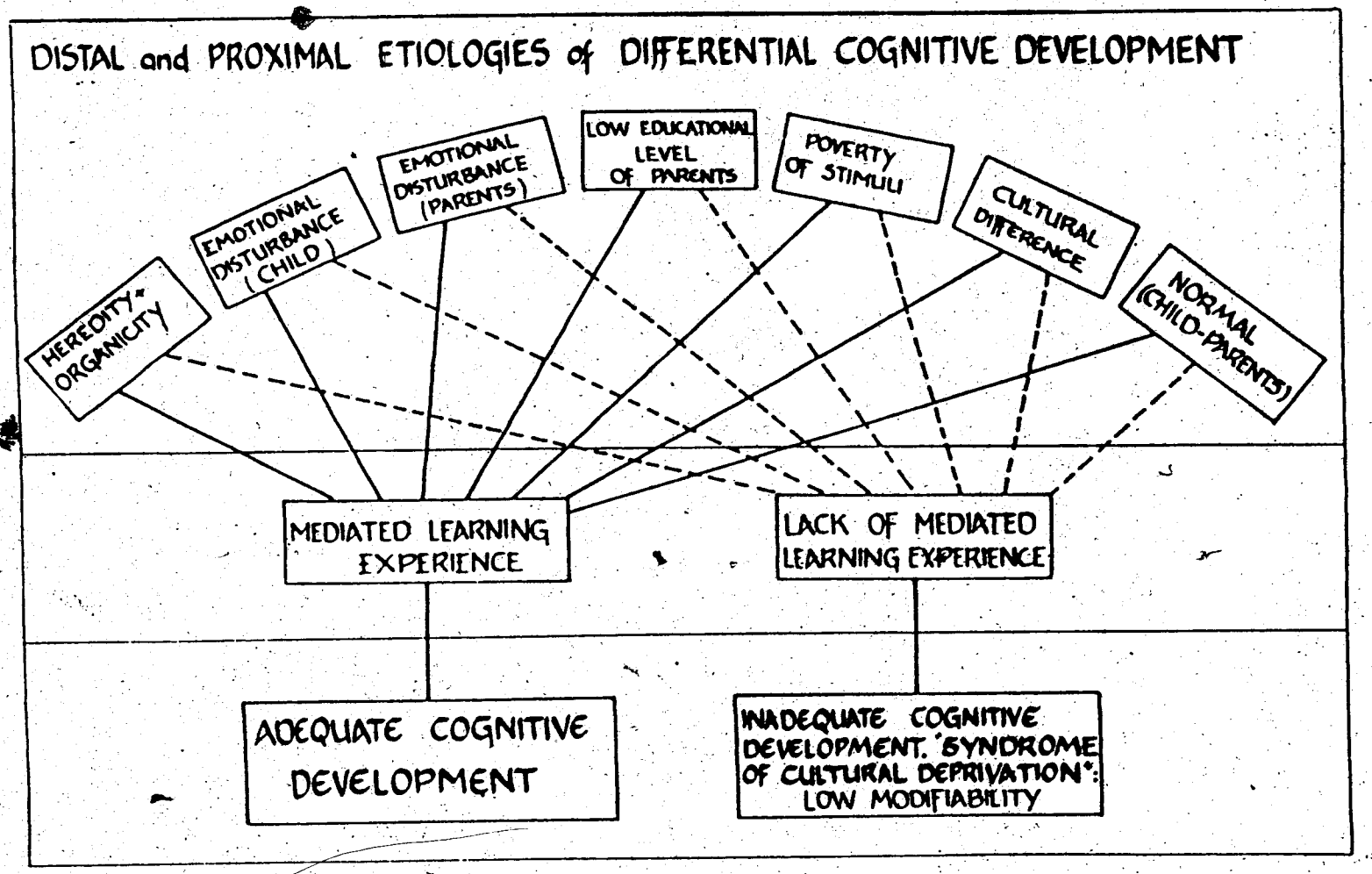
D. ORTHOGRAPHIC FACTORS (Knowledge of the conventions of print)

Note: Few preschoolers would have grasped more than a few of the orthographic principles.

Story comes from print, not from pictures.

