THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

EXPLORATIONS IN LITERACY DEVELOPMENT:

BOOK SHARING WITH TWO-YEAR-OLDS

by

VERA ELIZABETH GOODMAN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

CALGARY, ALBERTA

SEPTEMBER, 1989

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled,
"Explorations in Literacy Development: Book-Sharing With
Two-Year-Olds", submitted by Vera E. Goodman in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Dr. George D. Labercane, Supervisor
Department of Curriculum &
Instruction

Dr. Susan Ditchburn
Department of Curriculum &
Instruction

Professor Gayle G. James
Faculty of Social Welfare

Sept 28, 1989
Date

ii

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine book sharing episodes between mothers and their two-year-olds in an attempt to uncover how the behaviors exhibited during these events effect the acquisition of literacy. The study looked at the influence of mothers' routines, background of experience, conceptions of literacy, and hopes and expectations, had on each respective child's emergent literacy behaviors. It questioned the nature of the qualities essential to the achievement of literacy that were inherent in the book sharing event. The contribution of the book to the quality of the interactions was also assessed.

The study was conducted with two mothers: one low socio-economic, and one middle class. Visits to the homes over a period of five months included video-taping the dyads as they shared dialogue over selected picture books. Data were also collected through field notes and taped interviews to provide background against which to assess behaviors observed during the book sharing interactions.

Data were analyzed under four categories: Semantic Contingency, Scaffolding, Accountability and Routines (Snow, 1983). Further analyses were undertaken using the therapeutic model of Labov & Fanshel, (1977) as a guide. This provided a method for looking more objectively at the influence of the social mileu on each dyad.

The findings suggested that behaviors seemingly unrelated to the reading event itself contributed significantly to literacy development. Daily routines engaged in by the mothers, which reflected the amount of time spent in one-to-one interaction with their daughters, emerged as critical. Each mother's perceptions of those events that constituted her role as teacher of the child led one mother to extend and enrich her child's experience as she read with the child, while the other simply read to her daughter. It was also evident that the book shared made a difference.

The most promising finding was that the behaviors which facilitated literacy development and which emerged as essential to the achievement of literacy were not complex and could be engaged in by anyone. They were, however, related to economic factors, and to the modelling of personal reading by caregivers. Nevertheless, the relationships to the foregoing factors was a qualitative one; relationships which do have socio-economic implications. Basically, literacy events depend for their effectiveness on enthusiasm and imagination, and on the ability to engage in quality dialogue that enables the caregiver to interpret and extend the text. In this respect, the quality of the dialogue between child and caregiver are dependent on factors such as awareness of the need to scaffold, develop routines, and make the young reader accountable for becoming engaged with the text.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Nan and Kate, I express my thanks for your enthusiasm and for making "Rosie" come alive. Your friendship has meant a lot and I will always remember what you have taught me.

To my daughters Cathy, Susan, and Judy, I want to say thanks for laughter, and for the support that is always there when I need it.

To my husband, Don, I am especially grateful. His extra effort, love, and patience gave me the gift of delicious hours to spend with books. I couldn't have done it without you, honey!

DEDICATION

To my mother

Thelma Lockhart,

a vibrant lady.

And

to the memory of my father

Albert,

who would have been so proud of me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xii

LIST OF TABLES

Page

xiv

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

To capture the meaning of a moment
is what the play is for.
(Heathcote, 1985, p. 19)

Statement of the Problem

A short journey through the birth canal launches the
human infant on to the stage of life with its
'dramas-in-progress'. The plays are already underway with
settings, rules, conventions and characters that are, at
the same time, rooted in traditions and ever-changing. It
is improvisational drama and its script is written in the
dialogic interchange of the actors as the play progresses.
It depends for its narrative on participant interaction as
each initiates, reacts, rejects and accomodates in an
attempt to make sense of the worlds in which the scenes
unfold. Each carves out a role based on individual
experiences and perceptions.

The role play is neither simple nor straightforward.
Within the home, the improvisation becomes more and more
scripted as dialogue, actors, settings, and even plots
become more predictable. Children learn the customs,
beliefs, attitudes and expectations within their home

environments and become efficient language users in this setting. But the stage is an ever expanding one and the ability to shift to new 'scenarios-in-progress', each with its own historical conventions and unique characters, is crucial. Infants come equipped to engage in the drama but must learn the literacy skills that will enable them to take advantage of the opportunities of life in a literate society.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to examine the book sharing episodes between two mothers and their infants in an attempt to uncover what meanings underlying the behaviors exhibited during this event contribute to the acquisition of literacy.

The study looked at the world that was created by two mothers for their two-year-old daughters and how each mother's interactions, values and perceptions effected the development of the cognitive, social and linguistic skills that will enable her child to become literate. Special emphasis was placed on the interactions between the mother-child dyads as they shared the reading of selected picture books.

The study was based on the body of existing research, documented in the literature review, that testifies to the significance that reading with young children has on the

achievement of literacy (Clark, 1976; Heath, 1983; Holdaway, 1979; Miller, 1982; Snow, 1983). The focus of the study was on 'why' the picture book format was so influential and secondly on 'what' happened during the interchange. This aspect of the study was specifically examined to shed light on its significance as a predictor of growth in literacy.

BACKGROUND

There is no universal agreement as to what constitutes literacy. In 1982, fourteen of the leading researchers in anthropology, linguistics, psychology, sociology and education met at the University of Victoria to discuss preschool children and literacy. They were unable to agree on an operational definition of literacy but they did agree that literacy is a function of social interaction and that it is the social context that shapes individuals (Goelman, Oberg, & Smith, 1984).

A review of definitions of literacy reveals a variety of perspectives as to what constitutes being a truly literate individual. For example, Holdaway (1979), viewed literacy as the achievement of the ability to read and write. Meek (1982) envisioned literacy as "something more than learning to read in a 'basic' or 'functional' manner, ... we have to move beyond a utilitarian view of literacy" (p. 18). Harste, Woodward, & Burke (1984)

conceptualized literacy as a process that is cyclic and ongoing as humans from birth interact in social situations, first within the family and then in the larger world. They argued that this process is "not a pseudo form of the 'real' process; it _is_ the process" (p.69).

Snow (1983), on the other hand, considered literacy to be "the activities and skills associated directly with the use of print - primarily reading and writing, but also such derivitive activities as playing Scrabble or Boggle, doing crosswords puzzles, alphabetizing files, and copying or typing (p. 166)". Cook-Gumperz (1986) developed an argument for a social perspective on literacy which looked at literacy learning "not only as the acquisition of psychological skills, but as a social process of demonstrating knowledgeability" (p. 3). Schieffelin and Gilmore (1986) shared a view of literacy "as a social and cultural phenomenon, something that exists between people and something that connects individuals to a range of experiences and to different points in time" (p.viii).

In sum, what seems evident is that there is no common definition of literacy. However, Smith's (1984) definition provided a useful framework for this study: "The ability to make full sense and productive use of the opportunities of written language in the particular culture in which one lives" (p. 143).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Importance of pre-school experience

Interest in what Teale & Sulzby (1987) called emergent literacy and Goodman (1987) termed the roots of literacy has become an area of intensive investigation by researchers. Doake (1981), in his study of emergent reading behavior in preschool children who read without any formal instruction, focused on the language development of preschool children and its relationship to the achievement of literacy. He concluded that,

> learning to read for these children was seen to be occurring as a developmentally-based task which was being controlled by the children themselves, primarily as a result of being read to regularly, but more particularly through being reread favourite stories repeatedly. No prior period of "reading readiness" or prerequisite level of linguistic awareness were seen as necessary for them to begin to learn to read (p. 5).

Wells (1985b), in a longtitudinal study of English children, found book reading to be the only common factor in homes of children who achieved literacy without difficulty. He noted particularly that the knowledge the child had about the purposes and conventions associated with written language and the level of interest in books and reading were transmitted by the parents in the home. The quality of adult conversational feedback was also found to correlate with positive literacy development.

Brailsford (1985) in her study of High Print Aware and

Low Print Aware children in kindergarten, observed that the LPA children "though demonstrating efficient monitoring abilities in other aspects of their lives, were largely unable to monitor their own literacy performances. Monitoring requires prerequisite knowledge" (p. 632). Brailsford concluded that the belief systems of caregivers and the strategies that they used to communicate with their children were intimately related to literate behaviors of children at the kindergarten level.

Wells (1985a) noted three main functions performed by the caregiver which provide foundations for literacy: sensitivity to the child's contribution by sustaining interaction; attributing meaning to the cries, smiles, actions and utterances of the child; and providing a model from which the child can learn. Lindfors (1987) noted that it is the importance of mother-child interactions in creating unique experiences in the physical and social world that shapes linguistic competencies in the child.

What studies of early literacy seem to be saying is that the role of the family, particularly the major caregiver (usually mother), has been identified as having a most important influence on the child's ability to become fully literate (Durkin, 1966; Glazer, 1980; Edmunds,1981; Teale, 1987).

METHODOLOGY

Theoretical Framework

This study was grounded in a conceptual approach referred to as "symbolic interactionism" (Blumer, 1969) to provide a framework upon which the data for the study could be collected and interpreted. For this study, emphasis has been given to the affective realm of relationships and interpretation in symbolic interaction.

The symbolic interaction perspective is especially relevent to this research because, in order to grasp the literary significance of the seemingly simple act of a mother sharing a picture book with her two-year-old, it was necessary to attempt to understand the self that had been created as each subject sought to make sense of her world through interacting within it.

Design of the Study

A case study is a detailed examination of one setting, single subject, event, or group of documents. The researcher starts with a wide focus and narrows in, or modifies, designs as the research progresses and more is learned about the topic. The research detailed in this thesis is of the multi-case study design because it looks at two subjects and two locations in depth.

Data of this kind can only be collected successfully by observing subjects over a long period of time as they carry on their daily schedules. The data for this study were collected over a period of eight months in the qualitative research tradition. I investigated mother-child dyads in the natural settings of their own homes, and reported the findings in anecdotal forms using field notes, videotapes, interview transcripts and audiotapes.

Definition of Terms

For purposes of this study, the following terms are defined: emergent literacy, semantic contingency, scaffolding, accountability, routine, therapeutic interview, and interaction.

Emergent literacy is a term employed by Teale and Sulzby (1987) in an attempt to unify the research strands in this field. They used emergent to suggest that "development is taking place, that there is something new emerging in the child that had not 'been' there before" (p. xx). It is a view of children "in the process of becoming literate" (p. xix).

Semantic contingency is defined as utterances that continue the topic introduced in the preceding utterance through expansions, extensions, asking clarifying questions or answering questions (Snow, 1983). Semantic contingency is viewed as cooperative negotiation of meaning whereby

linguistic support is supplied by the caregiver to magnify the interaction or to extend the action or utterance of the child thus helping to achieve the child's goal of 'making meaning'.

Scaffolding refers to efforts by an adult to organize a task in order to make it easier for the child to concentrate on acquiring skills (Ninio & Bruner, 1978). This involves the organization of events, activities and materials. Schiefflin & Gilmore (1986) defined scaffolding as the process of providing slots to be filled by the child.

Accountability denotes those remarks that are not semantically contingent because the adult is insisting on the most sophisticated behavior that the child is capable of producing (Snow, 1983). The sensitivity of the caregiver in 'fine tuning' the interaction to the competence level of the child is crucial and involves knowing when to "up the ante" (Ninio & Bruner, 1978).

Routines are formats that (Bruner, 1983a) defined as "contingent interaction between at least two acting parties, contingent in the sense that the responses of each member can be shown to be dependent on the prior response of the other" (p. 133). When these routines become conventionalized through repetition, they provide the basis for speech acts which the caregiver can use as a scaffold to hand over knowledge to the child until he is able to master it for himself.

The <u>therepeutic</u> <u>interview</u> is "a routinized form of behavior, delineated by well-defined boundaries and well-defined sets of expected behaviors within those boundaries" (Labov & Fanshel, 1977, p. 30). It is a particular speech event in which there is an interchange between a therapist and a patient which attempts to help solve a psychological problem.

<u>Interaction</u> is defined as "action which affects (altars or maintains) the relations of the self and others in face-to-face communication" (Labov and Fanshel, 1977, p. 59). The completed analysis of an utterance forms a cross-section of the interaction. Assembling the cross-sections serves to cast light on the effects of the dialogue on the participants.

Assumptions and Limitations

Certain assumptions are inherent in the conceptual framework for this study. These serve, in some sense, as hypotheses or attitudes assumed by the researcher.

1. Caregiver and child engage in interactive dialogue when they read picture books.

2. Together, they create more story than is actually in print.

3. Both caregiver and child have an influence in creating text.

4. Caregiver's creation of text affects the

literacy acquistion skills of the child.

5. Caregiver's experience affects the child's development.

6. Different books will elicit different levels of complexity in the dialogue engaged in by the caregiver and the child.

In order to examine these assumptions, it was necessary to collect data relating to the mother's literacy development and to observe the social environment in which the interactions were embedded.

Qualitative case studies suffer limitations as to their tranferability, reliability, and validity. They are subject to ethical dilemmas because the subjects who fail are often identified through economic, racial, or social factors. This is especially true of case studies which consider a subject of lower socio-economic status. The investigator must not be seen to be prejudiced, or to assign characteristics to populations based on the actions of one subject. The very process of being assigned can imply superior or inferior status.

Because this study looks at only two mothers who are from two different socio-economic backgrounds, it is not generalizable to large populations. However, to the extent that humans tend to exhibit common behaviors in similar settings and where research by others has observed similar behaviors, the findings will serve to shed further light on conditions in the population as a whole.

The problem of defining the nature and parameters of the role of observer in participant-observer research leads to limited claims of absolute reliability or validity. In this study, a conscious attempt was made to reduce the effects of personal opinion, prejudice, or bias through triangulation of data sources and collection techniques, and by establishing reliability checks both with the participants and with educators not involved in the study.

No attempt was made to look at the language acquisition process nor at its effects upon literacy acquisition. Nor was any attempt made to examine developmental aspects of the process of literacy acquisition. The focus of the study was on the picture book and on the behaviors and the narrative constructed by the mother in interaction with her child. Although an attempt was made to document all literacy events that occurred while I was present, and questions were structured to probe these aspects in the interviews, data obtained were used only to support the analysis of the dialogue that occurred during the book reading sessions.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

A general question was formulated which served to guide the initial stages of the research. The question took the following form: Why does the one-to-one sharing of picture books with infants and young children play such a

vital role in emergent literacy? Out of this general question three questions emerged which served as a guide in data collection:

1. What is the nature of those qualities essential to the successful achievement of literacy that are inherent in mother-child book sharing interactions?

2. How do mothers' routines, background of experience, conceptions of literacy, and hopes and expectations influence behavior in these interactions?

3. What role does the book chosen play in creating text that develops the skills necessary to achieve literacy?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Children who begin formal reading instruction in Grade One are already fluent oral language users. Despite this, they very quickly divide themselves into many levels of competence as they are being taught to read. This means that there must be significant forces operating very early in one's life that affects the ability to access print. What seems evident is that the bedtime story and the sharing of picture books play vital roles in the literacy development of infants and young children who learn to read early and easily (Doake, 1981). But books are also present in the homes of many children who have difficulty learning to read. Perhaps, then, it is not enough just to read to

children. The quality of the interactions between caregivers and their children may be the crucial factor in achieving literacy.

Researchers have observed that nowhere is the need for research on young children's literacy experiences more acute than in studies of parent-child storybook-reading episodes (Moerk, 1985; Morrow, 1987; Sulzby, 1985; Teale, 1987). Heath (1984) observed that we need new and different research with parents that examines the 'fine details' of human literacy behaviors. Hence, the significance of this thesis is that it has attempted to look in detail at the behaviors, in the seemingly simple speech event of book sharing, that facilitate the acquisition of literacy.

OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

In Chapter One the background and significance of the study has been discussed. Questions which guided the research, and recognition by the researcher of the limitations imposed by the parameters of the method chosen, have been acknowledged.

Chapter Two reviews the history of research in the field of early literacy. It investigates current research as it relates to the development of literacy in very young children.

Chapter Three provides details of the methodology employed in the collection of data. Formats for analyzing the data are outlined.

Chapter Four describes the subjects involved in the study and the context in which the observations were made and the data were collected. The data are analysed and the results are investigated in the light of the existing body of research on the subject of emergent literacy.

Chapter Five discusses the conclusions arrived at and the implications of these conclusions for current practice. Recommendations for areas which future studies might investigate in light of the findings conclude the chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Studying literacy development is basically
an investigation of the acquisition of
culture. (Teale, 1987, p. 49)

INTRODUCTION

What is the most useful way to conceptualize the role

of the child in learning to become a literate human being?

Moreover, what part does the environment, particularly the

linguistic environment provided by the caregiver, play in

facilitating the child's acquisition of language and

literacy? It seems evident that a multidisciplinary

approach to literacy and its development is required, with

emphasis on language as a form of social behavior (Wells,

1985a).

The acquisition of literacy and the subsequent process

of development and refinement that produces a literate

individual is a remarkable accomplishment. The human

infant is a most amazing language learner, and few fail to

master the basic forms and grammars of spoken

communication. What seems axiomatic is that all children

who are not handicapped become capable, confident users of

of oral language by the age of school entry.

THE YOUNG CHILD'S LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

Interest in the human's acquisition of language has made it a focus of researchers over time. Much of this research has centered around how children learn to speak and on how they learn to read. Research in the 1960's was strongly influenced by the work of Chomsky (1957), who argued for an innate set of grammatical rules which enable humans to produce an unlimited number of sentences. This research was largely concerned with syntax and the verbal techniques of speech itself, and mainly analyzed data from upper class children. Researchers looked for the rules of grammar and distribution of forms that enabled them to generate the internalized rules that described the nature of early utterances (Braine, 1963; Brown & Bellugi, 1964). Vygotsy's (1962) theory of cognitive development has received increasing attention as theorists moved from a syntactic analysis of language toward the notion of language as social interaction. According to Vygotsky, biological mechanisms were regarded as carriers of intellectual potential. However, the ontogensis of a mental process was contingent on the social-historic environment of the individual. Thought and language were mediated in the "zone of proximal development" which Vygotsky refered to as

the distance between the actual developmental level and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (p. 86).

Vygotsky (in Wertsch, 1981) argued that "development does not proceed toward socialization but toward the conversion of social relations into mental functions" (p. 165). The cornerstone of each child's development lies in social interaction around activities important in the lives of the child's family and community. The child builds new thought processes based on what happens in these social interactions. Thus, conceptual learning becomes a collaboration between child and adult.

Bernstein (1971) sorted out the language children brought to school into two types: elaborated and restricted. These codes became widely used to categorize the language of children. Although Bernstein himself did not view either of these as being inferior to the other, many practioners viewed those who used a restricted code as having a `poorer' language because they were the ones who had more difficulty learning to read and write. He attributed the problem of stratification of attainment levels in schools by social class to the fact that the contexts in which the child's meaning potential had developed did not meet the symbolic orders or meanings of the school.

Halliday (1974), took a functional view of language and asked the question, what can language do for me? He argued that, although humans are biologically endowed to

learn language, language itself is "a form of interaction, and it is learnt through interaction" (p. 15). He denounced a 'deficit' theory as, "not merely nonsense; it is dangerous nonsense" (p.21), especially if the teacher believed it and acted as if it were true. He noted that the functions of language which became a part of the child's tacit knowledge were a product of the linguistic interchange in which he engaged as a member of his social group.

Bruner (1975) greatly influenced the shifting of focus from the structure of language to its functions. He examined the work of ordinary language philosophers (Austin, 1962; Grice, 1957, Searle, 1969) who viewed language through what they termed "speech acts". They insisted that language be viewed not only as a function but in its relation to how it was used. Bruner looked at linguistic development and the social rules for achieving dialogue in children as early as the pre-linguistic level. In addition, Bruner (1986) contrasted the stance taken toward early language growth by Piaget with that of Vygotsky. For Piaget, growth happened naturally and language did not determine thought but was a reflection of it. A child passed through a series of pre-determined stages and was capable of abstract thought only if he was maturationally ready. Vygotsky, on the other hand, viewed language as the "nurse and tutor of thought" (In Bruner, 1986, p.145). In his view, the mind did not grow naturally

nor unassisted; rather, early conceptual learning took place through collaboration with an adult who provided support through dialogic interaction and socialization. Like Vygotsky, Bruner viewed human communication as proceeding from sensori-motor expressions, based on social experiences, to symbolic forms of semantic meanings. He theorized that linguistic innateness might lie in "some special features of human action and human attention that permit language to be decoded by the uses to which it is put" (Bruner, 1975, p 2). He viewed the adult's role in interactions with the initial language learner as provider, expander and idealizer of utterances, rather than corrector or reinforcer. As a consequence, Bruner was able to conclude that there was one "durable regularity in mother-child interaction during language acquisition" (Bruner, 1986, p. 76) that was of most value to the child. This was the establishment of regular formats and routines which the mother scaffolded in such a way that she repeatedly took the child into Vygotsky's "zone of proximal development", thus remaining "on the growing edge of the child's competence" (Bruner, 1986, p. 77).

BACKGROUND STUDIES IN EARLY LITERACY

The research of Durkin (1966), marked a departure from emphasis on linguistics to a focus on semantics and the social environments in which language acquires its

meanings. She examined the home lives of three children, who had learned to read on their own, in an attempt to uncover the factors in their environments that had fostered this unusual development. Examining the situation in which language was acquired placed a new emphasis on its use as well as its form. For instance, she observed that, "In general, the children identified as early readers in California were children who could also be described as early `scribblers'. In every one of the 49 families interviewed for children who read early, a blackboard was available" (p. 57). Books were also readily available and adults used language for important purposes. She concluded that early readers are not a special brand of children, it was their mothers who were of singular importance in creating parent-child relationships that played a key role in their early achievement.

A milestone study which shifted the focus of attention from linguistics to semantics was that of Bloom (1970). She analyzed speech samples from three middle-class children and concluded that meaning cannot accurately be inferred from text alone but must be considered within the social context in which it occurred. Tough (1973) reinforced this view in her study into the linguistic differences between two small groups of three year old children, all of above average intelligence. One group of subjects came from a favored home background with respect to the fostering of language skills, and the other from a

less favored background. She observed that social context appeared to effect the literacy development of the children. The favored group used more complex language structures, engaged in more imaginative play, and used more abstract language than the less favored group.

The Bristol Longitudinal Study, a long-term study of language development in young children, began in 1972. Wells (1981) and his colleagues, observed children in their homes for two and one-half years and then followed them through school for another seven years. In the report which is based on the results of this massive body of research, Wells strongly rejected the theory of linguistic deprivation and emphasized as a major influence on literacy development, the caregiver, regardless of social class, who supported and extended the child's meaning and experiences. Wells (1985b) noted special features of parental speech directed towards two-year-olds who were developing quickly. Among these were: frequent direct requests; a very high number of utterances which matched the child's focus and extended the communication or activity; a high proportion of yes-no questions; and a large volume of talk addressed to the child. "The children who received the most language tended by and large to make the most rapid progress" (p. 6). However, some who received a large amount of speech did not develop rapidly. Wells concluded that it was not quantity alone that was important, but that treating the child as an equal

conversational partner was also a factor that made a difference.

Doake (1981) gathered data from the homes of four children, aged 2:11 to 5:4, who were from upper-middle class backgrounds and who were learning to read without any formal instruction. All of these children were being read to on a regular basis. He investigated the contribution of bedtime stories, and other literacy events, to their reading development. Data were collected on the reading-like behaviors that were evidenced by the children and on their knowledge of the conventions of print and the process of reading, as well as on their writing behaviors. Ready accessibility to books and print materials, and the ownership of personal books, were found to be related to the positive attitudes the children had towards books and reading. Doake noted the multiple ways in which the adults in these homes supported the children by: providing suitable materials; scheduling literacy events; asking and responding to questions with sensitivity; reading with appropriate pace, inflection and interest; linking stories to child's experience; and by building a "warm, supportive, invitational atmosphere" (p. 403) during shared story experiences. His findings supported the body of research that testified to the importance of a print environment and substantive dialogue with supporting adults as crucial factors in achieving literacy.

SOCIAL INFLUENCES ON LITERACY AQUISITION

Role of Environment

The physical environment of the "enabling" (Tough,
1973) homes from which early readers came, contained a wide
variety of literary artifacts such as books, magazines,
games, records, and room decorations, with a wide variety
of writing utensils available as toys (Clark, 1976; Doake,
1981; Leichter, 1984; Teale, 1987). The cognitive
environment was stimulated by dozens of literacy events
each day, embedded in social interactions (Heath, 1983;
Leichter, 1984; Miller, 1982). Print was used for real
things of importance such as expressing ideas, verifying
new experiences and information, relaxation, and
entertainment (Baghban, 1984; Doake, 1981; Goodman, 1984).