APPENDIX B

Distal and Proximal Etiologies of Differential Cognitive Development


DISTAL and PROXIMAL ETIOLOGIES of DIFFERENTIAL COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT
HEREDITY* ORGANICITY
EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCE (CHILD)
EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCE (PARENTS)
LOW EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF PARENTS
POVERTY OF STIMULI
CULTURAL DIFFERENCE
NORMAL (CHILD-PARENTS)
MEDIATED LEARNING EXPERIENCE
LACK OF MEDIATED LEARNING EXPERIENCE
ADEQUATE COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT
INADEQUATE COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT. 'SYNDROME OF CULTURAL DEPRIVATION': LOW MODIFIABILITY

APPENDIX C

A Sample of David's Log

David

Tuesday, April 26, 1983

1:00 p.m. Watched "Jeremy"

Glued popsicle sticks to make birdhouse

Read "I Love Edmonton" on a sticker

Went for a walk

3:00 Recognized "Harriet's Magic Hats" title on T.V.

Rode his two-wheeler, played with paper

7:30 Mom, "Let's bake this Betty Cake!

Let's ice it and eat some."

9:00 Bath - he asked for a story - very late - quick one. Read

"Mr. Pinktoes' Picture" because he really likes rainbows.

10:00 He's still looking at the book

Wednesday, April 27, 1983

Rode bike to school

11:30 Asked for bottles at drugstore

Read "Wet paint on fence" at school on sidewalk

1:00 Went for bike ride

2:30 Stacked bottles, played with paper

4:00 Riding bike again

7:00 Went to pet shop to get a fish

9:00 Bedtime. Asked for Ship story

APPENDIX D

A Sample of Wendy's Log

Wendy's mom, dad and nanny kept a log on index cards as follows:

Reading Record

Date	Time	Title	With	Initiated by
May 3	Bed	Paddington At The Seaside	Mom	Wendy
May 5	Bed	Chicken Little	Babysitter	Wendy
May 6	Bed	Paddington's Garden	Marion	Wendy
		Snoopy Comic	Marion/Mom	Marion
May 7	10:10	The Bunny Book	Michael	Michael
May 8	2:00	A Boy and His House	Wendy	Wendy
May 8	Bed	Leo the Lop	Daddy	Wendy
May 9	Bed	Leo the Lop	Mom	Wendy
May 11	Bed	Chicken Little	Mom	Wendy
May 16	2-3 p.m.	Julius	Nanny	Wendy
		Paddington and Aunt Lucy	Nanny	Wendy

Wendy's Profound Statements (written by Susan)

Sept. 20. After hearing the weather forecast for warmer weather she said, "Tomorrow is the first day of Fall and it's getting warmer!" Who could have believed it? She explained that Mrs. MacDonald said tomorrow was Fall. She then told me about the weather forecast on the radio.

D

Wendy's Comments After Kindergarten

(written by Nanny)

Oct. 7. I painted a picture. No gym. We had a snack - birthday cake. It wasn't really his birthday. It's on Sunday but we celebrated it today. Nothing else special. Rest like usual.

Oct. 25. We had a birthday today. There was a birthday cake. We got a balloon. We act out Hallowe'en ghosts and witches and stuff again. This time we did more. We had a snack with orange juice to drink. We did work. We had recess. We made a pumpkin man today. We didn't get it home because Mrs. MacDonald wanted it for decorations for the school. That's the way it goes.