Baghban, (1984) supported the important role of early
book sharing events and writing activities in a case study
of her own daughter, Gita. Baghban reported that both oral
and written schemata grew from dialogue with caregivers. A
conscious decision was made to make no attempts to teach.
Gita neither reading nor writing. Instead, reading to her
began in infancy and was engaged in by her grandparents as
well as her parents. At 17 months of age, Gita was
attempting to write and she continued to view writing as a
social function, demanding that her mother take down her
dictations, and consuming huge quantities of paper in her

own personal writing. By 30 months she was searching for plots in stories and relating them to her personal life. By four years of age she was applying this knowledge of the structure of story in her story writing. At 4.9 years she began to read Bright and Early books and at 5 years she was able to "read" some of Newsweek magazine.

In the homes of early readers, narrative was used in a variety of ways as the subject matter for scaffolding learning (Clark, 1976; Snow, 1983; Teale, 1984). Books were treated as valuable possessions and given authority as a primary way of knowing. Story reading was pivotal to interactions with print and was a source of shared enjoyment for parents and child. Stories were read frequently with interactive discussions to negotiate and extend meanings (Baghban, 1984: Doake, 1981; Holdaway, 1979; Heath, 1983; Leichter, 1984). Cochran-Smith (1984), noted a wide range of contexts and purposes for which adults used story books: "as a leisure-time activity, a way to initiate problem-solving discussions, a way to verify and introduce new information, and a way to relax and calm their children" (p 6). Narrative was also used in recounting events, writing letters, and telling stories of past family history.

Parents in the homes of early readers took it for granted that their children would learn and most of them did not engage in direct teaching. The adults in these homes chose to use print for many purposes in their own

lives and for a variety of social and practical activities (Baghban, 1984; Glazer, 1980; Goodman, 1987). Smith (1984) described children learning language as "apprentices to people who are using language as a tool to accomplish particular and self-evident ends" (p 150). Parents who used decontextualized forms of language with children gave them a "set of master patterns of language use, which serves as a basis for the subsequent acquisition of other patterns of language and thought" (Heath, 1984, p. 92).

Snow, Shelley, Small & Proctor (1984) studied the interaction of parents who had children with speech and language disorders. They found that language development was impeded by a high frequency of adult utterances that did not relate to the child's focus or activity. Children with parents who had a highly directive style of interaction were slower in learning to talk. Those who provided expansions and semantic extensions made dialogue more interesting and easier for the child to understand. They concluded that the most effective way to help children is not through correction, but by accepting and building on the child's utterances so as to give another chance without worrying about correctness.

Anabar (1986) investigated the reading development of six pre-school children from the ages of 2:9 to 4:10, who were already reading, and documented the role of parents in this unusual development. She concluded that the input of the parents was crucial even though the parents themselves

reported that they did not intend to teach their children to read. Two sets of parents sincerely believed that this early literacy development was simply an inate ability within their children. Anabar observed that the parents in her study created a supportive environment for literacy growth. Although there was no sense of pressure or set scheduling, they spent a great deal of time engaging in reading-related activities such as book sharing, writing and engaging in fun filled rhymes and games. They took special care to match books and toys to the level of the child's ability at the time and intuitively followed the child's learning interests and curiosities. The adults, by providing feedback and support were able to develop the child's internal resources. Through their extensive interactions with their children, all of the parents in Anbar's study provided a maximum amount of successful experiences which built confidence and enthusiasm in these early readers.

It would appear that school based education cannot take the place of this quality interaction within the home. Dickinson & Snow (1987) observed, as a result of their study of children in a first class kindergarten, that the middle-class group scored significantly better on prereading scores than those from lower socio-economic homes. They suggested that even attendance in a high quality class was not sufficient to equalize the skills of the two social classes. Teale (1987) identified the role

of the adult as a mediator, in scaffolding the blend between social interaction and cognition, as the key factor in emergent literacy.

There is now strong support for the notion that each child comes to school with a language schema which, although different, is not deficient because of social class. Wells (1985a) contended that family background cannot be treated as a direct determinant of rate of language development and that what is important is the quality of interaction that takes place between the child and caregivers. Dolan (1983), supported this view when he stated that "several investigators ... produced evidence that measures of various process characteristics contribute more strongly to the prediction of children's abilities and achievements than do social status or family structure indicies" (p. 87). Iverson & Walberg (1982) contended that, "Academic ability and achievement are more closely linked to the measures of the sociopsychological environment and intellectual stimulation in the home than they are to occupation and amount of education" (p. 150-151).

Snow (1983), while recognizing that there is a correlation between social class and reading achievement, rejected the argument that the level of literacy in the home is responsible for the wide gap in literacy. She argued that problems with literacy may be associated with an inability to decontextualize language. In support of

this notion is the finding that some children in low-income homes have considerable access to and experience with books (Clay, 1979; Heath, 1983; Wells, 1981). Snow theorized that the quality of dialogue, and the experiences provided by the caregiver in interactions with the infant, are the most important influences in the growth of the child's ability to discuss the remote and abstract skills which are crucial to reading.

Brailsford (1986), documented the activities of three High Print Aware (HPA) and three Low Print Aware (LPA) children in a kindergarten class over a period of six months. Neither the teacher nor the children knew which children were being observed so as not to change their natural patterns of activity. She also taped interviews with the parents of several children in the class including the subjects which she had chosen. She found that the homes of the HPA children engaged in literacy activities that were interwoven into their homelife and that they were exposed to many print activities, with the children often initiating the events. Literacy activities undertaken in the LPA homes were more often initiated by the parents as a teaching activity to prepare the children for kindergarten. The tasks appeared to be more formal and separate from other learning experiences. The LPA children exhibited a passive attitude toward stories and books in their kindergarten class, preferring to sit and listen. During free choice periods they avoided the library corner in

favor of the kitchen or other activity areas. They withdrew from print activities, "as they felt unable to display competence on the abstract, decontextualized, isolated letter and word tasks provided" (p. 121). Parents attributed this reluctance to the fact that the children needed to work on the alphabet. All six children had personal supplies of home-based books but the difference seemed to be that, in the homes of the HPA children, there was an ongoing supply of new books and family discussions often centered on them. Brailsford suggested that the decision not to spend money on books could give an implicit message to the LPA children that books are not as important as other priorities. Regular reading programs seemed only to have been established after these children entered kindergarten amd even then the interactions were not often with primary caregivers. Neither parents nor children in the LPA homes could recall favorite titles or details from books they had read as children. The story reading sessions observed with LPA children lacked the co-operative, warm interactions that were part of the HPA children's story times with their parents. She concluded that "caregiver literacy belief systems and communication strategies are intimately related to young children's literacy knowledge" (Brailsford, 1985, p. vi).

Stewart & Mason (1989) found that inner-city black parents, whose children were anxious to learn to read but

were experiencing difficulties, exhibited low home support for reading. McCormick & Mason (1987), administered questionaires to parents from three differenct socio-economic groups. They found that rural, low SES, and public-aid parents evidenced the lowest level of support for home reading. McCormick and Mason selected a group of 23 subjects, chosen from five first grade classes in the same school. They supplied them with three packets of simple picture books during the course of their first grade year and gave their parents minimal guidelines for using the books. The teachers, who did not know the composition of the groups, were asked to rank their students in order of reading ability at the end of the year. Six percent of the experimental group were in the low group as compared to twenty-nine percent of the control group. McCormick & Mason felt that the significant impact of this simple intervention may have been due, in part, to a new interest and awareness created in the parents by the child's interest in the books.

These examples highlight some of the behaviors of parents that created environments which facilitated successful acquisition of literacy skills for their children. In sum, it would appear that children who learned to read easily came from homes where literacy events were common, where reading was valued and engaged in by significant adults, and where book reading episodes were frequent and enjoyable.

Role of Interaction and Routines

What, then, are some of the events that are so crucial to becoming a literate person? Vygotsky (1962) theorized that the infant internalizes a concept or an idea before he frames it in speech. Bruner (1975) supported this view that acquisition proceeds from sense to sound. Specific teaching and practice of linguistic structure can have effect seemingly only after the child has developed a cognitive base for learning (Snow & Ferguson, 1977). What follows is an examination of the literature that supports the view that infants develop this cognitive base through social interaction.

Clark & Clark (1977) argued that prelinguistic infants already know how to declare and demand without linguistic forms. Acquisition of the forms to represent behaviors is attained by interacting with adults who 'fine-tune' appropriate input into situations and assign interpretation to child's efforts so that the child gradually forms concepts that allow him to use words in appropriate contexts (Bruner, 1983b; Dore, 1974; Lund & Duchan, 1988; Snow & Ferguson, 1977).

Bruner (1975), suggested that a strong claim could be made that "a child comes to recognize the grammatical rules for forming and comprehending sentences by virtue of their correspondence to the conceptual framework that is constructed for the regulation of joint action and joint

attention" (p. 17) which is crucial to the establishing of
intersubjectivity. Ninio & Bruner (1978) analyzed the
book-reading component of interactions during half-hour
free play situations engaged in by one mother-child dyad.
They examined twelve video-taped readings, which occurred
over a 10 month period when the child was between the ages
of 0:8 and 1:6., to look at turn-taking and labelling
behaviors. They found that turn-taking was well
established at this age and involved gestures and eye
contact as well as vocalizations. They concluded that
mastering the social rules for dialogue through informal
exchanges with an adult was the central element that aided
early language development and that book reading provided
one of the best means of achieving this. Bruner (1983b)
also advanced an argument for the role of pragmatics in
aiding the child to master language. He looked at three
elements - announcement of intention, regulation of deixis,
and control of presupposition. He suggested that these
three forms of pragmatic interaction could be used to
investigate formats which provide the "framing context
into which language is introduced" (p.36). A format was
defined as "a rule-bound microcosm in which the adult and
child do things to and with each other" (p.36). Ninio &
Bruner noted that interactions during book sharing events
centered around the routine of pointing and labelling. They
often took the following form:

```
(1)  initial attentive vocative, Oh look, Richard.
(2)  followed by the query, What's that, Richard?
(3)  followed by confirmation of any form of
     vocalization with, Yes, that's an X.
(4)  terminated by reinforcement, That's very good.
```

This agreed upon format was crucial because it limited

degrees of freedom and provided a frame which helped the

child to recognize steps. As the child progressed, the

mother moved dialogue forward to deal with absent objects

or states intralinguistically (Bruner, 1983b). However,

Messer (1983) noted that establishing the joint attention

necessary for successful interaction involved more than

simple pointing and labelling. Some other important

factors in the process were: head turning, manipulation of

objects, the use of function words and concrete nouns,

higher acoustic amplitude on some words, nonverbal

information which is part of the situation, timing of

utterances, and redundancy.

The importance of formats as structures for very young

children was discussed by Snow & Goldfield (1983) as a

result of their eleven month study of the strategies used

by 22 month old Nathaniel as he interacted with his mother

over one picture book, Richard Scary's Storybook

Dictionary. The illustrations were complex and elicited

considerable narrative and discussion. They noted that it

was the highly routinized and interactive nature of the the

book-reading events that made them such an important factor

in Nathaniel's early achievement of literacy.

Snow and Gilbreath (1983) also viewed formats as

important for the adults engaged in interaction with children. They presented ways to place the child's behavior and thought correctly so that the adult could react appropriately to "scaffold the language", that is, to make the task as simple and predictable as possible so that the child could experience success. As Bruner (1983a) put it;

> An adult in interaction with a child can both cue him with respect to pragmatic functions and at the same time organize the child's immediate surroundings in a fashion to make selected world knowledge more accessible to him in the presence of fine-tuned grammatical modelling. (p. 35)

Routines may also be important in maintaining familiar contexts in which repetitions can occur. D'Odorico & Franco (1985) found that, with prelinguistic infants, context was the most important influence on the properties of sentences used and the type of information mothers intended to convey. Foster (1986) examined the ability of children from 0:1 to 2:6 to initiate and maintain topics. She related the importance of routines in allowing children to "extend sequences of contributions without having to engage in complex planning, of which they are not yet capable" (p. 246). She further suggested that the child's mastery of topic structure may depend on this kind of scaffolding. She concluded that pragmatics and grammar are different from each other and argued for "an innate basis for the grammatical aspects of language while at the same time allowing for an experimental basis for

pragmatics" (p. 247).

Other studies have supported the notion of the importance of adult scaffolding. Chapman, Leonard, & Mervis (1986), found that for the infants in their study, correction with explanation was more effective than simple acceptance or correction with joint labelling. "Fostering language, then, depends heavily on adults' willingness to arrange and change contexts for interacting and learning" (reported in Genishi & Dyson, 1984, p. 3). The adult functions as a "provider, an expander and idealizer of utterances while interacting with the child" (Bruner, 1975, p. 17) rather than as a corrector or reinforcer. Barnes, Gutfreund, Satterly, & Wells, (1983) argued that "it is extending rather than mere questioning which provides the child's best opportunity for appropriate and contingent intellectual stimulation" (p. 65). The continual interpretation, by the mother, of the child's intended meanings, confirms the child's hypothesis. The adult acts as if the behavior of the child carries meaning and intention (Schieffelin & Cochran-Smith, 1984).

Caregivers who interact successfully with their children are interested in their activities (Clark, 1984). Harris, Jones, and Grant (1983) related that in the six middle-class, mother-child dyads that they video-taped in free play situations, approximately two thirds of the topic changes were in response to the child's activity. Mothers watched their children so that they were able to make

appropriate comments.

Playfulness is crucial to these early language exchanges. Through games such as peekaboo, rolling the ball, and ride-a-cock horse, intention-oriented interactions develop and rule structures become elaborated. Activities such as book reading and free play situations result in more complex speech patterns (Nelson, 1973). Smith (1984) agreed that social interaction is a basis for language learning but he pointed out that it can also confound it. He observed that what is needed is a particular kind of interaction. He compared productive interaction to an apprenticeship which involves the apprentice in relevent demonstration. Flood (1977) documented parental styles and observed that it was the kind of time that parents spent with children and the way in which the book was read that was important. He found the following components to be of benefit to the child; total number of words spoken by child, number of questions answered by child, number of task-related questions asked by child, warm-up questions asked by parent, and post-story evaluative questions.

The caregiver's experiences and beliefs about child rearing, as well as the capacity of the infant to interact, influences the quality and amount of speech directed to the child (Cochrane-Smith, 1984; Gleason, 1977; Clark, 1984; Snow, 1977). Schiefflin & Ochs (1983) discussed ways in which the adults in their studies accommodated dialogic

interactions with young children. The adults took the perspective of the children in treating them as communicative partners. Attention was focused on the children and their actions were often the starting point of social interaction. The adults simplified their speech to match the child's while at the same time richly interpreting gestures or single words as having complex meaning, thereby raising the child by acting as if he were more competent than he was. Ways in which the adult did this was by scaffolding stories with questions, helping build a tower but attributing the finished product to the child, letting the child win at games, and by providing expansions to the child's utterances.

Crago & Crago (1983) documented the ways in which their own child, Anna, experienced and responded to picture books and stories between the ages of twelve months and five years. They noted many subtle ways in which adults mediated between Anna and books to shape her literacy responses. These included attitudes towards stories that developed behaviors in Anna such as questioning, predicting and exclaiming. They taught her to speculate by offering speculations rather than a flat, "I don't know". The wide range of sentence forms used by her parents gave Anna a variety of choice in her forms of response. Their dramatic reading style may have influenced her preoccupation with exclamations. They concluded that as a result of these interactions, "Anna was capable of internalizing adult-

given explanations of aesthetic principles as well as building her own rules from direct experience of pictures and stories" (p. 262).

In summary, the studies examined point to the importance of situation and context to comprehension and literacy development for young children engaged in interaction with the adults that surround them. The next section will examine the unique role of the mother in her interactions with the young child.

Role of Mother in Literacy Acquisition

Edmunds (1981) asserted that, as a result of a long term study into factors affecting student performance in the United States, "not only is family background a correlate of pupil performance, but family background is a determinent of student performance and therefore represents an extremely formidable limit on their educable possiblities." He went on to make a strong statement regarding the role of the mother. "The education of mothers is the statistically most powerful predictor of social class, we need only one thing to assign social class - the mother's education."

Anastasiow (1982), working with adolescent mothers, found that although his subjects showed a great deal of warmth, they engaged in very little verbal interaction. Infants were very active but were unresponsive to their

mothers. His research indicated that the mothers in his study were ill-equipped to provide a caregiving environment. In Genishi & Dyson (1984), Miller (1982), found that mothers who valued and encouraged not only information-giving, but also functions such as teasing, asserting themselves, and defending what was theirs, significantly affected the language growth of their children (p. 18). The role of the caregiver seems to be a crucial component in acquiring early literacy skills (Clark, 1976; Moerk, 1985a; Schachter & Strage, 1982; Wells, 1981).

Schachter & Strage (1982) attempted to identify some of the processes that might help to explain variations in children's acquisition of literacy. They found that low-education/income mothers tended to use directives and direct instruction to talk <u>to</u> their young children, whereas high-education/income mothers spoke responsively <u>with</u> their children. Educated mothers also produced three times more semantically contingent speech that advanced a topic initiated by the child and repeated the child's utterances more often than their own. The environment of the uneducated mothers was not cognitively deficient nor was less talk engaged in. The difference was in the mother's responsive speech which may be the factor that builds up self-confidence and faith in one's own efforts (Schickedanz, 1978). Corte, Benedict, & Klein, (1983), used Nelson's (1973) referential-expressive distinctions to

analyse the speech of mothers and their one-year-old infants. They observed that, "the mothers of referential children ... spoke more and commented on behaviour and the environment while the mothers of expressive children were more concerned with simply directing their children's behavior" (p. 41).

Ninio (1980) compared the way in which two Israeli groups, who differed by class and ethnicity, read books to their 19-month-old children. She did not find significant differences in the structural aspects of the reading but she noted extensive variation in the way different readers handled the same text. She suggested that low SES mothers were less skilled in eliciting words and information from their children than high SES mothers. Moerk (1985b) concluded from his analysis of mother-child interactions that "the main explanatory focus has to be on the mother in the attempts to explain language transmission and acquisition ... Neither extraordinary complex cognitive nor innate linguistic capacities need to be assumed to explain the phenomena in question" (p. 263).

It would appear that much of the research in the field of emergent literacy supports the contention that mothers play a crucial role in the language development of their children. In the next section we will look at what impact the child has in the interchanges with adults.

Role of the Child in Interaction

The child plays an important role in shaping and
eliciting interaction. Garvey (1983) observed a biological
determination by the infant to have a motivating effect on
the adult. The infant used behaviors such as gesture,
crying, verbal play, and eye contact to keep attention
focused on himself and to get prompt adult attention.
Barnes, et al. (1983) observed in their study of two-year-
olds, that the number of utterances of propositional
contexts which interest the adult, and are produced by the
child, have a direct effect on the frequency of utterances
produced by the adult. The kind of feedback provided by
the child also influences the adults' desire to prolong the
conversation.

But why does the infant make the effort to learn
complex forms when his basic needs are being met by simpler
forms? Sugarman (1983) speculated that it is the things
children learn about communication prior to speaking that
gives them motivation to learn language. Golinkoff (1983)
proferred the view that it is in the "negotiation of failed
messages" that infants discover important intentions and
the use of communicative forms. It is the degree of
perseverance by the adult and the infant to negotiate
meaning that results in rapid language growth.

Dore (1983) made a serious attempt to deal with the
motives behind why children learn to talk. He contended

that it is not how A (adult) communicates to B (baby) as a separate entity that is important, but how "AB becomes differentiated into distinct language-using ego entities" (p. 188). He saw the process as dialectic. Through rich experiences with the mother, and her complusion for accountability on the part of the infant, the baby engages in constructing physical and social worlds to become a member of the community. The baby's desire to maintain interpersonal contact with the mother encouraged a reaching out as she pressed for accountability.

Children who do not communicate normally may induce an abnormal environment. It is hard for an adult to continue to communicate with an infant that does not respond very much (Foster, 1985). Pellegrini & Brody (1985) reported that "adults talk differently to children with communication or language handicaps" (p. 333). Adults are more directive and less demanding of the handicapped. They suggest that this may be because of the perception that adults have of the child's competence rather than actual competence.

A most crucial involvement of the child in literacy acquisition, that of internal self-reflection or self-talk, has rarely been addressed. Weir (1962) reported on her son Anthony's crib speech between 28 and 30 months. She performed detailed phonological and grammatical analysis of nine of his language samples. The study was followed up by Kuczaj (1983). He compared social and crib-speech between

15 and 30 months and focused his analysis on the syntax of
the monologues. They both emphasized the function of such
speech as a form of practice.

Crago and Crago (1983) recorded the monologues of
their daughter, Anna, from as early as 1:6, as she "read"
in jargon from her picture books. At 2:0 she was combining
words from the book, and phrases used by her parents with
her own observations, to create narrative. Anna often used
dialogue, complete with dramatic voices and appropriate
tags such as 'said the fox', to fill in when she needed to
keep the flow going. They viewed Anna's fundamental aim in
these monologues as being that of sustaining a fluency
comparable to adult reading rather than trying to tell a
story or practising utterances she had heard.

Nelson (1989) collected data relating to the episodic
memory of a two-year-old who talked to herself when alone
in her crib. Emily was the first-born child of academic
parents who talked extensively with her about both past and
future events. She had above average verbal skills for her
age. From 20 to 35 months of age, Emily's parents
periodically placed a cassette recorder under her crib at
naptime and bedtime. Dialogues with parents were also
recorded. Nelson discussed the transcripts with Emily's
mother to shed light on the activities in which the child
had been involved and to aid in decoding the recordings.
Monologues recorded from the months 22:6 to 23:6 were
chosen for analysis because this seemed to be the time of

the most important changes for Emily. The data were then analyzed by nine researchers from different fields such as psychology, linguistics and psychiatry. Each analyzed the data independently from a different perspective.

In her monologues, Emily used language as a tool to organize her activities and experiences and to make sense of her world. Her self-talk was often more complex and explicit than her dialogic speech. Examples of relatively sophisticated discourse such as sequencing, causality, cannonicality and perspective taking were noted. Nelson speculated that an explanation for the use of advanced grammatical forms might be that Emily was using the verbal framework provided by parental input and combining it with her own experience to create a mental model of her world in narrative form. Her "ability to use repeated experience as a basis for forming representations of expected events was well established by 32 months" (p. 40), when she gave a flawless account of the ordering of events for the next day. She usually did not repeat her parent's utterances but combined them with her own experiences to make her own observations. Nelson emphasized that the data collected during crib talk indicated the importance of routine to the child in giving her security for predicting the future and in helping her to develop a role that allowed for effective participation in the world.

Feldman (1989) sought to unlock the puzzle of why Emily's monologues were expressed in pragmatically rich,

story-like frames, which were much richer than during dialogues. She asked the question, "Can it be that reasoning actually depends upon or grows out of its putative antithesis, the story forms of language? I believe that, at least for Emily at age 3, it does" (pp. 101-102). She suggested that two activities which seem unrelated: problem solving and fantasy, have common origins in story forms. It was through self-talk that Emily was able to take a perspective and to think interpretively.

Dore (1989) examined how Emily's language emerged out of her social matrix. He analyzed the influence of dialogue on the monologues which were produced and viewed the interactions as a kind of "cybernetic system of feedback loops" (p. 234). This "collective mind" circumscribed what was in Emily's mind as she adapted to the language forms used by her parents. Emily's control of language during the monologues was constrained by the language of the family. Dore (1989) compared this relationship of language usage to maps, with Emily's map being an inevitable product of her parent's maps. Picture books added a dimension not encountered in familial language as Emily merged parental dialogue with lines from favorite books and personal experiences to create the narrative of her monologues.

It is evident from the literature reviewed here, that the child has an influence on the behavior of the caregiver as each engages in the social interaction that advances the

transition to intential communication. Teale (1987) viewed storybook reading as "perhaps the best activity for making the dual construction of both the child and adult visible" (p. 62). In the next section the results of studies involving book-sharing interactions will be examined.

INFLUENCE OF BOOK SHARING EVENTS ON LITERACY ACQUISITION

"Virtually unquestioned by researchers is the premise that reading to children contributes directly to their early literacy development" (Teale, 1984, p. 110). The effects of social interactions encountered in reading to children have been documented in many studies which have looked at book-sharing episodes to discover wherein lies the powerful influence of picture books in emergent literacy (Butler, 1979; Clark, 1976; Cochran-Smith, 1984; Dombey, 1987; Moerk, 1985; Taylor, 1983).

Books are an ideal medium for shared interaction. Snow, Arlmann-Rupp, Hassing, Jobse, Joosten, & Vorster (1976) went so far as to say that, "any deficiencies that exist in the language available to working class children might be eliminated simply by encouraging working class mothers to read books with their children" (p. 14). Foster (1985) analyzed the interactions of infants up to two and one-half years old. She found that book reading and the naming game resulted in the greatest number of interactions during a speech event.