APPENDIX E

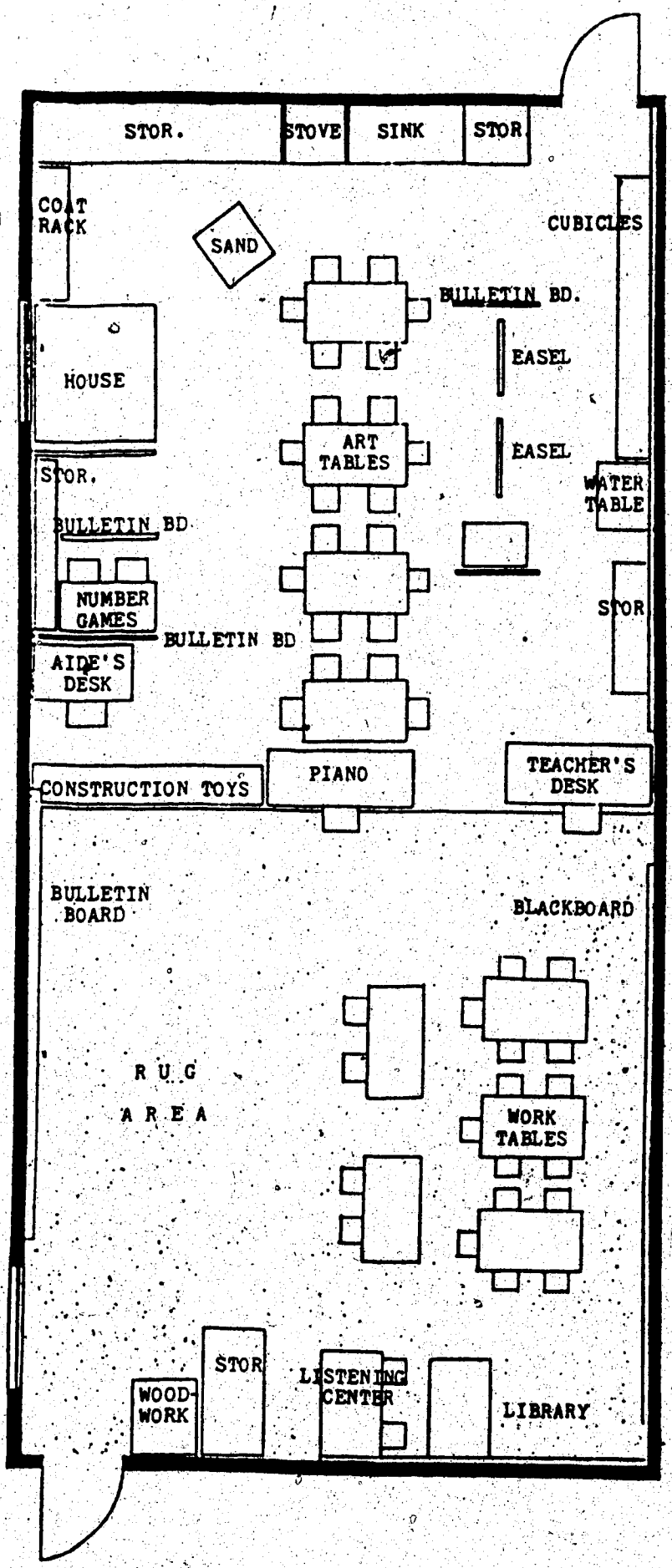
Names of Characters and Abbreviations Used in Transcripts

CHARACTER	NAME	ABBREVIATION
School Principal	Mr. Adamson	-
Kindergarten Teacher	Mrs. M. MacDonald	T.M.
Kindergarten Aide	Mrs. Haisan	A
School Librarian	Mrs. Lang	L
Subject	Wendy	W
Wendy's Mother	Susan	S
Wendy's Father	Bob	B
Wendy's Sister	Marion	M
Wendy's Brother	Michael	M
Subject	David	D
David's Father	John	J
David's Mother	Linda	L
David's Sister	Pat	P
Subject	Nadia	N
Nadia's Father	Alan	-
Nadia's Stepfather	Gary	G
Nadia's Mother	Theresa	T
Subject	Jeff	J
Jeff's Mother	June	J
Jeff's Father	Bruce	B
Playgroup Leader	Sheila	S
Subject	Michelle	M
Michelle's Mother	Jill	J
Michelle's Father	Alex	A

APPENDIX F

Floor Plan of Kindergarten

KINDERGARTEN FLOOR PLAN



APPENDIX G

Form - Introducing My Child

to his First Teacher

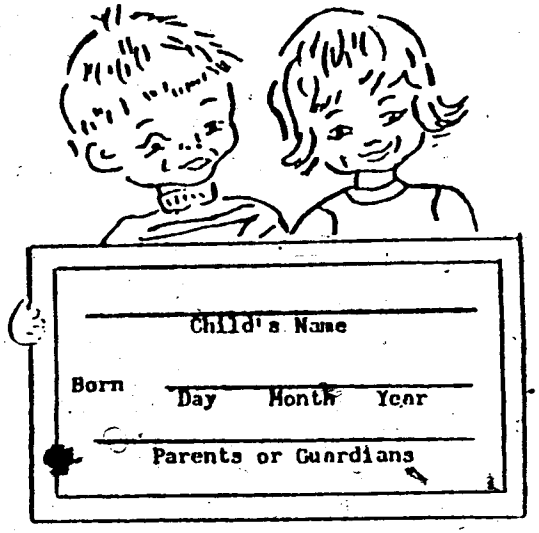
INTERESTS AND EXPERIENCES

My Child:	Usually	Sometimes	Not Yet
1. Enjoys looking at books			
2. Enjoys looking at Sesame Street			
3. Likes to listen to stories			
music			
4. My child uses paint			
scissors			
crayons			
clay			
paste/glue			

My Child:	Recently	Sometimes	Not Yet
Has gone to a supermarket			
Has eaten in a restaurant			
Has visited Storyland Valley Zoo			
Has visited the Game Farm			
Has gone to a department store			
Has been to Centennial Lib.			
Has ridden a bus			
Has been in a boat			
Has taken a long trip to			
Has also			

Additional information that would help the school in planning my child's program:

Introducing My Child to his first teacher



_____ School Date _____

Please return this form during the first week of school so we are able to plan your child's school program.