The influence of book sharing events on the acquisition of literacy has been discussed in many different contexts. Cazden (1983) noted the similarities between the basic book reading structure and classroom lessons with their initiation-reply-evaluation sequences. In addition to its role in focusing attention and building complex language structures, Cazden speculated that it may aid transfer to discourse structures of the classroom several years later. Clay (1979) showed the value of book reading in teaching children that written language is different from oral language, and in creating familiarity with the conventions of print. Holdaway (1979) highlighted the crucial importance of the 'bedtime story' to the achieving of success in reading. He argued that "the most complex of human skills are learned in natural environments without the support of highly trained professionals" (p.12). Children learn facilitative behaviors through sharing books that enable them to come to print expectantly and successfully. Sulzby (1985), discussed the importance of books to understanding symbolism. Reading is often accompanied by gestures and prosodies not found in other situations. The story book contains experience with both oral and written language where the child can learn the conventions, in interaction with a supporting adult, that form the basis for literacy. Both Holdaway (1979) and Doake (1981) found that the frequency of book reading episodes which took place in the homes of early readers

resulted in memorization of favorite books, which seemed to be an important first step to early reading.

Snow (1983) recorded the interaction of Nathaniel, the first born child of academic parents, and his mother over one picture book, Richard Scarry's Storybook Dictionary, between the ages of 18 and 36 months. Four characteristics of social interaction - semantic contingency, scaffolding, accountability, and routine emerged from the social interactions observed. Snow used these categories in discussing the significance of the interchanges between this dyad. She concluded that it is the quality of such interaction which facilitates later success with literacy acquisition in school. In discussing formats, Snow (1983) observed that, "the most studied format for language learning is book reading" (p. 176). She theorized that this most difficult dimension of literacy may rely heavily on experiences provided by the home.

Heath (1983) observed that the homes of mainstream children contained numerous books and that other literacy events were engaged in which developed patterns of language use that enabled them to, not only read and write, but to transfer knowledge to other contexts. Heath (1984) traced "the behaviors that occurred simultaneously with the innovation of book reading for an unemployed, high school dropout, black mother of two preschool children" (p. 52). 'T' was a member of a ninth grade class that Heath had asked to become research associates in her interests as an

anthropologist. 'T' was forced to leave the class due to excessive absences and a second pregnancy. In order to encourage 'T' to keep on with her writing, Heath asked her to take field notes and to collect audio-tapes of her toddler De's activities. In addition to the field notes, her directions were simply to read the books provided, tape the readings and the play sessions that followed, and to discuss the tapes with the teacher during her visits. 'T' noted that before working with Heath she had spent little time in dydactic interaction and had made no attempts to simplyify her talk to De nor to adapt and structure situations for him. As a result of her study, Heath (1984) concluded that book reading by this mother, with little other guidance, resulted in "new ways of talking to the toddler, changed perceptions of the child and of the caregiver roles, an increased consciousness of the child's language development, and altered patterns of talking about language" (p. 70).

In the school-oriented community in which Schieffelin & Cochran-Smith (1984) did their research, story-reading interactions served as a special event in the transition from oral communication to making sense of print. Books were not only provided, and treated as valuable posessions, but adults used them as a focus for interactions that helped the children sort out the rules and conventions of literacy for themselves. Although the adult dominated and controlled the story reading, the story itself was a medium

for cooperative negotiation between reader and listener in making sense of the world.

Morrow (1987) researched the effects of one-to-one story readings on the understanding of stories and the types of questions children asked. Her subjects were 54 children who attended a day care for children from low socio-economic homes and who, in many cases, had not been read to. Half of the children interacted on a one-to-one basis over story books for fifteen minutes each week for ten weeks with an adult. Those in the control group worked on reading readiness tasks, such as color and letter identification. A statistically significant improvement was noted in the children who were exposed to the story book sessions in the areas of comment and question responses, interpretation, prediction, meanings, story structure and word definition. This research also demonstrated that the experimental children were more capable than would be expected of early childhood in concepts such as associating and elaborating.

SUMMARY

Researchers who have observed the early environments of children who make the transition to reading and writing easily and those who do not, present compelling evidence that the quantity and quality of interaction, particularly between a mother and her child, has a marked effect on the

achievement of those skills necessary for the successful
acquisition of literacy. The evidence gathered here
generally supports the notion that low income/education
mothers and their babies often do not engage in the kind of
interactions that develop these skills (Heath, 1983).

The language of children who have difficulty
processing print is not necessarily deficient (Wells,
1985). Reading however, unlike oral communication,
requires language to be understood apart from its immediate
context (Bruner, 1984). Such skills as the ability to
initiate and maintain intelligent conversation, to refer to
objects that are not present, to respond to intention to
communicate by another, to use language to build social
relationships, and to use language to organize ones own
thoughts and to distance oneself from the immediate context
in order to comprehend the complexity of syntactic
structures of print, are all important in achieving
literacy.

The social framework in which a child's life is
embedded has been shown to have a marked effect on the
development of literacy related skills. Children who have
caregivers, who interact with them by verbalizing
activities as they occur, treating them as equal partners
in conversations, extending utterances with semantically
contingent comments and questions, and explaining
situations and concepts, show evidence of significant
literacy development early in life. The scaffolding of

experiences and the organizing of routines have been documented as essential in giving the child formats to use in classifying, interpeting, and understanding the world.

On the basis of the research reviewed here, it would seem that picture books are ideally suited as a medium for focusing the joint attention of adult and child as they engage in the dialogic interchanges that ultimately build the schema which enable a child to become a fully literate member of society.

Chapter 2 has reviewed the literature pertaining to the process of the acquisition of language and literacy in young children. Chapter 3 lays out the design of the study and discusses the philosophy underlying the methodology chosen. Included in this is a discussion of the formats used to analyze the data.

CHAPTER 3

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Respect the nature of the empirical world and
organize a methodological stance to reflect
that respect. (Blumer, 1969, p. 60)

INTRODUCTION

The design of the study is discussed in this chapter

and a rationale for the particular methodology chosen as a

context for the study is established. The discussion then

focuses on a description of the procedures and strategies

engaged in for the pilot study, the selection of subjects

for the main study, and the methods employed in the

collection and analysis of the data.

Studies focusing on human qualities and interactions

are especially difficult to design when one takes into

account the complexities of such interactions. It is

important to choose methods of collecting data and

frameworks for interpreting those data that allow for

optimum input from as many facets of the subject's world as

possible. Case studies which relied on firsthand gathering

of data allowed the "Chicago School" group to study

behavior in terms of the social interactions in which it

took place. The symbolic interaction tradition focuses on participant observation as a tool for gathering data (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). Its assumptive mode is generative, inductive, constructive and subjective, thus placing it as a qualitative design (Goetz & LeCompte, 1986).

The multi-case study described here used the methodology of symbolic interaction to emphasize the human dimensions of the interactions observed. It relied heavily on participant observations as the backdrop for interpreting the dialogue of the participants. Behaviors to be observed and methods of observation were tested and developed as the result of a three month pilot study and refined as the study itself progressed. The decision to carry on the research in the homes of the subjects was made in order to limit the influence of strange surroundings and also to gain further insight into factors which would facilitate interpretation of the story reading transcripts.

PURPOSE

The goal of this research was to observe the behaviors and record the dialogue of mother-child dyads as they interacted over picture books. A second purpose was to analyze why this seemingly simple speech event is such a powerful factor in the achievement of literacy. The question of "whether differential storybook reading

practices have differential consequences for children"
(Teale, 1987, p. 196) forms the motivation for this study.

The research took place in two phases:

1. The search for subjects and data collection for
the pilot project.

2. The search for subjects and data collection for
the main study.

THE PILOT STUDY

Background

The purpose of the pilot study was to familiarize the
researcher with the following: the socio-economic group
which had been chosen for investigation, the relevence of
standardized testing materials, the suitability of data
collection techniques, the adequacy of research questions,
the appropriate books for reading sessions, and the
problems inherent in the design of the study. It was also
important for me to become familiar with the use of video
equipment. One of the foremost reasons for engaging in a
pilot study was my recognition of the need for practice in
developing the research skills necessary to do successful
field work.

Selection of the Subjects

Prior to the pilot study, criteria for selection of a subject were established: The subject would be a single, low socioeconomic mother who had not completed high school and had a two-year-old child. I approached an institution which provided pregnant teens and single mothers under twenty-one years of age with a place to continue their education, and a day care facility for their children while they attended classes, with the request for a young mother to engage with me in my pilot study.

I was introduced to Sally, a twenty-year-old girl with a two-year-old son, who agreed to be the subject for the three month pilot study. Sally was friendly, outgoing, and easy to talk to. Her son, Chris, was a husky, healthy boy. Since Chris's birth, Sally had given birth to a daughter whom she had given up for adoption to a young childless couple.

Sally was not reading to Chris and he was not talking, factors which I viewed as being less than ideal for my purposes since I wanted to look at oral interactions. However, dialogue does not have to be verbal and this pair served my needs very well. Over a period from Sept. 22, 1986 to Dec. 2, 1986, I made eleven visits to Sally's home.

Description of the subjects

Sally was an attractive girl with a pretty face and a warm smile. Her dark brown hair was straight and hung to her waist. She lived with Chris in a one bedroom basement apartment which was sparsely but adequately furnished. Her favorite school subject was English and she liked to write. She had written some poetry but she especially liked writing long letters. Sally would like to be a lawyer but her immediate goal was to train as a legal assistant. Although she liked drama, she had never been to live theatre.

After school, Sally took the bus home and was able to arrive in time to catch the end of the soap operas. She watched television for about four hours a day. Although she rarely read for pleasure, she recalled that as a teenager she read two or three historical romances every week. On one occasion when I arrived at Sally's apartment, her mother was visiting. She commented that Sally never read books as a child. When Sally protested that she had read a grade two book in grade one, her mother said, "Oh well, maybe I'm mixing you up with another child". She also said that Sally had lots of books because she "always got one at Christmas with all the other doodads". Sally herself did not remember owning a book until she was nine years old. Sally recalled her childhood as being "great, but books did not play a very important part."

Chris was a husky, healthy little boy who was very active. His social experiences and contact with others was limited to day care, visits to the homes of relatives, shopping trips, and the occasional walk. Sally recounted that "he would rather play alone" and so she watched television while Chris "plays in his bedroom and only becomes interested when the commercials come on because they are louder". Sometimes he sat on her lap while she was doing homework but she was not reading with him. She commented that "he owns one small, weird looking book. I tried to pick up some books but I don't see any that look very interesting. I look at them and say, 'A kid's supposed to understand this?'". Sally realized that she did not spend much time talking with Chris and indicated that she was frustrated because he was saying no words that could be understood. She felt that she couldn't talk to someone who would not respond and observed that it might be better if she had a husband so that there could be some three-way conversation.

Setting up Expectations

During my initial visit, I explained to Sally that I was interested in looking at the language development of a two-year-old. Her role would be to let me come into her home to interview her and to video-tape play and book-reading sessions. I supplied a tape recorder and suggested

that I would like her to record any comments she felt she could make regarding Chris's language development. I also asked her to tape informal sessions such as meal time conversations and some of her bedtime reading episodes. I explained that I would be giving her books on a regular basis and that I would like her to read to her son every day from the books. I requested permission to video-tape her in play and reading sessions with Chris.

Although I planned to give a new book each week, I did not give a second book for three weeks as I recognized the importance of Chris's bonding with one book before he got confused with too many. It became obvious that the repeated reading of the same book provided much insight into the development of parent-child interaction. I realized, too, that in-depth observation and analysis of this picture-book interaction would reap rich rewards in understanding this young child's emerging development as a literate person.

With each of the books given to Sally, a sheet of ideas was included which suggested ways to use and extend the book. Sally did only one of the suggested activities, building a house with cushions, and she reported having an interesting time engaging in this play activity with Chris. It was at this point that I began to realize that an intervention study would require a much longer time frame and a different focus than I had anticipated. As a consequence, the intervention component was not attempted in the main study.

Progress and decision making

Sally was asked to speak into a tape as often as possible to provide information on the language development of Chris. At the end of the second tape she commented, "I think you should get some girls who aren't working . . . This gets really hard to remember to talk to this and do my homework, and get Chris ready for bed, and send my friends home and the ones who are staying get them all settled down and get through ... and by the time that's done, I just fall asleep and I forget." As it became clearer that my study should focus on the role of the mother and on the interaction that occurred during the book reading episode itself rather than on the language development of the child, this procedure was eliminated in the main study.

The researcher sensed a 'trying to please you' attitude on Sally's part as the pilot study progressed. Developing an atmosphere of friendliness and trust while maintaining a distance is difficult, but it was handled much better in the main study as a result of awareness of the problem gained in the pilot.

Standardized instruments used to collect and analyze data used in the pilot study were found to be inadequate and often irrelevent to the focus of the study. Hence, the decision was made not to use these instruments in the main study. As a result, a search through the literature was undertaken for suitable models to evaluate interactions.

During the data collection phase of the pilot study I encountered difficulty using video equipment. In this respect the study proved to be a very valuable learning experience for attaining skill in its use, primarily because it was to become my principal method of data collection.

A most important result of the pilot study was a realization of the difficulty of reporting findings so as not to shed negative light on the lifestyles of lower socio-economic subjects. This led to a focus on the goals and expectations of the mother and how she was fulfilling them, rather than why she may or may not be doing what others do.

THE MAIN STUDY

Selection of Subjects

Obtaining subjects for the study proved to be a much more difficult obstacle than was anticipated. Contacts were made with City and Provincial Social Service Agencies, the Alexander Center and various individuals. From these contacts only two subjects emerged, one of which was not reliable enough to allow collection of data. After data collection was well underway, attempts to obtain at least one more subject were made through the Alberta Vocational College but to no avail. Hence, in the initial stages, the

study became a case study of one mother with her two-year-old daughter.

Data Collection

Bogden & Biklen (1982) noted `symbolic interactionism'; as a paradigm assumed by qualitative researchers. The term was coined by Blumer in 1939. According to this theory, meaning does not arise within the object or the person, but the "meaning of the thing for a person grows out of the ways in which other persons act toward the person with regard to the thing" (Blumer, 1969, p. 4) In other words, man's social development is a product of the acts carried out by individuals as they affect the behavior of others. The individual's operation within social organizations and economic and educational systems is determined by his/her view of himself in relation to the world. Meanings, then, are social products which are formed in the improvisational dramas enacted as participants construe meaning upon, and interact in, situations and activities.

The subject matter of reseach in this paradigm endeavors to assess how the interpretation of situations and events by the participants, the things which they take into account and value, and the definitions they place on words and events, influences the development of the individual. The complex symbolic interaction of players as

each acts out situations according to individual
perspectives of how the play is progressing, determines and
predicts behavior and self concept. Language allows people
to engage in internal interaction with themselves as they
take on their own role and define the role of others. In
sum, a vital ingredient in social growth is the meaning to
the individual of the situations encountered. The process
of achieving literacy is a form of social growth, so the
perspective of symbolic interaction served well as a
backdrop for this study.

Four strategies were used to collect data: field
notes, video tapes, audio tapes and interviews. After each
visit with the subject, observations regarding the session
were noted immediately in rough form and then typed into a
word processor. A play session was video-taped first to
familiarize subjects with the camera. This was repeated on
the second visit with the reading of what mother perceived
to be the child's favorite story. On subsequent visits
other books were read and video-taped until both mother and
child became comfortable with the process. Rosie's Walk
(Hutchins) and Spot on the Farm (Hill) were chosen as a
focus for analysis and they were video-taped and audio-
taped on the first reading and then again after the book
had been in the home for a week.

Audio tapes were used to record three interviews. The
interviews were guided by general questions which followed
the lead of the mother and covered the areas of:

1. Mother's own early literacy experiences.

2. Mother's attitude toward literacy and expectations for her child.

3. Mother's school and educational histoy

4. Mother's view of her role as teacher of the child.

Each interview was examined and questions which probed areas of importance more deeply formed the basis for the next interview. In this way the investigator was able to improve interview skills and the interviews became increasingly focused on the research questions.

Selection of a Second Subject

Midway through the data collection I realized that I was inexperienced with reading to two-year-olds and therefore had not feeling for what kind of reading to expect. So,it became apparent that I should find a young mother who had read extensively with her child, and have her share the same books so that I could examine other ways in which books were being used by a dyad from a different socioeconomic background. A friend of the researcher directed attention to her neighbor's child who had been read to from birth. The subject was unknown to the researcher. As a result, Nan and Kate joined the study as a second mother-child dyad. Data collection was not as long nor as intensive with Nan, as focus had been more clearly established at that point.

<u>Criteria</u> <u>for</u> <u>Selecting</u> <u>Books</u>

Bettleheim (1977) divided stories into two broad types: those that hold attention and arouse curiosity, and those that also enrich life by stimulating imagination, developing intellect, clarifying emotions, realizing anxieties and aspirations and suggesting solutions (p. 5). <u>Spot</u> <u>on</u> <u>the</u> <u>Farm</u> by Eric Hill is a book that exemplifies Bettleheim's (1977) first type and <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u> by Pat Hutchins is representative of the second type.

<u>Spot</u> <u>on</u> <u>the</u> <u>Farm</u> (Hill)

<u>Spot</u> <u>on</u> <u>the</u> <u>Farm</u> is the simple story of a dog named Spot who visits the animals on a farm. He is welcomed to the farm by the horse. Next he meets a cat and then a goose who says that Spot can help on the farm. So Spot milks the cow, gathers the eggs and feeds the pig. The duck thanks Spot and he goes home.

<u>Spot</u> <u>on</u> <u>the</u> <u>Farm</u> has bright pictures that illustrate the text but do little to forward the story. It contains 64 words as compared to <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u> (Hutchins) which has only 32 words. It was chosen for this study because it fits the criteria of Bettleheim's first story type in that children are usually interested in animals so it should hold attention, entertain, and arouse curiosity.

<u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u> (Hutchins)

Bruner (1986) concluded that great storytelling is about "compelling human plights that are 'accessible' to

readers" (p. 35). He used Iser's (1978) argument, that the reader receives text by composing it, to outline some constraints concerning what a story must do to be a 'speech event'.

1. Deal with the viscissitudes of human intention
2. Exhibit `fabula', a timeless, motionless, underlying theme.
3. Initiate and guide a search for meaning among a spectrum of meanings.
4. Recruit the reader's imagination, thus enabling him to write his own `virtual text'.
5. Forward action through the characters rather than the plot.

According to Bruner, such narrative often assumes a common sjuzet, or sequence.

1. Starts with a canonical or "legitimate" state
2. This state is breached
3. A crisis results
4. Terminates by a redress with possible recurrence of the cycle.

Rosie's Walk (Hutchins) fulfills these criteria for lifelike narrative with a toneless text containing few words but with powerful pictures. The title page sets the scene with Rosie, the hen, perched securely on her nest in an orderly farmyard. The first piece of text sets out Rosie's intention, "Rosie the hen went for a walk". This quiet state is breached by the appearance of a fox who immediately becomes suspect because he is hiding under the henhouse with his red tongue protruding in anticipation. As he pursues the unsuspecting Rosie on her pleasant walk through her world, there are a series of crises as the fox seeks to capture Rosie. However, every time Rosie's demise is imminent, a misfortune befalls the fox and saves Rosie

who carries on with her intention without regard to the drama which is unfolding behind her. The story is terminated when the fox gets his punishment from a hive of bees which Rosie has disturbed by walking under the hives and knocking them over. Rosie is able to "get home in time for dinner".

This simple picture book deals with the "vicissitudes of intention" as Rosie, the heroine, succeeds in her intention to take a pleasant walk through her world, oblivious to her surroundings. Fox, the villain, who seems equally unobservant, suffers a series of misfortunes and is eventually rebuffed in his desire to eat Rosie. It "recruits the reader's imagination" by the way in which the pictures are drawn and sequenced on the pages. On a double page the fox is about to capture Rosie but when the page is turned his attempt is somehow rebuffed by a misfortune. Nodelman (1988) used Rosie's Walk to illustrate the complexity of picture books and the contribution that illustrations make to a story. He noted that the pictures are arranged in recurring pairs which creates a repetitive rythmn. This, in turn, creates a series of comic occurrences which serve to lighten what might otherwise be too serious as a narrative for very young children. It creates a perfect situation for prediction. The child has an opportunity to predict, empathize, and imagine what else might have happened as story is created around the text.

Picture books which carry the story in the

illustrations require very sophisticated skills for their interpretation. The reader must create the text of the story by observing the characters as they are depicted, with all the subtleties of position, body language, proximity to other characters, degree of congruence with the environment and so on. In <u>Rosie's Walk</u> , Rosie remains exactly the same in every picture which exudes the implicit message of confidence and security. The positioning of the fox on the page and his emergence as predominant on some pages and not others, gives the implicit message of looming danger or safe escape.

Dombey (1987) used <u>Rosie's Walk</u> to investigate reading as a complex social interaction. She found that <u>Rosie's Walk</u> was an excellent catalyst for eliciting many complex linguistic behaviors as Anna and her mother were "creating a story world and moving about inside it" (p. 14). Nodelman (1988) also noted that <u>Rosie's Walk</u> is a highly respected and successful book for young children. It was chosen for this study because it contains the elements that make it possible for a mother to engage her child in building what Bruner (1986) called a `virtual text' which becomes a story of its own, and prompts the reader to ask the "crucial interpretive question, `What's it all about?'" (p. 37).

DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

<u>Overview</u>

Data analysis procedures should reflect the questions which the researcher is attempting to answer. Questions posed in this study were:

1. What are the qualities essential to the achievement of literacy that are inherent in the interactions between a mother and her child as they share the reading of a picture book?

2. How do mother's routines, background of experience, conceptions of literacy, and hopes and expectations influence behavior in these interactions?

3. What role does the book itself play in enabling the reader to create text that involves the skills necessary to achieve true literacy?

The transcripts of texts and interactions were analyzed using, as a basis, the work of Labov & Fanshel (1977) and Snow (1983). Data collected in interview form provided the background information necessary to interpret the video-tapes, particularly in the case of Labov & Fanshel whose analysis procedures depend highly, not only on the context of an utterance, but on the participant's backgrounds and on the situation (Labov & Fanshel, 1977, p. 73).

Labov & Fanshel's Interactional Analysis

The analysis of discourse, which may be defined as the exchange of speech acts, has long been a way of looking at language development. Such analyses cover a range of complexity from looking only at a linguistic count of morphemes or utterances, to an accounting not only of what is said, but of all the implications the text has for speakers and respondents. In order for the latter to occur, copious data outside the conversation itself may need to be collected as background for understanding the social and historic frame in which the utterance is couched. It may also need to take into account the prosodic features which accompanied the utterance.

Cicourel (1980) outlined the three basic models for analyzing discourse from which many other models have been derived: the Speech Act Model, the Problem-Solving Model, and the Expansion Model. He noted that the study of discourse goes beyond the simple text of what is said and must make reference to a broad organizational setting and to the cultural beliefs of the participants.

The Speech Act Model

The key notion in this view of language is that native speakers use rule-governed forms of behavior when speaking a language. Austin (1962) coined the term 'locution' to

refer to an utterance. However, he argued that there is a level of discourse that goes beyond what is actually said and overrides the intentions of the speaker. He called this the 'illocutionary' level of discourse - what is accomplished by what is said. An even deeper level of interpretation of utterances are 'perlocutions', the psychological effect of an illocutionary speech act on the listener. Difficulty in setting rules for the interpretation of speech acts arises because more than one message can be associated with an utterance. Grice's (1975) notion of 'conversational implicatures' referred to inferences that do not necessarily follow from the statement made. The listener goes beyond what is said to derive coherence from the discourse. Searle (1969) noted that especially when speakers share a common background, the speech act communicates much more than is actually said.

D'Andrade & Wish (1985) developed a speech act coding system based on speech act theory which attempted to incorporate the strengths of various researchers who had constructed systems. The seven categories which comprise their classification system are: Assertions, Questions, Requests & Directives, Reactions, Expressive Evaluations, Commitments and Declarations. Each of these categories has a number of sub-categories. The goal of this method was to develop an empirically oriented method for analyzing large sections of transcript while allowing for the diversity of

messages conveyed.

The Problem-Solving Method

This model conceives of discourse "as an overall 'story' in which are embedded several substories or themes or topics" (Cicourel, 1980, p. 118). Key to understanding this model is the need to recognize that word meanings change as they are used in sentences and that meanings of sentences can also change as they are embedded in story. Rummelhart (1975) presented a view which used this model. He attempted to address the problematic issue of which interpretation, among more than one possibility, is the most plausible. He used the notion of schemata, units of stored generic concepts which are evoked to instantiate comprehension, not only to account for data received but to permit predictions about unknown events. In the analysis, a routine event is followed by a series of inferences of possible meanings of the utterance based on the researchers own background knowledge together with his overall understanding of the situation. This method permits statements to be made that are conceptually driven by analysis of the data at higher levels of prediction.

The Expansion Model

This model is concerned with relationships between

participants in conversations; the socio-cultural contexts, intentions, unfolding of interaction, nonverbal cues, and the histories of the speakers. The work of Labov & Fanshel (1977) illustrates this mode of analysis. They undertook a detailed interpretation of the verbal interactions that occurred between a therapist and his patient, Rhonda, during a twenty minute therapeutic interview. They identified four groups of speech actions that occurred in the data: metalinguistic, representations, requests, and challenges. Within each group more specific headings were identified. They used all available information about Rhonda to create expanded interactional statements "in an attempt to get at what is 'really happening' between therapist and patient" (p. 21).

Although these models have been discussed as separate entities, they are based on common theories and all make an attempt to interpret the unspoken messages that lie beneath the utterances in discourse. For instance, the expansion model explanations could be subjected to schema model conceptual analysis as further interpretation of the data. The expansion model has been chosen as a basis for analyzing the data in this study.

The questions which guided Labov & Fanshel's study are much the same as the questions which were addressed in this analysis.

1. What is the therapist (mother) trying to do in this conversational encounter?

2. On the other hand, what is the patient (child)
    doing or not doing that the therapist (mother)
    must be aware of?

> Parenthesis by researcher.
> Adapted from Labov & Fanshel, 1977.

There are three levels in this analysis. First, the text is analyzed for paralinguistic cues such as volume, pitch, and voice qualifiers and for the speech acts characterized by the verbal interactions of the text. For purposes of this study, the interpretation of prosodic cues has been minimized because it wasn't a central feature of the analysis, even though it would undoubtedly have provided greater depth. I did, wherever possible, discuss prosodic features that impinged on the analysis. What is important here is to recognize that prosodic features represent a minor (although important) aspect of the total analysis of the speech event.

The next level of analysis involves Synthesis, bringing together all the information at hand to create an open-ended expansion of the text. The text of the interaction was re-written endeavoring to capture the real impact of what had been said by relating it to all the knowledge that I had about the context of the utterance and the background of the utterer. Such expansion magnifies the strains and tensions of ordinary behaviors. As such, it can assume a dimension that is more critical in the analysis than it was in the situation in which it occurred and thus it can produce a distorted view. However, it was

my judgement that the benefit to be gained by such an analysis outweighed the possibility of overextension. At the third level of examination an <u>interactional</u> <u>statement</u> was written after considering all the factors involved in the interaction.

Snow's Categories

The question of what early language behaviors might be predictors of later success in achieving literacy was addressed by Snow (1983) in her longitudinal study of the interaction between Nathaniel and his mother. She identified four characteristics of social interaction involving language which were relevent to literacy acquisition - semantic contingency, scaffolding, accountability and routines or formats. These categories were used to assess and contrast the dialogue of the dyads in this study during the book sharing episodes.

Snow (1983) included the following utterances as being <u>semantically</u> <u>contingent</u>, that is continuing a topic introduced by the child:

(1) expansions, which are limited to the content of the previous child utterance
(2) semantic extensions which add new information to the topic
(3) clarifying questions, which demand clarification of the child's utterance
(4) answers to child questions. (Snow, 1983, p. 166).

<u>Accountability</u> is a factor in attempting to analyse

data for contingency because the status of some utterances is difficult to code. The mother's response may not seem to relate directly to the child's utterance because she persists in making the child respond at a higher level which she feels the child is capable of. For purposes of this study, all utterances by the mother which remained on topic even though they did not directly relate to the preceding utterance were counted as being semantically contingent. Where this occurred, the utterance was also scored as evidence of accountability.

<u>Scaffolding</u> involves making the task as simple and rewarding as possible by eradicating barriers to the child's concentration on the task. Snow (1983) gave as examples of these behaviors the arranging of puzzle pieces, steadying the blocks used for building, reminding him of the task at hand, guiding his search for letters, and so on.

<u>Routines</u> <u>or</u> <u>Formats</u> which become so familiar that the child operates in them with a minimum of conscious efforts, makes it much easier for the child to access literacy. Routines can become important also in the way in which mother scaffolds the events of the day.

The data were analyzed using both Snow's four categories and Labov & Fanshel's interactional analysis. Lund & Duchan (1988) and Wells (1980) devised formats for considering semantically contingent dialogue. These were combined to form the basis for the contingency analysis of

the dialogues.

RELIABILITY

Recognizing the subjective nature of this type of analysis, I obtained the services of Lynda Parrington, a qualified, experienced, ECS teacher who was at home raising two sons ages two and four years old. Parrington read the interviews conducted with each mother and viewed the video-tapes. She studied the applicable portions of Labov and Fanshel's research. A practice session was conducted on material which was not going to be used in the main study. Then together we viewed the portions of the video-tapes that had been selected for minute analysis to clarify portions that were difficult to understand and to add prosodic cues and physical behaviors to the written transcripts where this became important to an interpretation of the dialogue.

At this point, the scripts selected for analysis were considered by each rater independently and the analysis was written in the format suggested by Labov & Fanshel (1977). The results were brought together and areas of difference were discussed in further detail. A joint statement, prepared from both interpretations, served as the text for discussion in Chapter Four. The discourse engaged in as we considered each other's interpretation of the sample

passages, resulted in a deeper understanding of the meaning inherent in the discourse and helped to establish a standard against which other passages were evaluated.

The data analyzed using the format for semantic contingency were subjected to independent coding by Gail Denny, an elementary teacher with a two-year-old child. Sections of discourse from stories read by the mothers but not included in the data analysis were coded in practice sessions. Then all the transcripts for Rosie's Walk were coded independently and percentage of agreement was established.

Arrington's (1931) formula was used to compute, in percentage points, the degree of agreement between the scoring which was carried out on an independent basis.

$$\frac{2 \text{ X agreements}}{2 \text{ X agreements + disagreements}}$$

The percentage of agreement on Snow's analysis was 97% and on the Interactional Analysis it was 96%. Thus the reliability of the qualitative scoring in this study appeared to be satisfactory.

SUMMARY

In summary, the procedures used in the process of collecting analyzing and interpreting data for this study were of a qualitative, naturalistic nature. The researcher conducted a three month pilot study to gain skills as a

recorder and observer and a five month period gathering data for the main study. During this time, three mothers and three two-year-olds were observed. Refinements were made to data collection techniques as the data were analyzed during the course of the study.

Chapter 3 outlined the design of the study. This included a discussion of the conduct of the pilot study with its findings and how this knowledge directed the course of the main study. The procedures for choosing subjects and for collecting data were reviewed. Three methods for analyzing data were also reviewed and a rationale for the method used in this study was presented. An outline of attempts to establish reliability concluded the chapter. Chapter 4 will record the results of the analysis of the data.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

> For better or for worse, conversation is the
> human way of dealing with human beings.
> (Labov & Fanshel, 1977 p. 360)

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to look at the world

that was created by two mothers for their two-year-old

daughters and how the mother's values and perceptions

effected the development of those literacy skills that will

enable their children to become literate. Special emphasis

was placed on the interactions between the mother-child

dyads as they shared the reading of selected picture books.

The interactions between the two dyads observed for

this study were analyzed using the categories established

by Snow (1983) in her analysis of the book-sharing events

between Nathaniel and his mother. Following this, Labov &

Fanshel's (1977) system was employed to gain further

insights into the underlying patterns of interaction of the

two dyads. The interactions which took place during the

readings of the picture book, <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u> (Hutchins) were

used for these analyses.

The discussion that follows the analyses attempts to show how Snow's and Labov & Fanshel's analyses interact to enhance the richness of the observations derived from the transcripts. Examples from Rosie's Walk (Hutchins) and Spot on the Farm (Hill) are examined to assess the impact of the book chosen on the quality of the dialogue. Finally, the research questions are addressed in order to tie together the findings of the analyses.

DESCRIPTION OF SETTING & SUBJECTS

Setting Number One

A grey, turn-of-the-century house squats below sidewalk level. It's sharply-pitched roof shelters two apartments, one upstairs and one down. The verandah sags under the weight of years. Assorted junk and old furniture supports a heavy coat of dust as it awaits a decision as to its fate.

I pressed the button and waited. On hearing a faint voice, I opened the door to a long narrow staircase. A young girl with auburn hair poked her head around the top of the stairs and without comment turned back into her apartment. Ascending to the top of the stairs, I introduced myself and received the reply, "And I'm Jill".

We entered a tiny, crowded living room with a patterned chesterfield and two chairs. A coffee table with

papers and a full ashtray was positioned in front of the chesterfield. The opposite wall was lined with a stereo system, book shelves and a large television which was providing heavy rock video entertainment. Another bookshelf under the window contained a number of children's books and adult paperbacks. A short hallway connected a tiny kitchen, bathroom and two small bedrooms.

Jill - Subject Number One

Jill was a small, slight girl of nineteen. She lived with her two-year-old baby, Patti, in their small apartment. Jill was soft spoken and quiet but relaxed and willing to participate in my research in any way she could. She was friendly and natural and made no attempt to apologize for her surroundings nor to fix things up for the visitor. I especially appreciated her for this.

It was sometimes difficult to make conversation with Jill as most of her replies were short-answer and terse, offering little expansion without further probing. However, later she was able to engage in sustained dialogue, with obvious interest, as we discussed the books she enjoyed reading. However, it was evident that she would not be described as 'talkative'.

Although, at the beginning of the study Jill lived alone, her boyfriend, George, was a frequent visitor and he later moved in with her. Patti called him 'dada' and made

frequent reference to him in early visits. Most of their social contacts appeared to be with Jill's relatives and other friends. A cat and a pit bull terrier, which belonged to George, also lived in the home.

Jill's day seemed to follow a fairly typical pattern. Patti had no regular bedtime and often stayed up quite late. Often they both sleep until late morning and then combined breakfast and lunch. It was observed that Patti did not always have regular meal times but usually had some food 'on the go', carrying it around the house with her. The activities of the day appeared to be centered around television and the soap operas which Jill watched from 1:00 to 5:00 p.m. On one occasion, Patti's high chair was moved in front of the television while she ate. On some days there were walks and shopping expeditions, but most days were spent at home.

Jill enjoyed personal reading and read quite a lot. In the last month of the study she reported reading Clan of the Cave Bear, Valley of the Horses, Mammal Hunters, and Helter Skelter. Her criteria for a good book was, "It's got to hold my interest. If I get into a good book, I'll sit there and finish it that night, doesn't matter how big it is." She viewed herself as having a good imagination when doing personal reading as she related in an interview, "I can imagine, because I have a really wild imagination. Like, I can close my eyes and I can see, like I could put myself in her place."

Although she read a great deal herself, reading with Patti was a very intermittent, casual affair. "When she grabs a book and brings it to me, or sometimes I'll get her a book and we'll sit down and read it. If I'm cooking supper or something she'll go and grab one and sit on the couch and read them herself." Participation in this study did not change Jill's reading habits. In answer to the question of how many times she had read the books that I had given to Patti, she replied, "Not lately, at first I did, but lately haven't been doin that .... what she's into lately is just coloring and drawing on paper. She's not really into the books as much as she was."

Jill remembered little about her own school life after playschool where she recalled feeling that she was singled out for special attention and was the teacher's pet. She never really liked school after playschool and became very shy. She related her aversion to reading aloud, "... maybe because I wasn't the smartest one there. There were smarter people, and I figured, you know, I'd stand up and I was scared to be wrong."

English was Jill's best subject and she "liked writing stories and book reports" in Junior High School. However, the separation of her mother and father at this time tended to negate the fairly positive school experiences of grades seven and eight. In grade nine she began to skip school and had no interest in doing well. She "started drinking with my friends, and going out and not coming home until

one in the morning. Just being disobedient towards my mom."

In her second year in grade nine she went to live with her dad and during that year she became pregnant. While pregnant, she attended school and worked on her grade ten. She was able once again to get some good marks. Her future goals included going to school and owning a restaurant. She would like to see Patti become a dancer as that was her goal as a child.

Jill viewed herself as a teacher of Patti and remarked that, "kids learn a lot of things from their parents, what you say and what you do. She's at the stage right now where she copies everything you do, everything you say, you have to watch what you say." She bought Patti books for Christmas that "will help her learn her ABC's, colors, and counting, to prepare her for when she has to go to kindergarten." She believed that Patti "learns a lot by playing alone ... and if she's doing it wrong I tell her and then she does it right, so, it doesn's matter what she's doing, she's always learning something."

Jill did not remember being read to much as a child although she felt that since there were books around someone must have read them sometimes. She didn't remember any book which was a favorite in her childhood.

Patti - Subject Number Two

Patti was a confident, friendly, lovable child. Her blonde hair curled tightly around a small face which usually wore a big smile. She was constantly busy, moving items from one place to another and seemed perfectly capable of looking after herself. Her mother observed that "if you play with her she doesn't ... she still plays, but she would rather that she was by herself". She liked to write and Jill encouraged this by drawing and labelling pictures which Patti then tried to copy.

Patti was two years old on March 10, 1987. She was born with a slight heart defect and had had one surgery. Jill thought that was why Patti was so small but she reported that, in her view, Patti "is quite advanced for her age, at least compared to the children of my friends." During the course of the study, Patti did not seem to show much development in new words but continued to speak in one or two word utterances that were representations of spoken discourse. On the whole, Patti was a happy little girl who showed a spirit of independence and had adjusted well to the environment in which she was growing up.

Setting Number Two

A cosy cedar home, perched on a high bank of the Bow River, overlooks the skyscrapers of downtown Calgary

imposed on a backdrop of the rugged Rocky Mountains. Although this is a middle class community, this cul-de-sac has the advantage of a superb view of the city.

In answer to the doorbell, a young dark-haired girl greeted me warmly, inviting me to the deck where she and her neighbor were watching their two-year-olds at play. A short hallway led to a spacious living room with its white fireplace and expanse of windows. Soft, overstuffed furniture, a clear glass coffee table, a green palm, and a television - stereo system in a wall unit completed the comfortable, sparsely furnished room. No books or magazines were evident here, but children's books were scattered on the floor of the small family room to the right of the main entrance. An attractive blue kitchen with adjoining dining room was visible to the right as we made our way to the deck. After we exchanged greetings, the neighbor left and Nan picked up Kate to begin our reading session. Kate objected strongly to this disruption of her play but was quickly subdued when she realized that there was a new book to be read.

Nan - Subject Number Three

Nan was an attractive young mother with dark hair and a ready smile who was close to the delivery date of her second child. She was easy to talk to and I soon found out that her husband was a pilot with Air Canada and that she

met and married him in Toronto. She often flew home to Toronto and, in addition, the family spent a lot of time on the family farm in central Alberta. Although her home seemed to be organized, with bedtimes and mealtimes occurring at regular times, there was a great variety in daily activities. Nan spent a lot of time with Kate in reading and play, as well as in taking her to the zoo and other places. They also travelled a lot, so days did not assume much sameness.

Nan hated reading and said, "It's been at least, well, five years since I've actually sat down and read a book for myself. But with Kate it's everyday, but I enjoy her books." Nan's personal reading consisted of cookbooks and some women's magazines, although she did not subscribe to any magazines. Her husband did not read much except the manuals he needed for work.

Nan watched television very little during the day but did watch one program, "The Young and the Restless", between 4:00 and 5:00 o'clock in the afternoon. She watched carefully selected cartoons with Kate and taped them so that they could discuss them two or three times and then Kate could watch them over as many times as she wished, to develop her understanding.

Nan viewed herself as having a good imagination. "I know I've got a good imagination. I can sit down and write out a title ... then I can write a story, three, four, five pages long ... I can imagine, well, Mickey's thinking this

and he's gonna do this ..."

Nan stated that picture books were crucial to Kate's development. "The picture makes her remember and me teaching her the words, ... If it wasn't for the book I couldn't think of half these animals... The books have taken her all over the world." "I enjoy sitting down with a book and teaching her. I want to teach her." Nan viewed books as her major teaching vehicle. She felt that it was important for Kate to "sit down and read by herself so that she'll learn to do things on her own." By picking up favorite books and re-reading them, "I think she's gonna enjoy reading, at least until I can get her to read her numbers, her ABC's, you know." She also felt that "If I get involved with them, she gets involved with them (referring to both books and television programs). I explain everything to her ... I guide her through it ... She's not gonna learn anything unless there is somebody there to tell her what it is. Then she'll go back and read and listen to the same one over and over."

Nan completed grade twelve in Ontario and then went to secretarial school. She repeated Grade One which she attributed to an undiscovered hearing problem. Repeating did not bother her but she indicated that she hated to read aloud in school because, "I knew I wasn't a good reader", and she was worried about making a mistake. She loved to write in school, especially "horrors and scaries".

Nan came from a home where, not only did her parents

not read themselves, but they did little to encourage the children to read. "Either they weren't interested or they didn't have time." Nan felt that if they had, she would have enjoyed reading more and also would have been better in school. So goal setting was another priority with Nan. Kate "will go to French Immersion school ... be a pilot or get a job with the airlines so she can get out and enjoy life." Her resolve was to "do twice as much for my children. That's why I sit down when it's bedtime, we read, we read, we read!"

Kate - Subject Number Four

Kate was a precocious child with a round baby face, bright red cheeks, and dancing eyes. She was outgoing and was easily engaged in dialogue, which gave evidence of advanced language development. Kate was two years old on February 27, 1987 and, although she was full of life, she was not constantly moving and could sit for extensive periods of time, engaging in interchanges with both her mother and myself.

On the third visit, a baby brother had joined the family and Kate was more demanding of mother's attention and tended to act silly. Mother reacted by giving her some light pats on the bum when she got too silly and by explaining things to her in an effort to help her understand her new role in relationship to the baby. There

was a great deal of physical and verbal interaction between this mother-child dyad.

ANALYSES OF BOOK SHARING INTERACTIONS

Semantic Contingency (Snow)

The contributions of the mother that relate directly to the preceding utterance of the child, 'fine tune' (Lund & Duchan, 1988) an event and are said to be 'contingent'. Lund & Duchan looked at ways to assess communicative competence by trying to discover patterns that emerged as subjects engaged in everyday events. They used the term "event focus approach" to describe the way in which they approached assessment. Although they worked with children who had speech and language problems, their methods can be adapted to other conversational analysis. Lund & Duchan approached assessment through what might best be described as a form of structural analysis. This involved an examination of the patterns established between interactants in as natural a setting as possible. They evaluated the interactive style of the dialogues and developed indices which they used to determine the degree of semantic contingency by both the adult and the child involved in the interchange. Through this approach they identified "what is being attempted by the child, what is being accomplished, and what conditions promote or impede

success" (p.13).

In their view, it is proposed that the participant's sense of the meaning of the event they are participating in strongly influences the manner in which individuals act and interact. Repeated events become routines which, as Bruner (1983a) observed, are very important in scaffolding meaning as a basis for enabling the young child to engage appropriately in literacy events. In sum, Lund & Duchan's (1988) procedures for assessing semantic contingency were used in this analysis.

Wells (1980) used similar types of categories to assess the degree of contingency in the interactions between mothers and their three-year-olds. However, he found it necessary to make more definitive distinctions in what he termed the "developing" utterances (p. 74) which related closely to the "expansions" indices in Lund & Duchan's categories. These have been combined with Lund & Duchan to complete the format for analyzing these data. Figure 1 details the format used to assess semantic contingency. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 1 in the form of percentages based on the total number of adult utterances.

Four scripts were obtained from the first and second readings of Rosie's Walk by the two mothers. These scripts were compared with the video-tapes of each session and adjustments were made to capture and record any intonations or actions, by both mother and child, that might help to

CATEGORIES FOR ASSESSING SEMANTIC CONTINGENCY

C - CONTINGENT BEHAVIORS

1. Expansions, semantically related comments (extensions or answers), questions (contingent queries), related to child's preceding utterance.

    a. Commands and Suggestions
       e.g. " Oh, Patti look, look at the fox."

    b. Statements and Explanations
       e.g. " He stepped on the rake.
           Hit him on the nose. Right there."

    c. Content (wh) Questions (Labelling)
       e.g. " Where's the goat ? Where's the mice ? "

    d. Focussed requests
       e.g. " What is the butterfly doing ? "
           " So where is Rosie going now ? "

                     (Wells, 1980, p. 74)

2. Acknowledgement of child's activity or utterance
       e.g. (uh huh; I see; no)

NC - NON-CONTINGENT BEHAVIORS

3. Comments unrelated to child's focus.

4. No response to child's communicative attempt.

5. Interruptions of child's talk.

                (Lund & Duchan, 1988, p. 88-90)

Figure 1

Table 1
CATEGORIES OF SEMANTIC CONTINGENCY

CONTINGENT - C

	NAN		JILL	
1. Expansions	**N1**	**N2**	**J1**	**J2**
a. Commands and Suggestions	11	8	16	21
b. Statements and Explanations	35	23	0	28
c. Content (Labelling)	21	13	11	18
d. Focussed Requests	21	30	0	4
2. Acknowledgements	12	26	16	15

NON-CONTINGENT - NC

	NAN		JILL	
3. Unrelated to Focus	0	0	16	2
4. No Response	0	0	22	7
5. Interruptions	0	0	16	5
TOTAL UTTERANCES	122	162	18	58

Semantically related behaviors of Nan (HCR) and Jill (LCR)
expressed as percentages of total utterances.

give a more accurate sense of the flavor of the interaction. The adult utterances were then identified and coded according to the categories outlined. The number of occurences of each feature was totalled and then calculated as a percentage of the total number of adult utterances. For purposes of this analysis, an utterance was counted for each speech act that could be identified with a separate code. This meant that a sentence could contain more than one utterance. Especially in the transcript of Jill, where there was limited vocalizing, actions such as turning the page without responding to Patti were identified and coded. (See Appendix A and Appendix B for sample transcripts). Reading the text of the book was not counted as an utterance because these could not be coded as constructions of the mother.

Nan utilized semantic contingency in all of her responses to Kate during the two picture book reading events, while Jill provided non-contingent responses totalling 54% in the first reading and 14% in the second reading. Based on these findings, and for purposes of clarity in the analysis, I have labelled the subjects as follows:

Jill (LCR) - Low Contingent Response Mother
Patti (child)

Nan (HCR) - High Contingent Response Mother
Kate (child)

The use of semantic contingency will be discussed in further detail under the categories in Figure 1.

Commands and Suggestions

Jill's (LCR) interactions revealed a higher percentage
of commands and suggestions than did Nan's (HCR).
Commands, as used in this analysis, are not indicative of
negative behavior but include, rather, Bruner's (1983a)
attentional vocatives. They are used as a way to control
and direct the attention of the child to the event. Used
in this way, these data suggest that Jill (LCR) controlled
the event to a greater degree than did Nan (HCR). This may
be partially a result of the differences in each child's
contribution to the interaction since significant
differences were noted in the two girls when considering
such factors as oral language development, background
experience, attention span, and previous encounters with
books.

Statements and Explanations

During the first reading of Rosie's Walk, percentages
in this category varied greatly. Nan's (HCR) statements
comprised 35% of her utterances while Jill (LCR) provided
no statements or explanations during the first reading.
During the second reading the focus of both mothers
changed. Nan (HCR) gave fewer explanations and shifted the
focus to requesting that Kate (LCR) take more
responsibility for interpreting the narrative. Jill (LCR)
focused more on statements relating to the text, and this
category comprised the bulk of her utterances during the
second reading. However, there were still no examples

where Jill (LCR) explained in any detail either the objects
in the illustrations or the plot of the story. A feature
of the second reading, which accounts for the higher
percentage in this category, was that during the first
reading of <u>Rosie</u>, Patti identified the goat as a cow and
Jill (LCR) continued to call the goat a cow throughout the
remainder of the reading. However, she attempted to
correct the child's error in the second reading. These
statements by Jill (LCR) were classified as explanations
because it was her attempt to teach Patti the difference
between a goat and a cow even though there was no effort
made to explain to the child features that she could use to
distinguish between the two creatures.

The following sequence illustrates this attempt:

Patti:	Cow. (points to the goat)
Jill :	Ya, goat.
Patti:	Cow.
Jill :	Goat. Ya.
Patti:	Cow, cow.
Jill :	It's not a cow. It's a goat. Say goat. (Turns the page)
Patti:	Cow. It's a cow.
Jill :	Where's the goat?
Patti:	A cow. (points)
Jill:	Where's de goat? Where's de mice? Patti, where's de mice? (Child points to mice) Look, there's de mice. (points) Where's de hay?
Patti:	Addie (not clear)
Jill :	(Turns page) Ya. They went past the mill. Look, look. (points at rope but Patti is still looking with interest at the last page) It's tied around her foot.
Patti:	Cow, cow.
Jill :	It's a goat, not a cow. It's a goat.
Patti:	Mice. (The subject is dropped at this point)

Content questions - Labelling

Labelling is the most widely used as a form of interaction when dealing with two-year-olds (Bruner, 1983a). Both mothers used labelling during both reading events. The most important difference to note here is that in the second reading, Nan (HCR) was able to decrease her labelling and place more of the responsibility on Kate for a deeper look at the story as will be illustrated later in the chapter. Conversely, Jill (LCR) used more labels to direct Patti's attention to the book but provided fewer acknowledgments and positive feedback that might have encouraged Patti to extend her interactions. Jill may have felt that Patti was not ready to move beyond the labelling stage at this time.