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

SELF CARE

MY CHILD: Please check the appropriate column for each item.

	Usually	Sometimes	Not Yet
1. Puts on and takes off his clothing -- gloves, coat, jacket, or sweater, boots			
2. Fastens his clothing: zippers			
buttons			
ties shoelaces or boots			
3. Washes his hands & face			
4. Goes to the toilet by himself			
5. Follows simple directions without reminding			
6. Tells what he wants or needs			

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

MY CHILD	Usually	Sometimes	Not Yet
1. Takes turns with others			
2. Asks permission before borrowing things			
3. Takes good care of things			
4. Shows leadership in organizing games			
5. Remembers rules of games			
6. Finishes a game even if he is losing			
7. Plays, -- alone			
with a few children			
with many children			

SKILL DEVELOPMENT

Language and Concept Development

MY CHILD:	Usually	Sometimes	Not Yet
1. Speaks in sentences			
2. Tells colors of things			
3. Says Rhymes, sings songs			
4. Identifies some letters of the alphabet, a few			
many			
5. Counts 1 to 10			
6. Recognizes numerals 1 to 10			
7. Tells "how many" in a group			
8. Tells his first name			
last name			
address			
telephone number			
9. Prints his first name correctly			

PHYSICAL SKILL DEVELOPMENT

MY CHILD:	Usually	Sometimes	Not Yet
1. Skips			
2. Hops on one foot			
3. Goes up and down stairs, alternating feet			
4. Plays with a ball, -- aims it			
catches it			
bounces it			
5. Works a puzzle of pieces			

APPENDIX H

Centers Available

Rug Area

- story books
- tapes, records of songs, record player and tape recorder
- tapes and records of stories, plus books
- calendar
- weather chart
- New Chelsea Alphabet Frieze, Photograph Pub., 1966
- abc frieze, Dick Bruna, Methuen, London, 1975
  (capital letters added)
- counting frieze 1-10 (bears and bricks)
- woodwork bench
- theme display
- typewriter (did not work)
- musical instruments
- piano and stool
- "I can tie my shoes" chart
- 25 chairs and 5 tables
- wooden dolls' house
- felt board
- glue, pencils and crayons
- construction toys, Tinker toys, Lego, Canadian Logs, Educalox blocks, shape builders, bristle blocks, hammering pegs, wooden blocks
- teacher's desk

Puzzles and Number Games for Reading Readiness and Mathematics

- pegboards and pegs
- beads and laces
- lacing cards
- jigsaw puzzles to match themes
- various lotto
- containers of farm animals
- containers of nuts
- number and picture matching games
- word collections for each child (2nd term only)
- Fisher Price School Days desk
- balance scale

- cash register
- paper money
- table and 2 chairs
- storage unit
- pictures to attach name, telephone number, address or initials to

The walls were decorated with children's art, pictures about the theme, and colors and color mixing, "our birthdays" and "records of our reading" (2nd term only), Footsteps to Reading.

Sandbox

- construction toys
- funnels
- pail
- shovel
- broom and dustpan

Water Tray

- boats

hose pipe

- duck
- glass jar
- ball
- funnel
- plastic toys
- Float or Sink board

House Area

- wooden Wendy house
- Fisher Price television and radio
- dustpan and brush
- lunch box
- stove
- 2 cupboards
- dishes
- dolls' bed
- dolls
- hats
- box filled with dress-up clothes

Art Center

- 3 tables
- 20 chairs
- two double-sided easels
- jars of paint, felt-tips and crayons
- brushes
- 2 display boards

Kitchen Counter and Sink

- cooking supplies
- pans
- bowls
- liquidizer
- art materials
- snack supplies

APPENDIX I

Types of Worksheets

1. Coloring
2. Numbers
3. Nursery rhymes and cut and paste
4. Circle one that is the same (visual discrimination)
5. Rhyming words
6. Story sequencing, 3 pictures
7. Shapes, complete and color and tracing shapes
8. Circle numeral that matches objects
9. Ordering smallest to biggest
10. Story completion with pictures (2 pictures)
11. Me and My Family Book
12. Coloring same shapes
13. Draw a picture from your favorite story
14. How many more?
15. Tracing numbers
16. What comes next?
17. Coloring number sets
18. Maze
19. The senses
20. Dot to dot

APPENDIX J

Samples of Worksheets

Name Wendy

Complete and color the circles.