When Nan indicated a label, usually Kate either pointed to or said the word which was then followed by an extension or a request for further information on Nan's part. On only three occasions did Nan ask Kate to say the word, which might be because Kate was already speaking well and Nan didn't sense a need to teach her to talk. An example of labelling behavior by Nan follows:

```
Nan:  Who are those?  Are those mice?
Kate: Uh, mice.
Nan:  Mice.  Two mice.
Kate: Two mice.
....
Nan : (Points to each item as she labels it)
       Those are the mice.  And the billy goat,
       and the cloud and the sun.
Kate: Here the billy goat.  (points)
Nan:  Ya, the billy goat's tied up there.
```

It is difficult to find an example of a typical "look-say" labelling format from Jill's text of <u>Rosie</u>. A passage taken from the review that Jill and Patti engaged in after the first reading of the book, serves to illustrate Jill's labelling behavior.

```
    Patti:   (takes the book and scans the pages)
             ea de cow
    Jill :   That's the fox. Find the cow.
    Patti:   (Showing book proudly to mother)
             eea de cow!
    Jill :   (Shaking head) That's the fox.
    Patti:   (still intent on the book) eea de cow.
             (looks at book, then shows to mother
             while looking up at her)  eea de cow.
    Jill :   Dat's de fox. Keep goin, find de cow.
(Dialogue continues in this fashion until mother
 takes the book, finds the goat, and points to it)
    Jill :   There.  Well, it's a goat, but
             Look at.  Dere's de mice.
    Patti:   Ea de cow? (turns page herself).
```

Focussed Requests

It is at this level of analysis that the most significant differences between the two subjects were noted. While approximately one-quarter of Nan's (HCR) utterances required the child to extend the response beyond simple identification, Jill (LCR) produced no focussed requests in the first transcript of <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u> and only 4% during the second reading.

The use of focussed requests is evidence that the mother sees more in the story than is in the written text. She uses her knowledge of life and of story structure to move the child to an understanding of the story. The mother who is evidencing semantically contingent behaviors also answers her own questions when the child is unable to

answer or answers incorrectly, thus maintaining the
contingency of the interchange.

An example of a focussed request in the first reading
of Rosie's Walk by Nan is:

> Nan: What's the fox doin?
>   What's he doin?
> Kate: Eatin' (This is a wrong answer)
> Nan : He's gonna jump on Rosie. (points)
>   The frogs are saying, "Oh, look out,
>   Rosie, look out!" (Turns page).

Another example from the second reading is:

> Kate: Poor fox (repeats three times, rubbing the
>   page and patting the fox gently).
> Nan : You like the fox today?
> Kate: Yeah.
> Nan : How 'bout Rosie?
> Kate: Rosie likes the fox.
> Nan : Rosie doesn't like the fox
> Kate: No?
> Nan : Why doesn't Rosie like the fox?
> Kate: Rosie likes the fox.
> Nan : Does Rosie like the fox?
> Kate: Yeah. (pause) It fall down in there.
> Nan : O.K.

One of the strengths that has made Rosie's Walk such a
classic picture book, is in the irony that is created
because the text and the pictures tell different stories
(Nodelman, 1988). This misfit between words and pictures
gives the story a subtlety and ambiguity and creates a
tension that builds a much "larger than life" story than
either would provide alone. Nodelman noted that "irony
occurs in literature when we know something different from
what we are being told ... words we are reading are
incomplete" (p. 223). Nan examplified how requests and
affirmations can be used to help the child to discern the

tension that is part of quality narrative. She kept the problem in the foreground through focus on the illustrations while keeping true to the text by reminding Kate periodically that Rosie is still "just walkin' along". By extending the discussion of Kate's comments, Nan helped her to realize that there are multiple ways of looking at a story. She helped Kate to focus on the meaning, not only of the text, but of her emotional responses to the pictures as well.

In her sharing of the picture book, Jill missed the significance of the pictures in unfolding the story and concentrated most of her utterances on reading the printed text. She used the pictures for labelling behaviors, which is a very positive use of any book when sharing with a two-year-old. Possibly her focus on the text might have been because the books that she herself read with so much pleasure, communicated the story in words. She had read few picture books in her childhood and the book that she indicated as Patti's favorite was a book with a lot of text and whose pictures only served to illustrate the words. She was obviously not familiar with books that carry the plot in the pictures. The books that she shared with Patti during the period of data collection were largely read without expanding or personalizing the text.

Scaffolding

Jill (LCR) & Patti (child)

Jill positioned Patti on her knee in a comfortable position as they prepared for the first reading of <u>Rosie's Walk</u>. As she began the episode, there was a a struggle over who would hold the book. But, although Patti fussed and it seemed that she wouldn't settle down, she quit crying and became attentive as soon as Jill opened the book. Patti remained attentive for the entire reading event. In preparation for the second reading, Jill did not turn down the television before starting to read. I turned it down in the interest of recording the dialogue. This was consistant with Jill's attitude toward television, which was on during all my visits to the home. At a later taping, a cousin was visiting to watch the 'soaps'. Jill commented that her cousin cried if she missed an episode, so on this occasion the television was not turned down, and, consequently, the results of the session were largely unintelligible.

In analyzing the data, no evidence of scaffolding behavior in asking questions that extended the narrative was found in Jill's dialogue. She took the text at face value and used the pictures for identification and labelling. However, she did position Jill so that she was comfortable and able to see the book clearly, which added to her enjoyment of the text and enabled her to focus on

the book easily. Scaffolding also involves organizing situations and times so that optimum value can be achieved from the event. Although Jill enjoyed reading novels for herself, she did not appear to value the sharing of books with her child as important enough to plan purposely for it to occur regularly or for it to be a productive time. In her interview, Jill commented in response to a query regarding how often she read to Patti, "Whenever she brings me a book." There was no suggestion that Jill felt she should plan to initiate the reading events. This was consistent with a subjective observation, made by the researcher, of Jill's attitude toward life, (in general that of non-intervention), as a reaction to what happens rather than a path directed through goal orientation.

Nan (HCR) and Kate (child)

For the first reading of Rosie's Walk, Nan sat Kate beside her, positioned the book so that Kate shared control of it, and announced the title. Her comment, "Boy, you're gonna like this book. It's a farm book", began the encounter on a note of anticipation. She set the stage and built a framework for the story by discussing the pictures on the title page. She tied it into the farming experience which they had shared because the family owns a farm. She selected only the apple tree, the chicken, the tractor and the billy goat for identification, thereby not boring the child with an over-emphasis on identification.

Nan traced the patterns of behaviors of the fox and

Rosie as she shared the book. On the first page, she
directed the child's attention to the activities of fox.

> Nan: (points) Look at the fox. He's gonna eat
> Rosie. You watch, he's gonna eat Rosie.

She continued to call attention to the activities of
the fox and on page four she said:

> Nan: He's gonna jump on Rosie (points)
> The frogs are saying,
> "Oh, look out, Rosie, look out!"

Nan kept the serenity of Rosie in focus by noting at
several junctures as the interchange progressed that Rosie
"just walks along". She kept reminding Kate of the problem
and encouraged her to predict outcomes through such
comments as:

> Nan : The flour.
> See the flour bag. It fell down on the fox.
> And there's Rosie. Still walkin' along.
> Think he's gonna eat Rosie?
> Kate: Ya.
> Nan : Me too.

She continued to scaffold the structure of the
narrative and to model the role of the reader in making
interpretations:

> Nan : Why's he tryin' to get Rosie? (Pause)
> Rosie didn't do anything, did she?

During the second reading, which occurred after the
book had been in the home for one week, Nan extended the
scaffolding from predictions of behaviors and outcomes to
encourage Kate to become personally involved in the action
of the story. This sequence illustrates her first
suggestion that Kate enter into the story.

```
Kate:    (sing-song voice) Fox gonna get Rosie.
Nan :    So, what should Rosie do?
Kate:    Get fox
Nan :    But how can Rosie get the fox?
         The fox is too big.
Kate:    Yeah.
Nan :    What do you say to Rosie?
Kate:    The fox gonna jump on Rosie.
Nan :    That's right.  The fox gonna jump on
         Rosie. So what should Rosie do?
Kate:    Rosie run.
Nan :    Tell her, though.
Kate:    Run, Rosie!
```

Later on when the fox is jumping over the fence and is about to land on Rosie, Kate says without any prompting,

```
Kate:    Run!  Run!  Hurry!
         Run and run and run around.
         (Waves arms in circles)
```

Nan proceeded leisurely through the book pausing to allow time for Kate to react and reflect. An example of this is:

```
Nan :    And look at Rosie. She's still walking.
         Eh?  (Long pause - 7 seconds)
Kate:    (emphatic and empathetic)  Poor fox.
         (shakes her head slowly still looking at
         the picture.
```

On the other hand, Jill hurried through the book with no pauses and on two occasions turned the page on the pointing finger of Patti. Scaffolding allows time for reflection and encourages attempts by the child to make sense of the text by framing questions and providing explanations that help to interpret the text for the child.

Summary observations

Nan completed approximately seven times as many utterances as Jill in the first reading and three times as many in the second reading. This provided significantly

more scaffolds on which Kate could build and extend her literacy skills. The number of Jill's utterances that were non-contingent and even interrupted Patti's talk is also evidence of an absence of productive scaffolding. This "refusal without account" (Labov & Fanshel, 1977) eventually seemed to cause Patti to lose interest in the reading and during the sharing she would sometimes withdraw from the event by getting down from her mother's knee or redirecting to some other focus. Nan, on the other hand, used contingent queries to create blanks that were a tacit invitation to her child to draw on her own analogies. Extending questions built a framework which allowed the child to see "inside" the event, in this case the story behind the narrative and pictures in the event of book-sharing. Jill's failure to consider the real story of Rosie left Patti without any of these insights into story structure.

Accountability

Focussed requests can also be examined to shed light on the mother's use of accountability; making the child responsible for what she should know and asking questions that stretch reflections to access new information.

Jill (LCR) and Patti

Jill's straightforward reading of the book made it difficult to find examples of the use of accountability.

The only example of this is the one already noted in the narrative about the goat and the cow. In the first reading of the book, Jill called the goat a cow and it seemed to stick with Patti. She became fixated with finding the "ceeow" even in the second reading. This may have been because that was the most familiar object in the book. Jill endeavored to correct the misconception and to hold Patti accountable for the proper name during the second reading. No attempt was made during this book sharing event to give Patti criteria which would help to distinguish between a goat and a cow so that the next time the picture was encountered mother could expect a degree of accountability in labelling the animal correctly. It was difficult to expect the child to be able to differentiate without some interpretive discussion. Children benefit less from frequent adult correction of their errors than from true conversational interaction. Correcting errors can interrupt the interaction which is, after all, the function of language (Cazden, 1978). Perhaps Jill didn't grasp the significance of what true interaction is. It is also possible that because Patti was not talking well, Jill did not regard her as having the ability to make inferences from the text and that is why she simply read the text with little discussion or attempts to elicit information from Patti.

Nan (HCR) and Kate

As they shared the first page, Nan provided the first

of many examples of the way in which she encouraged Kate

to become a part of the story through accountability.

```
Nan :  (points)  Look at the fox.  He's gonna
       eat Rosie.  You watch, he's gonna eat
       Rosie. (turns page)  Across the yard.
   (Child and mother survey page for 4 seconds)
       What's the fox gonna do?
Kate:  Eat Rosie
```

Later, when the bag of flour falls on the fox, Nan

focused Kate's attention and attempted to elicit meaningful

reaction from her. After giving her ample time to consider

the situation, Nan answered her own question.

```
Nan :  What happened?
Kate:  What happened?
Nan :  No.  I'm asking you what happened.
    (3 second pause as child looks at page)
Kate:  What happened?  (Childs tone acknowledges
       that something has happened)
    (6 second pause as child scrutinizes page
     intently)
Nan :  The flour.  See the flour bag.
       It fell down on the fox.
```

During the second reading Nan focused Kate's attention

and urged her to remember from the previous readings.

Again she answered her own question but not until she had

engaged in a series of interchanges with Kate.

```
Nan :  What's this?
Kate:  Hmmm?
Nan :  What's all over him?
Kate:  Hmmm?
Nan :  Hmmm?  Is that sand?
Kate:  Sand
Nan :  Is it sand?
Kate:  Yeah.
Nan :  No.  What is that?
       What's all that white stuff?
Kate:  Ummmm.
Nan :  On top of foxy?
Kate:  Ummmm.
Nan :  It's the flour.  See?
Kate:  Falling on the fox.
Nan :  Falling on the fox.  That's right.
```

Formats and Routines

Routines are events which have been engaged in by the participants on numerous occasions so that their procedures and terminology become familiar. Routines can also be part of our scheduling of events on a daily or weekly basis. A routine that is especially applicable to this study is that of the bedtime story which becomes a part of the pre-sleep ritual in many homes and has been identified in the literature as occurring in the homes of early readers. Adults build predictable formats in their interactions with children as a way to scaffold events so that adult dominance gradually decreases as the child's ownership of the event increases. Formats have a limited number of objects to consider. They are highly repetitive, with a beginning, middle and a end and they have a role structure that is reversible, which contributes to a sense of participation rather than modelling (Lund & Duchan, 1988). Book reading has been shown to be a remarkably routinized activity (Ninio & Bruner, 1978; Snow & Ninio, 1987). Labelling is a common routine that is established in sharing books with young children.

Jill (LCR) and Patti

As Jill read through the text during the first reading, she exhibited a minimum of interaction with Patti. Most of the interactions that did occur, however, involved labelling. An example of an occasion where Patti tried to

initiate a labelling sequences but Jill kept on reading and did not become a part of the labelling sequence follows:

```
Patti:  ceeow (child points, shows interest)
Jill :  Ya. (Mother turns page quickly,
        interrupting child's pointing).
Patti:  eea de cow, eea de cow
Jill :  Through the fence.
Patti:  oos de cow
Jill :  Right there (points at the goat).
```

Many of the labelling sequences in Jill's transcripts were not complete because she turned the page before Patti had a chance to consider a label. An example of this is:

```
Patti:  Whe's de bee?
Jill :  Where is dey?
Patti:  Whe's de bee?
Jill :  O.K. Oh, look.
        Puppy fell in the water.  See?
        (Turns page) Over the haystack.
```

Nan (HCR) and Kate

A comparison of the first and second readings of Rosie's Walk (Hutchins) by Nan illustrated the natural way in which she built formats for Kate. Analysis of the first reading of the book revealed many sequences that would fit Bruner's (1983a) four key utterance types:

```
(1) Attentional Vocative
(2) Query
(3) Label
(4) Feedback
```

An example of this from Nan's transcript is:

```
Nan :   Where's the barn?
        See the barn? (points to barn)
Kate:   (points to barn and smiles)
        Rosie go in there.
        (Looks up at mother.)
Nan :   Rosie's gonna go in the barn.
        That's right.
        That's where Rosie's gonna sleep.
```

Bruner (1983a) found that this cycle accounted for from half to more than ninety percent of the instances in his study and that this remained virtually unchanged from early to late sessions. However, in the second transcript of Nan and Kate, which was taken after they had had the book for only one week, there were long stretches of interaction which did not involve labelling. One example of such a sequence is found in the following excerpt:

Nan : (mother laughs) The fox ran into the
      stick. That's right. It went right...
      Where did the stick hit the fox?
Kate: Right in the nose.
Nan : That's right. Right in the nose.
      And look at Rosie. She's still walking.
      Eh? (Long pause - seven seconds)
Kate: (emphatically) Poor fox.
      (Shakes head sadly.)
Nan : Is it the poor fox?
Kate: Ya. (Sorrowfully)
Nan : What about poor Rosie?
Kate: Not poor Rosie.
Nan : It's not poor Rosie?
Kate: No.
Nan : O.K. (turns page)

Nan and Kate were able to build interactions together during this second reading that were at a much more sophisticated level than simple labelling.

Routines in daily schedules

It appeared that the rule-governed labelling process in picture book reading had become automatic with Kate and Nan in many of their sequences. On the other hand, there was a sense in which Patti was often seeking the pattern but experiencing frustration in completing it. However, was clear that both mothers used the labelling format to

advantage in their sharing.

A review of data collected in the field notes, showed evidence of a significant difference, on a more general level, in routine for these two children. Neither mother worked outside the home so each had the opportunity to organize the day to their own liking. Jill showed little evidence of organization in her life style. Meals for Patti seemed to consist of food on demand. There was no regular bedtime story read and Patti had no set time to go to bed. They often went to bed late and they would then sleep in very late in the morning unless there was a specific reason for getting up. Life was relaxed and relatively free from regular schedules. Nan, on the other hand, had the routine of the bedtime story firmly established and the pattern of her day, even though it contained a wide variety of events, was much more traditional with regular times for meals, going to bed and getting up in the morning.

LABOV & FANSHEL'S INTERACTIONAL ANALYSIS

Labov & Fanshel (1977) viewed conversation not as a chain but "a matrix of utterances and actions bound together by a web of understandings and reactions" (p. 30). I engaged in three steps using this form of analysis. First the tapes were reviewed and rewritten identifying the paralinguistic cues. Next, the text was expanded by taking

into account all the factual material from other parts of the interviews, study of the situation as a whole, and the paralinguistic clues from the video-taped interactions. Then all of this was brought together in an interactional statement, a compact summary based on the speech actions which are illustrated in Figure 2. Labov & Fanshel made extensive use of paralinguistic and prosodic cues in their analysis. However, in this analysis, no attempt has been made to use all of the symbols and coding that was part of Labov & Fansel's analysis because the focus of this study was not diagnostic and neither was it meant to form the basis for any kind of 'treatment'.

Expansion of Episode 1:1

For purposes of this analysis the transcript was divided into episodes with each double spread page of the book being considered as an episode. In this section, transcripts from both mothers, using the first reading of the first episode of Rosie's Walk, will be discussed in terms of the analyses of the interactions between the dyads that were developed by the researcher in consultation with Lynda Parrington (see Chapter 3). Transcripts of the analysis of the paralinguistic cues and the expansions of Episode 1:1 are included in Appendices C & D. The joint interactional statements for this episode follow.

SPEECH ACTIONS
(Verbal Interactions)

1. META - LINGUISTIC

initiate interrupt redirect	continue respond repeat reinforce	end signal completion withdraw

2. REPRESENTATIONS

A-events (in A's biography)

A	B	
give information express F demonstrate refer	reinforce acknowledge	

D-events (disputable)

A	B	A
assert give evaluation give interpretation give orientation	deny agree support give reinterpretation	contradict support

3. REQUESTS

A	B	A
request X	give X (carry out) X put off	acknowledge reinstate redirect retreat mitigate
	refuse with account refuse without account	renew accept reject withdraw in a huff

4. CHALLENGES

A	B	A
challenge question	defend admit huff	retreat mitigate

X = action
   information
   confirmation
   agreement
   evaluation
   interpretation
   sympathy

F = belief
   uncertainty
   exasperation
   deference

Figure 2

Jill (LCR) and Patti

Jill positioned Patti on her knee in a comfortable position for sharing a book. A struggle ensued as Patti attempted to take ownership of the experience by assuming possession of the book. Jill insisted on holding the book. She seemed to view reading as mother-directed. She was successful in redirecting the child's attention away from a focus on posession of the book to listening to mother read the story. Patti became very interested and Jill plunged in and got started, reading the first page immediately. After she read the text of the first page, Patti's eyes were focused intently on the book and she was babbling as she pointed at the fox. Jill turned the page on Kate's finger and continued reading, not allowing Patti time to focus on the event portrayed in the picture.

Nan (HCR) and Kate

Nan initiated the sequence which introduced Kate to the world that the book is about. She focused Kate's attention on the book by expressing her opinion that the reading of it will be enjoyable and that the topic is one familiar to the child. They held the book together as she invited Kate to explore Rosie's world and identified the setting on the title page. Kate acknowledged that she was listening by repeating the title. Nan continued to expand on the setting but now made it easier for Kate by providing labels and by giving her time to identify the objects. When Kate was unable to do so, Nan pointed to the object

for her.

Nan scaffolded the upcoming experience of reading the book by establishing the setting and framework within which the book will operate. She gave Kate the message that it is important to pay attention to the page and that a lot of information about a story can be extracted by looking at the pictures. Nan ended each labelling sequence with an affirmation of support.

Nan read the first page of print, identified Rosie and then asked Kate to repeat the word Rosie. After Kate repeated the name, Nan immediately directed her attention to the fox and warned her to watch because he was going to eat Rosie. She prepared Kate for the conflict and modelled prediction by admonishing her to watch the fox.

Expansion of Episode 2:4

This episode has no text but the picture shows the fox inadvertently landing on a rake which flies up and hits him on the nose. The way in which this was dealt with by each mother is an indication of how each used the book to scaffold a literacy event. The episode is taken from the second reading of the story after the book has been available to both mothers for one week.

Jill (LCR) with Patti

In order to understand Jill's treatment of the story during the second reading it is necessary to recount the

sequence from the beginning of Episode 2:1 to the end of Episode 2:4 because there is so little dialogue in the transcript (See Appendix E). Jill opened the book, scanned the title pages and skipped them, getting right to the first page of print. She began to read with the television on and the researcher turned it down so that the reading could be heard. Patti was on mother's lap focusing on the book intently. Jill passed very quickly from the beginning of the book to page five with no comments on the pictures or the story. It was evident early in the sequence that Patti was interested in interacting but when this failed to happen, she changed her focus to finding her puppy and tried to get down from Jill's lap. However, Jill got her back and was able to finish the story. Jill did not pause to comment on the page identified as Episode 2:4 so no interactions occurred. The message to Patti may have been that there was nothing of interest on the page.

Nan (HCR) and Kate

The interactional statement taken from the analysis of Nan's Episode 2:4 transcript, (See Appendix F) illustrates the important literacy behaviors engaged in by this dyad as they interacted over one picture. The text of this statement shows how Nan used Snow's (1983) categories of semantic contingency, scaffolding and accountability in this one episode. What follows is the interactional statement of Episode 2:4.

Nan paused after turning page three to allow Kate to

carry on the story in her head. Kate initiated the conversation on this page thus providing clear evidence that she knew what was going on. Nan encouraged her to expand verbally by asking a series of semantically contingent questions which scaffolded a series of requesting of information and giving of information that built understanding of the characters and furthered the plot of the story. Kate raised the discussion to a more literate level by expressing empathy for the fox whom Nan had previously built up as a villain. Nan made the child accountable for this opinion by continuing to question the child in what seemed to be a gentle effort to bring the child to her view of the story as experienced from her own encounters with fairy tales. Kate persisted in her empathy for the fox, thereby showing her lack of knowledge of the conventions of the genre and her general feelings for anyone who is hurt. Nan wisely accepted Kate's point of view and made no effort to "teach" the story. However, Nan unconsciously scaffolded the predictable structure of the fairy tale by focusing on the fox as villain. In the next sequence of text, the child said, " The fox gonna jump on Rosie", and what followed was an extended sequence where she empathized with Rosie. As Nan continued to structure the discussion over successive readings, the child very quickly internalized the fairy tale format of <u>Rosie's Walk</u>.

EFFECT OF THE BOOK READ

Nature of the book

In this study two books were shared, and the resulting dialogues analyzed, to evaluate the effect of the book on the dialogic interchange. Spot on the Farm (Hill) is a popular board book for young children. It consists of 14 pages and 64 words in contrast to Rosie's Walk (Hutchins) which has 27 pages and only 32 words. In the story, Spot the dog goes to the farm and meets the horse, cat, goose, cow, hen, pig and duck. He helps to milk the cow, gather eggs and feed the pigs. It is attractive with large, bright illustrations.

Nan's second reading of Spot on the Farm was analyzed using the code established in Figure 1. It was compared to her second reading of Rosie's Walk for the purpose of analyzing the role of the book on interaction. It was not necessary to analyze Jill's transcripts as well because my interest in this case was not in comparing the dialogue of the mothers, but on the role the book itself played in fostering interaction.

In Spot on the Farm, acknowledgements were the most frequent utterances by Nan as she gave support to the correct labels and answers which Kate provided. Content questions or labelling statements were the next most frequent, providing 27% of the total utterances. Statements

and explanations comprised 20% of mother's contributions. Focussed Requests reflect questions that require some kind of interpretive response from the child. These comprised only 11% of the utterances in the second reading of <u>Spot</u> as compared to 30% on the second reading of <u>Rosie</u>. It was also noted that there were no examples in <u>Spot</u> that engaged the child in giving opinions about good and evil or in predicting the motivations behind observed actions. Nan unconsciously demonstrated more complex dialogue during the reading of <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u> because the book itself allowed her to do so. The sequence of events involved more social interaction, there was a problem to be solved, characters had delineated roles which elicted emotional responses, and the events provided a metaphor for human experience. This is not to suggest that the process of 'labelling' objects in books is unimportant to the development of literacy, but to make the point that some books provide scaffolds for dialogue that evoke engagement in sustained discussions with young children at a more literate level.

The analysis demonstrated that 'what was read' influenced the emerging literacy behaviors of the subjects. <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u> proved to be a superior book for fostering ideas that could be expanded upon to elicit such higher level thinking skills as prediction, analysis, and synthesis. The qualities that make it such a classic piece of children's literature will be addressed in the next section.

Essential Qualities of Mature Readers

Harste (1988) conducted research into the strategies that successful readers use in comprehending and interpreting various kinds of text. The following analysis will illustrate how the processes that Nan engaged in while sharing Rosie's Walk with Kate were the same as those engaged in by mature readers when they share a novel with its author.

Harste (1988, p. 34) observed that:

1. "Good readers spend the bulk of their time off the page, mentally attempting to make connections." (attempt to achieve semantic contingency with the author).

2. Good readers recast "what they have read in terms of what they already know". (build scaffolds on which to hang new knowledge).

3. Good readers critique "themselves and the author's performance ... extrapolating ... it to the meaning of life" . (hold themselves accountable for examining beliefs, attitudes and values in order to expand understanding and assign personal relevancy and significance).

                                    (Parenthesis by researcher).

Just as these behaviors are necessary for the comprehension of adult text, so they are important for the adult to employ in initiating the young child into literate behaviors. Harste noted three other characteristics of good readers which Nan demonstrated in her sharing with

Kate, but which were not evident in Jill's transcripts.
These characteristics are related to Nan's behaviors in the
following analysis.

1. They approached text assuming that they would find
meaning. Nan treated Kate as a reader when she opened the
second session by saying, "Kate's gonna read Rosie's Walk".

2. They predicted, searched for new clues and tested
hypothesis in an ongoing and active search for patterns
that connected. Nan scaffolded the conflict by stating at
the outset that the "fox is gonna eat Rosie". What
followed was a search for clues to confirm or reject this
hypothesis. Nan structured the search by the judicious use
of focussed requests.

3. They uncovered multiple layers of meaning and
connectedness and were able to keep more than one theme
going at once. Nan kept the problem to be solved in focus
throughout the reading while at the same time labelling and
observing the multiple activities on each page. She
demonstrated for Kate that there were many ways of viewing
and interpreting text.

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS

Labov & Fanshel's interactional microanalysis
techniques made it possible to break the book sharing
events into a series of actions which illuminated the
meaning that the book-sharing episodes had for the

participants. It allowed Snow's categories of contingency, scaffolding, accountability and routine to be related to the events and the social context in which they were scripted. By relating the dialogue to the facts and observations accumulated in data collection, I was able, in a limited sense, to "draw consequences for their past and future actions" (Labov & Fanshel 1977, p.30). The research questions posed at the outset of this study are addressed as a frame for viewing the results of the analyses.

Research Question One

What is the nature of those qualities essential to
the successful achievement of literacy that are
inherent in mother-child book sharing interactions?

Style of interaction

Both of the children in the study were actively involved in exploring their worlds and they both showed interest in the book-sharing episodes. However, the way in which their mothers used this event to fulfil the child's expectations was very different.

Jill (LCR) engaged in several non-contingent responses and behaviors. She used a directive style of interaction as she read to Patti. This was evidenced particularly in her control over the book itself and over the time frame she allowed Patti for viewing pictures. Also, by using labelling as her most important form of interaction, Jill controlled the kind of interaction which occurred. There

were no examples, in the transcripts, of attempts to relate the text to the child's experiences. Jill 'read the book <u>to</u>' rather than 'shared the book <u>with</u>' her child. Therefore, Patti's ability to gain literacy insights was restricted. As a result she often lost interest in the interaction. Her mother attributed this lack of interest to a stage that she was going through at the time where she would rather write and play than share books.

Jill related that Patti liked to play by herself the best and observations in the home confirmed the fact that Patti was very active and amused herself by moving things all around the house, keeping herself very busy. During the play sequence that was video-taped to familiarize the subjects with the television camera, Jill did not become involved in dialogues with Patti but rather tended to repeat Patti's utterances without expansion. She did, however, make several requests to have Patti count the blocks, which was congruent with her goal of getting Patti ready for kindergarten. Jill did not verbalize activities as they were occurring and Patti was very capable of going ahead on her own with her toys. Patti had developed an independent style which Jill may have viewed as requiring little verbal intervention. Possibly the way in which Jill dominated the book-sharing event resulted from a lack of practice in more lengthy exchanges.

Conversely, Nan's (HCR) style was both directive and evocative and all of her responses to Kate were

semantically contingent. Nan also made extensive use of labelling. However, in addition, she framed questions and comments that led Kate to relate the book to her own experiences, to give opinions, to take risks, and to make decisions. Nan became part of the action as she skillfully balanced her role as leader and follower thereby enhancing the child's quest for experience by helping her to identify with the story and to become an 'insider', able to see more than was related by the text alone.

<div align="center">View of the child as learner</div>

Analysis of the transcripts revealed a difference in the way each mother viewed her child as a learner. Jill, by using only a directive style did not turn any part of the book sharing event over to Patti. It was difficult to find any utterances or behaviors that could be interpreted, by the child, as an acknowledgment that she was able to find meaning in the book. In fact, she appeared to be thwarted in her attempts to relate to the book by her mother's desire to get on with the story.

Nan viewed Kate as a 'reader' and stated at the beginning of the second reading that "Kate is going to read Rosie's Walk". Kate shared the holding of the book in the first reading and maintained complete control of it during the second. Although Nan kept Kate focussed on the problem by reminding her of it periodically as the story progressed, she was able, at the same time, to help the child discover the story for herself. Nan's skilful use of

focussed requests communicated to Kate that she was capable of making judgements and that her mother valued her opinions. Nan emphasized the action taking place in the pictures which related the story of the relationships between the characters involved in the problem; the heart of good narrative. By way of contrast, Jill's focus was on the text as she read through the book, with no reference to the drama unfolding in the pictures. Patti, therefore, had no opportunity to learn what the book was really about and to form concepts of story that build the essential frameworks for literacy.

Adults mediate learning by scaffolding and formatting events in such a way that young learners are assisted in becoming accountable for their own learning. Nan brought her experience with life and stories to the reading event to help Kate understand the problem and the basic scenario of the story. Then she moved Kate toward accountability by allowing her time to examine the pictures and to contemplate the underlying themes of the narrative, and by pressing her for opinions. When Kate was unable to respond to her requests, Nan provided the answers but then later, through skilful questioning, she made Kate responsible for earlier information. She modelled accountability by accepting Kate's interpretation of the story as valid when she showed sympathy for the fox even though it did not fit with Nan's interpretation of his role as villain. She simply accepted Kate's perceptions and continued on with

the story. In so doing, she communicated to Kate the implicit message of confidence in her ability to make the sophisticated step of interpreting the story and that there is no 'right' way to see, but rather, that stories have multiple interpretations and that Kate was entitled to her own opinon.

Unwittingly, Jill, by paying attention only to the text and by failing to interpret the critical action of the pictures for Patti, robbed the child of an opportunity to access important emotional and literary understandings. It is impossible to judge whether Jill was not aware of the real story herself or if she viewed Patti as only capable of interacting with the book on a simple level. What is evident is that Patti was not given the opportunity to view herself as a successful learner in the book-sharing transcripts that formed the data base for this study. This failure to stretch her understanding, may have taught Patti that books are not fun and that they are not important as a way to learn.

Research Question Two

How do mothers' routines, background of experience, conceptions of literacy, and hopes and expectations influence behavior in these interactions?

Lifestyle and routines of the mother

The way in which each mother chose to use the time available to her during the day seemed to be a crucial

factor in the emerging literacy development of her child. For Nan, who interacted verbally with Kate extensively, the routine for sharing ideas was already well established. Nan was very talkative and she noted in her interview that she talked to Kate about everything she did. She also recorded suitable videos which she not only watched with Kate, but she discussed them so that Kate could replay them with understanding. Nan's day was planned around engaging in interactions with Kate at a number of levels such as cooking, playing with toys, viewing videos, taking trips, and sharing stories, both during the day and before bedtime. It is important to note that her evident interest in reading and engaging in other activities with Kate did not seem to spring from a conscious awareness of attempting to educate her, but from a sense of the enjoyment and fun Nan herself experienced from the interactions.

By way of contrast, Jill's day had few scheduled routines that involved interactions with Patti although they shared a very small living space. There was little evidence that such events as bedtime, mealtimes, or book-sharing were engaged in during consistant time frames. Play activities for Patti were largely of her own structuring. However, one routine was firmly established; the viewing of the 'soaps' each afternoon for four hours. It seemed evident that Jill spent many hours each day viewing television. It is difficult to engage in meaningful dialogue with a child and follow the progress of

a program at the same time. Possibly this is one reason why utterances directed to Patti tended to be short and of a directive nature and also why Jill felt that Patti would rather play by herself than with her. Nan also spent time watching television but she limited her viewing of the 'soaps' to one a day.

Mother's background of experience

Both of the mothers in the study had grown up in homes where books and school were low priority considerations. Similarly, they had experienced lack of success in early attempts to read but they had both learned to read and had achieved better success in the later stages of their education. What was clearly evident, though was that Nan and Kate had a much broader contact with the outside world than did Jill and Patti. Nan grew up in Toronto, and had worked in an office and on the farm with her husband. The family travelled extensively at no cost because her husband was a commercial pilot. She sought out a variety of experiences both out of her own interest and for the development of her child. On the other hand, Jill had spent most of her life in Calgary, other than a short stay with her father in British Columbia during her grade nine year. She had travelled very little and had not trained for a job, neither had she worked extensively outside the home. Her own experience of the world, and as a consequence that of her child, was limited by her lack of money and her early pregnancy which resulted in premature

responsibilities for child rearing.

It is important to note, however, that the behaviors of Nan, that were identified as so crucial to the emerging literacy development of Kate during the reading episodes which formed the data for this analysis, were not contingent on her worldly experience, although it obviously contributed in subtle ways which this study did not investigate. Rather, it was the interest, enthusiasm and imagination with which she shared that made the important difference for Kate.

Conceptions of literacy

Nan saw her role as a provider of as many experiences as possible and viewed books as an extender of the world which they could not always visit. She believed that, "You have to learn when you're young to love things and to understand them". To fulfill these goals, she organized for the sharing of books, and other enriching activities to be a part of every day's routine. Nan felt that books were extremely important to Kate's development and she read with her, not out of a feeling of obligation but because she enjoyed the books herself. She viewed books as a medium for teaching about the outside world and for enjoyment. However, she had not read a whole book for "at least five years". There were no books in the living room and she did not get a daily newspaper. Her husband only read technical journals that were required for work. Nan's expanded sharing emerged from her opinion that, "In order to get her

to understand the book, I had to make Rosie fun for her......I use words that I want her to repeat... to get her to enjoy the stories and laugh."

Jill, it seemed, viewed the sharing of books with Patti as a good thing to do, but it was evident that she would much rather be watching television or reading her own books. Jill learned to read and enjoyed it very much even though books were not an important part of her early life. She felt that it was important to prepare her child for school by teaching her letters, colors, and numbers, a very traditional view of literacy. This observation is not meant to suggest that Jill should be trying to teach her child, but to speculate that she does not view the reading of picture books as being as important in preparing for school. She seemed to view instructional books as being more important to learning than imaginative picture books.

Jill stated that when reading her own books, "I have a really wild imagination. Like, I can close my eyes and I can see... I get right into it". However, in sharing books with Patti she did not use her imagination to extend the book for the child. She may have even left Patti with a negative attitude towards the event as her endeavors to extend interactions met with little response from mother.

Hopes and expectations of mother

The goals and perceptions of the mothers, both for themselves and for their children, seemed to be important to the materials that they made available and to the way in

which they organized and viewed the events that they deemed
necessary to prepare their children for literacy. Jill
expressed valid educational goals such as teaching numbers
and alphabet in order to get Patti ready for school.
Moreover, she provided writing material for Patti, helped
her with her attempts to write and read to her when she
brought a book. The difference seemed to be that, although
Nan also viewed these skills as being important, she
believed that providing opportunities for extending
experience through interaction with the outside world, both
firsthand and through books, was the most valuable way to
enrich her child's life. The goals and expectations of a
mother, while not impinging directly on the book-sharing
event, are most important in aiding the emergent literacy
growth of a young child.

Research Question Three

> What role does the book chosen play in creating
> text that develops the skills necessary to
> achieve literacy?

The book itself

A book that has value in building literacy skills and
emotional involvement is one that acts as a catalyst for
social interaction through fantasy, creative dialogue,
extension into other experiences and analysis of personal
relationships with the world. The data analyzed in this
research illustrated that the simple picture book, Rosie's

<u>Walk</u>, contains the elements that made it possible for Nan to engage in all of these activities with Kate. A sense of the structure of a good story, and a basis for predicting outcomes in stories of the same genre, were being scaffolded by Nan as she shared with Kate.

A book such as <u>Rosie's Walk</u> has layers of discourse to be uncovered and a child can constantly find new ideas each time she comes back to it, just as adults do with classics which they read and re-read. Predictable behaviors are set up with which the reader can become actively involved. The mother can scaffold the framework of how the story works and the child can then build on this frame to access the story for herself.

<u>Spot on the Farm</u> also has value for children in labelling and in learning about life on a farm. However, its plot is simple and it lacks conflict and the strong characterizations that serve to involve the reader in higher order literacy skills. The understanding is carried in the text with pictures that do not advance the story but serve only to illuminate the text. This evidenced itself by Nan's low percentage of focussed requests.

Books available in the home

The importance of having books in the home has been emphasized in the literature on early language development. Both of the homes in this study had stable collections of books. However, they differed in their suitability for a two-year-old and in the way in which they were treated.

Patti's books were mostly hand-me-downs which were shopworn and she tended to use them as toys to play with. The few new books that had been purchased as Christmas presents were ones which would help to teach labels, letters and numbers. Kate was regularly supplied with bright new picture books that were imaginative and well illustrated.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

This chapter has provided a broad view of the social mileu of two mothers and their two-year-old daughters. It has used their interactions over picture books as a lens to assess what behaviors of the mother made the most significant contributions to the child's growth toward full literacy. Important differences have been noted in the way in which each mother interacted with her daughter. Chapter 5 will discuss the findings of this study and its significance in adding to the body of knowledge about how young children access literacy.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As bird's wings beat the solid air without
which none could fly so words freed by the imagination
affirm reality by their flight. (Williams, 1970, p. 150)

THE PROBLEM OF THE STUDY

Heath (1984) noted the need for research which would
"more closely examine fine details of behaviors which are
concomitant with specific literacy events (p. 70)" as the
only way in which human behaviors that sustain and extend
literacy can be identified. This study looked in 'fine
detail' at two mothers and their behaviors as they directed
events, scaffolded situations and established routines, in
interacting with their two-year-old daughters. The
scenarios created as they shared the reading of selected
picture books were analyzed to shed light on how these
interactions effected the emerging literacy skills of their
children.

PROCEDURES

The framework for collecting data for this study was grounded in symbolic interactionism whose basic premise is that the individual builds a sense of personal identity, and gains control of his/her destiny, by engaging in significant social relationships. Consequently, the research was conducted in the homes of the subjects with my involvement being that of an observer and recorder who attempted to gain understanding of the social relationships which formed a background for the interactions of each mother with her child.

Data were collected over a seven month period with three months of that time being spent in a pilot study with a young mother and her two-year-old son. Data collection involved the use of field notes, taped interviews, and the video-taping of book sharing episodes. Data analysis that took place during the collection phase was used to inform and redirect, when necessary, the course of subsequent areas of investigation.

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The analysis reveals a number of differing findings. These findings have been grouped under four categories; influence of the book chosen, influence of social mileu, influence of mother's behaviors and antecendents to

literacy.

Influence of the Book Shared

Researchers have emphasized the importance of having books in the home to the achievement of full literacy. However, many families whose children experience difficulty in achieving literacy provide books for their children, so book reading cannot, by itself, explain the significant differences in the success with which children access literacy (Brailsford, 1986; Heath, 1987; Snow & Ninio, 1987). Both of these homes had stable collections of books. However, in Nan's home books were looked after and treated with importance whereas many of the books in Jill's (LCR) home were used as toys and were shopworn. They tended to be less imaginative and there was a lack of new books coming into the home on a regular basis. Brailsford (1986) found similar conditions in the homes of her Low Print Aware subjects. She viewed this as giving an implicit message that books were not an important priority in the family.

The quality of the books themselves may do more to explain the differences than the number of books in the home. This study found that the book itself can serve as a catalyst for engaging in fantasy, creative dialogue, empathy, prediction, critical judgement, and the analysis of personal relationships. The data analyzed showed that

the seemingly simple picture book, <u>Rosie's Walk</u>, contains
the elements for engaging in all of these activities. It
has multiple layers of meaning to be uncovered so that the
child can constantly return on her own to find new ideas,
much as an adult does on the re-reading of favorite books.
Moreover, <u>Rosie's Walk</u> builds an understanding of story
structure and genre type that can be carried to many other
stories. Snow & Ninio (1987) identified the ability to
collaborate with an author to create a fictional world as
one of the most important skills necessary to full
literacy.

 This ability of a book to stimulate imagination may be
the critical difference in the dialogue that is engaged in
as a book is shared (Heath, 1987). A book which will be of
value for a child is one in which the mother too can find
pleasure as this automatically contributes a sense of fun
and excitement to the event. In the final analysis, it may
be the satisfaction and fun encountered in the act of
sharing that engenders a love of books and which, in turn,
propels the child's desire to learn to read, that is the
most important contribution a mother can make to her
child's quest for literacy.

<u>Influence</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>Social</u> <u>Mileu</u>

 In the initial stages of choosing an analytic
framework through which to view the data, it seemed

unimportant for me to include Snow's (1983) category of 'Routines' because I thought that it would have little to do with the focus of my study, other than to identify the format of labelling. However, routines became the most important of the four categories. As data were analyzed, a recurring pattern emerged that demonstrated the underlying importance of the way in which each mother organized, or failed to organize, routines for her child. The subtle, but crucially important, difference seemed to lie in whether the mother set aside significant time during the day for involvement in activities with her child. If quality time is not spent with a child, there is no opportunity for contingent, scaffolded, or accountable interactions to occur. Heath (1984), too, noted that the way in which mothers constructed their days influenced the children's chances to practice narrative with adults in any sustained way and that this made a sharp difference in enabling readers to interpret text. Harste, Woodward, & Burke, (1984) agreed that the number of encounters a child had with adults as they engaged in literate behaviors was a better predictor of literacy growth than age.

An unexpected finding was the significant role that television viewing assumed. Television emerged as a negative force in Patti's literacy development, not with regard to the content itself, but in the way that it encroached on the time that her mother might have been spending with her. Patti had learned to play alone so as

not to disrupt the viewing of programs and this in itself
may have given an implicit message that television was more
important than extended interchanges of dialogue. On the
other hand, Nan demonstrated that television can be used
positively in supporting emergent literacy skills.

It is widely accepted that in those homes where
children learn to read early, the adults in the home are
interested in reading themselves and they model reading
behaviors for the child. One of the most interesting
findings of this study is that early literacy growth does
not depend on adults engaging in extensive personal
reading. Hence, while Jill (LCR) read voraciously for her
own pleasure, Nan (HCR) and her husband did little or no
reading. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that
children need to be exposed to literacy events that present
themselves throughout the day. Nan loved to read and
engage in other literacy events with her child and, as a
result, Kate had made exceptional progress toward literacy.

An important conclusion that presented itself in the
analysis of the data collected from these two mothers,
having somewhat similar early literacy experiences, but
very different socioeconomic situations, is that the
structuring of a background of experience which facilitates
access to literacy does depend to some extent upon one's
situation and on one's position in society for fulfillment.
What is relevant here are the opportunities for literacy
development which are present in upper middle class

environments and rarely available in economically deprived homes. But, the interest and imagination that Nan brought to the book-sharing event, which contributed significantly to Kate's early achievement of relatively sophisticated literary behaviors, can be engaged in by other caregivers.

Despite the literacy level of an adult, semantically contingent dialogue that is imaginative and extends the child's language can be shared while focusing on a picture book. Interestingly enough, both mothers in this study viewed themselves as having a great deal of imagination. Why then was such a difference apparent in the way in which they shared books with their babies? The data analyzed illustrated that the awareness and insights of the mother into what constitutes an optimum environment for spawning literacy dictated how each engaged, or failed to engage, her child in interactions on many levels throughout the day. A mother's perceptions and definition of situations is crucial to the opportunities she scaffolds for literacy events to occur. In deprived situations, mothers may feel too overwhelmed by the exigencies of their everyday circumstances to be able to utilize their imagination in an effective manner.

However, it must be kept in mind that book sharing is a major source of literate experience practices by many middle class parents, a practice which the school can capitalize on in introducing children to the world of formal literacy (Heath, 1980). On the other hand, as

Anderson and Stokes (1984) claim, book sharing is not the only source of literate experience for the urban poor (p. 25). Rather, it is the routine requirements of daily life, attendance at preschool, attendance at church, and the caregiver's attitude toward literacy, amongst other things, that greatly influence literacy development. Unfortunately, in many lower class homes, positive literacy attitudes and practices represent the exception rather than the rule.

Influence of Mother's Behaviors

Jill recognized her influence as a parent but she seemed to have a limited sense of what a parent could contribute to literacy development. Her higher percentage of commands suggests a more directive style of book sharing. Jill used more labels than Nan and in a more directive manner. She invariably ignored the need to "set the stage" for book sharing, an activity which was done in the midst of a host of other things such as watching television.

Nan, on the other hand, labelled in a more interactive fashion. Kate, her child, was invited to be actively involved through requests for further information. Nan "filled-in" the missing or incomplete aspects of the book sharing episodes. She continually engaged Kate in what Heath (1983) called "event forcasting" (p. 23). Nan's

reading was really a re-enactment of the text, replete with appropriate intonation, stress, pitch, etc. She told a story. Jill, on the other hand, treated each page as a separate entity, there was no connectedness and events did not hang together. Nan, by way of contrast, provided support to the story throughout. (Hardy, 1978; Rosen, 1988).

In sum, the emergent growth of literacy is affected more by the quality and quantity of mother-child interactions than strictly through the modelling of personal reading. Routines that include engaging in a variety of activities which extend the child's experience are crucial and mothers should be encouraged to engage their children in many outings and events that require a minimum outlay of money. It may be that parents from lower socio-economic homes need a heightened awareness of the value of literacy practices such as those identified in this study.

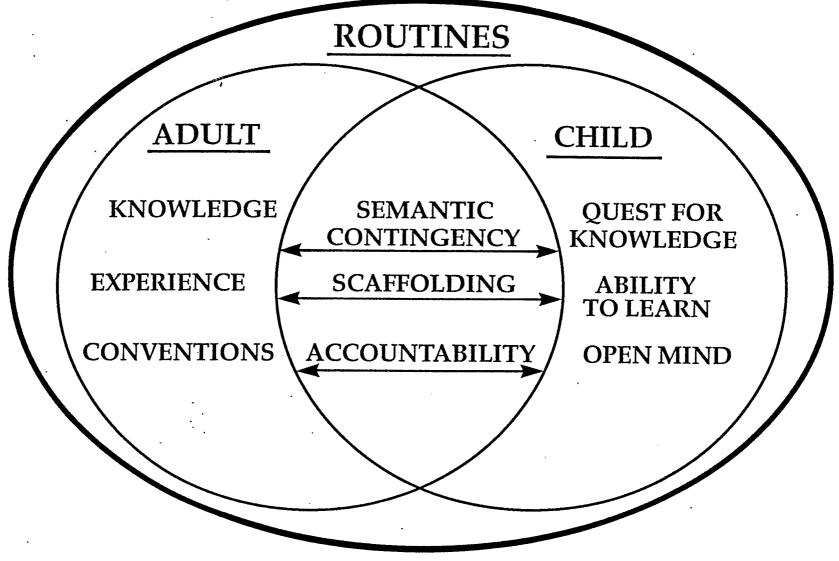## Antecedents to Literacy

The results of this study have supported the importance of Snow's (1983) categories of Semantic Contingency, Scaffolding, Accountability and Routines as major facilitators of language acquisition. They have been shown to be influential strategies when used by an adult engaged in raising the child's awareness so that "what the child can do in co-operation today, he can do alone

tomorrow" (Vygotsky, 1962, p. 104).

The Transactional Model in Figure 3 shows how, through interaction, these strategies use dialogue to create thought, which in the words of Vygotsky (1962) "tends to connect something with something else, to establish a relationship between things" (p. 125). The model serves to summarize, in graphic form, the findings of this research.

A most valuable posession of the infant at birth is an innate curiosity and desire to learn. Adults support and extend this curiosity by treating the infant as more capable than he/she is and by responding contingently to non-verbal requests until the child is able to verbalize. It is through semantically contingent dialogue that an adult effectively expedites the child's quest. In home situations such as those in which individuals like Jill find themselves, there is a need to teach caregivers the importance of positive self-regard for their children. Such a task is fraught with difficulty and open to criticism from those who claim that such amelioration is impossible to attain.

All children have the ability to learn and it is the task of caregivers to build bridges, or scaffolds, which the child can traverse in accessing knowledge both within the family circle and in the outer world. Bruner (1986) observed, for instance, that he believes that a child has the capacity to take another's perspective, but can't do so without the adult scaffolding an understanding of the

ROUTINES

ADULT

CHILD

KNOWLEDGE

SEMANTIC
CONTINGENCY

QUEST FOR
KNOWLEDGE

EXPERIENCE

SCAFFOLDING

ABILITY
TO LEARN

CONVENTIONS

ACCOUNTABILITY

OPEN MIND

Figure 3

146

TRANSACTIONAL MODEL OF EMERGENT LITERACY

situation in which the event is occurring.

The open mind of the child is inculcated with beliefs, attitudes, ideas, and values, as the responsiblity to assume more and more accountability for conforming to the conventions of society, and eventually for becoming literate, are encountered. By helping young children to figure out things for themselves, adults build their self image as learners and thus keep " on the growing edge of the child's competence" (Bruner, 1986, p. 77).

The degree to which the circles of the adult and the child overlap determines the success the child is able to achieve in becoming a fully literate person. Routines are portrayed as an all-encompassing circle because they are fundamental to the frequency and quality of interactions that make it possible to engage in the transactions that promote literacy. If, as Vygotsky (1962) contended, "Thought is not merely expressed in words: it comes into existence through them" (p. 125), then routines that include ample time for interaction will facilitate the introduction of new words and concepts which result in the child having the capacity for more literate thought. Although this study looks at these interactions only in the context of book-sharing episodes, the model could be extended to include other transactions occurring for the adult and child.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

Provision of Books

Book sharing has been widely documented to be the most
common factor in the homes of children who evidence early
literacy development (Doake, 1981; Holdaway, 1979; Moerk,
1985; Wells, 1981). This study, too, found that the book
itself and the way in which it was shared resulted in very
different literacy encounters for these two children. It
also documented that the child who was read to from birth
had achieved significant progress towards literacy by two
years of age. However, it is important that we recognize
the role that other literacy events can play in helping
children become truly literate (Anderson & Stokes, 1984).

It would be a worthy goal for society to somehow
ensure that every child is supplied, in infancy, with
suitable books on a regular basis. But it is of equal
importance that mothers become aware, not only of the
importance of this form of interaction but, especially in
the case of young girls like Jill, that they be given some
support in the form of instruction using models of
productive dialogue with young children. Parents need
visible demonstrations of the kinds of things that can be
done to promote literacy development. Rather than just
reading to young children it is valuable to do those sorts
of things that enhance the reading - i.e. scaffold the

event, talk through the book, set up routines, and engage in sematically contingent dialogue that teaches a positive attitude towards books and encourages a proactive stance to book reading. It is important to "set the stage", and to enrich the story with as much background as possible as this helps comprehension of the text. Interactive dialogue "completes the picture" for the child. Children need to be encouraged to make inferences and predictions in a "What will happen next?" format. These processes are central to higher level kinds of reading. As Heath (1984) puts it,

> The extension of literacy within a society depends on opportunities for new literates to participate in redundant, multiple, and reinforcing occasions for oral construction of the shared background needed to interpret written materials (pp. 68,69).

Social/Educational Concerns

A number of studies have testified to the importance of the early home environment in preparing a child for reading and writing in school. How can educators have an influence on the crucial early years of the child that impinge so strongly on the literacy tasks faced by the school? It became evident as data analysis proceeded during this study that possibly the only effective and economical way to assure literacy for everyone is to involve parents in the educational process while their children are still infants. The behaviors identified in this study as having an impact on early literacy are not

complicated and, having become aware of their importance, all parents could employ them as they interact with their children.

Any intervention attempted should not be based on a presumption of parents as being incompetent. Rather it would be valuable if parents could be involved in action research projects much like Heath (1984) engaged in with 'T'. These could be structured in such a way that the strengths and creativity of the participants would become part of a cooperative effort to discover ways in which literate behaviors can become a natural part of every home situation. Such education could begin with the future parents that we have as a captive audiences in our Junior and Senior High Schools. The Public Health and Social Welfare systems, possibly in cooperation with Public Library programs, could also become vehicles for raising awareness among mothers of the behaviors that foster literacy development.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As with most studies, this small glimpse into the lives of two families poses more questions than it answers. Some other areas, among many, that might be investigated are as follows.

1. Many studies have been done to assess the effects of television on society at large. Studies focusing on the

effect of television on the dialogic interaction between mothers with their infants and young children would undoubtedly uncover valuable insights into ways in which to take advantage of the positive aspects of television.

2. Replication of this study with other mothers from a variety of socioeconomic and educational backgrounds should be undertaken. It would be important to use boys as well as girls in the replication.

3. Action research should be undertaken in school settings, possible in cooperation with the Guidance Department, that could form a basis for a curriculum familiarizing young adolescents with the interactions that will be of most benefit to their babies.

4. Similar research at a different age level and/or using books from different genre would help to detail other interactions that serve to facilitate literacy.

THE HEART OF THE MATTER

A metaphor for interpreting this study can be drawn by comparing the data to the book Rosie's Walk itself. The reader who has learned the conventions of fairy tales automatically imputes the role of heroine to Rosie and of the villain to the fox. Rosie is the good character who is just going about her daily routine, while the fox is evil because he has murder on his mind.

Yet life, like narrative, can be viewed from multiple

perspectives. Considered in another dimension, both the
fox and Rosie are doing what foxes and hens do. Rosie is
getting the exercise that she needs to produce goods eggs
for the farmer and he in turn endeavors to give her
protection in the farmyard. She does not anticipate
problems, as is evidenced by her obvious lack of concern as
she takes her walk. Rosie lives happily and confidently in
her world. The fox, on the other hand, is searching for
the food he must have in order to survive. In this case,
he is searching outside the safety of the woods, which is
his home territory, and so life becomes much more
treacherous. He doesn't know his way around and has not
learned what to expect in a farmyard. As a result, he must
depend on improvisation from moment to moment in
surroundings for which he does not have the experience to
make predictions. As a result, he encounters a number of
setbacks. He is hit on the nose, covered with hay and
flour, submerged in a pond and stung by bees. Not only
does he fail to reach his goal of attaining food, but he
suffers humiliation and his self-image is shattered. He
leaves the scene with "his tail between his legs". Rosie
does very well and is rewarded with serenity and supper.
But what if Rosie had been taking her stroll in the woods?
The scenario would have been much different if the stage
had been set in a world for which she had not been
prepared. Mature readers have been conditioned to view the
fox, the snake, the wolf, and the troll as evil; and

people, hens, and goats as good. In the same way, schools and society have sometimes viewed the child who is struggling with literacy as inferior in language and/or ability. Children caught in this struggle often acquire, like the fox, feelings of insecurity and low self-esteem. Kate, lacking knowledge of the genre, was able to view the narrative with empathy for both Rosie and the fox as each carried on with life in accordance with their own roles. By the same token, each of the mothers in this study were carrying on life in her own social mileu. Each was doing what she viewed as appropriate in her circumstances.

However, because life in our highly literate culture places great emphasis on learning to read and write, educators, charged with the challenge of producing a literate population, must look realistically at what behaviors prepare young children for successful experiences with literacy. An attempt has been made in this analysis not to praise or blame but merely to point out behaviors which will be of value to a person who must accomodate to a literate society. Just as Rosie is able to move confidently in a setting that is organized, structured and routinized, so the child who has learned to love books by living in their worlds, who has engaged in stimulating dialogue with adults, and who has an expectation of success, moves confidently in the world of literacy. By the same token, the child who has not learned the conventions of print, nor the formats for engaging in

higher level dialogue, could suffer the same fate as the fox. If both school and books are unfamiliar territory, children run the risk of encountering numerous rebuffs in achieving full literacy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anabar, A. (1986). Reading acquisition of preschool children without systematic instruction. <u>Early Childhood Research Quarterly</u>, <u>1</u>(1), 69-83.

Anastasiow, N. J. (1982). <u>The adolescent parent</u>. Baltimore: Paul H. Brookes.

Anderson, A. B., & Stokes, S. J. (1984). Social and institutional influences on the development and practices of literacy. In H. Goelman, A. Oberg and F. Smith (Eds.). <u>Awakening to literacy</u>. (pp. 24-37). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Arrington, R. E. <u>Interrelations in the behavior of young children</u>. NY: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Austin, J. L. (1962). <u>How to do things with words</u>. London: Oxford

Baghban, M. (1984). <u>Our daughter learns to read and write</u>. Delaware: International Reading Association.

Barnes, S., Gutfreund, M., Satterly, D., & Wells, G. (1983).Characteristics of adult speech which predict children's language development. <u>Journal of Child Language</u>, <u>10</u>, 65-84.

Bernstein, B. (1971). <u>Class, codes and control, I: Theoretical studies towards a sociology of language</u>. London: Routledge

Bettelheim, B. (1976). <u>The Uses of Enchantment</u>. New York: Random House.

Bloom, L. (1970). <u>Language development: Form and function in emerging grammars</u>. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press

Blumer, Herbert (1969). <u>Symbolic interactionism perspective and method</u>. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Bogdan, R. C. & Biklen, S. K. (1982). <u>Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods</u>. Boston: Allyn & Bacon

Brailsford, A. (1985). <u>Early reading experiences: The literacy development of kindergarten children viewed from a cultural perspective</u>. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Brailsford, A. (1986). Kindergarten readers in progress. <u>Reading-Canada-Lecture</u>, <u>4</u>(2), 113-122.

Braine, M. D. (1963). The ontogeny of English phrase structures: The first phase. Language, 39, 1-14.

Brown R. & Bellugi U. (1964). Three processes in the acquisition of syntax. Harvard Educational Review, 34, 133-151.

Bruner, J. (1975). The ontogenesis of speech acts. Journal of Child Language, 2, 1-19

Bruner, J. (1983a). Child's talk: Learning how to use language. New York: W.W. Norton.

Bruner, J. (1983b). The acquisition of pragmatic commitments. In R. M. Golinkoff (Ed.) The Transition from Prelinguistic to Linguistic Communication. NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum

Bruner, J. (1984). Language, mind and reading. In H. Goelman, A. Oberg, & F. Smith (Eds.), Awakening to literacy (pp. 193-200). London: Heinemann

Bruner, J. (1986). Actual minds, possible worlds. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Butler, D. & Clay, M. (1979). Reading begins at home. Exeter: Heinemann

Cazden, C. (1983). Adult assistance to language development: Scaffolds, models, and direct instruction. In R. Parker & F. Davis (Eds.). Developing literacy-Young children's use of language. Delaware: International Reading Association.

Chapman, K., Leonard, L., & Mervis C. (1986). The effect of feedback on young children's inappropriate word usage. Journal of Child Language, 13, 101-117.

Chomsky, N. (1957). Syntactic structures. The Hague: Mouton.

Cicourel, A. V. (1980). Three models of discourse analysis: The role of social structure. Discourse Processes, 3, 101-132.

Clark, H. H. & Clark, E. V. (1977). Psychology and language: An introduction to psycholinguistics. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Clark, M. M. (1976). Young Fluent Readers. London: Heinemann.

Clark, M. M. (1984). Literacy at home and at school: Insights from a study of young fluent readers. In

Goelman, Oberg & Smith (Eds.), <u>Awakening to literacy</u> (pp. 122-130). NH:Heinemann

Clay, M. M. (1979). <u>Young fluent readers</u>. London: Heinneman

Cochran-Smith, M. (1984). <u>The making of a reader</u>. NJ:Ablex

Cook-Gumperz, J. (1986). <u>The social construction of literacy</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corte, M. D., Benedict, H., & Klein, D. (1983). The relationship of pragmatic dimensions of mothers' speech to the referential-expressive distinction. <u>Journal of Child Language,</u> <u>10</u>, 35-43.

Crago, M. & Crago, H. (1983). <u>Prelude to literacy</u>. Carbondale, Il: South Illinois University Press.

D'Andrade, R. G. & Wish, M. (1985). Speech act theory in quantitative research on interpersonal behavior. <u>Discourse Processes,</u> <u>8</u>, 229-259.

Dickinson, D. & Snow, C. (1987). Interrelationships between pre-reading and oral language skills in kindergarteners from two social classes. <u>Early Childhood Research Quarterly,</u> <u>2</u>, 1-25.

Doake, D. (1981). <u>Book experience and emergent reading behavior in preschool children.</u> Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

D'Odorico, L. & Franco, F. (1985). The determinants of baby talk: Relationship to context. <u>Journal of Child Language,</u> <u>12</u>, 567-586.

Dolan, L. J. (1980). Home, school, and pupil attitudes. <u>Evaluation in Education: An International Review Series,</u> <u>4</u>, 265-358.

Dombey, H. (1987). Making sense of narrative through conversation. <u>Canadian Journal of English Language Arts,</u> <u>10</u>, (1), 9-17.

Dore, J. (1974). A pragmatic description of early language development. <u>Journal of Psycholinguistics Research,</u> <u>174</u>(3), 343-350.

Dore, J. (1983). Feeling, form, and intention in the baby's transition to language. In R. M. Golinkoff (Ed.), <u>The transition from prelinguistic to linguistic communication</u> (pp. 167-190). NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum

Dore, J. (1989). Monologue as development of the text-forming function of language. In Nelson, K. (Ed.), Narratives from the Crib (pp. 231-260). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Durkin, D. (1966). Children who read early. New York: Teacher's College Press.

Edmunds, R. (1981, March). The characteristics of schools that are instructionally effective for all pupils. Paper presented at the annual conference for Supervision and Curriculum Development, St. Louis, Missouri. (Audio-tape of presentation).

Feldman, C. F. (1989). Monologue as problem-solving narrative. In Nelson, K. (Ed.), Narratives from the Crib (pp. 98-122). Cambridge: Harvard University.

Flood, J. (1977). Parental styles in reading episodes with young children. The Reading Teacher, 30, 864-867.

Foster, S. (1985). The development of discourse topic skills by infants and young children. Topics in Language Disorders, 5(2), 31-45.

Foster, S. (1986). Learning discourse topic management in the preschool years. Journal of Child Language, 13, 231-250.

Garvey, C. (1983). Text, context, and interaction in language acquisition. In R. M. Golinkoff (Ed.), The transition from prelinguistic to linguistic communication. NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum

Genishi, C. & Dyson, A. (1984). Language assessment in the early years. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Glazer, S. (1980). Getting ready to read. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Gleason, J. (1977). Talking to children: some notes on feedback. In C. Snow & C. Ferguson (Eds.). Talking to children (pp. 199-205). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goelman H., Oberg A., Smith, F. (Eds.). (1984). Awakening to literacy. NH: Heinemann.

Goetz, J. P. & LeCompte M. D. (Eds.). (1984). Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research. Orlando, Fla: Academic Press.

Golinkoff, R. M. (1983). The preverbal negotiation of
    failed messages: Insights into the transition period.
    In R. M. Golinkoff (Ed.), The transition from
    prelinguistic to linguistic communication
    (pp. 57-76). NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Goodman, Y. (1984). The development of initial literacy.
    In H. Goelman, A. Oberg, & F. Smith (Eds.), Awakening
    to literacy (pp. 102-109). Exeter: Heinemann.

Goodman, Y. (1987). Children coming to know literacy.
    In W. Teale & E. Sulzby (Eds.), Emergent literacy
    (pp. 1-14). Norwood, NJ: Ablex

Grice, H. P. (1957). Meaning. Philosophical Review, 3,
    377-388.

Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P.
    Cole & J. Morgan (Eds.), Syntax and semantics -
    vol. III (pp. 43-82). NY: Academic Press

Halliday, M. A. (1974). Language and the social man Vol. 3
    London: Longman.

Hardy, B. (1978). Narrative as a primary act of mind. In
    M. Meek, A. Warlow & G. Barton (Eds.), The Cool Web
    (pp. 12-23). London: The Bodley Head.

Harris, M., Jones, D., Grant, J. (1983). The nonverbal
    context of mother's speech to infants. First Language
    Journal, 4, 21-30.

Harste, J. C. (1988). What it means to be strategic:
    Good readers as informants. Reading-Canada-Lecture,
    6, 1, 21-36.

Harste, J. C., Woodward, V. A., Burke, C. (1984). Language
    stories and literacy lessons. NH: Heinemann

Hawkins, D. (1971) Open education the informal
    classroom. New York: Citation.

Heath, S. (1983). Ways with words. Cambridge:
    Cambridge University Press.

Heath, S. (1984). The achievement of preschool literacy
    for mother and child. In H. Goelman, A. Oberg,
    & F. Smith, (Eds.), Awakening to literacy
    (pp. 51-72). Exeter, NH: Heinemann.

Heath, S. (1987). Separating "things of the imagination"
    from life: Learning to read and write. In W. Teale &
    E. Sulzby (Eds.); Emergent literacy. Norwood, NJ:
    Ablex.

Heathcote, D. (1985). Drama as a learning medium. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association.

Holdaway, D. (1979). The foundations of literacy. New South Wales: Scholastic.

Iverson, B., & Walberg, H. (1982). Home environment and school learning: A quantitative synthesis. The Journal of Experimental Education, 50(3), 144-151.

Iser, W. (1978). The act of reading. Baltimore: John Hopkins University

Kuczaj, S. A. (1983). Crib speech and language play. NY: Springer-Verlag.

Labov, W., & Fanshel, D. (1977). Therapeutic discourse. New York: Academic Press.

Langer, S. K. (1953). Feeling and form. New York: Scribner

Leichter, H. (1984). Families as environments for literacy. In H. Goelman, A. Oberg, & F. Smith (Eds.), Awakening to Literacy (pp. 38-50). NH: Heinemann.

Lindfors, J. W. (1987). Children's Language and Learning. (2nd ed.). NJ: Prentice Hall

Lund, N. J. & Duchan, J. F. (1988). Assessing children's language in naturalistic contexts. (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall

McCormick, C. & Mason, J. (1987). Intervention procedures for increasing preschool children's interest in and knowledge about reading. In W. Teale & E. Sulzby (Eds.), Emergent literacy (pp. 90-115). NJ: Ablex.

Mead, G. H. (1934). Mind, self and society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Meek, M. (1982). Learning to read. London: Bodley Head.

Messer, D. J. (1983). The redundancy between adult speech and nonverbal interaction: A contribution to acquisition? In R. M. Golinkoff (Ed.), The Transition from Prelinguistic to Linguistic Communication (pp. 147-165). NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Miller, P. (1982). Amy, Wendy and Beth. Austin: U of Texas.

Moerk, E. L. (1985a). Picture-book reading by mothers and young children and its impact upon language development. Journal of Pragmatics 9, 547-566.

Moerk, E. L. (1985b). Analytic, syntactic, abstracting and word-class defining aspects of verbal mother-child interactions. Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, 14(3), 263-287.

Morrow, L. M. (1987). The effect of one-to-one story readings on children's questions and responses. In J. E. Readence & R. Baldwin (Eds.), Research in literacy: Merging perspectives (pp. 75-84). NY: National Reading Conference.

Nelson, K. (1973). Structures and strategy in learning to talk. Monographs of the society for research in child development, 38(1-2,Serial No. 149)

Nelson, K. (Ed.). (1989). Narratives from the crib. Cambridge: Harvard University.

Ninio, A. (1980). Picture-book reading in mother-infant dyads belonging to two subgroups in Israel. Child Development, 51, 587-590.

Ninio, A. & Bruner, J. (1978). The achievement and antecedents of labelling. Journal of Child Language, 5, 1-15.

Nodelman, P. (1988). Words about pictures. Athens: University of Georgia.

Pelligrini, A., & Brody, G. (1985). Parents' book-reading habits with their children. Journal of Educational Psychology, 77(3), 341-348.

Rosen, B. (1988). And none of it was nonsense. Richmond Hill, Ont: Scholastic-Tab.

Rumelhart, D. E. (1975). Notes on a schema for stories. In D. G. Bobrow & A. M. Collins (Eds.). Representation and understanding: Studies in cognitive science (pp. 129-145). NY: Academic Press.

Schacter F. & Strage A. A. (1982). Adults' talk/children's language. In S. G. Moore, & C. Cooper, The young child. Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children.

Schickedanz, J. A. (1978). Please read that story again. Young Children. 44-51

Schieffelin, B. & Cochran-Smith, M. (1984). Learning to read culturally: Literacy before schooling. In H. Goelman, A. Oberg, & F. Smith (Eds.), Awakening to literacy (pp. 3-23). Exeter: Heinemann

Schieffelin, B. & Gilmore, P. (Eds.). (1986). The acquisition of literacy: Ethnographic perspectives. Vol. XXI Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Schieffelin, B & Ochs, E. (1983). A cultural perspective on the transition from prelinguistic to linguistic communication. In R. M. Golinkoff (Ed.), The transition from prelinguistic to linguistic communication (pp. 115-132). NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Searle, J. (1969). Speech acts. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press

Smith, F. (1984). The creative achievement of literacy. In H. Goelman, A. Oberg, & F. Smith (Eds.). Awakening to literacy (pp. 143-153). Exeter: Heinemann

Snow, C. (1977). Mothers' speech research: From input to interaction. In C. E. Snow, & C. A. Ferguson, (Eds.), Talking to children: Language input and acquisition (pp. 31-49). Cambridge: University Press.

Snow, C. (1983). Literacy and language: Relationships during the preschool years. Harvard Educational Review 53(2), 574-576.

Snow, C., Arlman-Rupp, A., Hassing, Y., Jobse, H., Joosten, J., & Vorster, J. (1976). Mothers' speech in three social classes. Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, 5, 1-20.

Snow, C. & Ferguson C. A. (1977). Talking to children: Language input and acquisition. New York: Academic.

Snow, C. & Gilbreath, B. (1983). Explaining transitions. In R. M. Golinkoff (Ed.), The transition from prelinguistic to linguistic communication(pp 281-296). NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Snow, C. & Goldfield, B. (1983). Turn the page please: Situation-specific language acquisition. Journal of Child Language, 10, 551-569.

Snow, C. & Ninio, A. (1987). The contracts of literacy: What children learn from learning to read books. In W. Teale & E. Sulzby (Eds.), Emergent literacy (pp. 116-138). NJ: Ablex.

Snow, C., Shelley, M., Small, A., Proctor, A. (1984). Therapy as social interaction: Analyzing the contexts for language remediation. *Topics in Language Disorders, 4,* 4. 72-85.

Stewart, J. & Mason, J. M. (1989). Preschool children's reading and writing awareness. In J. Mason (Ed.), *Reading and writing connections.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Sulzby, E. (1985). Children's emergent reading of favorite storybooks: A developmental study. *Reading Research Quarterly, 20*(4), 458-480.

Sugarman, S. (1983). Empirical versus logical issues in the transition from prelinguistic to linguistic communication. In R. M. Golinkoff (Ed.), *The transition from prelinguistic to linguistic conversation* (pp. 133-145). NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Taylor, D. (1983). *Family literacy: Young children learning to read and write.* Exeter: Heinemann.

Teale, W. (1981). Parents reading to their children: What we know and need to know. *Language Arts, 58*(8), 902-911.

Teale, W. (1984). Reading to young children: Its significance for literacy development. In H. Goelman, A. Oberg, & F. Smith (Eds.) *Awakening to literacy,* (pp. 110-121). NH: Heinemann.

Teale, W. (1987). Home background and young children's literacy development. In W. Teale & E. Sulzby (Eds.), *Emergent literacy.* (pp. 173-204). NJ: Ablex.

Teale, W. & Sulzby, E. (1987). Emergent literacy as a perspective for examining how young children become writers and readers. In W. Teale & E. Sulzby (Eds.) *Emergent literacy* (pp. vii-xxv). NJ: Ablex.

Tough, J. (1973). *Focus on meaning.* London: Allan & Unwin

Vygotsky, L. (1962). *Thought and language.* Cambridge: MIT Press

Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in society.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Vygotsky, L. (1981). The genesis of higher mental functions. In J. V. Wertsch (Ed.), *The concept of activity in Soviet psychology* (pp. 144-188). Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe

Weir, R. (1962). Language in the crib.
    The Hague: Mouton

Wells, G. (1980). Apprenticeship in meaning. In.
    K. E. Nelson (Ed.), Children's language: Vol. 2
    (pp. 45-126). NY: Gardner Press.

Wells, G. (1981). Learning through interaction.
    Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wells, G. (1985a). Language development in the pre-school
    years. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wells, G. (1985b). Language, learning and education.
    Windsor, Berkshire: NFER Nelson

APPENDICES

The appendices contain transcripts and excerpts that serve to illustrate the dialogues and the types of data that were collected and analyzed for this study.

APPENDIX A

Excerpt from Transcript - Jill and Patti

Second Reading of <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u>

Excerpt from text of Second Reading - Jill & Patti

J: (Turns page) Ya.
They went past the mill. Look, look!
(points at rope but the child is still looking
at and interested in the last page.)
It's tied around her foot.

P: Cow, cow

J: It's a goat, not a cow.
It's a goat.

P: Mice

J: It's a ground hog, no gopher
(Turns page) It's a goat.

P: Cowwwa

J: Look! All the stuff fell on him!
All the flour. (turns page)
(pause) Went through the fence. (points and pauses)
Went right through the fence. In there.

(Pause - child looks intently at the page)

(Turns page. Book closes. Jill finds place again)

What's he doin'?

P: mmmmm /daee (points)

J: What's he doin'?

P: mmmmmm dee

J: He's gonna go down the hill in a cart. (turns page)
Under the beehives. Oh, oh, look!
He's gonna hit all the beehives.

(Patti is very intently looking at the book and
babbling at this point)

P: Oh, no. (turns page)

J: Oh, no.

P: Awaiee

J: They're gonna give him lots of owies.
      See look. They're chasing him. Look.
      The hen just walks away, Patti.

      (Turns page and pauses briefly)

      And got back in time for dinner.

P: Ayawaya.(Looks intently at picture
      and points as she jabbers.)

J: Ya. Ya.

P: Wee de puppy.
      (Child looks and points, very interested)

J: Flowers. Ya.

P: Mm mmm puppy. Mm mmm puppy

J: Where's the house?

P: Ay, ay de house. (points at Rosie's house)

J: Right here. That's the house. (points at house)

P: Oooo house. (points at the barn).

J: Ya, that's the house.
      See?
      All done.

ABSTRACT B

Excerpt from Transcript - Nan and Kate

Second Reading of <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u>

Excerpt from Second Reading - Nan and Kate

N: Now what's Rosie doing?

K: Walking.

N: Walking. That's all Rosie does is just walk.
    Ok. (turns page)

K: Oh, oh. What happened?
    (In a very empathetic voice)
    Run, Rosie, run. Oh, don't cry, Rosie.
    Don't cry, Rosie.

N: Why is Rosie crying?

K: Huh? (looks up at Mother)

N: Why would Rosie be crying?

K: Huh?

N: Why is Rosie crying?

K: Mmm. Mmm.

N: Huh? Rosie's not...
    Oh, I see why Rosie's crying! Look!

K: Hmm?

N: He's jumped over the fence.

K: Ya.

N: (whispering) Run Rosie, run, run.
    (aloud) Tell Rosie to run! Hurry!

K: Run, run! Hurry.
    Run and run and run around. (waves arms as she talks)

N: Run so that the fox won't get you. (turns page)
    Whoa. Shew! He missed again! Eh?

K: Whoa. Hmm.
    Poor fox. (rubs the page gently) Poor fox.
    Poor fox. (pats the picture of the fox)

N: You like the fox today?

K: Yeah.

N: How 'bout Rosie?

K: Rosie likes the fox.

N: Rosie doesn't like the fox.

K: No?

N: Why doesn't Rosie like the fox?

K: Rosie likes the fox.

N: Does Rosie like the fox?

K: Yeah. (pause) It fall down in there.
    It fall down here?

N: O. K.

K: (Turns page) What this, Mom? What is it?
    Its a butterfly, bees....

N: Yeah. The bees. So what's gonna happen?
    Look! He had an accident. Crashed into the bees.

K: What...

N: You know what that means. Eh?
    They're gonna get him. Yup.
    The bumble bees are gonna get the fox.
    And there's Rosie. Walking underneath the bees.

K: Walking undereas the bees.

N: Yeah. She's walking under the bees.
    (Long pause)

K: Oh, oh. What's happened the bees?
    What's happened the bees?

N: They're all falling over.

K: Huh?

N: (Turns page) Where are all the bees going now?

K: Going to see the fox.

N: Are they going to see the fox?

K: Yeah.

N: They're gonna go bite the fox.

K: Go bite the fox.

APPENDIX C

Cues and Expansions - Jill & Patti

Episode 1:1 <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u>

Cues & Expansions of Episode 1:1 <u>Rosie's Walk</u> by Jill

using Labov & Fanshel

1.1		Text	Cues
a.	J:	(Mother holds book with child on her lap)	Initiates
b.	P:	(Child takes book from mother)	Challenges
c.	J:	(Mother struggles with child to get posession of book.)	Defends
d.	P:	Me. Me. (child begins to cry and fuss)	Challenges
e.	J:	(Mother regains posession by taking book. Child continues to fuss but does not attempt to get book back.) Patti, look, look (tries to settle child)	Asserts Redirects
f.	J:	(speaking to researcher) She wants to do it for herself.	Gives Interpretation
g.	J:	Oh, Pat--ti... Oh Patti look, look at fox (Mother is trying to settle Patti and find the first page.)	Initiates Redirects
h.	P:	(Settles immediately, quits crying, and becomes interested in the book right away.)	Responds
i.	J:	(Finds first page and begins to read immediately.) Rosie the hen went for a walk.	Reinstate
j.	P:	(Eyes focused intently on book) Ooh, (Points)	Responds
k.	J:	(turns page on child's hand) Across the yard	Interrupt

Expansion of Jill reading <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u>

Goodman & Parrington

Episode 1:1

a. J. We are going to read a book.

b. P. I want to read the book myself.

c. J. If I am going to read this book, I need to hold it.

d. P. But I want to do it by myself

e. J. I am the reader, so I will have the book. Look, I'm going to read to you. Patti, please sit still and listen. See what I have in my hand.

f. P. Patti is independent and wants to hold the book by herself. I'm a little frustrated with this but I'll try to get her attention again.

g. J. Now Patti, settle down. Can you see the fox? Let me find the first page.

h. P. This looks interesting. I want to look at this book.

i. J. I better get this underway while I've got her attention.

j. P. Oh, this is pretty. I want to look at it.

k. J. Let's look at the next page. We are reading the book, not the pictures.

APPENDIX D

Cues and Expansions - Nan & Kate

Episode 1:1 <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u>

Episode 1:1 <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u> by Nan

1:1		Text	Cues
a.	N:	Rosie's Walk	Initiates

    (Both are focused on book. Mother opens to title page. Child is sucking one finger.)

		. Boy, you're gonna like this book. It's a farm book.	Evaluation Gives information
		Rosie's Walk What do you see?	Repeat Request information
b.	K:	Rosie's Walk!	Responds
c.	N:	Rosie's Walk.	Signals completion
		Where's the apple tree?	Redirect

    (child projects herself forward and points playfully after each question)

d.	K:	(points to apple tree)	Responds
e.	N:	That's the apple tree. Where's the chicken?	Acknowledge Redirects
f.	K:	(points to chicken, smiling)	Responds
g.	N.	Ya. You see Daddy's tractor anywhere? Where's his tractor?	Support Redirect
h.	K.	(points to tractor) .	Responds
i.	N.	There's the billy goat(points)	Gives information
j.	K.	(points) Billy goat	Respond - repeat
k.	N:	Billy goat. There we go. Rosie the hen went for a walk. That's her name, Rosie. Say Rosie.	Repeat - reinforce Gives information Reinforce
l.	K:	(responds quickly) Rosie.	Repeat
m.	N:	Look at the fox. He's gonna eat Rosie. You watch, he's gonna eat Rosie. (turns page). What's the fox gonna do?	Give evaluation Reinforce Reinforce

Expansion - Nan reads Rosie 1:1

a. N. The name of this book is Rosie's Walk. I know you
        well and so I can make the judgement that you are
        going to have fun and find it enjoyable to read,
        especially since it is about a farm. Here's the
        title again. We are settled in, your eyes are on
        the page, so I invite you to 'read' the book with
        me by telling me about some of the physical settings
        on this page.

b. K: I will repeat the name of the book.

c. N: Yes. You know the title but since I want you to
        focus on the book, I will rephrase my question so
        that it is more specific and easier for you to
        answer and will only involve pointing rather than
        naming as my original question did. Show me an
        apple tree if you can.

d. K: Sure I can.

e. N: Yes, you know where and what an apple tree is. Do
        you know how to find a chicken?

f. K: Of course. This is a fun game and I am smart!

g. N: Ok. You got that one. I know you know daddy's
        tractor. Can you identify one like it on this page?

h. K: Even though I don't see a tractor like Daddy's, I
        know enough about the 'tractor' concept to see
        something that looks like it.

i. N: Do you know what a billy goat looks like and can you
        find one on the page? You probably don't so I'll
        show it to you.

j. K: Ok. I'll say it so I can remember it next time.

k. N: Right. Let's start reading. The hen's name is Rose.
        Say her name. Names are important.

l. K: Rosie. I'll remember that.

m. N: There's a problem here. That fox is after Rosie.
        Keep your eye on him because he's gonna eat Rosie.
        I want you to keep thinking ahead about what is
        going to happen and to keep your eyes on the
        pictures. They are important to this story.

APPENDIX E

Cues and Expansions - Jill & Patti

Episode 2:1 - 2:4 <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u>

Speech actions - Episodes 2:1 to 2:4

<u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u> by Jill

Text	Cues
a. (Jill scans cover of book then quickly passes title page, getting right to the first page of print. She begins to read with television on. Researcher turns TV down so that the reading can be heard.)	Initiates
b. (Child is on mother's lap, intently focusing on book.)	Responds
c. J. O.K. Rosie the hen went for a walk.	Initiates
d. (They look at page for five seconds. Patti looks intently, and points to picture.)	Responds
e. (Jill turns page on child's hand)	Ends
f. J: Across the yard. (5 sec. pause)	Initiate
g. P: (Looking at picture.) Weedah waawaa?	Responds Requests Information
h. J: (turns page three) Flowers. (turns page four)	Put off Redirect
i. P: Where de puppy? (Tries to get down from lap.)	Withdraw
j. J: (Jill wraps a blanket around her, gets back into reading position.) O.K. Here we are.	Redirect Continue

Expansion - Jill reads Rosie Episodes 2:1 to 2:4

Goodman & Parrington

a. J: Let's look at the cover together but I don't
        want to say anything about it.

b. P: Yes, the cover attracts my attention. I wish
        to spend some time here.

c. J: I am ready to go on. Your viewing is over. I
        will read the text which tells us that Rosie the
        hen went for a walk but there is nothing I wish
        to comment on.

d. P: I think this page is interesting to look at.

e. J: We've spent enough time here. Let's go on.
        I'll turn the page.

f. J: It says here that Rosie walked across the yard.

g. P: This is interesting. I want to ask you a
        question.

h. J: Let's go on. I don't understand your question.
        See the flowers on this page.

i. P: I'm not getting much out of this. Where did the
        puppy go? I want to get down and find him.

j. J: Come on. Stay up here and let's finish reading
        the book.

APPENDIX F

Cues and Expansions - Nan & Kate

Episode 2:4 <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u>

Episode 2:4 <u>Rosie's Walk</u> by Nan

	Text	Cues
a.	K: Oh, oh, stick!	Initiate
b.	N: The stick, yes. What happened with the stick?	Reinforce Request Information
c.	K: The fox run into stick.	Gives Information
d.	N: (laughs) The fox ran into the stick. That's right. It went right.. Where did the stick hit the fox?	Repeat Acknowledge Request Information
e.	K. Right in the nose.	Gives Information
f.	N: That's right. Right in the nose. And look at Rosie. She's still walking. Eh? (Long pause - 7 seconds)	Acknowledge Redirect Requests Confirmation
g.	K: (Empathetically) Poor fox. (Shakes head sorrowfully)	Redirect
h.	N: Is it the poor fox?	Question
i.	K: Yeah. (Sorrowfully)	Defend
j.	N: What about poor Rosie?	Question
k.	K: Not poor Rosie.	Gives Evaluation
l.	N: It's not poor Rosie?	Challenge
m.	K: No.	Defend
n.	N: OK. (Turns page)	Retreat

Expansion - Nan reads <u>Rosie's</u> <u>Walk</u> 2:4

a. K: I recognize a change on this page and can identify it and express emotion about it.

b. N: I see that you know what is happening. Can you tell me what happened to the stick?

c. K: Yes I can because I understand the event on this page.

d. N: He looks funny doesn't he? I see that you understand and can you expand further to tell me where the fox was hit?

e. K: I know that! He was hit on the nose.

f. N: Yes, you are right. And now let's see how all of this affected Rosie. She's just walking along still. We can get a lot of information from this picture about the story so take your time and think about it.

g. K: I still want to focus on the fox. I feel sorry for him.

h. N: You do? Are you sure that you should feel sorry for the fox?

i. K: Yes, I feel sorry for him.

j. N: But let's get back to Rosie. Don't you think you should feel sorry for her? She's the one in danger.

k. K: No, Rosie is not being hurt. She's just walking along.

l. N: Are you sure that Rosie's not in trouble? Think again about Rosie's situation.

m. K: No, it's the fox who is in trouble right now.

n. N: I accept your opinion. Let's go on and see what happens next.

APPENDIX G

Excerpt from Second Interview - Jill

Interview will Jill in her home

V. In the last interview that we had you said that you couldn't recall learning to read. Let's go back and recall each year of school and see if you can tell me something about the teachers you had and that might help to recall some of the things that happened? So let's go back, can you remember your grade 1 teacher?

J. Yep. Her name?

V. Explain her to me a little bit.

J. I don't remember that much. I can remember that her name was Miss MacDonald. She was a nice teacher. I don't remember that much about her.

V. Do you remember how she taught you read at all? Do you remember the kinds of things that happened in your day?

J. Ahmmm, no, no.

V. I know that's hard, I can't remember back to grade 1 either.

J. I can remember some things, but I don't remember anything like that.

V. Can you remember the classroom? Do you have a picture of the classroom in your head?

J. No.

V. It was at Sunnyside though. You went to grade 1 at Sunnyside?

J. No, that was my preschool.

V. Oh, where were you in grade 1?

J. I was at Kensington Road School. The only thing I can remember from Grade 1 is getting our pictures taken. I was sitting in a row. That's the only thing I can remember.

V. Do you remember your teacher in Grade 2, or anything that happened in grade 2?

J. I don't even remember what her name is.

V. You can't remember those first years of school at all?

J. If I looked back, then I would, but...

V. Okay. You told me once that you really liked kindergarten. Do you remember that teacher better, your kindergarten teacher?

J. Preschool. I didn't go to kindergarten.

V. Oh, you didn't?

J. I don't remember her name but ..or do I. Yeah, I remember .... but right now I don't even know what it is. I really liked preschool. I was teacher's pet, so...

V. What made you think you were the teachers pet?

J. She always asked me to help her to everything, you know. Help me get this for the other kids, just the way they treat you, I knew that I was.

V. She made you feel pretty important by doing that?

J. Yeah. I always got extra special attention from her. I don't know why, I did though.

V. That's good. Another thing you said in the other inter-
   view was that you didn't like to read out loud in school.
   What do you think might have made you feel this way?
J. I know people read to me when I was little, maybe they
   didn't read enough to me? I don't know. Like, I can't
   really remember anybody sitting down with me for a long
   time and reading with me, like reading out loud to me.
   So maybe I just wasn't used to it, I don't know. I was
   always shy when I was little, I just felt shy to stand
   up and read to everyone. Have them listen to me.
V. You think it was more shyness on your part?
J. Yeah.
V. Did you engage in the talk that went on when there was
   discussions and that, or did you mostly listen?
J. In my Junior High and stuff I did, but I can't really
   remember doing that then. I know in preschool I wasn't
   quiet, but then grade 1, 2 and 3, I got really shy.
V. I wonder why. I'm interested in why you got shy? You
   can't remember why, but
J. I don't know, maybe because I, maybe because I wasn't
   the smartest one there. There were smarter people, and I
   figured you know, I'd stand up and answer questions....
V. That you might be wrong?
J. Yeah. Scared to be wrong, too. Yeah, pretty stupid.
V. That's interesting. You said that you felt that
   English was not a bad subject. Could we take that a
   little further. For instance, let's start at Junior
   High School with English. What things do you remember
   about English classes at that level? The Junior High
   level?
J. I like writing stories, like book reports. I was...
V. Okay, we were talking about your English classes in
   Junior High School. You said you liked to write...
J. Stories, yeah, I like to do book reports, and I like...
   we did a lot of history, I can remember doing in grade 8
   going back and doin like Ivan the Terrible, people like
   that. I like doing things like that, and poetry, I
   liked poetry.
V. Do you think that you were encouraged to do quite a bit
   of writing?
J. Yeah, I did a lot of writing in English in Grade 7.
V. You said you did more talking then in that level, were
   you more free, did you...
J. In grade 7 I did.
V. In grade 7?
J. In grade 7 I didn't really stand up and talk that much.
   Grade 8 and grade 9, then I did, because I knew all the
   people that I was around and got used to them, I didn't
   feel stupid if I got a wrong answer.
V. You think that was kind of the problem in elementary
   school, you were afraid to give the wrong answer.
J. I don't know for sure, but it could have been.
V. You indicated to in the other interview that you didn't

like school in general. Can you comment on what gave you this feeling since you were so positive about kindergarten?

J. Well, I liked elementary school, but as soon as I finished grade 6, then my mom and dad split up and it changed me and after that I didn't care if I did good in school or not.

V. That had quite an effect on you?

J. Yeah. For grade 7, 8 and 9 it had a big effect.

V. Did you live with your mom or your dad?

J. My mom. Well I lived with my dad... well I had to repeat grade 9. My second year grade 9, I was with my dad and I didn't do good either time. Like for four years I was awful. Bad marks, I wouldn't even bother going to school, just skip all my classes, just go to the ones I liked.

V. Now, another thing that we talked about last time, was the books that you bought for Patti, ABC books, counting books, books that she could learn from. Do you view yourself as a teacher of Patti?

J. Yeah. Kids learn a lot of things from their parents, what you say and what you do. She's at the stage right now where she copies everything you do, everything you say, you have to watch what you say.

V. What do you think is important to teach her and why?

J. You got to get them ready for when they start school. She can count up to five right now. She doesn't know her ABC's or anything but right now she is learning her colors. Like right now, she knows blue, yellow and red. I just mainly get her prepared for when she has to go to kindergarten.

V. Is it more important that you teach her things now, or when she gets older?

J. I think its good to start early with them, and they can learn a lot more.

V. How much do you think you should interfere with her activities when you teaching or do you just sort of let it be incidental?

J. Well she learns, like she can just be playing on her own and she still learns. Like if she's playing something by herself and I see her...and if she playing with the blocks that she learns with. If she's doing it wrong I tell her and then she does it right, so...it doesn't matter what she's doing, she always learns something.

V. What are your views on discipline? How do you handle discipline?

J. I don't know how to answer that really.

V. I know it's a hard one, but I just wondered how you... some people... yeah that is a hard one. Like I view you as being fairly easy going with her.

J. Yeah, I'm pretty easy going. I don't know, depends what she does, I guess, but I am pretty easy going, but with George she can't get away with nothing. With me she does.

APPENDIX H

Excerpt from Second Interview - Nan

Second interview with Nan in her home

V. Okay, Nan we want to talk today about some of your
    educational background and that sort of thing.
N. Okay.
V. So maybe we'll start off first of all by.... I think
    I'll take a statement from the last time we talked and
    you said that you hated reading. Now why, why do you
    think that you hate reading?
N. Because it takes too long, I don't have the time to sit
    down and read. Books are big, it takes to long, I don't
    have the time. I don't have the patience to sit down and
    read. I want to know what's goin on right away.
V. In other words you don't really see that much in a book
    that it makes it interesting you for to read?
N. It's not that I don't see it. If somebody said, "Oh
    here's a really good book, read it." But it's only
    horrors or mysteries or those kind of books.
V. So that's your favorite kind, horrors and mysteries.
N. Horrors and mysteries. If I was going to read a book
    it'd have to be a gory one to keep me into wanting to
    turn to the next page, sort of thing, but it's been so
    long since I've read a book.
V. How long?
N. Years. It's been a least, well five years since
    I've actually sat down and read a book for myself.
V. Yeah?
N. But with Kate it's everyday, but I enjoy her books.
V. Why do you think you enjoy hers and not the others?
N. Because she enjoys it. She gets the enjoyment out of it
    and I like cartoons, believe it or not.
V. You like the pictures and cartoons?
N. I like the pictures and the cartoons and there're fun.
    There're fun to read those little books.
V. Okay, do you read magazines or newspapers at all?
N. Oh, I read magazines, women's magazines, cooking book.
    I'll read cooking books because I like to cook.
    And I get something out of it. But I have to see it
    first. Like when I'm goin through a book if I see
    something that looks good, then I'll try it, but to try
    something with no picture, I won't because it doesn't do
    anything for me.
V. So you need the visual stimulants.
N. I need the visual, yeah.
V. And it sounds to me like maybe that's why you like the
    picture books with your daughter.
N. Yeah, because I can...
V. Because there is a visual stimulus.
N. Yeah, I can relate to the cartoons too.
V. And the pictures?
N. And the pictures. And there're not very big. They don't
    take very long. It's not like we start a book and it
    takes me a week to read the book.

V. Then you don't read quickly?

N. Oh, no, no. We sit there and we talk about..

V. No, I mean your own reading, if you were to read a book. Are you a fast reader?

N. Am I a fast reader?...sometimes. When I get into a book, if I'm into the book, I don't like to put it down. But when I've got the kids and things to do, I don't...

V. What magazines, do you subscribe to any magazines?

N. No. I just get them at the stores.

V. What kind would you pick up? Women's magazines?

N. Yeah, Cosmopolitan, Women's Day, Chatalaine, because I like to see the styles, and the hairdos and those sort of things. And I like Soap Opera Magazines.. like ah.. the Enquirer, they interest me, Okay? The gossip interests me, I like to know who's doing what, where and how and, who's going where.

V. Okay. Although we talked about your early experiences with reading in the last interview, let's go back there just a little bit. You said you didn't remember any books from your childhood, cause your parents didn't read to you.

N. The only book I really remember reading myself when I was able to read would be Curious George.

V. Do you remember what it was like for you to learn to read.. Do you remember grade 1?

N. Do I remember grade 1? I failed grade 1..I'll never forget it.

V. Tell me about it.

N. I had hearing problems and I was like ...sitting in the back of the class. I liked to sit in the back as far away from the teacher as possible.. I liked to sit in the back. And sitting in the back, I was watching and paying attention but I wasn't hearing, but I didn't know, my parents didn't know. Nobody knew, so when I failed grade 1 then they knew there was something up and I remember my dad he put me in the corner and he took a toothbrush and he tapped it on the table. And I couldn't tell how many times he tapped it. He's the one that figured it out, not a school or anything.

V. So do you remember what your attitude, because of that, what was your attitude toward reading in grade 1?

N. Nothing. It didn't bother my attitude.

V. Were you reading?

N. Sure I was reading.

V. Oh.

N. I was learning, I was reading, but in grade 1, how much do you read? Really. You're learning to write and to print.

V. So you don't remember learning to read as being any special thing?

N. No.

V. No big deal!

N. And even like all through school I hated to read, stand

up and read.

V. Did you? Why?

N. Because I was nervous. I didn't like to get up and stand up and read in case I made a mistake, you know.

V. You were worried about making a mistake?

N. I was worried about making mistakes.

V. You talked other times though.

N. Engaged in the talk? You should see my report card "she talks too much." Yeah, I didn't have any problems in the talking department, but to have to get up and stand there and read. I wasn't a good reader, and I knew I wasn't a good reader. I didn't like to read, not in front of a class anyways.

V. Do you think that the fact that you considered yourself not a good reader has affected your whole reading for the rest of your life? It is one of the reasons why you don't read now?

N. I don't think it has anything to do with it. It's wanting to read, okay?

V. But would have had anything to do with your lack of enjoyment of reading, because you didn't see yourself as a good reader?

N. I don't know.

V. Okay, let's go on up the grades a little bit. How did you do in English in school?

N. A's. I did excellent, English was my favorite subject, because when they gave us our own books and we could read them, I'd go home and I would read my books, or in class I'd read my books to myself. And when it came to answering questions and stuff, and passing tests, English was my favorite subject.

V. Do you remember when you got into Junior and Senior High any of your favorite books then, your favorite novels that you had studied in school?

N. Probably Oliver Twist, and Huckleberry Finn. I remember those two really well.

V. Okay, let's talk about Oliver Twist for a little while. Can you remember why you thought Oliver Twist, why would you have picked it out? What was there about that text that made you really like it?

N. I don't know, I can't even remember it that well.

V. Do you think you have a good imagination?

N. I know I've got a good imagination. I can sit down and write out a title. Once I get the title then I can write a story, three, four, five pages long.

V. Do you think that helps when you are reading with Kate? To have an imagination?

N. Sure it does. Because I can tell...I can imagine well Mickey's thinking this and he's gonna do this, Minnie wants this.

V. So do you feel that that helps you extend the story for her?

N. Yes. I can extend the story for her, make it longer than it really is.